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Dissertation

THE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT'S EFFECT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 1975-1985

by

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requirements for the degree of

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Dedication

To

Barbara Ann Marks –1965-1990

A natural-born fighter against injustice, who courageously spoke the truth against patriarchal violence. She was someone who also deeply loved the ocean and the mountains, and dreamed of becoming a physician.

Acknowledgements

My deepest, adamantine and heart-rooted thanks flow out to:

The feminist theologian and ecologist, Elizabeth Dodson Gray and all the women and men of the Theological Opportunities Program at the Harvard Divinity School. With infinite patience they literally gave me back my voice based upon the fundamental ethos of that group, "we are dedicated to listening to the voiceless until they find their voices." As such, they "heard me into speech."

To my companeros and companera Carlos, Tito and Ana, who lived through torture in the concentration camps of Chile, and who, despite the fact that my tax dollars abetted this monstrous crime against them and humanity, chose to haltingly share the unutterable with me. I am grateful to them forever for this burden and also for how it has forever transformed my view of international relations. In this breath I also thank my companera Alma for similar consciousness-shattering revelations about *realpolitik* in Argentina. They were all exiled from their homelands, their families, their friends, their livelihoods and their political work in Chile and Argentina.

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To everyone associated with the NICA (Nuevo Instituto de Centro America) school in Esteli, Nicaragua. It would be tantamount to an unintended insult for me to try to glibly thank these people in just a sentence for all they taught me about survival and courage and decency (and having a fiesta on a Friday night based more on

dancing than food, since beans or corn for tortillas had not reached some barrios for a month)—so I will say simply that I feel the responsibility all the time that I have never repaid the open-hearted generosity and teaching of many like Damoso (90 years old in 1983) and Danielo and others who took a gringa like me seriously.

To Chris Counihan for unshakeable faith and belief in me and for his unstinting and always revivifying support of this long work.

To my mother and father—"Union Maid" and unionman...first organizers of the Transport Workers Union, Local 234, Philadelphia, PA. I miss them everyday...I wish I could ask them—"Now, which exact year was the first picket line? When did you shove the rolled-up newspaper under the tail of the policehorse to defend yourself against nightsticks? Was it '34 or '37 or '38?" Were they really just 18 and 22 years old—or were they 26 and 30 by then, already with four children to feed during the Great Depression? How is it that they told me all those Depression stories with such vibrancy and drop-dead humor—stories about unimagineably (to me) hard times? (Were they just protecting me as kid five and and my brother Michael as kid six from the miseries of that period, we who arrived far too late to experience it directly?) Each of my parents excelled in school, had been desperate to go to college, got as far as 8th grade, then had to go to work six days a week for a dollar a day to support their own mothers and siblings when one father died leaving nine children and the other father became temporarily disabled. In their shorthand: "No social security then—enough said." That's how they parsed those times. So, I don't remember them ever dwelling on that, (and now when I so long to question them in depth about it, it is too late)—I remember them loving to dance and to sing. I remember how they excelled at extemporaneous public oratory. I remember how hard they pushed us kids to get the

schooling they themselves had been denied (due to class and rank social injustice—my words, not theirs)—they drilled us every night at the dinner table about current world events based upon the newspapers we were expected to have read every day, even in gradeschool. I remember graduating from high school, scared about college, asking my father what he would have done if he could have gone—he said he would have become a lawyer so he could be "an elder statesman" someday. I said he still had plenty of time. In fact, he had six years left, and died without that dream coming true.

Simply said: I still have never met two people who loved life more, or who cared about people more. Simply said: the Golden Rule in our family was "You gotta fight for your rights and help other people do that too."

They were brilliant.

I cannot begin to list all their accomplishments (my mother started college after she retired, and I seem to remember that a big crisis in her 67th or 68th year was...declaring a major!) They endured extreme poverty (never, ever labeling it to me as such; instead, my much older brother named it for what it was,) they endured starting a union (with many others), starting a newspaper, starting an ambulance squad, McCarthyism, the illusion of "the family wage" (we were wiped out when I was in third grade after my father broke his back on the job as a bus driver). And, we survived because my mother worked three jobs (two waitress positions in addition to her regular non-stop mothering/nursing one,) got her GED (on top of those three jobs,) and had solid help from close family and friends; with her resolve and creativity (presaging my interest in the women you will read about in this dissertation who comprise the WID/Women in International Development Movement) she slowly,

eventually moved our assaulted (or as Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador used to say, the "made poor") family into a new cycle of rebirth. When my father finally recovered enough (though never fully), and with her as backup, he got involved again in community organizing under the War on Poverty, building friendships through the Civil Rights movement, making a new life for us in the rural place we had fled to from the city...a place where some of my parents' best friends were black ministers who, even as late as 1968 would come to our house for meetings only after it had gotten dark—1968, my last year in gradeschool and the last year a cross was burned in the front yard of a black church in the next town north. It was only years later that I understood...it wasn't safe for my parents' dear friends to be seen earlier in the day when they could be easily observed meeting with white people.

Yes, I miss my mother and father every day, every day.

I especially want to thank my brother Michael for his presence all my life and particularly for his extraordinarily courageous witness to and support of me in the last decade. I would not have survived nor would I have succeeded at this Ph.D. without him. My brother Tom, who served in Viet Nam, is also a remarkable man, who has played a transforming and life-renewing role in my life and in the healing of my family. My brother Pete has with great integrity mediated the most difficult times for all of us. These three brothers—lawyers and a teacher/guidance counselor, past union presidents and contract negotiators, committed to their families and to community service, standing up to patriarchal violence—they shape my imperfect but enduring faith in the possibility of healthy, reliable and powerful alliances with feminist men for the purposes of achieving equality and social justice for all.

I would like to thank my beloved best friends, Dr. Emine Kiray and Dr. Ellin Reisner and Ms. Kathy Robinson-Betz for re-establishing my faith in friendship and for keeping me grounded in the simple, reliable, soul-renewing joys of deep conversation, the ocean, dogs, bicycling, tears and laughter.

I also want to remember people in two communities who I discovered late in life and who have utterly transformed my sense of self, body and politics: to all the dancers at the Dance Complex in Cambridge, (demographically by far the poorest and most struggling of all artists), I would like to honor your accomplishment in owning and managing the only dancer-cooperatively-run school in the country. It is one of the truly multi-racial, multi-cultural places in this city which I deeply love and I say thank you for all that pumping life force, generous sweat, cleansing exhaustion and unforgettable images of human-powered flight. The perfect cure for spending hours alone, stiff and still at a computer, producing a dissertation.

And finally, my politics have immeasureably deepened and become more systemically-based due to my training over the last ten years to become a naturalist and a tracker (of wildlife—and of other elusive, ecological stories as well.) I have literally gorged (as a generalist, not a master) on the literatures of field ecology, ecological economics, ecoforestry, wetlands conservation, conservation biology, ecosystem management and planning, and perhaps most importantly, on indigenous and tribal economics, and on Native science, philosophy and spirituality in regard to ecosystems. I have found, at long last, a bioregional home here (both in New England and in these intellectual fields) along with others, some of whom come from ancestrally long and vibrant, living traditions from around the globe in which the Earth and people are obviously far more important than greed for money (thus echoing my parents'

deepest teaching about values to me.) As such, many thanks and Mitakuye Oyasin to Bob and Josephine Stewart, to Miss Hortense, Miss Beatrice, Paul Rezendes and Paulette Roy (the first ones to teach these skills to thousands of people in New England), Paul Wanta and Heather Lenz (who introduced me to John Stokes), Bob Leverett (who has done ground-breaking work on discovering, documenting and defending pockets of old-growth forest in New England), Susan Morse and her "Keeping Track" course for local conservation commissions and citizens, Alcott Smith and his educational program "Upland Fauna" (the first person to take me seriously as a tracker and forest naturalist), Terry Goodhue and John Drury (who have worked for years to protect special species of concern and their special places off Vinalhaven, Maine for the Puffin Project), Deertrack, DB Brown, Noah No Leaf, Jim Bruchak, Tony Ten Fingers, Linda Crane (genius tracker of the soul), the staff of the Boulder Outdoor Survival School in Boulder, Utah (especially, David Holladay, Allyson Vance and Andy Pitcher). For teaching me about wetlands and barrier beach ecology, I would like to thank Diane Boretos, P.W.S., passionate defender of wildlife and habitats who for decades has been actively involved in environmental enforcement and conservation—she actually introduced me to conservation biology and to *The Wildlands Project* multi-national, continent-embracing planning approach.

And, for generous mentoring in growing to slowly understand the intricate interconnectedness of every aspect of the forest, from mycorrhizae to wildlife to wilderness to caring enough about a place to try to preserve that place—be it a special local spot or the expanse of "the great northern forest" of New England from the Adirondacks to Maine, our embracing bioregion which literally sustains the physical lives of those of us who work in Boston by graciously giving us water, energy, wood

(for shelter and for all the paper that academics use and/or waste) and recreation—I thank Mark Elbroch for his devotion, passion, brilliance and down-to-earth empowerment of all his students/co-learners in discovering how to protect a place by getting to know it intimately and therefore falling in love. I think falling in love is perhaps the only power strong enough to make real for most people who live in a consumer-use-it-up-throw-it-out-unlimited-growth addicted culture what "seven generations" means. Native people who have spoken to me about preservation and conservation and ecological balance know that our most important responsibility is to provide for the next seven generations, and not steal from our children in the name of short-term profit (with its attendant unaccounted-for long-term costs) and unlimited economic growth which destroys entire and irreplaceable ecosystems and habitats (there is only 3-5% of old growth forest left in the United States, the equivalent of a biogenetic holocaust.) The degradation of ecosystems obviously degrades livelihoods and survival for the human species as well. Here, in New England as well as all around the globe, frequently it is impoverished women and their families who are in the unprotected frontlines of that environmental degradation. This dissertation will explore that systemic connection.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank and honor Hilary Bender who made the broken whole and the impossible, possible.

THE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT'S EFFECT

ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

1975-1985

(Order No.)

ELEANOR MARKS

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2001

Major Professor: Irene L. Gendzier, Professor of Political Science

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a case study examining how the international Women-in-Development (WID) movement, (comprised of academic researchers, policy professionals in development agencies, and grassroots representatives associated with the United Nations Decade for Women), effected change in economic development policy within the UN from 1975-1985. The study explores factors influencing policy reformulation during this decade of economic development practice and the implications of the process of this policy change for international relations theory.

Two research questions are at the core of this study: How, and why, did the UN respond to sustained professional negotiations with WID representatives? In the process of answering these questions, this case study demonstrates how WID evolved organizationally from an international advocacy movement into an international institutional regime as defined by Keohane (1984). The dissertation finds that iterated policy negotiations between UN program staff and WID representatives effected a

significant change in international economic development policy-making. The evidence of such change is found in the redefinition of UN economic development project standards to include gender. Thus, by the time of the conclusion of the UN Decade for Women, the cumulative influence of WID representatives in policy negotiations had resulted in the establishment of the 1986 mandate requiring development projects to meet gender-inclusive standards for planning, implementation, and evaluation.

The conclusion of this dissertation examines the significance of the empirical findings of this case study to the development of theory within the field of international relations.

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List of Abbreviations

GAD	Gender and Development
GRO's	Grassroots Organizations
GRSO's	Grassroots Support Organizations
IBRD	World Bank
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
IR	International Relations
IWY	International Women's Year
WID	Women-in-Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WAD	Women and Development
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction:

An overview of the argument

Since the post-World War Two period, the United Nations has emerged as one of the most influential intergovernmental organization (IGO) actors in coordinating research, policy planning, and funding focused on promoting Third World [1] economic development. For most of the three post-war decades, both theory and practice in the development profession were guided by standard academic approaches to economic development which proliferated due to scholarly research on the efficacy of the Marshall Plan in Europe; these approaches were most commonly referred to in the literature as "modernization" and "take-off" theories (Huntington 1968, Rostow 1960). Despite the analytic and applied predominance of these theoretical approaches for almost three decades within the UN, these standard development approaches were substantively questioned and reframed during the extremely short period preceding and including the UN Decade for Women, from approximately 1975 to 1985.

During this decade, a new paradigm – Women-in-Development (herein referred to as WID) – emerged from various scholarly disciplines in wide flung parts of the world (Boserup 1970, Tinker 1976). By the end of the decade, WID researchers had constructed the sustained theoretical critique and amassed the international empirical evidence necessary to legitimize a fundamental re-evaluation of heretofore gender-

blind international development planning as it had existed within the major UN development programs since the inception of the UN itself.

Women-in-Development – as a field of empirical research (field work, data compilation and theoretical critique), of policy practice (re-defining policy planning standards, implementation, and evaluation for economic development projects in the field) and as an international social movement (part of the proliferating international NGO movement [2]) – serves as a particularly rich case study for developing theory about international relations: about the process of change at the systemic level (which, in this particular case, is related to the effect of establishing linkages across all three classic levels[3] of the IR system); about how international social movements can demonstrate the capacity, in some cases, to institutionalize themselves as international regimes; and about the efficacy and limitations of international regimes themselves (Keohane 1989). On a global level, the WID network of scholars, policy practitioners and grassroots leaders in NGO's has influenced both elite-level decision-making and the reformulation of international development policy in such diverse venues as various development programs within the UN (including the World Bank), in regional international economic groups (e.g. the South Commission), within intergovernmental organizations (IGO's) such as NORAD (the Norwegian Agency for International Development), USAID (United States Agency for International Development), and other bilateral aid agencies, and also throughout major international NGO's (non-governmental organizations) such as the Ford Foundation (Kardam 1991). As such, WID as an international social movement originating in the grassroots domestic level of the IR system, has nevertheless, as it developed into an influential international institutional regime, proactively effected substantive economic development policy

change at the highest level of the IR system, thus both crossing and interlinking system levels which some IR theorists had argued were necessarily empirically separate domains (Waltz 1979).

There are various analytically rich ways in which this new WID approach of critical research and practice within development economics intersects with the concerns of both Realist and Institutionalist thinking within IR. One possible explanation for the influential power of the WID critique can be found in the work of Moscovicci and Perdonnaz (1980) which argues that "minority influence," the steady pressure of subdominants over time for political inclusion, eventually affects mainstream politics. Expanding upon Moscovicci and Perdonnaz, this case study will explore several possible hypotheses drawn from the International Relations literature in order to theorize about this change in economic development policy at the UN, including altruism, the efficacy of pre-negotiation, the relationship of pre-negotiation and negotiation to learning and change within international institutional regimes, and the political capacity of some international social movements to institutionalize themselves as international institutional regimes (Mansbridge 1990, Walch 1991, Haas 1990, Keohane 1984 & 1994, Bourque & Warren 1990, Jaquette 1990, Kardam 1991). These particular hypothetical explanations emerged as relevant based on the archival record and on the testimony of the actors themselves who were involved in the ongoing negotiations required to redefine the formerly gender-blind development policies (Cf. Chapters 4 and 5).

In 1975, the UN established the worldwide "Decade for Women." This declaration opened with the following statistics:

> "Although women represent 50% of the world's population and one-third of the official labor force, they perform nearly two-thirds of all

> working hours, receive only one-tenth of the world income and own less than 1% of world property." (Report of the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women 1981)

Although women are not a minority in the world, their differential – and hence, minority – power is evident in the macroeconomic statistics quoted above from the UN Declaration of the Decade for Women [4]. Yet, their "minority influence" has had a substantive impact on certain institutionalist regimes within the IR system in terms of effectively lobbying for fundamental redefinition of economic development policy standards so that projects are now mandated to include rather than ignore and /or exclude women [5] (the standard practice for the previous three decades). This dissertation proposes to evaluate WID's political efficacy by studying the strategies it employed to negotiate this policy change in development standards, a transformation that unfolded relatively quickly and broadly, permeating the major development divisions at the UN during (and just preceding) the Decade for Women, 1975-1985.

Studying the political ramifications of WID empirically as an international social movement which incrementally institutionalized itself as an international institutional regime within the state system helps to raise heuristic questions and contribute to refining theory within IR. My research is situated within the still unfolding International Institutionalist literature within IR, and provides empirical data about mobilization, negotiation, learning, and policy change within the UN, arguably the most influential IGO (intergovernmental organization) in the international state system (Cox 1986, Stein 1989, Haas 1990, Pietila & Vickers 1994). Building on the work of Keohane, and Keohane and Nye, this thesis will argue that the UN is a particularly rich milieu for situating a case study theorizing about relations among international regimes: as one of the premier non-state intergovernmental (IGO) actors, it has a major influence on

the world politics of economic development throughout the state system (Keohane 1986, Keohane & Nye 1989, Feld & Jordan 1994).

Constructed as a case study, this dissertation contains both an empirical investigation and its relevant theoretical inquiry. The empirical study examines in depth the political activity of the WID movement from roughly 1975 to 1985 as it interfaced with and negotiated its critique of the gender-blind development policies of the appropriate organs within the United Nations. Then, examining the relevance this case study has to refining certain aspects of IR theory (discussed in Chapter 6), the dissertation argues that this particular social movement did have a measurable effect at the IR level of the system as evidenced by WID negotiating the redefinition of economic development project standards from having had no substantive theoretical focus on women for thirty years to mandating the incorporation of gender-aware economic planning throughout all development divisions at the UN (Braidotti et al. 1994). As such, *prima facie*, WID did have a significant effect upon international development policy planning. This mandate was eventually broadened to recognize that it was both insufficient and inefficient to simply address women as "add-on's" to extant projects; instead, women (more precisely, the gender relations of production and reproduction) were to be integral from the earliest stages of policy formulation and project deployment (Moser 1993) [6].

WID orchestrated this political influence at the IR level of the system as a non-state actor; [7] although originating as a social movement at the state/domestic level (its mobilization phase), in its institutionalization phase, WID grew in organizational development, bureaucratic reach and sheer numbers due to its capacity to maintain interconnections among the grassroots, the state and international levels of the IR

system via participatory, representative organizations within the NGO movement (Fisher 1993, Blumberg 1995). This dissertation argues that international social movements which develop the political capacity to institutionalize themselves as international regimes within the IR system are indeed not only legitimate but also theoretically significant subjects for IR research. (For comparison, a structurally similar argument could be advanced for the study of increasingly influential international human rights regimes) (Falk 1987).

Not surprisingly, the results of this empirical demonstration contradict the largely outmoded classical Realist contention that the purview of IR should be restricted to the international level of the IR system and, more specifically to state actors alone [8]. This case study supports the arguments of Keohane and Nye (1979) which seek to broaden the domain of IR beyond state actors to include certain groups which fall within their operational definition of international institutional regimes. "Regimes can be defined as 'sets of implied or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations'" (Krasner, 1983a in Baldwin 1993). WID constitutes one such regime. In this lies the significance of the WID case study: its inclusion for serious study expands and deepens the way IR delineates the IR universe (its epistemic community) by providing a new empirical site for examining the cogency of neoliberal international institutionalist theoretical claims. As such, this dissertation describes the development of one particular international social movement into an international institutional regime; furthermore it documents WID's negotiations with the largest IGO in the IR system, "measuring" WID's efficacy as a regime by cataloguing its capacity to redefine "principles, rules, norms and decision-making procedures"

which had been uncritically presumed for approximately thirty years within economic development policy-making at the UN.

This case study seeks to inform IR theory about the political efficacy that one initially small, altruistic group, with few resources, was able to develop in order to effect redistributional aspects of economic development policy coordinated at the realm of the IR system. In this particular case, because WID's motivation, practice and goals were predicated upon an international mobilization to advocate in regard to the very issue of survival for its constituents, it seems to have operated within a normative organizational culture whose functional ethos encouraged advocates to work pragmatically negotiating and renegotiating alliances (with varied degrees of success) across typical sociological cleavages such as race, sex, ethnicity, class, culture, and across more unusual sociological cleavages such as academic vs. field practitioners (Cohen 1997, Berg 1987) [9]. Moreover, WID strategically utilized both traditional and creative forms of political organizing, and pre-negotiation and negotiation diplomacy in order to institutionalize itself as an international regime able to impact at the level of the IR system as discussed in Chapters Four and Five. (See also Zartman 1989, Fisher 1989).

This empirical data suggests that the WID experience frames one example (which is still unfolding) of "cross-level" dynamics which can interconnect the classic IR "levels of the system" (Pfaltsgraff 1980) and furthermore that there seems to be an on-going, complicated, reciprocal and multivariate relationship among the individual, the grassroots (in the domestic/state level) and the international levels of the IR system (Milner 1997). The WID case study, when situated within the particular theoretic frame of continuing research in IR on international institutional regimes, has the potential of

deepening the view within this frame by enabling IR to seriously consider several long-standing lacunae in its theory, absences which due to their significance were technically termed "anomalies" by Kuhn (1970). Traditionally, at least up until the last decade, these anomalies were either marginalized as "low politics," or simply unproblematically presumed to be outside that frame (Mansbach 1976, Keyman 1997). WID, as an international social movement, constitutes one of these "overlooked" (or, in Keyman's usage, exiled) anomalies. See discussion in Chapter Six.

The empirical section of this dissertation will examine the constitutive elements of a relatively rapid change in international institutional policy-making by examining the processes whereby UN development programs were lobbied to adopt Women-in-Development standards for planning economic development projects (Sen & Grown 1987, Pietila 1994, Braidotti et al. 1994), thus replacing their formerly gender-blind policies. This dissertation will not examine the mixed record in the practical implementation of these goals in the field; rather it focuses on the political processes instrumental to the achievement of an international benchmark: the international economic development profession finally recognized, based upon empirical data, that women were central, rather than tangential, to economic development in the Third World, a recognition that forced the norms and standards of the UN international aid regime to be systematically reevaluated and rewritten to include gender (Boserup 1970, Tinker 1990, Moser 1989).

The UN is a particularly useful milieu for generating theory about relations among international regimes; as one of the premier intergovernmental (IGO) actors in the IR system, it serves as a nexus for much of the world politics of international institutional regimes throughout the state system (Feld et al.1994).

The theoretic section of this thesis proposes to go beyond founding assumptions within the Realist tradition of International Relations theorizing (Morgenthau 1948, Waltz 1959). Up until the 1980's, that literature had substantively defined states as unitary rational actors, unidimensionally and unidirectionally compelled by zero-sum considerations to maximize self-interest in all international interactions due to the "constant anarchy" that "prevails" within the IR state system (Waltz in Keohane 1986). In The Anarchical Society, Hedley Bull summarized this approach as

> ...[t]he Hobbesian tradition describes international relations as a state of war of all against all, an arena of struggle in which each state is pitted against every other. International relations, on he Hobbesian view, represent pure conflict between states and resemble a game that is wholly distributive or zero-sum...The particular international activity that, on Hobbesian view, is most typical of international activity as a whole...is war itself (1977).

In response to this characterization, Milner posits the question,

> But are chaos, lack of order, and constant threat really what scholars mean by the anarchic nature of the system? It does not seem to be. Persistent elements of order in international politics have been noted by many. International order, defined in a strong sense, as 'a pattern of activity that sustains the elementary or primary goals of a society of states, or international society' (Bull 1977) is not lacking in international relations (1993).

She further notes that

> ...[o]thers as well have noted the elements of order and society that mark international politics. Much of the recent literature on international regimes makes this point. Regimes serve to constrain and guide states' behavior according to common norms and rules, thereby making possible patterned, or orderly behavior (1993).

These more reductionist and determinist fundamentals of classic Realist theory have been revised and recast by many Neorealists (see for example, Gilpin 1986, Buzan 1993) partly in response to central arguments within the International

Institutionalist school which itself emerged as a critique of those more reductionist aspects of Realist analysis (Keohane 1984). Keohane and others (Axelrod 1984, Oye 1986) have argued that the exigencies of increasing interdependence within the IR system can foster cooperation even within the presumed dominant anarchy of the IR system, a type of cooperation which I shall label as "rational instrumentalist:" i.e. the emergence of cooperation, not due to normative, ethical concerns (though they may be the partial motivation of some actors) but rather simply as a functionally more successful (thereby more rational) and efficient process for achieving state goals due to its operational flexibility (Stein 1990). Ironically, this could therefore be referred to as a more realist approach than the reductionist Realist's egoistic and zero-sum pursuit of the maximization of state self-interest because it allows for a less reductionist, more creative range of behaviors and negotiations which therefore more effectively identifies the negotiating potential of maintaining multiple routes to desired outcomes: a less reductionist, less economistic and therefore indeed more "realistic" representation of the complexity of human decision-making (Kelman 1982, Burton 1990).

In summary, this dissertation is a case study examining in detail the political processes used by the Women-in-Development movement (1975-85) in order to negotiate with development divisions within the UN in regard to redefining its historically gender-blind economic development policy standards. Studying how an international social movement institutionalized itself as an international regime in order to negotiate policy change within a well-established intergovernmental organization, this case is particularly relevant to expanding research within the Institutionalist school of IR theory on the capacities and limitations of international institutional regimes.

Two related levels of heuristic research questions are at the heart of this study: (1) How (why, to what extent) did the UN (and constituent subunits encompassing specific development divisions) respond to the sustained professional interactions with the international Women-in-Development movement? and (2) How (why, to what extent) do these findings contribute to research and the development of theory within International Relations?

The following brief description serves as a transition to Chapter One by providing a chapter by chapter overview summarizing the dissertation argument as it unfolds based upon the WID case study. This Preface defines the dissertation's task, focuses its scope and limits, situates its research within a particular literature, and argues for the contribution it intends to make to the Neoliberal International Institutionalist literature within the field of International Relations. Articulating a preliminary definition of terms, Chapter One will define and describe the WID movement and then move on to describe the development mission and relevant divisions of the UN. Chapter Two will provide a more extensive review of the IR theory relevant to this case, and establish the theoretic context in which this research will offer a contribution to the on-going development of IR theory.

Chapter Three details the research methods employed in this empirical case study of the WID movement. The primary materials were gathered in extensive archival research and through fifty in-depth interviews conducted between 1995 and 1997 with pivotal WID grassroots activists, economic development policy practitioners and administrators, and academic scholars who interacted with the UN's development programs, and UN officials. The "thick descriptions" (Geetz 1960) obtained from these

interviews and documents were thematically analyzed (as explained in Chapter Three) and are presented in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter Six, limning the theoretical interstices between the Neorealist and Neoliberal International Institutionalist literatures, interfaces the findings of the case study with IR theory, articulating and arguing the possible additions and modifications this study offers to IR theory. Chapter Seven completes this thesis by presenting a closing overview of the work and a summary of the findings of this case study. Chapter Eight serves as an epilogue, archiving and preserving the interviewees' brainstorming of cautiously predictive, proactive (or "visionary") insights about the continuing mission of the WID movement, and most importantly, theorizing about the ecological context and ramifications of WID's work to promote economic development and social justice goals.

Endnote

1. Although I employ the term "Third World" in this dissertation, I am using it as a convenient short-hand for the more descriptively correct, but also more unwieldy "economically underdeveloped regions," (which now also includes those regions as they exist in the First and Second World). I, therefore, am not using "Third World" as a monistic category of identity. For criticism of the unproblemitized usage of "Third World," see Chandra Talpade Mohanty's *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses* (Mohanty 1991:51-80). In this essay, Chandra Talpade Mohanty "criticizes the construction and use of the category 'Third World Women' in recent scholarship and research. She argues that much of the current writing fails to take into account the specificity of women's lives and struggles in each region and too often assumes the global aspect of women's oppression. Further, she argues, many western feminists portray 'third world women' as 'other': victims, dependent, backward, objectified...She makes an important contribution to the ongoing debate" (Moffatt et al. 1991).

2. See extended discussion of the NGO (non-governmental organization) movement in Chapter Four.

3. Pfaltsgraff 1980. Although these three "classic levels" were the accepted didactic norm within IR pedagogy and research for decades, since the 1990's other typologies have been suggested. For example, cf. Walter Clemens Dynamics of International Relations (1998), in which he argues that in order "to understand synergy across frontiers" (of interdependence and complex interdependence due to globalization) "this book analyzes five action levels – the individual (Level 1), the state (Level 2), the international system (Level 3), transnational actors (Level 4), and the Biosphere (Level 5)."

   The research and argument of this dissertation uses the standard three level paradigm as its working typology of international relations.

4. After searching multiple sources, the most recent update of this statistic I could find that would still be relevant in comparable terms comes from the book Women Pioneers for the Environment (1998), in a biographical overview of Hazel Henderson's scholarly work as an economist and environmentalist: "More than twenty-five years ago, Henderson embarked on a crusade to persuade countries to overhaul the way they each measure economic growth and human development...She challenged the traditional economic assumptions – based on obsolete nineteenth-century industrialism – that govern gross national product (GNP) and gross domestic product (GDP)

statistics. For example, the GNP overlooks half the production going on in the world – unpaid work, contributed mostly by women; as Henderson (1996) notes, they 'produce half the world's food and manage seventy percent of its small businesses, but received only ten percent of the world's wages and own only one percent of the world's property.'"

5. See interview data presented in Chapters Four and Five.

6. It should be noted that there were minor exceptions to this historical policy pattern of gender-blindness in economic development planning. There were projects for women in some FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) projects, but these efforts operated under marginal budgets compared to overall economic development division allocations. Most importantly, (as will be discussed in Chapter Four) policy planning and implementation for these "women's" projects was largely instrumentalist (and hence, ironically, "gender-blind" to power relations) by treating women as objects to be controlled rather than including them as participants in empowerment (Young 1993).

7. ."The far-reaching changes that have taken place in the global system since 1945 challenge not only the concept of sovereignty but also the adequacy of regarding the nation-state as the sole actor in world politics...it is increasingly evident that in the global system, as in political systems that existed before 1648, nonstate actors often 'transnationally' organized, possess their own military capabilities, economic assets, and sources of information...in the contemporary global system certain units that appear to behave independently and whose behavior has a marked effect on outcomes are not recognized as sovereign...The Ford Foundation 'has promoted economic planning in much of the less developed world' and 'is the largest financial supporter of social science research in Latin America.' Organizations like the UN and its agencies, NATO, and even the International Red Cross, while possessing neither the legal nor territorial attributes of sovereignty, are significant actors on the world stage. In certain cases, these organizations have developed large bureaucracies, have disposed of substantial budgets, and have acquired modes of routinized behavior. They have gained the loyalties of civil servants or other functional groups, and many of their activities are perceived as 'legitimate' by nation-states" (Mansbach et al. 1976).

8. "International relations is a case in point...changing practice has...generated confusion as to the nature of the actors involved (different kinds of state, and non-state entities), extended the range of stakes (low as well as high politics), introduced a greater diversity

of goals pursued and produced a greater complexity in the modes of interaction and the institutions within which action takes place.

"One old intellectual convention which contributed to the definition of international relations is the distinction between state and civil society...Today, however, state and civil society are so interpenetrated that the concepts have become almost purely analytical (referring to difficult-to-define aspects of a complex reality) and are only vaguely and imprecisely indicative of distinct spheres of activity...Beware of underrating state power, but in addition, give proper attention to social forces and processes and see how they relate to the development of states and world orders. Above all, do not base theory on theory but rather on changing practice and empirical-historical study, which are a proving ground for concepts and hypotheses" (Cox 1986).

9. For a more critical evaluation of WID's capacity to address sociological cleavages, cf. Kabeer 1994.

Chapter One

Definitions

Chapter One will provide the reader with definitions and descriptions of two topics that are pivotal to understanding this thesis. The first describes the Women in Development movement via a brief survey of its history and dynamics, reconstructed from archival and secondary sources. In Chapters Four and Five, the main body of this dissertation will describe WID "from within," i.e. through the voices of a segment of the activists/founders themselves. The second discussion offers a brief organizational overview of the UN as a whole, the development activities within it, and a description of how, as a complex intergovernmental organization (IGO), it could both resist and embrace the gender consciousness espoused by WID (Staudt 1990).

Women in Development

The history of the Women-in-Development movement constitutes the story of an analytic and applied transformation in the field of economic development policy, a field whose major theoretical schools since World War II had been dominated by dichotomous and virtually opposed analyses: modernization (that is, "take-off")

theorists, or their later critical respondents, the structuralist/dependency theorists (Rostow 1969, Huntington 1973, Frank 1966, Wallerstein 1974, Singer 1988).

WID can most simplistically be defined as an international social movement in which private, individual-identified issues erupted into organized or coordinated political action (Freeman 1975). Sociologically, the confluence of two conditions frequently sparks this eruption: first, a common perception is discredited by a widespread questioning, (e.g. of bias, prejudice or previously unproblematized power relations), and secondly, public debate moves this critical awareness out into the social realm in the form of organizing to redress the recently diagnosed injustice (McWilliams 1974). "The international women's movement, according to these criteria, is a social movement – that is, it is not one single or national pressure group but many groups" (Kardam 1991). As such, WID has taken many forms as it emerged simultaneously in many different parts of the world; likewise, there has been an ongoing international relationship of reciprocity with indigenous grassroots activism that continually fed the global mobilization of the movement (Tinker 1983).

The recognition of the centrality of women's roles in economic development was inspired by a prior critique made in 1970 by Ester Boserup in Women's Role in Economic Development. Although her book was the catalyst for the emergence of an entirely new field within development studies, her "additive" approach, -- i.e. simply adding women as yet another variable within policy planning and evaluation without developing a careful analysis of the underlying causes of and relations of previously unquestioned, indeed unnoticed gender-blindness – was soon criticized by other economic development theorists, economists and practitioners interested in the

dynamics of power as it relates to poverty, gender relations, and macro policy planning (Beneria & Sen 1981, Moser 1989).

This sustained international research, policy advocacy, and critique coincided with and informed a world-wide movement promoting empirical data gathering and collective theory-building in order to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of both practical and strategic economic change for Third World women, a contextualized approach rooted in conceptualizing international and unequal social relations of gender and production (Moser 1989, Sen & Grown 1987, Boulding 1988).

Two critical waves came together and coalesced into the WID international social movement: mainstream development practitioners, who had already been trying to confront the well documented practical failures of development (Tinker 1990, Braidotti 1994) suddenly found themselves informed by (and in many cases buoyed by) feminists (and "womanists" [1]) who were systematically questioning the nature and structures of patterns of discrimination against women world-wide. In the United States, the initial catalyst for this critique – a combination of legislative mandate and specific reallocation of resources – came with the lobbying necessary to promote the passage of the Percy Amendment to the 1973 "New Directions" legislation. This amended the 1972 Foreign Assistance Act of the US, requiring that part of USAID's Agency for International Development budget be focused on food, nutrition, health, population, education and human resources – projects and activities that were mandated for the first time to focus on integrating women into the national economies of foreign countries (Tinker 1983).

As a result, "women's offices" for oversight and enforcement of the new gender-inclusive mandate were rapidly established in foundations and bilateral aid

agencies, including an Office for Women in Development in the USAID itself. USAID's "field missions, offices and bureaus were charged with integrating women (both as agents and beneficiaries) into the mainstream of the agency's programming process from concept and design through review, implementation and final evaluation." (Kardam 1991).

According to Tinker (1983), the actual term "women in development" was first used by a women's chapter of the Society of International Development in Washington DC in 1973. A women's committee, comprising mainstream political and scholarly organizations, mobilized to participate in the open hearings on the "New Directions" legislation. Out of this participation came the Percy Amendment which, in itself, is a significant empirical example of the efficacy of newly emergent social movement organizing by women around issues of social justice and equity (Tinker 1983). Senator Charles Percy, "recognizing the political power of women voters and the benefit to his own political career," sponsored this amendment (Tinker 1983). As a pragmatic politician, he also realized that, since no initial appropriations were attached to the amendment, his sponsorship would involve little or no political risk to himself. A strategic balance of win-win benefits for both himself and the fledgling women's program was thus negotiated (See also Chapter Four).

In 1975 the UN declared the Decade for Women, established INSTRAW (Institute for Training and Research for the Advancement of Women) and then followed with UNIFEM (the Fund for Women and Development.) Then in 1977 the World Bank appointed an "Advisor on Women." This represents an extremely fast and high-level institutional response to WID on the part of major international regimes in a short period of time after the Percy Amendment of 1973. At the same time, in Africa,

Europe, South Asia and Latin America, there was a simultaneous efflorescence of grassroots women's organizations (many having grown out of women's participation in anti-colonial struggles) which eventually coalesced into one strand of what proved to be a massive NGO movement in the 1980's (Fisher 1993). (See discussion in Chapter Four.)

From the perspective of the 90's, in some ways the WID movement's first decade of success and early promise can be seen to have been structurally curtailed in some of these institutions due to bureaucratic resistance (Staudt 1990), a general shift throughout the 1980's toward a more conservative politics[2] (Faludi 1992), and the severe impacts of economic retrenchment and structural assistance programs mandated by the IMF in the Third World during this decade (Braidotti 1994, Jolly 1987). Nonetheless, the political achievements of that first decade, especially as measured in terms of redefining economic development policy standards to be gender inclusive constituted a significant first-wave breakthrough (UN A/Conf. 116/28/1985).

While I was participating in her weekly seminar at the Harvard Center for Population Studies, preparing participants for the1992 Rio Environmental Summit (UNCTAD), the economist and DAWN member (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), Dr. Gita Sen emphasized to us that policy evaluation of social change always has to be measured on two axes: the first is the comparison to zero – in this case, for three decades of international economic development policy, women simply did not exist as economic agents, (though some projects did paternalistically address them as welfare recipients) (See Preface, fn. 6). There was no theoretical understanding of nor sufficient empirical data about gender (except in a few traditionally marginalized projects for food distribution and family planning), let alone

analysis of the gender relations of production – it simply had not been seen, recognized, problematized or researched in any of the predominant schools of development (left or right) for thirty years (See also Scott 1995, Mead 1976). On this first axis, the successful emergence of WID as an international social movement can be measured as a political and sociological phenomenon of significant change in absolute measures, or as Sen would say, "when compared to zero." As a critique, it has contested and redefined the process and standards of policy formation at every level of the "development industry" (which had historically allocated at least $60 billion year wide on an annual basis, UN 1993).

The second axis is in comparison to 100 (i.e. 100% of the movement's goals, or 100% of its constituents' social justice or equity needs). Sen said that the second axis therefore focuses on policy assessment of implementation when comparing it to the overwhelming crises that women and families in the Third World (and now the Second also) have faced since the disastrous decade of the 80's, termed the "Development Debacle" in the literature (Braidotti 1994). On this axis many commentators from all levels of WID – grassroots, policy practitioners, academic researchers – point with continuing frustration at planning rhetoric versus implementation with reliable social impact, at the continuing exclusion of policy activists from the highest levels of the development industry at the World Bank and the IMF, and at the sheer immensity of human suffering in a Third World battered by the world economic restructuring of the 1980's which profoundly exacerbated income gaps, by rampant over-consumption in the privileged areas of the First World (and by domestic elites), and by the continual ecological stress of ecologically non-sustainable development projects (Holmberg 1992, Braidotti 1994).

> At the global level, it seems that the old saw is still correct: the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The ratio of average income of the richest country in the world to that of the poorest has risen from about 9 to 1 at the end of the nineteenth century to at least 60 to 1 today...Today 80% of the world's population lives in countries that generate only 20% of the world's total income. Ironically, inequality is growing at a time when the triumph of democracy and open markets was supposed to usher in a new age of freedom and opportunity. In fact, both developments seem to be having the opposite effect" (Birdsall 1998).

Boserup's groundbreaking book was the first theoretical overview and critique of thirty years of gender-blindness within the Third World development research schools. It had major impact; it was almost immediately cited in UN documents (Tinker, 1990) and helped build the impetus necessary to inspire a paradigm shift in the literature: the WID critique, combined with a sudden efflorescence of international women's movement political mobilization and communication exchange (primarily via grassroots networking, and global meetings), culminated in strategic lobbying within the UN itself. These intense efforts resulted, in the unusually short period of two years, in the major UN declaration of IWY (International Women's Year).

In 1975, a World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico City; it declared 1975-85 as the UN Decade for Women. This had been preceded in 1972 by a resolution of the General Assembly on International Action for the Advancement of Women, which led to the organization of an Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Role of Women in Economic and Social Development in 1972 and the International Forum on the Role of Women in Population and Development in 1974 (Pietila 1994). The Decade for Women, serving as an international umbrella for information gathering and exchange, funding for research, publication and organizing, helped galvanize the hundreds of grassroots-level women's development organizations throughout the world into a viable international movement which, by the end of the

decade, numbered in hundreds of thousands of NGO's (Fisher 1993). (See Chapter Four)

The initial conference in Mexico was followed by a mid-decade conference for evaluation and planning in Copenhagen in 1980 and an "end-of-the-decade" conference in Nairobi in 1985. In addition to these official UN conferences, another dimension of the WID movement's influence was networking among women in the simultaneous NGO meetings held at these international conferences. At the 1985 conference, a parallel *Forum 85* drew 14,000 participants from women's organizations from all over the world, engaging economic development issues – employment, health, education, food, water, agriculture, industry, housing, environment – in 1,500 seminars and workshops. The Nairobi conference published guidelines for national and international agencies – rules and norms that required the participation of women in the implementation of WID policies ("Forward-looking Strategies"), backed up by provisions for compliance mechanisms (UN 1986).

Much of the impact of the WID movement owes itself, ironically, to the worsening of Third World economic conditions, a situation which demanded that the coalescing international women's movement to document this crisis with academic research and new data from the field. Given the documented failure of mainstream economic development policies (Pietila 1994), in its earliest phase WID researchers were then able to show that part of the crisis was due to the failure of traditional policies to account for the full productivity of women. Older policies, when they considered women at all, mentioned only aspects of their reproductive capacities, did not recognize this as labor, and furthermore, ignored their additional roles in many

areas of production. "Women are seen as reproducers, not producers: welfare cases, not workers." (Kardam 1991).

> The essence of a Women-in-Development approach is to ascertain what women actually want and do within a society and then to provide them with opportunities, skills and resources to enhance their participation (Staudt 1985).

The WID movement was able to successfully reformulate UN development policy by engaging it at a time of crisis and failure of policy, by documenting the full parameters of that crisis, and by indicating its essential fallacy and proposing correctives. More than this, WID succeeded by employing a variety of sophisticated – and unrelenting – political strategies: political negotiation, pre-negotiation, education, lobbying and honing the practical politics of compromise to craft win-win solutions, i.e. meeting the needs of other's agendas while obtaining support for their own. This approach to advocacy as the art and essence of negotiation can also be described as "sociocentric," i.e. predicated upon values that sought sociocentric (as opposed to egocentric) outcomes (Walch 1991). Furthermore, WID cannot be described simplistically as a change agent "from within the system" or "from outside the system." Rather it evolved from a marginalized status as an outside advocacy group to gradually winning inside presence and credibility in the various UN aid divisions worldwide as it developed into an international institutional regime. Specifically, the narrative of how it was able to negotiate this transition while redefining the economic development policies of a major intergovernmental (IGO) actor in the IR system is the empirical task of this dissertation.

The United Nations

This second section offers a condensed overview of the development divisions within the UN organization and the manner in which they both resisted and incorporated the gender consciousness espoused by WID. In order to situate this argument, it is necessary to describe the organizational structure of the UN – the setting of this thesis – before presenting the empirical argument itself.

During the Second World War, the major Allies – England, France, the USSR and the United States – recognized that no one national power was capable of settling international disputes and maintaining world peace. Two world wars had destroyed much of the industrial capacity of first world nations other than the United States and had caused the deaths of millions of people. A contributing cause to the eruption of WW II was the failure of the United States to support the League of Nations following World War I, rendering the League ineffective in maintaining peace in Europe.

> The basic motivation for the establishment of the United Nations...was to avoid the devastating loss of life and property caused by two World Wars. The US failure to join the League [of Nations,] which contributed to that organization's ineffectiveness in the maintenance of peace during the 1930's was a prime stimulus for the United States to become a charter member of the United Nations (Feld 1994).

From the Atlantic Charter in 1941, through the Yalta Conference and the Dunbarton Oaks discussions, the primary mission of the envisaged new international organization was to maintain peace and security in the world. This was to be accomplished, not by creating a super-nation but rather an international organization that would retain and support the autonomy and self-determination of each nation, yet provide a forum for cooperation to obtain their mutual objectives. "The Charter left no room for doubt that San Francisco had launched a project for cooperation among

independent states rather than for consolidation of the nations under a kind of super-sovereign" (Claude 1964).

At Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, Britain and the United States proposed that this organization embrace, as a secondary mission within its scope, economic, social and humanitarian matters as well (Feld 1994). From the perspective of the early 1940's, it was difficult to see beyond the immediate military crisis to the crippling economic implications of that crisis. The war's destruction of the industrial base in Europe and Japan, and the question of decolonization of the colonial extensions of the defeated powers ultimately made the extended social and humanitarian purpose an urgent responsibility for this international governmental organization.

This latter question of decolonization led to a third responsibility assumed by the new international organization, that of trusteeship for the colonies, "protecting" their autonomy and ideally, supporting their movement to independent statehood. Most of these colonies, often after economically draining, protracted military struggle, obtained independent statehood by the 1960's and themselves became participating members of the United Nations. However, they had to cope with serious problems in political, economic and social areas of development. Modernization theorists claimed that these problems were due to the binds of "tradition," preventing economic "take-off", and dependency theorists argued that the colonies had been systemically exploited (i.e. underdeveloped) by imperialism (Inkeles 1974, Wallerstein 1974, Rostow 1960).

These then were the crises which originally shaped the UN in its Charter and organization meeting in San Francisco in 1945. And while social, humanitarian and developmental issues were secondary in its original design, these became more

prominent in and expansive of the UN's mandate, personnel and budget over the succeeding years. This shift in priorities is summarized in the Secretary-General's 1994 report on *An Agenda for Development.* "The secretary-general made clear that development is the most important task facing humanity, yet we risk getting lost in the urgency of Peace-keeping at the expense of the development challenge" (UN 1995). The dual mission of supporting peace-keeping and social issues can also be seen in the complex and ever-changing organizational chart of the UN which reflects its culture of decentralization and specialization (Cf. Appendix B). The UN's basic decision-making structure is clear. The central, all-inclusive General Assembly meets annually to discuss and enact its decisions with each nation having one vote and requiring a two-third's majority to pass its enactments. A majority of these resolutions are passed unanimously and without debate; therefore most of the UN's business is prepared and executed in an array of committees, some procedural and standing, others as independent organizations, but all created for specific purposes, (hence the balance of decentralization and specialization). This array of diverse sub-groupings is referred to in the literatures as the "UN System."

From the General Assembly extend five major satellite functions. The **Security Council** deals with the UN's primary commitment to world peace and security. The **Trusteeship Council** responds to its mission of the protection and administration of the non-self-governing territories of the world. The **International Court of Justice** is the judicial organ of the UN carried over from the League of Nations, and the **Secretariat**, headed by the Secretary General carries out the daily administrative work of the UN.

This dissertation focuses on the fifth satellite, the **Economic and Social Council**, and the General Assembly itself. The Council is primarily a coordinator "of all the economic and social activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and institutions -- collectively known as the United Nations Family" (Pietila 1994). Its responsibilities cover an array of international concerns: standards of living, employment, solutions to economic and social problems, progress and development, health problems, cultural and educational cooperation, and universal observance of human rights regardless of race, sex, language or religion (UN 1995). Its operation is massive and touches almost all spheres of human activity and development.

> "Economic, social and humanitarian activities -- mostly to help the world's 47 poorest countries -- accounted for about 90 per cent of the expenditures of the UN system as a whole for the 1990-1991 biennium, voluntary funds included. More than 30 programmes and specialized agencies provide, at Government request, assistance for development, expert advice, training and equipment" (UN 1993).

Of necessity, the engagement of all these responsibilities creates a complex organizational network, interdependent with the on-going work of the General Assembly. In addition to its own 18 agencies, eight functional commissions, five regional commissions, standing committees and other expert and *ad hoc* bodies, the Economic and Social Council has the authority to coordinate the development activities of the United Nations system itself. This "system" consists of independent programmes created by the General Assembly itself, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) or World Bank (IBRD) (The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development). Specialized agencies are independent organizations, with their own budgets,

headquarters and member States. The Economic and Social Council may conclude agreements with them and bring them into special relationships with the United Nations.

As of the writing of this dissertation, there are over 30 of these programmes and specialized agencies which constitute the larger United Nations "system," engaging virtually every aspect of economic and human development (UN 1995). This system of inside agencies and commissions interacting with outside independent programs is both complex and fluid because they are continually being reformulated as political and economic conditions change and as contracts with individual nations are fulfilled and new contracts negotiated. Although the UN Charter itself has been amended only three times in its entire history, two of those three amendments were to enlarge the membership of the Economic and Social Council, once in 1968 and again in 1973, reflecting its unique responsiveness to the complexity of the problems of international economic development (UN 1995).

Development projects are sponsored through most of these agencies. As of 1993, the World Bank, for example, has provided loans to countries for development worth more than 170 billion dollars (UN 1993). Because of the complexity and fluidity of the UN system as a whole, this discussion will now focus in depth on just one example of these independent programmes, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which is most relevant to the empirical study of this thesis. As Pietila states in her review of United Nation's programmes and initiatives shaped by WID, *Making Women Matter*, "Among the approximately 80 focal points on women within the UN System, that of the UNDP is a very special one" (Pietila 1994).

In 1993, UNDP was described as "the world's largest source of multilateral grants-in-aid, currently supporting more than 6,000 development projects in some 150 countries and territories" (UN 1993). It was created in 1966, converging two prior UN organizations: the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries (EPTA), and the United Nations Special Fund (Kardam 1991). Its purpose was to coordinate and administer UN resources for technical cooperation with other UN programmes, agencies and their recipient nations.

The EPTA was founded in 1948 by the General Assembly to provide expert personnel and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. The Special Fund, founded in 1959, sponsored feasibility studies that would, in turn, support capital investments. From the beginning, the development strategy of the UNDP conformed to the UN's established rhetoric as stated in the UN Charter on development standards and goals: offering aid that would not compromise either the self-reliance of the developing country or its full and free participation in ECOSOC.

Also following the UN model, the UNDP is highly decentralized with 116 field offices and a small headquarters in New York. 500 of its professional staff of 860 are in these field offices, managed by "resreps," i.e. resident representatives (Kardam 1991). The home office houses four regional bureaus and an overarching Division of Global and Interregional Projects, a Bureau for Program and Policy Evaluation, a unit for Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries and an Office for Project Execution. The latter implements a small number of UNDP projects directly. However, most projects are contracted out in to other special programmes and agencies of the UN (Kardam 1991).

UNDP funding is received as voluntary contributions from UN members, principally the US, Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway and Japan, and allocated in matching five-year grants to the developing nations. The amounts are regulated by a formulated IPF, "indicative planning figure," based on the developing nations population and GNP, and monitored by a Governing Council of representatives of 48 developed and developing nations. It is noteworthy that the developed nations are the contributors of development funds, yet remain a minority in the Governing Council. The majority are the developing nations themselves. Five-year plans are generated by each developing country, their resreps and the UNDP home office and are reviewed for approval by all the regional bureaus and specialized agencies involved, then finally by the General Council (Kardam 1991).

The first influence of the WID movement on UNDP was reflected in policy guidelines issued as early as 1977: "Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development," published in the operations manual of the UNDP. The tenor of this initial paper was non-specific and indicated no particular procedural or programmatic changes; however, it did for the first time recognize WID concerns by formally establishing, as a policy goal, the necessity of including women's concerns in UNDP's aid-giving procedures.

As a result of the "Decade for Women," a specific revision of these guidelines occurred nine years later, 1986, in a "UNDP Programme Advisory Note – Women in Development" (UNDP 1987). This document was not just an in-house policy directive but rather addressed the UNDP's participating countries and independent agencies as well as the UNDP itself and offered regulations for the preparation, implementation and evaluation of development programs. This document, for example, required the

resreps to define how women's issues would be included in their proposed programs and how women would benefit from that implementation.

Another major advance was made the following year, 1987, when a Division for Women in Development (now titled Gender in Development Programme) was formed within UNDP's Bureau for Program and Policy Evaluation, providing an active WID voice in the review of projects and establishing a base for several staff training workshops (Kardam 1991, Pietila 1994).

Up until that year, 1987, the influence of the WID perspective in the UNDP was part of a long political process of contestation, of the gradual accretion of advances due to policy pre-negotiation and negotiation, the shifting impacts of an "insider-outsider" strategy of advocacy and oversight, with the outcome of success at least partly due to emerging administrative partnerships among senior (often male) officials and rising WID professionals within the agency as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

What influenced the simultaneous emergence of an opposing reaction from some administrators in terms of bureaucratic resistance to WID in UNDP between 1977 and 1986? The answer lies in the structural dynamics of the encompassing UN system as a whole; this was not simply an intra-agency problem (Pietila 1994). UNDP acts essentially in an advisory role to its own Governing Council. Within the Governing Council, WID issues had been strongly supported by the north European countries and Canada, many of whom are the leading contributors to UNDP's funding pool. However, the majority of the Governing Council membership is drawn from government appointees from the developing countries who, at that time, were less interested in WID issues. A resident representative (resrep) offered this significant anecdote:

> In a meeting in a developing country, at which I was the only woman, I asked why no one considered or mentioned women in development. There was an uproar. The responses ranged from: "Madam, you don't really mean that, do you?" to "We have a women's ministry who pays attention to women, and that is different from development" to "We are the decision makers; when we have enough resources, we will see what we can do about women." In general, prejudice and ridicule are the prevalent attitudes (Kardam 1991).

Despite the strong support of the minority of funding countries on the General Council, in that early phase, the majority did not see women's issues as a priority, or as important for attracting lucrative funding sources, nor perhaps most seriously, as a political body to be contended with. The UN's general policy, enshrined in the Charter, of guaranteeing each nation-state's self-reliance and self-determination obviously initially constrained UNDP in pushing the full implementation of WID standards. Even when resreps stipulated allocations for women-in-development projects, these allocations were often redistributed to other areas, either in the budgeting process or during the subsequent implementation process (Braidotti 1994).

Given this bureaucratic resistance, (which was in many ways predictable in this early phase of mobilization, given the conflict between the gender politics of the General Council members vs. agency practitioners) how did it unfold that the WID perspective was in fact adopted, at least formally as an across the board economic development project standard during policy formation, starting in 1986 within the UNDP?

> As the development assistance regime began to incorporate gender issues in the late 1970's and 1980's, the UNDP became more sensitized to these issues as well. The regime's increased sensitivity to women evolved, as a result of the rise of an international women's movement and the many conferences held about women under the UN auspices, the proliferation of scholarly activity in the new academic field of women in development in universities and research centers in the United States and around the world, and the activities (both academic

> and policy-relevant) of women's organizations around the world (Kardam 1991).

A significant role was played by the funding nations of the UNDP -- Canada, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland -- who put the WID issues on the agendas of multilateral and NGO aid activities. In sum, this large grassroots, policy practitioner, committed donor, and scholarly organization of WID, constituting in its world-wide reach an international regime, has been able to persuade the developing nations of the Governing Council to take the WID issues seriously, as relevant and advantageous to advancing their own agenda. The work, then, of the entire Decade of Women, with its conferences, reports, and other worldwide activities, broke though to fruition during the mid-1980's, not only in the UNDP but also throughout the entire UN system.

> The United Nations Decade for Women, 1976-85, heralded the acceptance of women's concerns as legitimate issues for national and international policy. How to integrate women in development became the subject of newly created offices in nearly every development agency. The international women's movement, itself, expanded exponentially. It is no longer a network solely of the urbanized and Westernized, educated elite; in both developing and industrialized countries, women's groups can be found in villages or among domestic servants as often as among college graduates (Tinker 1990).

Endnotes

1. See Alice Walker, In Praise of My Mother's Garden. (1986).

2. Nuket Kardam argues that the full incorporation of women into economic development projects has been an "uneven process...[She found] that the decentralization of the UNDP inhibits women's issues from coming to the fore, while the World Bank's emphasis on economic analysis, to the exclusion of social concerns, limits its ability to respond to women's needs and potential contributions. In contrast, the Ford Foundation's proclivity toward fostering egalitarianism encourages the consideration of women in its programs" (1991). Kardam's focus was on project implementation and focused on the decade of the 1980's. This dissertation's earlier time frame and different focus upon the first phase of contestation necessary to simply bring women's issues to the bargaining table and introduce gender for the first time as a standard for policy planning (which ultimately had a mixed record of success in the field) produced different findings.

   The record of the 1990's suggests yet another shift in what appears to be decade-long patterns of progress followed by resistance in the most recent change toward greater incorporation of WID concerns. The progress at the UN has been especially notable: nine women "run the major agencies responsible for the organization's activities in the field of human rights, health, refugees, children, population growth, and food aid; women also serve as UN representatives in Cyprus and Herzgovina and as Deputy Secretary-General. A decade ago, all but one of these nine jobs were held by men" Darnton 1999).

Chapter Two

International Relations Theory

The second preliminary task of this dissertation is to briefly summarize the evolving IR debate. This involves particularly fertile theoretical disagreements between the Institutionalists – variously labeled Neoliberal Institutionalists or International Institutionalists – and the unfolding phases of theorists working to "modernize" Realists' thinking in the 80's and the 90's – whose work includes Neorealism and Structural Realism (Baldwin 1993, Buzan et al. 1993). This debate takes on haunting echoes of earlier work on the structures -- and difficulties -- of cooperation in the IR system done by Keohane and Nye in the early 70's (1977). Once this exposition is accomplished, the dissertation will then propose certain hypotheses about how the WID phenomenon, when its political processes of mobilization, contestation, and policy negotiations are problematized and studied empirically, contributes to a clarification and expansion of IR theory.

While Chapters Four and Five will present the case study research of the thesis, this chapter, in preparation, will outline and elaborate the scholarly debates in the IR literature upon which the conclusions of this case study pertain; Chapter Six, after summarizing the findings of this empirical study, will make a theoretical contribution.

As is well known, IR, both as an academic field and as the practice of diplomacy, both traditionally and rhetorically claims to ground itself in a long-established, classical canon beginning with its self-proclaimed *Ur*-text, *The Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides (1954). Other foundational texts, particularly emphasized in the British and American schools of IR, include Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1961), the work of Thomas Hobbes (1958), the first English translator of Thycydides' work, and Clausewitz's *On War* (1976)[1].

Classical Realism and Institutionalism

Twentieth century histories of IR are conventionally presented as a dualistic conflict between idealists and realists. In an oversimplification of the international relations system, realists are said to focus on conflict, while liberals focus on cooperation.

> "The 1970's and 1980's were merely the latest instance of a recurring dialectic between the two main strands in what has been called the 'classical tradition' of international-relations theory. Realism has been the dominant stand. The second strand is the 'liberal' or 'Grotian tradition',[2] which tends to stress the impact of domestic and international society, interdependence, and international institutions." (Keohane 1989).

Due to the constraints imposed by having to necessarily limit the scope of a dissertation, this thesis is choosing to focus on the recent mainstream debates in the American International Relations literature. However there are other significant theoretical schools of which the reader should be aware. In addition to the unfolding debate in the US between the Neoliberal/International/Institutionalist school of IR and the Realist/Neorealist/Structural theorists, Banks and Groom (1985) note that there are at least two alternative frameworks for surveying IR: Rosenau's tri-part notion of the

state-centric, multi-centric, and global-centric approach to world politics (1982) and the other three part approach identified by Kal Holsti (1987) in his recent essay, *The Dividing Discipline,* as the classical tradition, the world or global society model, and the dependency/world capitalist system theories (Olson & Groom 1991, Brown 1992).

The third framework mentioned by Holsti also includes the various schools of Marxist critique which, though always marginalized, are now almost completely excluded in the mainstream United States literature due to the eclipse of the Soviet Union and state-centered socialism [3]. The most recent work in post-Marxist analyses of the IR system, often originating from outside the United States, continue to build on a sophisticated – though usually genderless – structural approach (Tetreault 1992, Scott 1995). In many ways, the mainstream academic debate observed in the IR literature of the 1980's could itself be characterized as bipolar, reflecting its particular representation of the larger ideological dualism between the capitalist world and the communist world; nonetheless, although deeply embedded within this "ideological obsession," this debate was unable to foresee the eclipse of its bifurcated world.

> "Mainstream approaches to international relations have not lived up to their scientific aspirations and have failed to predict these developments. The change in the form of the Cold War came as more or less a complete shock to the policy intellectuals informed by neo-realist and related frameworks. As Richard Falk has suggested, this 'disciplinary oversight was not a matter of a surprise development but represented the overnight collapse of the intellectual framework that had guided academicians and policy makers for decades and was expected to last indefinitely'" (Falk 1993, in Sinclair 1996).

Returning to the early 20th century antecedents of the emergence of IR as an academic field, the First World War demanded the realization that war had become incomparably destructive; this gave rise to a search for new strategies to prevent it (Tickner 1992). Woodrow Wilson advocated free trade as the recipe for peace and

embodied his liberal views in the League of Nations (Gilbert 1951). The field of international relations emerged as an academic discipline between WW I and WW II with the belief that a coordination of international interests, coupled with a greater understanding of international institutions would tame the "beast of war" (Fox 1949). However, events of the 30's belied the predictive and optimistic theories of the 20's:

> "The invasion of Manchuria, the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement, and the failure of the League of Nations sanctions against Italy disillusioned international relations scholars and planted the seeds from which modern realism grew"(Baldwin 1993).

The "liberal construction was criticized, most devastatingly by E. H. Carr in *The Twenty Years'* Crisis (1939) which, as Stanley Hoffman (1977) observes, laid the modern foundations for 'realism' as an approach to international relations" (Keohane 1993). Carr's position was that "political interests, bargaining, and the threat of force underlay all international processes and institutions" (Baldwin 1993). The predominant view of mainstream academic IR practitioners and theorists shifted to the Realist pole of this dualist representation of the IR system where it remained throughout WW II and much of the Cold War. In this period the mainstream idealist argument was cogently sustained by David Mitrany (1943), whose work on functionalism was an important precursor of world society approaches; and Ernst Haas's (1958) research on neo-functionalism, which studied the possibilities for cooperation within regional integration (as later emerged in the European Union). His later work on learning capacities within international institutional organizations/regimes will have a direct influence on the theoretic approach employed in this dissertation (Fox 1949, Wolfers 1949, Mitrany 1943, Haas 1990).

The genealogy of Realist dominance unfolds roughly in two phases: an earlier period culminating in the 60's, referred to as Classical Realism, in which the theoretical

contributions were often built on the experience of practitioners who had served as diplomats themselves and who presented themselves unapologetically as anticommunist cold warriors. The later, second phase has come to be called Neorealism in recognition of Kenneth Waltz's controversial "Theory of International Politics" (1979) which attempted to give IR theory a structuralist foundation, in order to more clearly operationalize it as a "legitimate science." The primary spokesperson for the early Classical position was Hans Morgenthau in his *Politics Among Nations* (1978) but major voices also included Carr (1939), Aron (1966), Niebuhr (1944), Wight (1978), and Kissinger (1957). "These writers styled themselves as Realists on the grounds that they were willing to look at things as they were rather than how they might like them to be." (Buzan 1993).

It should be noted, however, that in the more nuanced debates between Neorealists and Institutionalists in the late 1980's, it was finally understood that both conflict and cooperation are recognized by each side as necessarily ongoing and strategic processes in the international state system, though each school tended to emphasize one side of the dichotomy for its own research purposes. It is important for the reader to realize that in the simple terminology of the debate, "Realism" is freighted with the connotative advantage of an unquestioned accolade: supposedly having the superior "strength" or "perspicacity" to "look at the world as it really is." Baldwin, (1993), concerned "that scholarly debate can be impaired by loaded terminology," underscores the danger of a debate premised upon antinomian terms by quoting Claude:

> "There is a widespread tendency to make balance of power a symbol of realism, and hence of responsibility, for the scholar or statesman. In this usage, it has no substantive meaning as a concept. It is a test of intellectual virility, of he-manliness...The man who 'accepts'

> the balance of power...thereby asserts his claim to being a hard-headed realist, who can look at the grim reality of power without flinching. The man who rejects the balance of power convicts himself of softness, of cowardly incapacity to look power in the eye..." (1962).

Obviously, there are other dimensions of criticism possible here: the total exclusion of gender (Tickner 1992), the unacknowledged psychosexual connotations of hardness and softness (Cohen 1997), and the privileged rhetorical stance of presuming to imperially define that which is "real" (if Realism is real, is Institutionalism, by default, "unreal"? (DerDarian 1995) and the derisive rejection of world society/world system approaches because of their Marxist genealogy. "We are neither sympathetic enough with the Marxist perspective, nor learned enough in its subtleties, to develop a Marxist model of our own" (Keohane 1989).

The major premises of the Classical Realist's position are threefold: "1. States are the most important actors in world politics; 2. States are unitary rational actors, albeit operating under conditions of stress, uncertainty and imperfect information; and 3. States seek power and calculate their interests in terms of power" (Keohane 1986).

Greico, summarizing the Realist perspective, concurs:

> "For realists, international anarchy fosters competition and conflict among states and inhibits their willingness to cooperate even when they share common interests. Realist theory also argues that international institutions are unable to mitigate anarchy's constraining effects on interstate cooperation. Realism, then, presents a pessimistic analysis of the prospects for international cooperation and the capabilities of international institutions" (Greico 1993).

A core concept in most IR discussions, (one that is particularly emphasized by Realists) is that of anarchy: i.e. the claim that the social order of international politics is circumscribed by anarchy, due to the lack of an overarching governmental structure. This, of course, is a relative term; its ambiguity perennially debated in the literature (Milner 1993, Grieco 1993, Axelrod 1994, Wendt 1995, Ashley 1995). [4] For example,

international regimes obviously mitigate the theorized state of anarchy via their bureaucratic organization and institutional culture of membership with required rules and norms of behavior, which when taken together, are constitutive of formal social orders in the IR system: legally regulating trade, mail delivery, travel, public health, etc. However an over-arching central governmental structure, theorized by Realists as essential to give social order in individual states, is missing in the IR system.

Kenneth Boulding attempts to bring some clarification to this debate by noting that "social order" as articulated in the three distinct levels of family, nation-state and international political systems is predicated upon three distinctive characteristics: exchange relations or rewards, threat systems or punishments, and image integration or common perceptions and shared interests (Boulding 1989). Not surprisingly, Institutionalists emphasize the rewards, Realists the threats, and social psychologists and political anthropologists the common perceptions and processes of learning necessary to the negotiation of image integration (Kelman 1965, Haas 1990).

A second core concept that runs throughout the mainstream IR literature is that of power or the capability of a nation to obtain its goals, but again, exact definitions are elusive and subject to much scholarly debate. "Although power is a key concept in realist theory, its proper definition remains a matter of controversy" (Waltz 1986). In fact it is "one of the most troublesome in the field of international relations" (Gilpin 1981). David Baldwin (1993) breaks the discussion down to three elements: scope and domain, zero-sum, and fungibility. Scope refers to the political and economic areas in which a given state is able to achieve its goals and domain refers to the capacity of a state to extend its influence over other states (a meaning obviously derived from its medieval root, *domaine*).

During the decades of Realist dominance of IR, attempts to operationalize power as a variable were reduced to quantifying military capability. The study of conflict as zero-sum engagements reflects the Realist perspective that in any competition, a gain for one nation automatically means a loss for the other. While easily refuted when held as an absolute, (because a gain for one nation can, at the same time, result in a relative gain for the other,) zero-sum thinking remains part of the IR debate (Baldwin 1993).

Fungibility refers to the ability to transfer a power or capability from one area into other areas. When the discussion is limited to a single instance, little fungibility is granted. However, in long term interactions, the concept develops more applicability: "if one studies only one issue-area" (for example, winning wars), "then variations in the utility of power resources from one issue-area to another do not matter. The longer the time frame of one's analysis, the more useful a high fungibility assumption is likely to be. In politics, as in economics, more things are fungible in the long run than in the short" (Baldwin 1993). Nonetheless, as is the case with many concepts lifted from microeconomics and applied to theories of political science, there is an endemic problem of measurement, i.e. how to quantify fungibility. "We have a much better idea of what it means to attribute economic value to something than we have of what it means to attribute political value to something" (Baldwin 1993).

During the 70's, IR mainstream or "liberal" opposition to Realism coalesced under the rubric "Institutionalism," a reference to the newly energized study of international regimes and to the founding of a new journal, *International Organization*. In many ways it was predictable that a liberal voice would emerge in the field. Hoffman (1977) had observed that, in the period after WW II, IR reigned as a preeminently

"American" social science and maintained the dominance of Realism due to its emphasis on power; nonetheless this consensus prevailed in a precarious setting, since America was about to enter the liberalizing 60's and the Vietnam War, experiences that would seriously question the Realist *Weltanschauung,* defeat the hegemon, and shorten the "American Century" to twenty-five years. Hoffman laments some of the consequences of the peculiarly "American" dominance of the field, considering traits such as

> ...the quest for certainty...the rage for premature theoretical formulation, the desire to calculate the incalculable (not merely power but status), the crusade to replace discussions of motives with more such more objective data as word counts and vote counts, the crowding of strategic research (here, the ends are given and it becomes a quest for the means). International relations should be the science of uncertainty, of the limits of action, of the ways in which states try to manage but never quite succeed in eliminating their own insecurity (Hoffman 1977).

An initial article in the emerging liberal critique, "Transnational Relations and World Politics" (Keohane & Nye 1972), developed into the major work, *Power and Interdependence* (1977, 1989) and attacked the state-centered Realist position by studying the phenomenon of interdependence (and its implied notion of mediated cooperative exchanges) among non-state actors such as the Ford Foundation, multinational business enterprises, transnational revolutionary movements and the Roman Catholic Church, and also by documenting the relative, as opposed to absolute, importance of military force as the singular source of power in international politics. These pieces were followed in 1982 by Stephen Krasner's edited book, "International Regimes" (1983a) which, building on liberal ('Grotian') analyses on international cooperation and institutions, elaborated the burgeoning Institutionalist critique of Realism within IR.

Neorealism: Realism Resurgent

Even as the social ferment of the 60's and early 70's fed the liberal critique of IR, a sophisticated Realist riposte was being forged based upon a structural analysis of the international state system. "Since the publication of Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* (TIP) in 1979, Neorealism has become a dominant school of thought in International Relations Theory" (Buzan 1993). Classical Realism had begun to wane, both because of a brief *détente* in the Cold War and more devastatingly because its critics were building a systematic argument that it lacked a scientific base and was, in the words of one author, "more a battlefield than a school" (Walker 1989). According to its critics, it did not satisfy the canons of scientific investigation.

The timely publication of Waltz's *TIP* coincided not only with the mounting critique on the classical position but also the beginning of the Reagan era and a dramatic renewal of the cold war. "Partly because of the sweeping nature of the attack on the discipline and partly because Waltz's theory resonated with the times, the ideas underpinning TIP circulated very rapidly and Waltz was soon seen to provide a serious challenge to alternative theoretical perspectives" (Buzan 1993).

TIP criticized the more liberal voices in IR who advocated transnationalism, interdependence, and diminished the use of military force as the state's primary source of power (Keohane and Nye 1989). Waltz also strategically distinguished his Neorealist view from that of the older Classical Realism. While reiterating the major premises the two schools held in common, and reestablishing this tradition solidly in the Western diplomatic canon of the history of ideas, Thucydides through Hobbes, (Cf. fn. 2) Waltz was determined to establish credibility for the realist position by claiming to give it a "scientific" base in structuralism.

Structuralism maintains that, prior to human intentionality, meaning and agency, there lie organic patterns or structures which determine order, direction and predictability to human behavior, similar to the laws of the physical universe. As a molecule lacks inner intentionality and behaves according to identified laws of chemistry, so the mind develops language skills according to patterns identified by the linguist or history unfolds in response to material conditions according to patterns identify by Marx. These structures are situated "underneath" our consciousness yet nevertheless can be identified by scientific observation. And as the human consciousness recognizes these patterns of unfolding structural development, we are able to cooperatively support and enhance their developmental process.

> "All structuralists have believed, in some way or another, that they have gained access to a level of understanding that is superior to anything offered by the human 'objects' under investigation, and they offered, in addition, a causal theory of aspects of human behavior sufficient to justify some form of therapeutic intervention or social engineering" (Buzan 1993).

This epistemological premise is an accepted, basic assumption within the natural sciences but when applied to the social sciences, structuralism provokes strong debate. For the purposes of this overview, however, it is sufficient to simply note Waltz's major claim that TIP corrected the weaknesses in Classical Realism by establishing Neorealism on a stronger, "scientific" base of structuralism, thereby strengthening the credibility of IR as a science within the academic community, and perforce, intensifying – and therefore improving – the level of debate with the Neoliberal Institutionalists.

Neoliberalism

In the 90's, various factors influenced a shift away from highly polarized and dichotomous arguments about the nature of the IR system to a more integrated theoretical rapprochement between the Neorealists and the Neoliberal Institutionalists. Ole Waever argues that what emerged amounted to a détente he terms

> "the neo-neo synthesis, epitomized by Robert Keohane's 1988 presidential address to the International Studies Association, in which he saw neo-liberalism and neo-realism as the two components of a 'rationalist' approach to international relations....[he concludes] that by the late 1980s and the early 1990s, this 'neo-neo synthesis' confronted a series of what Keohane has termed 'reflectivist' opponents (including post-modernism and Critical Theory)" (Smith et al. 1996).

The unanticipated fall of the USSR (unforeseen by either school), the rise of regional identities, and the multiplication of ethnic disputes and local wars, combined with the establishment of new nation-states (whose identities were often more strongly linked to the nation than to the state) superceded the dominant twentieth century bipolar pattern of international politics in the world system. With the eclipse of socialism and the Eastern Block, and the accelerating globalization of the world economy, economic interdependence was intensified internationally, emerging as an equal if not greater force than military prowess in the daily politics of most nations (Strange 1996).

These rapid changes in the IR system have proven to be particularly fertile ground for analysis by Neoliberal Institutionalists. As a school, it has sought to distinguish itself from the classical liberal position (Idealism), discredited in IR over a half century ago, and from other forms of classical liberalism such as commercial liberalism which saw free trade as a path to international peace, and from republican liberalism, which emphasized democracy as the political model for peace (Baldwin

1993). Neoliberalism makes concessions to some of the Realist positions while also combining them with modified liberal positions.

> "[Neoliberalism] assumes that states are the principal actors in world politics and that they behave on the basis of their conceptions of their own self-interests. ...However, institutionalist theory also emphasized the role of international institutions in changing conceptions of self-interest. ...It is crucial to remember that it borrows as much from realism as from liberalism: it cannot be encapsulated as simply a 'liberal' theory opposed at all points to realism." (Keohane 1993).

From a Realist's voice:

> "What is distinctive about this newest liberal Institutionalism is its claim that it accepts a number of core realist propositions, including, apparently, the realist argument that anarchy impedes the achievement of international cooperation. However, the core liberal arguments – that realism overemphasizes conflict and underestimates the capabilities of international institutions to promote cooperation – remain firmly intact (Grieco 1993).

On one hand, Neoliberal Institutionalists are willing to admit that anarchy can constrain the willingness of states to cooperate; nonetheless, they emphasize that states can work together, especially with the assistance of international institutions and regimes. Interdependence does not make efforts to consolidate power obsolete. Rather "patterns of interdependence and patterns of potential power resources in a given issue are closely related – indeed two sides of a single coin" (Keohane 1989). Neoliberal institutional analysis seems to remain committed to exploring patterns of interdependence among states, studying the reciprocal effects that emerge due to mutual bargaining (such as learning) as they occur during informal and formal rounds of pre-negotiation and negotiation on all types of international norms, accords and regimes. Military force is no longer seen *ipso facto* as the defining variable in the power of a nation-state; rather power is analyzed in a multivariate form that goes beyond simple accounting of relative gains in regard to security.

> A multidimensional concept of power, which allows for variations of scope, weight, and/or domain, makes such monolithic measures problematic... In rare cases, politics is sometimes a zero-sum game, such as in presidential elections....In international politics, however, such situations are rare. Thomas Schelling pointed out long ago that such a situation 'would arise in a war of complete extermination, but otherwise not even in war' (1960). Winning in a conflict, he observed, means gaining relative to one's own value system not relative to one's adversary...(this) approach enables one to envision conflict situations in which everyone may be a winner or a loser" (Baldwin 1993)

Although the term "Institutionalism" does focus attention on non-state actors and the relationship of states within international regimes, Keohane chose at the time to identify this school as "Neoliberalism," attributing the term to both Joseph Grieco (1988a) from the Realist camp and Joseph Nye (1988) from the opposing side [5].

During the 1980's, relatively separate views on six issues distinguished these two theoretical approaches: the nature of anarchy, the prioritization of goals in each nation-state (both discussed above), international institutions and regimes, international cooperation, absolute vs. relative gains, and the capabilities vs. the intentions of each state (Baldwin 1993).

"International regimes" as a new heuristic area of study in many ways became the central empirical issue in the new dialogue. An international regime, (which in a more formalized organization is termed an international institution), is an established set of expectations, agreed upon rules, regulations and plans, supported by financial commitments and the establishment of a membership bureaucracy among several independent nations (Keohane & Nye 1989). These regimes, (either well-established or newly emergent), can promote cooperation among nations by increasing the costs of noncompliance and by reducing the salience of relative gains, thereby restraining

what Realists have characterized as an absolute egoist concern at the state level for maximizing security, competitive power and relative gains (Powell 1993).

One contemporary example of the scope and domain of international regimes is the continually unfolding bureaucratic organization of the European Community, now closely watched by both Neorealists and Neoliberal Institutionalists as perhaps the premier empirical test of their contrasting theoretical positions. Mearsheimer (1990a), arguing from a Neorealist perspective, predicts that internal inconsistencies and contradictions within this amalgamation will ultimately fragment into a European anarchy somewhat similar to that of the first half of this century. The Neoliberal Institutionalists, on the other hand, have foreseen the ongoing institutionalization of what has been an emergent cooperation: the groundwork of pre-negotiation and negotiation strategies that have so far balanced the individual interests of each nation state without entirely eclipsing the interests of other states will continue to achieve diplomatic consensus, despite heated differences and different payoffs to countries depending upon whether they are core or peripheral. Obviously, the recent disintegration of eastern nations along ethnic lines would support Mearsheimer's (1990a) argument; on the other hand, an institutional expansion of success of the EC (particularly in integrating new members, such as Turkey) would bolster the Neoliberal argument in this IR dialogue.

It is obvious, therefore, that international cooperation, as a possible outcome of bargaining and negotiation, is problematized differently by each school in terms of its degree of likelihood. Neorealists theorize that the possibility for its emergence is highly circumscribed by the anarchic nature of the world state system; therefore, the preeminent obsession of states with both maximizing power and relative gains would

seem to preclude its emergence (Grieco 1993). Neoliberal Institutionalists on the other hand, shift their theoretical focus to an embedded argument in which absolute gains are at least as salient as relative gains when considered within the much larger web of interdependent relationships that define the world-state system:

> "'strategic interdependence' implies that 'the ability of one participant to gain his ends is dependent...on the choices or decisions that the other participant will make' (Schelling 1960). In this situation, an actor cannot get what he/she wants without the cooperation of other actors (because) actors face mutual costs for ending their relationship... Interdependence is *not* the opposite of anarchy...the two concepts represent different aspects of the international system. As with anarchy, the definition of interdependence says nothing about the degree of order, the likelihood of war, the inherencey of conflicting interests, or the primary means used to achieve one's goals in the international system. Links between these latter variables and either anarchy or interdependence are empirical, not conceptual, statements... The extent of hierarchical authority relations – i.e. of anarchy – does not necessarily affect the degree of interdependence present....Harmony is not the result of interdependence; rather a mixture of conflict and cooperation is....Thus the game is about anticipating the other's behavior....Contributors to *Cooperation Under Anarchy* use the image of an iterated PD (Prisoner's Dilemma) to explore international actions, but they tend not to note that this implies that strategic interdependence is as fundamental to the actors as is anarchy (Milner 1993).

As Milner sees it, the recognition that interdependence is embedded within the structural arrangement of the "anarchic" world-system forces theorists to focus on factors crucial to winning strategic games, including: "states expectations about and perceptions of others...past behavior patterns, institutions, cognitive processes, (that is, issues involving) communication and information." These factors will prove to be crucial to the unfolding argument in this dissertation about the nature and limits of WID's influence -- via bargaining, negotiation, mobilization -- at the UN and the quality of the UN's sociocentric response to this political overture.

Synthesis

From the mid 1980's to the present, the dialogue between these two perspectives has shifted towards a synthesis in which each position partially embraces the premises of the other. The oppositional nature of the two views are now seen more as a complementarily – power *and* interdependence – rather than an either/or dichotomy. In many ways, the unforeseen and unprecedented changes in the international system fostered this synthetic shift in IR theory: The fall of the Soviet Union, the globalization of the economy with its consequent supercession of the primacy of military responses, the cost of military expenditures, and multiple regional wars replacing super-power conflicts – all of these events have created a healthy chaos in the academic research on international relations theory (Strange 1996).

In fact, the shift in IR in the United States during the 90's has been from an intensely pitched and narrow academic debate (which sidestepped and suppressed ideological recognition of the deeper left/right conflicts in the field, thereby narrowing the spectrum of "mainstream" or "acceptable" academic debate) to an outpouring of exiled important voices from the margins: critical theorists, postmodernists, feminists, and ecologists (to be discussed in Chapter Six.) (Keyman 1997, Sylvester 1996, Schreurs & Economy 1997).

The new modality is now one of a practice-theory dialectic, a continual testing and reformulation of each theory in light of unfolding real world events. Within mainstream IR's science claims, a theory's ultimate value is measured by its ability to accurately predict future events. Since neither traditional approach in IR was able to foresee the collapse of the USSR, now both are carefully watching emerging post-cold

war developments and modifying their premises in accordance to this unfolding reality. "As Cox has observed,

> there is a change in the Cold War, not a change from the Cold War. Formally, the Cold War between the United States and the USSR has passed into history, but there is a substantive meaning to the Cold War which has to do with the construction and maintenance of a set of structures – the national security state, the ideology of national security itself, intelligence and surveillance systems, and the co-optation of the political leadership of subordinate states, amongst other things (Sinclair 1996).

Neorealism should lead one to expect a decline in the number and significance of European and other international institutions; Institutionalism, on the other hand, anticipates an increased growth in international regimes fulfilling the objectives of individual states and overall mitigating the presumed anarchy of the IR system as a whole.

Relevance of this literature to the WID case study

"Since both modern realists such as Joseph Grieco and Kenneth Waltz, and Institutionalists such as myself [Robert Keohane] and Ducan Snidal, believe that theories should be systematically tested with evidence, there is some prospect that increased scholarly consensus might emerge from further empirical work" (Keohane 1993:297). The UN is a complex of international regimes through which the self-help concerns of individual nations are both articulated and mediated in on-going rounds of pre-negotiation and negotiation. As such, it serves as an excellent site for "future empirical work." Further, as noted in the archival evidence presented in Chapter One, the social and economic mandates of the UN international organization have emerged as equal to if not predominant over the military security mission of the UN, (as can be seen in the differential allocations of financial and personnel commitments).

WID, as an international social movement which institutionalized itself as an international regime, has proven to be an influential actor in the UN system. This thesis will explore how such a non-state actor has been able to effectively influence the economic development policies of this intergovernmental organization, and as such, illustrates lacunae in the IR literature in regard to power of international social movements to evoke change in the IR system (See Chapters Four, Five and Six.)

Endnotes

1. The reader should be aware, however, that the "ownership" -- the proprietary rights to "claim" these texts by certain schools of IR has become a matter of "contested terrain...Realism is constructed through a particular reading of a canonized set of texts...drawn in as apologists for *raison d'etat*....but many of the texts central to the construction of realism and neorealism are problematic....Garst [contra Waltz, Gilpin and Keohane] (argues) that the generalizations Thucydides offers should not be taken as causal laws of politics but, instead, correspond to what Winch (following the later Wittgenstein) calls 'rule-governed behavior.' ...Thucydides does not begin by talking about the distribution of power in a system, or the behavior of states, but about forms of political knowledge and identity that propel states into particular relations with one another given their historic 'habits, customs, and political institutions.' Garst goes on to draw out the implications for contemporary neorealist theory of his alternative reading by indicating that his approach undermines the views of political power that prevail in realist and neorealist argument. And he moves at that point to distinctions between force, strength, violence and power indebted to Hannah Arendt" (Elshtain 1991).

2. Hugo Grotius (Huig de Groot) 1583-1645. Dutch jurist, politician and theologian whose major work, *Of the Law of War and Peace*, (1625), is considered the first comprehensive treatise on international law.

3. Because the empirical research of this thesis is focused on the interrelationship of international institutionalist regimes, it will not explore in depth the structuralist/marxist school.

4. And to the extent that the genealogy of the definition of anarchy argument leads back to Rousseau's staghunt (Tickner 1992), it is flat out wrong – bad anthropology and worse natural history. As someone who conducts wildlife surveys in order to construct ecological management plans, I can categorically state (based upon observed deer behavior and the voluminous literature) that deer are not typically hunted (at least not successfully) by a group "chase," (as Rousseau and Waltz 1959 would have it,) unless there are severe overpopulation problems, such as in southern Wisconsin (Nelson 1989).

   The extraordinary capacity for hearing and the supremely evolutionarily-refined flight behavior of deer define the constraints the successful predator must follow: thorough tracking and reading of sign in order to establish the parameters and frequency of usage

of deer "runs"; painstaking camouflage of the hunter; and hours of silent and motionless sitting, waiting for the stag to approach within range. Thus the completely erroneous application of a completely erroneous allegory based upon "man in nature" mythology represents not only the gulf between disconnected academic theorizing and real-life data, nor the dubiousness of a foundational *a priori* in the Realist canon of IR, but also, suggests authorial or cultural projection: For example, see Waltz's claim "in the early state of nature, men were sufficiently dispersed to make any pattern of cooperation unnecessary." This has been overwhelmingly disproved by anthropology and tribal scholars (Indigenous Economics 1992).

Tinker offers another level of criticism of the classic staghunt example: "Neorealist revisionists, such as Snidal, do not question the masculine bias of the staghunt metaphor. Like Waltz and Rousseau, they also assume the autonomous, adult male (unparented and in an environment without women or children) in their discussion of the staghunt; they do not question the rationality of the rabbit-snatching defector or the restrictive situational descriptions implied by their payoff matrices. Transformations in the social nature of an interaction are very hard to represent using such a model" (1992).

5. Again, readers should be cognizant of a major weakness in the use of terms in this academic debate. Realism claims to focus on 'what is' rather than on the ideal 'what should be.' Yet both sides strive to base their theory empirically on 'what is, therefore both obviously claim to be realistic, i.e. scientifically persuasive positions. However, all the terms -- realism, neorealism, structural realism, liberalism, institutionalism, neoliberalism, neoliberal institutionalism -- which are often used inconsistently, make IR a muddy field. Therefore, while the cited authors do not, this essay has attempted to use terms selectively, consistently and definitively: Neoliberalism (which in the late 90's Keohane now refers to as, simply, Institutionalism) vs. Neorealism.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The methodology used in this case study is best described in the work of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) *Grounded Theory*. What distinguishes the discussion of theory in much of the literature on qualitative methods is the emphasis on inductive strategies of theory development in contrast to theory generated by logical deduction from *a priori* assumptions.

> In contrasting grounded theory with logico-deductive theory and discussing and assessing their relative merits in ability to fit and work (predict, explain, and be relevant), we have taken the position that the adequacy of a theory... cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated. Thus one canon for judging the usefulness of a theory is how it was generated – and we suggest that it is likely to be a better theory to the degree that it has been inductively developed from social research.... Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. *Generating a theory involves a process of research* (Glaser 1967, italics in the original).

Chapter Two served as a theoretical framework for situating the empirical research project to follow. The case itself, presented in Chapters Four and Five, will study and describe in detail how WID, as an international social movement which eventually institutionalized itself as an international regime, engaged and affected the economic development standards of the UN. This chapter reviews the method by which the empirical research was conducted.

The discipline of this research method requires that the researcher first declare those predispositions she is carrying into the engagement, and then to suspend these assumptions and allow the voices of the women and men interviewed to speak for themselves, minimally encumbered by the researcher's bias. The following are those assumptions I have brought to this effort.

The dissertation will explore a rapid process of policy change, and test the hypothesis that this outcome was due to increased contacts, via the mechanism of on-going reciprocal policy consultations (equivalent to pre-negotiation) and formal negotiations between UN program directors (and their bureaucratic personnel), and policy practitioner-advocates, international grassroots activists and WID scholars (economists, political scientists, anthropologists, etc.), resulting in increased sociocentric behavior on the part of elite decision-makers (Keohane 1984, Walch 1991). This policy change, as one outcome of increased sociocentrism (as opposed to the presumed egocentrism of the Realist model) is explored theoretically in the social interaction literature on models of institutional cooperation. These models suggest that learning, in combination with the sustained political pressure of WID as an international regime, were crucial to the emergence of new development policy standards redressing twenty-five years of gender-blindness (Wendt 1990; Young 1989). Haas (1990) has persuasively theorized that socially constructed institutional collaboration is produced by the iterated contacts of repeated negotiations and emerges as a result of on-going changes in perception of negotiators and adversaries that is best studied by focusing on the "interaction between changing knowledge and changing goals," -- in sum, learning.

The theoretical framework guiding the analysis of data is drawn from the neoliberal institutionalist school of IR: specifically, it is based on work being done within a reflective research agenda (Haftendorn 1991; Krasner 1982). As an attempt to explain processes of change within institutions, the reflective research approach argues that these entities are neither static nor monolithic; on the contrary, the decision-making actors who comprise international institutions are not rigid Realist cogs; rather they are complex and reflective thinking individuals who in a typically functional process of learning (i.e., reflecting) are more likely to change over time than not (Haas 1987).

Case studies reexamine existing theory by testing the accuracy of its representations of the empirical world (the "ground" of grounded theory) in a specific setting and also by directly applying specifics of theoretical arguments to the real world. Case studies reconnect theory to the particular "ground" it claims to represent (Stake 1995). Within the field of empirical research, case studies makes unique contributions to the development of knowledge and, as with every method of research, have clear limitations as well (Yin 1994). Case studies provide thick descriptions (detailed data) of specific incidents and build scholarly arguments to strengthen the persuasiveness of their hypotheses about central heuristic research questions. (Geertz 1960).

The empirical aspect of this research is designed to elicit data via interviews and archival evidence. Self-reported evaluations of change in UN policy will be one indicator of influence; self-reported explanation of why the change in attitude and policy occurred will be another derived from interviews; corroborating documentary evidence of policy change, revealed by archival research and policy evaluation, will be

the third indicator. Interviews were conducted with a wide variety of decision-makers and with WID researchers, policy practitioners/advocates and grassroots practitioners/advocates who, on an on-going basis, engaged in varying levels of formal and informal exchanges (Keohane 1984).

However, case studies are an "N of 1" and await further studies of other significant experiences to further validate or correct their assertions. Scientific proving remains the task of amassing multiple case studies on the question, a mode of empirical research which can be taken up only when a sufficiently large group of researchers in a particular field recognize the significance of a heretofore neglected area of study (e.g. gender being one of the classic "blind spots" in IR research) and in essence, strives to make the invisible visible by articulating a language of (sometimes forced) recognition (Tickner 1992, Peterson 1992, Keyman 1997). In this process, a wide network of scholars emerges, creating the impetus and a rising tide of interest for asking new heuristic questions about ever-present yet unexamined – exiled, or excluded – issues. Literally, this involves shifts in resources in the field: more faculty advising, more dissertations in the area, more research funds, new panels at the ISA, more publishing and possibly new journals (Taylor interview). At this moment, such a research study wave seems to be building in IR (and notable for occurring much later than in other social sciences) in regard to gender and pluri-vocalism as evidenced, for example, by the growing number of papers and panels offered on this topic at the ISA since 1990. Despite these critical voices, however, the mainstream of the field is simultaneously able to resist "paradigm challenging" scholars by marginalization. These scholars tend to work in institutions with daunting teaching loads, with less access to funding for large scale research, and they do not have doctoral students and

so are limited in their ability to influence research shifts in the field (Taylor, Paulson interviews).

Participants [1]

The fifty participants in this study broadly categorize themselves as grassroots activists (who are frequently affiliated with NGO's – non-government organizations [2] -- as founders, directors or field workers), or as researchers/scholars/academics, or as practitioners, i.e. the policy administrators in major development organizations who have dedicated much of their professional lives to advocacy for poor women and families within the economic development field. [3]

Although distinguishing these layers is useful in order to understand the scope and diversity of WID, in fact, most of the interviewees drew on life-experiences from more than one of these roles and have moved from one realm of professional work into another, sometimes even holding two identities/positions at the same time. (In particular it should be noted that grassroots activists, at various points in their careers, would continue that activism from within NGO's or development agencies as practitioners, or in academia, as activist researchers.)

A broad overview of these participants reveals the following generalizable profiles: half are Americans and typically were raised in the 1940's and 1950's within the middle-class social norm/expectation to finish college, marry well, and thereafter support the rising professional careers of their husbands. This un-problematized, and often non-conscious gender division of labor is part of a fascinating pattern in which multiple interviewees spontaneously reflected on the stultifying effects of the "Feminine Mystique" (Betty Friedan's descriptor) of the 1950's and constructed post hoc insights into their own inarticulate yearnings, frustrations, and nascent dreams. Through

dozens of interviews, when asked to explain why they had become WID activists, this common thread emerged over and over: "I never planned it – I was just so frustrated at home, I had to get involved" (i.e. outside the home). Many were quite clear that their subsequent transcendence of the pain and the confusion of that frustrating social/gender role was ultimately due to their activism and professional political commitments of the 1960's up to the present. Their college education, the Civil Rights movement, and the Kennedy and Viet Nam era of the 1960's transformed their consciousness and, with or without families, they turned to public service and/or the academy.

Continuing this broad generalization, the other half of the respondents were born in the South – Latin America, Asia, Africa or the Middle East – usually under poverty/survival conditions, and yet through hard work and fortuitous circumstances (such as a drive for education and being fortunate enough to receive scholarship support), developed their local activism into the national and international political arena. All the participants had a strong sense of personal mission to society; they were energetic and highly motivated, with profound social commitments, egalitarian values, and sophisticated analyses of injustice and colonialism of all sorts: racial, class, sexual, sexual preference and international (particularly in regard to the Cold War and "First World"-ism which was frequently addressed in regard to economic globalization).

Through a variety of mechanisms – names arising through my own research, through the "snowballing" of one interviewee recommending several others, and through the good luck (synchronicity) of meeting various WID experts at different conferences, symposia, and professional meetings who were unusually generous in

giving time to me – I eventually wound up with a large interviewing sample based on women's and men's reputations within this international WID community as well-informed, highly involved professionals in the area of international economic development. Some of these experts are famous due to their public stature, as politicians, authors and/or charismatic media presence (e.g. Bella Abzug), while many others are not well-known, but should be given their decades of service, research and direct impact on this movement.

Materials Gathered

A qualitative study can be described in two phases: the systematic process of collecting field materials and the method of analysis used to organize these materials into meaningful arguments about proposed hypotheses. The evidence gathered for this study falls into two categories: interviews and archival documents. The documents consist of both the writings of the prominent actors as they negotiated the various interventions made by themselves and their colleagues in developmental agencies of the UN, of field research used to make their arguments for redesigning gender-blind development policies, and official documents reflecting the results of these interventions. These have been referenced throughout the Fourth and Fifth Chapters and in the Bibliography of this study.

The interviews were conducted with the fifty prominent activists, scholars, practitioners and administrators of the WID movement as noted above. They were identified through a variety of techniques: the literature, through professional conferences I attended (e.g. at PrepCom meetings for the UN Beijing Conference on Women held in New York and Boston, and environmental conferences, e.g. the Engendering the Environment conference sponsored by MIT), through professional

organizations, such as the Theological Opportunities Program at Harvard Divinity School, through contacts I developed with the original organizers of the Club of Rome/US, and the Bolton Institute, through attendance at meetings and seminars at Radcliffe's Bunting Institute, at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, at the Harvard School of Public Health, and at the Harvard Institute for International Development, through the cooperation of fellows of the Marshall Scholars Program at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, through colleagues of mine from my Master's Degree program at Harvard, who helped establish the pioneering Joint Harvard/MIT Committee on Women and Development in the early 1980s, through associates at the Ford Foundation and the World Bank and subsequently through a "snow-ball" technique, i.e. by asking an earlier participant to identify two significant colleagues who they thought would be important to interview. The first round of fifteen interviews were conducted in the Boston area. They were preceded by telephone calls or face to face meetings at academic gatherings, informing them of the nature of this case study, of my referral source to them identifying them as a significant participants, and requesting an appointment at a place of their choice for this interview. If I was not already familiar with a particular participant, I researched her background and the role she played in the WID movement.

Most interviews were conducted in the professional work space of the participants. For the academics and practitioners, this location was in their homes; for the administrators, their offices. I asked permission to use my tape recorder, provided some rapport building conversation, then reminded them of the topic of my study and asked them to address four questions as they wished. These four questions were as follows:

1. *How did you first become aware of and involved in WID?*

2. *How/why do you think the UN adopted WID standards for development programs?*

3. *How did WID manage to become an international social movement?*

4. (Visionary question) *In your imagination, how could WiD completely fulfill its mandate within the next twenty years?*

The interview itself proceeded along the conversational, mutual meaning-building method recommended by Elliot Mischler (1986) (See also Fonow 1991, Reinharz 1992). The women were strongly supportive of the interview, often postponing other appointments and, each in her own way, impressed with and impressing on me the serious contribution my study would make by documenting this WID phenomenon. Interviews typically lasted from 60 to 180 minutes with some extending to three hours; several interviews lasted a full morning or afternoon and, in some cases, the interviewee requested that I return for one to two follow-up interviews. This generous commitment of time on the part of interviewees reflects a similar level of commitment that they have dedicated throughout their professional lives to this issue. After each interview, I transcribed, annotated and analyzed it in the method described below.

When I completed the fifteen interviews of this initial series, and given the background of my reading, I was able to construct the basic chronology of the WID story at the UN. From there, my next task was to look for the specifics which were missing or for which I had ambiguous reports and verify the actual facts by "triangulating" them. This was done with further research in the archival literature, and

identifying other "players" in the WID movement. At this point, I had several referrals from both sources: the literature and the original fifteen interviewees. Many of these nominees were located in Washington DC and New York City areas. Again, I made telephone calls, introduced myself through my referral, explained the nature of my study and the need to interview this new participant, and requested an appointment on his or her home ground. I then traveled to Washington and New York and interviewed fifteen more participating women and men using the same format described above. During this period, I also traveled to Washington several times for archival research.

The remaining twenty interviews were made by telephone since (a) they were spread across and outside the country, (b) they were less accessible for a full interview, and (c) my need at this phase of the study was to verify and fill in the details of the WID intervention and its results. These interviews followed the four original questions but were also very useful in tracking down nuances of this complex narrative and substantiating the major explanatory themes that emerged in earlier rounds.

In all fifty interviews, I did not encounter any serious conflicting historical accounts of the organizational growth of WID. The chronicle emerges as a fairly standard account of its inception from small groups of concerned academics/activists meeting locally (e.g., the founding of the Joint MIT/Harvard Seminar on Women in Development) to regional coordinating meetings (e.g. in Washington to lobby for the passage of the Percy Amendment and in Geneva for the establishment of the first Year for Women), and on to WID's explosive growth phase as an international social movement under the umbrella of the Decade for Women. At this stage, hundreds of meetings were occurring from the grassroots – e.g., the founding of DAWN/ (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) in Bangalore – up to the

reorganization of government ministries [4]. Some memories differed on nonessentials – particular dates or sequence of events – but all concurred on the essential account. On the other hand, there were a wide variety of rich interpretive analyses attempting to explain both the WID successes and failures in its first decade of contestation at the UN, (See Ch. 4 & 5). Participants came to the movement from various class, ethnic and national backgrounds, and thus broadened both the grassroots and professional range of knowledge about strategies and goal-setting for WID. This was particularly the case with scholars and activists from the South who felt that WID should have moved more quickly from a "First World" identity, which reflected its geo-political position during the initial Mexico City Conference for the International Year for Women, to a grassroots-up Third World women-led international regime (Malik interview). I carefully noted the interviewee's representation of a "plural vision of common goals," especially since the international scope of the movement was repeatedly emphasized and lags in diversification of leadership were seen as steadily improving during the institutionalization of this international regime via the Decade for Women. Also, in retrospect, many interviewees who were asked to reflect on the beginning of WID (within the time limits necessarily dictated by a dissertation) often would reflect with hindsight on their realization that, in the first ten years of this movement regime, there was not enough emphasis on the environment, i.e. they pushed for development projects that focused on women but still had to learn about the necessity of an equally important focus in ecologically sustainable design. I also noted the general consensus that emerged in regard to long-term or large scale goals for women (gender equity and political empowerment issues), and the multiplicity of ways to achieve these goals envisaged by this diverse group of women and men.

Analysis of Materials

The analysis of this material began by my transcribing the interviews one by one after each session whenever possible. I also took annotating notes immediately after each interview in order to remember particular emphases or more emotionally assertive communications that would not be evidenced on the written transcripts, retaining significant meanings to their contributions that might otherwise be lost. In addition, I noted the immediate interpretations and the meanings I was deriving from the interviews in regard to the task of weaving accumulations of detail into my slowly unfolding understanding of the emergence of WID as both an international social movement and later as an international institutional regime. My analytic process was based both on the transcripts and on my annotations.

Once I moved the interviews into transcript form, I coded along the side of the transcript margins, identifying specific topics. The coding method of analysis followed that technique described by Strauss and Corbin (1990). I subdivided each of my four questions into the various subtopics that the interviewee offered in her presentation. While I had conducted the interviews around the four topical questions, I found that the women moved from one to another freely -- recalling later some essential point they had forgotten in the earlier part of our conversation. With the benefit of the coding, I then reorganized the interview, grouping my major and sub codes together and rearranged them back into a logical continuum.

Once I saw the four topics clearly restored, and discovered the various subtopics the interviewee developed out of her own associations, I laid these major themes out in separate folders and proceeded to my next interview. Once each new

interview was completed, transcribed, coded and reorganized, I compared and integrated the themes and sub-themes together. This same procedure was followed through my fifteen initial interviews, gradually sorting out my sub-themes, dropping some material that was more personal to an individual and non-essential to the WID experience, and bringing together the other experiences into a synthetic whole.

Qualitative methodologists concur that depth rather than numbers are the hallmark of good research in this modality, and that their experience repeatedly verifies that eight in-depth interviews saturate the disclosure of that experience. More is redundant (See "theoretic saturation" in Glaser & Strauss 1968). However, In this case study, I found that the three different (and sometime developing) perspectives – practitioner, administrator and academic – were involved in assessing WID as an international movement/regime. The interrelationship of these three levels of analysis required further interviewing. The initial fifteen laid out the broad parameters of the WID experience but further investigation yielded rich details and depth to my investigation. This was achieved in my second set of fifteen Washington DC and New York City conversations while the final twenty telephone interviews also proved beneficial as triangulating, verifying and offering clarification and elaborations on the previous thirty. My analysis was complete once I processed these final twenty and made their additions and corrections into the prior thematic analysis.

The results of this research method are presented in the two following chapters, Four and Five. These two chapters attempt to summarize the interviewees' analyses of the emergence of WID as an international social movement, which, through the political process of negotiating the redefinition of development standards

at the UN, gradually institutionalized the formalized rules, mechanisms and norms definitive of an international institutional regime (Keohane 1986, Krasner 1982).

After the WID social history has been documented and established as a case study in Chapters Four and Five, I will return the reader to the task set out in the Preface: in Chapter Six I will argue the significance of the WID case study to IR theory. Chapter Seven will provide a brief concluding summation of the dissertation. Chapter Eight, (the Epilogue), will return to my interviews and present the findings derived from answers to the "future vision" question I presented to my correspondents.

Endnotes

1. The identification of these interviewees, my data base, follows the regulations published in the *Federal Register* (1/26/81) by the Department of Health and Human Service for human subjects in research. While some of my primary sources are "public figures" and have graciously waived any interest in anonymity, the majority of interviewees are not "public figures," some of whom have requested anonymity. Therefore, as a common procedure, I have used pseudonyms throughout the case study and have modified disclosing particulars of their professional roles both here and throughout the dissertation. Within this observance, however, I have attempted to give some designation of the level of their roles and areas of their representation.

2. NGO's -- non-governmental organizations -- is a commonly used acronym for grassroots organizations. Julie Fisher (1994) subdivides and categorizes them in detail, as will be presented in the next chapter.

3. A small slice of a representative sample is offered in the introduction to DAWN's book, Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives, (Sen & Grown 1987):

4. This tripartite analytic breakdown of WID was elaborated by Irene Tinker in *Persistent Inequalities* (1976).

Chapter Four

Antecedents, Values and Mobilization of the WID Movement

Drawing upon fifty interviews and extensive archival documents, Chapters Four and Five document empirically how these women and men helped to transform the UN's developmental policies from three decades of gender-blind planning to a system-wide establishment of standards based on the inclusion of gender for economic project development planning in the field. This present chapter initiates the documentation by bringing together the interviewee's own descriptions and analyses of the multiple and complex origins of the WID movement. The impetus for this movement actually began emerging years before the period covered in this dissertation of an identified activism christened "Women-in-Development." Initially emerging spontaneously in various international settings (addressed later in this chapter), then later coalescing into a strategically organized social movement, WID developed from the networking of professional policy planners/bureaucratic actors within development programs and agencies with grassroots activists/organizers of community action groups world-wide, many of which came to be known as NGO's (non-governmental organizations), and with scholars -- academic professors/researchers in economics, anthropology,

women's studies, sociology, political science and other disciplines within universities (See Chapter One). According to the interviewees, this movement was emergent all over the globe years before it achieved a conscious identification of itself – as in the "name-giving" of the acronym WID – and of the breadth of its international scope. (See discussion later in this chapter.)

The historically rich and plurivocal accounts of the antecedents to WID's emergence as a social movement, as compiled from the interviews, will be organized into explanatory themes (as explained in the previous methodology chapter) and presented below in this chapter. To the interviewees, the historical value of these narratives is that they constitute data validating the relevance of WID work and research to the social sciences in general (and to international relations in particular as argued in this dissertation).

One interviewee captured the essence of this general point while reflecting on the empirical relevance of the WID case study to building theory about international institutional regimes – as a political scientist, she said she hoped this dissertation would eventually become a book serving as "a definitive social history of WID that political scientists would respect." To her, the task involved translation of the WID story from other social science sites such as anthropology or international development studies into a narrative and analytic history which, by virtue of being situated in the epistemological universe of international relations would be intelligible and therefore respected within the discourse conventions of this particular social science. As such, cross-disciplinary translations would have to operationalize important research questions, (e.g. comparable to the project of this dissertation in studying one possible explanation for WID's growing policy efficacy in the story of its

evolution into an international institutional regime) thereby making the WID case both methodologically and empirically relevant to theory-building within this field. Repeatedly, interviews revealed the frustration of advocates who had committed their professional lives to changing unexamined norms in the field of economic development, yet found that precisely because the breadth of their research work required multidisciplinary expertise – in economics, anthropology, political science, sociology, international relations, women's studies, geoscience and/or environmental sciences – their work had no singular academic "home" just as their research had no required status on syllabi in any one particular field within academia.

The next (fifth) chapter will describe the various political strategies employed by the WID movement to obtain its objectives of redefining UN economic development planning; it will also explore how these strategies affected both the UN's development mission and the UN's bureaucratic responses to ongoing WID-initiated negotiations.

As explained in Chapter Three, the methodology used in this case study is explicated in the work of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) *Grounded Theory*. One of the characteristics that distinguishes the approach to theory in much of the literature on qualitative methods is the emphasis on inductive strategies of theory development in contrast to theory generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions.

> In contrasting grounded theory with logico-deductive theory and discussing and assessing their relative merits in ability to fit and work (predict, explain, and be relevant), we have taken the position that the adequacy of a theory... cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated. Thus one canon for judging the usefulness of a theory is how it was generated – and we suggest that it is likely to be a better theory to the degree that it has been inductively developed from social research.... Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research.

The task of this dissertation is two-fold: it comprises both an empirical investigation (based upon extensive, open-ended interviews and archival research) and a theoretical argument, inductively developed (as stated in the above quote) based upon the findings of said empirical investigation.

> In the context of development studies, a gender-relations framework seeks to establish an inductive mode of analysis in place of highly abstract theorizations which lead to empirically ungrounded generalizations: "the form that gender relations take in any historical situation is specific to that situation and has to be constructed inductively; it ;cannot be read off from other social relations nor from the gender relations of other societies" (Young et al. 1981 in Kabeer 1994).

Of necessity, various chapters of this dissertation are framed in reference to this dual task: Chapters One, Two and Three focus on the theoretical ; Chapters Four and Five on empirical data derived from interviews (extensively coded and collated into predominant themes with explanatory relevance to the hypotheses posed in the preface of this work); Chapters Six and Seven seek to integrate empirical findings into an inductively based theoretical argument in the international relations literature establishing the relevance, indeed the pertinence, of the WID case study to explaining the capacity of some international social movements to institutionalize themselves as international institutional regimes within the International system.

One of the methodological conventions of grounded theory is reliance upon conversational discourse and respect for the narrative diction chosen by interviewees. As such, the reader must be aware that the level of diction will shift between the scholarly objective language of the theoretical chapters and the immediate, colloquial language common to all interview-based research projects as evidenced here in the empirical chapters Four and Five. [1]

Although grounded theory has been widely employed in field research (particularly in sociology) since the 1960's, many other innovative approaches to qualitative research building on the narrative approach have emerged, especially since the 1980's. All tend to emphasize the integrity of the unrehearsed spoken narrative as essential to this particular form of field research (Reinharz 1992, Fonow & Cook 1991, Mischler 1986, Holstein & Gubriun 1995, Seidman 1991, Stake 1995, Maxwell 1996, Weiss 1994, Nicholson 1990, Barbre et al. 1989, Emerson 1983, Strauss & Corbin 1990, Schatzman & Strauss 1973, Van Maanen 1988).

Although discussed in Chapter One, it will be useful here to introduce one representative chronology of the inception, mobilization, contestation and institutionalization of WID from its earliest beginnings up to the present (although it should be noted that the research task of this dissertation is focused upon WID's first decade, roughly 1975 to 1985, corresponding to the UN Decade for Women). [2] The demarcation lines between phases as proposed in this chronology are "rough" (approximate) in that they represent porous watersheds (i.e. broad periods of the culmination of long developmental processes or strands as described by interviewees and corroborated by archival benchmarks in the literature) as opposed to rigid deadlines: Phase One – Inception and Mobilization, 1972 to 1975; Phase Two – Contestation and Institutionalization, 1975 to 1985; Phase Three – Diversification and Expansion of Scope and Impact, 1985 to 1995; Phase Four – Post-Beijing, 1995 to present. Obviously various mobilization strategies devised and carried on throughout Phase One continued to be elaborated throughout later stages as political strategies (to be presented in Chapter Five) became more sophisticated and widespread. Similarly, institutionalization (i.e. as evidenced in the deepening influence of the WID

analysis and negotiating efficacy in reformulating the "international rules and norms" of economic development planning – the *sine qua non* of an international institutional regime) has continued and accelerated throughout Phase Three and Phase Four in the diversification of on-going organizational development and bureaucratic presence throughout the UN system (Chen 1995). Furthermore, although this dissertation focuses on the indicator of redefinition of economic development policy planning, "during the 1980's the WID movement began to coalesce around several themes: human rights, reproductive health and rights, environment, livelihoods and work..." (Chen, personal communication 2000).

As will be seen in the up-coming interview data, significant precursors to the inception and mobilization phase were unfolding internationally and diachronically, partially due to the mobilizing impetus and consciousness raising effects of post-colonial struggles, of the civil-rights movement (with its antecedent inspiration from India's independence struggle employing Ghandian principles of non-violent social change), of the organization of the Non-Aligned Movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the emergence of the women's liberation movement. As such, employing 1972 as "the" natal date is obviously open to debate and interpretation as are many of the five and ten year increments utilized above; nonetheless, the approximate phases proposed here are very useful for conceptualizing the emergence of the analytic themes to be discussed in this chapter and Chapter Five.

Furthermore, there are some benchmark dates which seem to validate the above schema. As discussed in the Preface and Chapter One, two critical waves came together and coalesced into the WID international social movement: mainstream development practitioners, who had already been trying to confront the well

documented practical failures of development suddenly found themselves informed by (and in many cases buoyed by) feminists who were systematically questioning the power relations and other structures of reiterated patterns of discrimination against women world-wide. In the United States, the initial catalyst for this critique – a combination of legislative mandate and specific reallocation of resources – came with the lobbying necessary to promote the passage of the Percy Amendment to the 1973 "New Directions" legislation (Cf. Chapter One). Therefore, 1973 does seem to represent one historic benchmark for dating the emergence of WID, at least within the United States (although other commentators, particularly from Europe, might argue that the earliest emergence of discussions about the feasibility of declaring 1975 as a UN International Year for Women, which initiated in 1971-72, should be the natal date) (Pietila 1994). Kardam notes that, as early as 1970,

> "WID activities within the UN system also increased substantially. Members of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and all organs and agencies within the system were invited to cooperate in achieving WID objective and targets and to make available adequate staff and resources for the Advancement of Women. The 1970 resolution of the General Assembly on International action for the Advancement of Women led to the organization of an Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Role of Women in Economic and Social Development by the UN Division of Social Development in June 1972; in 1974, an International Forum on the Role of Women in Population and Development was held as part of the activities of the World Population Year (1991).

Developmental History of WID Activists: Individual Factors

In this application of grounded theory methodology, the empirical discussion begins with an overview of self-reported variables explanatory of individuals' behavioral motivation for initiating WID organizing. Rooted in life-history narratives, the predominant themes that emerged, based upon reported life experience and

employing the colloquial speech of the interviewees, were: communal effort, multi-generational planning, education, relevancy of life-experiences, fortuitous synchronicities and awakening of consciousness to WID issues. The elicitation of this data came in response to interview questions, "how did you first become aware of and involved in WID?" and "how did WID become an international social movement?"

One of the major analytic themes which surfaced so often in the interviews that it radiates as a constant, background penumbra both illuminating and integrating other themes, was articulated by interviewee # 8, a director of a major UN development program, who asserted that her WID consciousness was born, not in theoretical inspirations, but in "personal stories," in life experiences which instilled fundamental values long before the name "WID" or the movement ever emerged. For interviewee # 8, these values were first taught to her by her grandmother, who was one of a large group of women forcibly exiled from mainland China to Singapore because they had participated in an anti-marriage movement. They were "the poorest of the poor," yet her grandmother possessed "a genius in the wisdom and strength of the art of survival" (Interviewee # 8).

Communal effort: From her grandmother, interviewee # 8 learned several essential lessons which validated her later organizational work prior to and including WID. The first is that when confronting poverty and discrimination, survival is hardly possible alone; the exigencies of survival on the margin require that people work cooperatively in communities, sharing and exchanging what they are able to acquire. Bella Abzug described this same conviction to another interviewee as the "loaf of bread" mentality.

> "It loses its value if it is stored in the cupboard for another day. When you're lucky enough to get one, you should cut up into slices and

> share it around the table so that, on another day, another of the group will share her loaf with you. This is the difference between power and empowerment. Power is collected and hoarded for self-serving purposes. Empowerment is sharing the gains with each other for common goals. This is the true meaning of empowerment."

Multi-generational planning: A second lesson from her grandmother taught Interviewee # 8 to see that, in survival situations, women may have little or no material resources, but they can rely upon their intelligence and stamina. Together, they can carefully analyze their situation and strategize a plan for future change. Her grandmother held an enduring, multi-generational vision of advancement, setting specific goals for herself, others for her children and still others for the third (interviewee # 8's) generation. Each generation was to provide the where-with-all for the advancement of the next, but each generation patiently handed on, as well, the unfinished tasks needed to be accomplished by the next generation. Interviewee 8's grandmother used to say to her that only so much can be accomplished in one generation; multi-generational vision was necessary to effectively and patiently raise their status in life. "We value what we can accomplish today and never allow ourselves to become discouraged because the entire project is not yet completed. We are progressing and that is what counts" (interviewee # 8).

Interviewee # 8 herself described WID as an historical movement, accomplished over the "generations." She also held that this long-term orientation is necessary to maintain confidence in the movement's evolving process toward success and in order to not place all the burden of "completing" success on the present generation. But in the words of interviewee # 13, "If we calculate our progress in changing economic development programs from gender blindness to gender consciousness on a scale beginning with zero, we have made significant progress in

absolute measures – because that awareness simply did not exist during the first three decades of this field."

Education: Again, this is a major self-reported explanatory theme that was reiterated in a majority of the narratives as being crucial to accessing the social tools needed to both analyze patterns of discrimination and address them organizationally; many interviewees mentioned that these two skills represent crucial aspects of empowerment. Drawing upon the previous representative example, the most highly esteemed element in interview # 8's grandmother's planning for the next generation was education. While she was raised in a tenement environment that did not have access to formal schooling, interviewee # 8's own family had always seen education as essential to raising their status.

> "One of the tasks that had to be deferred until the next generation was my education. My grandmother knew and accepted that she could not achieve that goal for herself, but she was not bitter because our generation would achieve education and fulfill her dreams for us -- and therefore for herself. Yet, very few in my old Chinatown ghetto were able to continue with a university education the way I did. I was absolutely determined to go as far as I could educationally, and luckily for me at that time, Singapore, because it was a resource-poor country, had to develop the only capital it had: people. An educated workforce was needed so desperately that both boys and even girls were encouraged to go to school, especially in math and sciences."

Interviewee # 13, like many others, underlined the fundamental importance of a relevant, empowering education, one that gives women their full voices, "Women's competency in character and their literacy on science and environmental issues is what matters. The rest will take care of itself." Interviewee # 11, reflecting on her life story as a Central American, states,

> "Unless women are educated, development will go much more slowly, because women in my country are the ideological heads of the family: they take care of kids, their health, training, and food. For

> example, before the revolution, 130 infants out of a thousand died and after the revolution, in only three years, only 60 out of a thousand died."

Relevancy of life-experiences: Although this particular theme is more subtle than others enumerated so far, and therefore difficult to capture in a short phrase, many interviewees (despite widely different life narratives) struggled to express that formative events in their lives were not merely anecdotally important – but also substantively important to larger epistemological issues such as how they conducted research or engaged in WID advocacy or contributed to the development of theory in their fields. Interviewee # 16, for example, in relating the importance of her life history to choice of profession, discussed this theme in terms of the relevance of particular "grounding experiences" in her life that continued to resonate throughout her professional work. In a nuanced contrast to the previous discussion about the overall importance of education, for many interviewees, the specific achievement of a formal university education often presented an interesting conundrum, requiring them to present themselves within a single scholarly discipline despite life experiences and work in the grassroots that was more amenable to multidisciplinary approaches and explanations (interviewee # 37).

In the period immediately preceding and during Phase One of WID, the interviewees often found it necessary not to identify themselves professionally as spokespersons for WID or women's issues but rather as scholars or practitioners or advocates trained in a particular academic discipline such as economics or anthropology. "Identifying myself as a 'WID Specialist' or 'WID Researcher and Theoretician' would not fly in the system [back then]. The strict segmentation and separation of social science disciplines rules thinking in the university's operation...I

am expected to say that I am a political scientist, not a 'WID-ist'." (interviewee # 13). Interviewee # 8 concurs, "Early on I could not identify myself as a women's development person; no one would take me seriously. To say I am a social anthropologist -- that meant something." Some reported experiencing academic perceptions of WID as being incapable of establishing an objective theoretical foundation. "There are too many assumptions in this approach," interviewee # 15 was told by her Harvard advisor, "it is not built on a scientific, proven theory that scientists share. Scientists build theory on the established theory of others, not on conversations with farmers."

Nevertheless, while the interviewees affiliated with academia articulated the political and strategic necessity of validating the WID critique and their research by publishing within the confines of segmented academic fields, many also expressed the conviction that significant aspects of their grassroots experiences were often inherently multidisciplinary (interviewee # 34) and yet nevertheless epistemologically valid. One reaction to this "ghettoization" and strict separation of social sciences in academia was expressed by interviewee # 6 who exhorted me to approach this dissertation from a feminist perspective, which, in her opinion, was inherently multidisciplinary and therefore more holistic in its research approaches and methods. Many argued that when theory builds on, analyzes, and is clarified by multidisciplinary approaches to obviously multidisciplinary phenomena or data (e.g., from life experience and/or the grassroots, etc.) a more holistic research paradigm emerges.

Interviewee # 8 framed this theme articulated by many other interviewees with a personal account. (Note that this interviewee holds an advanced degree from Oxford):

> "I possess a hunger for 'truth,' which I find not in theories or books, but in real life. My family lived in an immense slum, Old Chinatown. Once I watched an old woman picking her food out of the garbage, and I looked at the smile on her face; for all of her depths of poverty, she never lost her dignity because she was determined to survive. From her, I saw what poverty meant to different groups of people in the larger society. "

This grounding life experience became one of Interviewee # 8's touchstones of validity for the rest of her professional life. When she reads a policy proposal or a theoretical argument, she evaluates it in regard to the baseline reality of her experience of poverty in her youth and thereby scrutinizes its functional applicability.

> "It [my early life experience] grounded me in [that] reality for whatever other realities I came up against later. I respected these people in the Old Chinatown ghetto tremendously because they worked so hard to survive. They had to in order to weave a life and not die. They were the most creative people I had ever known."

When Interviewee # 8 later researched industrial accidents in an electronics factory, she began by working in the factory herself "in order to understand that situation." There could be no educational substitute for this "walking in the shoes" way of learning. Her life experience of growing up in poverty required a continual struggle to make her university studies relevant. "I was fighting to get my university education to relate to our local conditions. Much of the material we were learning at Oxford did not relate to my situation at home – a colonized nation struggling for independence. What I needed was the ability to have a mental framework connecting my university studies with the local class struggle."

As a worldwide movement for social change, WID has clearly benefited from its ties to academia; many founders are successful scholars and researchers within universities. Nevertheless, many interviewees insisted that their education had to be continually regrounded in its grassroots sources– that is, poor women and the

households they struggle to keep going – in order to realize its full potential to empower those sources.

Fortuitous synchronicities: Since it had no prior identity or "name," most of the interviewees describe their initial involvement in what came to be known as the WID movement as happening through a series of "accidents" or synchronicities rather than through their own intentional planning. Interviewee # 8 states, "It was coincidence, history and many forces that gave me a WID." Interviewee # 4's Head Start funding was drying up when, at a Harvard seminar, a Senegalese man asked her about the effect of drought on the nutritional value of food for children. Her search for an answer led her to the School of Agriculture at her land grant university, to conducting ethnographic research on a project studying dry farming in western Africa, (a project in which she was the only female researcher,) and then almost immediately to a sudden consciousness of previously unseen gendered patterns in farming in her local African context, (and, in the American context, of gender blindness in the construction of research studies). In her particular case, until she joined the project, no one had interviewed women in the study villages -- even though in this area, women performed the majority of the farming tasks. This typical research "oversight" combined with gender taboos helps to explain how academic researchers and development project practitioners had either overlooked, or worse, distorted gender – for decades.

Interviewee # 8 stated she was not personally aware of gender discrimination in her own life as she was growing up and attending secondary school. "Singapore was a country that had almost no natural resources and had to invest in the education of every single human being, in every single citizen, because a highly educated workforce was its only capital for the future and every person was seen as needed in

order to make this leap from being a very underdeveloped nation into the modern world. It could not afford to discriminate in terms of investing in boys more than girls." Therefore it was "by accident" that in her research on workplace safety and industrial accidents she "stumbled" on a cohort of young female immigrant workers in an electronics factory who, because they were both female and migrants, were working under excruciating conditions – much longer hours than the men in shipyards, and stifling conditions comparable to a prison, with no water or toilet facilities and suffering under physically and sexually abusive "managers." Here was gender discrimination complicated by ethnic discrimination of which she had not been aware at all during her organizing work with men in shipyards. "I realized that we have to look at this whole process from a gender perspective because the work force was two halves -- our analysis needed to look at both. We could no longer look at it in an undifferentiated way."

Awakening of consciousness of WID issues: Many personal "life-stories" recounted how these WID activists, one by one, developed a consciousness of the gender issue - often through a sudden breakthrough of insight -- long before WID became identified and named as a specific movement. Interviewee # 25 was raised in India and found herself in Bangladesh in 1970 when a cyclone caused extensive damage and widespread human suffering. She and three other women immediately responded to the destruction by organizing a relief program that they managed -- and later expanded -- quite successfully (see endnote 2 of this chapter). When a representative of a donor agency arrived a month later, scouting prospective development and relief projects for the international donor, the women's husbands – not the women themselves – met with the donor representative. At that time, neither

the husbands nor the male representative could conceive of women having anything other than a subservient "charity" function, (as opposed to being program administrators in charge of significant budget and field operations).

Interviewee # 21 describes voluntarily leading an evening discussion on women's issues in the early 1960's while teaching at a conference for economists in the mid-west. At the time, she had no particular research interest in that topic but nonetheless carefully listened each night to the male and female discussants. Then it struck her. Having been raised in the South, she noted that the language and attitudes toward women that she heard from these discussants, although polite, were strikingly parallel to the same casually dismissive, disempowering language she had heard addressed to Blacks in the previous decade. This was her awakening of consciousness. Later, when she was hired by Harvard as an economist and was made the highest paid woman in her department, she quickly discovered that this was thousands of dollars less that the lowest paid man in the same department.

Interviewee # 13 struggled, in her early 20's, with the contrast between the "good life" of America, "portrayed by Disney World, white hat and black hat cowboys, and Howdy Doody," and the real world of competition, "a predatory economy that excluded many for the advantage of the few. " At that time in the 1950s, she was transformed by the Civil Rights movement, inspired by its uncompromising demands for social justice that laid bare the "good life for all" myth of the '50s. "...And then when I was in college in the early 60's, the time of Kennedy and King, I finally puzzled out and identified for myself the two structural problems of injustice in our society that were still invisible and had not yet been recognized: women and nature. Both were

immeasurably huge and yet unacknowledged -- and both were simply 'used-up' as disposable resources."

Interviewee # 30, while directing an NGO in Rajasthan, India, wanted to work directly with poor tribal groups on the problem of deforestation, only to discover that in all the decades of research and economic development projects for his area, women were simply excluded from data collected on this topic. In reaction to reading Boserup's research, he went through a similar, sudden awakening of consciousness: that "seeing women as an essential category redefined the entire deforestation problem, and opened vast new possibilities for solutions, taking into account their foraging and fuel wood needs and practices." He, in essence, crossed a conceptual divide that was repeated over and over as a theme in the interviews – the unseen suddenly became obvious.

The Organizational Development of WID: Movement Factors

As a group, the interviewees concur that the WID movement initially emerged out of local grassroots experiences, isolated and unique, rather than "from the top down," due to a mandate developed out of the academic community or from an organizational plan. It emerged before its own identity or ideology fully existed and as such, discovered itself in the process. This self-discovery occurred during Phase One; it was succeeded by a transitional movement during Phase Two from local action to national and then international organizing (Cf. chronology at the beginning of this chapter).

Both Interviewee # 4 and Interviewee # 8 were participant observers, active during both Phase One and Phase Two. WID, in its earliest pre-1973 antecedents,

consisted of strong individual women involved in local-level politics, "wise, bright and determined, who planned ahead. They held an optimistic vision and maintained their dignity" (Interviewee # 4). Then, through networking, facilitated by the Decade for Women, donor nations, and the burgeoning NGO movement, Phase Two represented a coalescing of consciousness: women connected across national and ethnic barriers to "discover" their common burdens and potential and become aware of each other's political activism (Chen 2000). One interviewee described this process as "true power is discovering and then sharing efficacy."

Bella Abzug, former US congresswoman and an NGO leader, was one of this first generation. Interviewee # 13 describes her visually, walking the floors at 4:00 a.m., at 70 years of age and in poor health, yet lobbying and organizing relentlessly on particulars of Agenda 21 [3] at UNCTAD in Rio. "We owe an incredible debt to her." Some of the others she mentioned were Barbara Ward, Elizabeth Dodson Gray, Margaret Mead, Gloria Steinem, women who were active so early that they were very isolated professionally – they were active before there was a movement to embrace or support them. "These were empowering women, women as role models, women who had the courage to say the king has no clothes on, yet really isolated women. Imagine what it must have been like for them" (interviewee # 13).

Local issues: One reason the WID movement lacked a name or comprehensive theoretical approach in its early stages of development was simply because it was a grassroots movement, newly emergent, situated in numerous local settings that were quite isolated and therefore not yet aware that their individual critique of development projects would soon resonate on a very large scale.

> "I didn't even know there was going to be an international women's decade because at that time we were quite isolated. There

> were no networks. I didn't know anything of what was happening internationally in 1971, 1972. I knew something was evolving but I couldn't name it , I really couldn't name it. So it was an evolution of a framework that had no name!" (Interviewee # 8)

These innumerable local experiences of organizing to address the survival and empowerment issues of women and their families became the bedrock of the organizational, economic and political theory about WID that emerged later . "Based upon my life experience in Bangladesh and India, the only way I build theory is inductively. I do not find that deductive theory-building is either useful or relevant to explaining the growth of WID" (Interviewee # 25). "I'm a great advocate of looking at case studies, at micro-evidence and looking at it comparatively and seeing the problem, and then addressing the solutions" (Interviewee # 21). And as the focus moved from the local to the national to the international, "it was the local seen in the bigger picture, systematically and structurally" (Interviewee # 25).

Following the cyclone relief project and still in Bangladesh in 1972, Interviewee # 25 helped to develop the women's program of BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) [4]. This is now perhaps the largest NGO in the world, (followed by the Grameen Bank [5]) organizing 600,000 women.

> "We were learning as we went. We had no development theory and did not even see this as development, only as addressing and negotiating local patriarchy and culture barriers, doing what we were doing as "women in development". We worked at the village level, Paulo Freire style, organizing women around employment schemes: fish drying, poultry raising, crafts and food processing, getting the women to work for the first time in the fields, even road construction. We were not thinking big but locally. We were doing development without knowing it."

Discovery of a world movement: Only when Interviewee # 25 left Bangladesh in 1980 to spend a year at Harvard University did she learn that her local work developing women as a resource was part of something much larger -- similar

women's groups were springing up all over the world. Whereas previously organizers had been engrossed in their local activities, they now became aware, through meetings, newsletters and conferences that there were "lots of points of connection, each unique to each situation, little events all over the place." Interviewee # 25's involvement in development projects focused on the empowerment of local women in Bangladesh was in fact part of an on-going international movement that was expanding in all parts of the world, yet she and her co-organizers and members created BRAC's women's program without any consciousness of how it would make a significant contribution to that international movement.

Interviewee # 4 was "stunned" by the size of the next International Conference for the Decade of Women in 1980 in Copenhagen. "5,000 women in the plenary session alone. Simultaneous translation. The size of it just overwhelmed me."

> "There were people everywhere pulling little bits and pieces of things together. There was no one person and this is something I like very much. My images of little steps, little pushes with everyone doing their part somehow. A coming together, a kind of synergy at the international level. These people who came together from the North, the South, the donor communities, the academic communities, from the activist communities -- it was like a fermentation that came together, that I liked very very much" (Interviewee # 8).

Avoid polarization: Another characteristic of the emergent WID movement that was described as a repetitive theme by the interviewees is perhaps best illustrated in a personal story communicated by interviewee # 8: it is strategically important to not become entrapped in ideologically polarized positions but rather to negotiate, whenever possible, pragmatic and inclusive coalitions for social change. Interviewee # 8's formative consciousness was grounded in the social upheaval she participated in while living in Singapore. Reacting against a patriarchal and colonial consciousness, the one cohort within the spectrum of Singapore's independence activism wanted to

develop a nation-state that would selectively adopt the best of the political and economic strategies of the world around them, yet at the same time become economically independent. "It is very hard to explain if you look at Singapore now, but historically, at that time, Singapore was a hot bed of radicalism!" Developing during the Cold War, the emergent Singapore pragmatically accepted the necessity of a free market, yet established it within a socialist framework of goals. "Our slogan was: 'Nation-Building with the market for social ends.'" Singapore carefully regulated its capital development, requiring 49% foreign investment and 51% local, in an attempt to remain independent of foreign pressures. Interviewee # 8 emphasized how her particular experience in this period of social change educated her to the power and use of political activism and to her responsibility to reconstruct society in both its social and economic settings. But it also taught her to pragmatically embrace aspects of seemingly divergent ideologies -- socialism and capitalism -- rather than become polarized by one position against all others.

In a repetition of this theme, Interviewee # 13 applied this non-dualistic principle to feminism and beyond.

> "It is not oppressed women vs. predator men. Men are as oppressed by men as much as women by men. Neither should we talk in a north-south articulation, nor industrialized vs. non- industrialized. I choose language that doesn't posture women as perpetual victims; never the language of lament. Women are half the problem and half of the solution. Women do not have a lock on virtue; we are equally culpable...collective whining is not useful, but partnership between women and men can be effective."

Paradigm reassessment: Some of the interviewees, especially those more directly connected to UN development programs, observed that these and other development programs outside the UN had been "failures" in various performance and effectiveness measures since WW II -- a sobering track record that in and of itself

demanded reassessment and critical reappraisal of development projects in toto: from project proposal feasibility through project start-up, implementation and final evaluation (see discussion, secondary sources and archival sources cited in the Preface and Chapter One). This "vacuum" of failure, combined with widespread inability to theorize or explain the failure required new ways of looking at these issues, constituting an unprecedented receptivity within the development field to the WID analysis and critique. Thirty years of investments in the developing countries had not yielded the significant results that had been anticipated based upon projections such as those found in Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960).

In Interviewee # 13's words, "Thirty years of development gave us corruption of governments, bankruptcy of policies, human oppression. If the core [of these programs are] deprived of half of the elements of society [i.e., women,] they will fail." The sponsors of these programs were to some extent open to new perspectives that might promise a greater efficacy and return on their investment – such as Boserup's critique. The WID analysis thus gained an early hearing via various political strategies of engagement (to be discussed in the next chapter), ranging from pre-negotiation and negotiation strategies to insider-outsider pressure and lobbying for development policy change.

Another response to this vacuum was the vast, spontaneous emergence of NGO's around the world to address survival needs not being met by failing national economies or by traditional development programs. As long ago as 1985, "the Club of Rome estimated that 'Southern' NGOs ' may involve as many as 60 million people in Asia, 25 million in Latin America and 12 million Africa.' Since then the environmental

movement has grown rapidly.... What is the magnitude and power of this quiet revolution? Relative to what there was before, an organizational explosion is occurring in the Third World." (Fisher 1993) In order to fully grasp the importance of these absolute numbers, the reader should bear in mind that the current population of the U.S. is 270 million. One interviewee (# 3) urged me to imagine the political ramifications of having half the U.S. population self-organizing from the grassroots up around issues of human rights (including gender equality), economic development and environmental degradation. "Durning (1989) has estimated that 'grassroots environmental and anti-poverty groups probably number in the hundreds of thousands, and their collective membership in the hundreds of millions.'" (p. 23) (emphasis mine.)

In her book, *The Road from Rio: Sustainable Development and the Nongovernmental Movement in the Third World* (1993), Julie Fisher conducted an world-wide survey of what I consider to be one of the most under-researched political phenomena in the field of IR: a veritable explosion since the 1970s in the establishment of NGO's in the form of grassroots organizations (GROs) and grassroots support organizations (GRSOs--federations of GRO's), in a massive (in absolute numbers), bottom-up self-organizing response to the "catastrophic interrelated impact of population growth, environmental degradation, and poverty, compounded by the macroeconomic decline of the 1980s, (which) forced millions of people to organize themselves and demand change.... deepening poverty is the most powerful organizer of GROs ." (Cf. Table A and Table B at the end of this chapter).

A complete typology of NGO's would include six levels, define major organizational types within each level and attempt to chart the complex interlevel relationships of this political phenomenon (a task which is beyond the scope of this

dissertation). According to Chen (personal communication 2000) the levels are comprised of grassroots membership organizations, grassroots support organizations, local and national advocacy organizations, local and national alliances or movements, international advocacy organizations, and international movements. Perhaps most importantly, she notes that WID, as an international social movement and an international institutional regime consists of all these types of organizations. [6]

Fisher notes that:

> "The growth of GRSO's concerned with women has been the most dramatic component of their overall proliferation...with few exceptions, a majority of women's organizations throughout the Third World are promoting the message that sustainable development will fail without the full involvement of women. The initial shift from 'women's projects' involving housekeeping skills or handicrafts to micro-enterprise development is now being replaced by the broader conviction, based on overwhelming evidence, that declines in infant mortality, increased acceptance of family planning, environmental preservation, and income generation, all depend on educating and involving women."

As a political scientist studying international relations, I am very interested in the intersection of civil society phenomena (domestic/state level politics) with the international level of the state system, (international state politics) via the "engagement mechanism" of international regimes/international institutional organizations. Examples of such organizations include the international WID movement, International Non-governmental Organizations, (INGO's), and the international aid regime, (made up of private donor/ foundations/INGO's, bilateral funders such as individual country donors from the European Community, and multilateral lenders such as the World Bank and other divisions of the UN.) The relevance that this magnitude of political mobilization should have to IR theory will be discussed in Chapter Six, "The Theoretical Implications of the WID Phenomena to International Relations Theory."

As "overwhelming evidence" of the unprecedented expansion of NGOs, Fisher states, "The organizational proliferation occurring in many countries has left academics and development practitioners struggling to catch up with a new reality."
As evidence for the lack of inflation in these figures, Fisher offers several tables of the various international regions. (Cf. Table C at the end of this chapter).

Creative problem solving: Many interviewees noted that one characteristic of this "emergent phenomenon" (meaning that hundreds, and then thousands, of locally-initiated development groups were springing up all over the world in the 1970s and 1980s) was a quality of "making it up as we went along." This type of *ad hoc* creative organizing response to crisis does not amend itself to elaborate academic *post hoc* theorizing. It is rather a straightforward response that surfaced repeatedly in the interviews in which person after person spoke of a sudden and total commitment to the issues –as such it is a significant reflection on the centrality of personal values and the political beliefs of the interviewees to their political activism. Often their organizing work was a spontaneous response to sudden crises (e.g. famine, cyclone) which then grew into a long term commitment to changing social structures of inequality underlying and exacerbating the effects of such crises. In these cases, interviewees stated candidly that they had no idea they were at the cusp of a worldwide movement.

However what is amenable to analysis that would be theoretically significant to this dissertation is (1) the rapidity with which the movement coalesced, (2) the "phenomenon" of its synchronous appearance all over the globe, and (3) its capacity for institutionalizing itself as an international regime, for gaining legitimacy and political scope, (i.e. its ability to effect change in a variety of arenas from local and national politics to achieving varying degrees of influence, power and policy change in major

International State System actors, such as the UN). This will be discussed in the next chapter. When Interviewee # 25 returned to India in 1981, establishing the first OXFAM America program in that region, she urged that it be a WID program, the first in the OXFAM family. "But we didn't know how to build such a program, or even to think about it, we just had to do it."... She then quickly added, "but I can't claim credit for this as a 'first' because there was so much going on -- too much erupting all over the place." Another interviewee echoes:

> "We didn't know what we were doing," admits Interviewee # 4, "It was all very exciting. The women in Africa were already organized and involved and could tell us what they wanted and how they were developing their programs.... And when we came back, we did just what they were doing: funding from AID, workshops, conferences, lists, telling the guys to be careful about gender issues. And there was enormous interest. It took on a life of its own!"

Interviewee # 4 noted that participants were exhilarated by the Copenhagen experience, by its size of 5,000 women, huge meetings, presenting volumes of research, with every country voting. Speaking to a colleague, the deputy director of the meeting, she was told, "This is so surprisingly beyond our expectations, we really don't know what we are doing – we are learning it as we go."

"That," Interviewee # 4 commented, "was what all of us were doing."

Networking: Networking as an intentional political strategy of WID in pre-negotiation and negotiation talks will be discussed in the next chapter. Its discussion here focuses on another crucial aspect of networking: as an essential element in the organizational integration of local movements into the international WID movement. Interviewee # 25 sees the shift propelled, at least partially, by the NGO's:

> "WID is an international movement with a grassroots base. In each country there is a grassroots and elite WID movement, both with international ties. Each country is part of the international movement, directly tied in. International to local and local to international -- no real

> distinctions." [Then, in response to the interviewer's question; How do the local groups participate in the international? She gave several examples, such as;]. "NGO activists propose to donor agencies that a delegation of ten grassroots women should be sent to the UN meetings. A number of donors sponsor the travel of the grassroots delegates, and the numbers add up."

Interviewee # 25 explained that, initially, achieving this linkage was difficult. Women in the grassroots often needed NGO intermediaries to begin consciousness-raising, organizing, and fund-raising when responding to local problems and crises; they also need NGO support in order to be able to afford travel and participation in international meetings. Once they arrived at a UN conference, they (as well as NGO's in the early period) found that they were not allowed to directly participate in the plenary sessions but could only meet with the delegates outside the sessions in parallel meetings to lobby and present their views. And even though there was the problem of accessing simultaneous translation services, nevertheless they persisted and "they made their voices heard."

Another example is presented by Interviewee # 37 from her grassroots experience in the Philippines. Her feminist organization began in 1978, despite the dictatorship of Marcos, as part of an underground resistance movement of women, peasants and workers working for social development. Then in 1986, the dictatorship was overthrown by a nonviolent people's revolution.

> "Several women's organizations came together to form a coalition called the Power of Women. Some were rooted in the suffrage movement, some in national liberation, all came together and advocated certain provisions in the new constitution -- a family code and equal rights. We lost the abortion issue but got the rest."

As typical of so many WID experiences, the groups making up the coalition were not in agreement on all issues; compromise was required. The groups had a choice to remain inflexible and competitive and loose their influence, or to cooperate in

this network and gain the power off a consolidated voice. Here, as in many places, they chose cooperation.

> "There are many different divisions in the women's movement. And they spend time differentiating themselves from each other. Get states involved in reproduction issues, or don't get the states involved. Don't let the population issue be mentioned; it's not population but distribution, etc. Some research by going out to the locals and some research in-house only. There are gradations of legitimacy."

Interviewee # 37's coalition conducted classes to develop women's political leadership by bringing peasant and village women, ten at a time, to two day workshops in an urban center to discuss women's issues. This coalition, which initially emerged simply as several local groups to train the most disenfranchised women in how to respond to domestic violence, eventually grew to become the powerful national organization, PILIPINA, directly influencing the articles of the new national constitution. From there, an almost inevitable step in growth positioned them and their national coalition of women's organizations as their country's voice in the international development meetings sponsored by the UN, major donors and donor countries (especially Canada).

This phenomenon of cooperative networking and negotiating in order to participate in the highest levels of government was recounted in many interviews. Interviewee # 13 describes how the 1991 Miami Conference on Women in the Environment brought together far-flung members and their respective organizations within the WID movement, the Population groups and Environmentalists in order to influence the agenda of the upcoming Rio conference on the environment (UNCED '92). Initially divided, they learned at that time to form a more cooperative strategy, attempting to integrate their agendas. In the words of Interviewee # 25, "the

environmental issue won't go away over the next ten years. We need to compromise and negotiate. Otherwise we will box ourselves out."

As WID consolidated its gains in Phase Three, it was able to focus on several diverse strands: "human rights, reproductive health and rights, environment, livelihoods and work, micro-finance. Each of these WID streams has developed significant knowledge [and] negotiating skills" (Chen personal communication 2000).

Interviewee # 13, expressing her particular view of a theme that emerged in other interviews, reflected on the international networking expertise derived from the Miami Conference. As an executive at UNEP and an active participant in the environmental "stream" of WID, she noted that, just as for any economic development program to be successful it must include women, so too, for any economic development project to be successful in the long run it must be premised upon and rooted in ecologically sustainable development, i.e. defined as "meeting the needs of the present without destroying resources that will be needed in the future" (Fisher 1993:xi). This practical development, linking a gender critique to environmental sustainability within the field in the late 1980's and early 1990's is examined historically by Braidotti, et al. (1994) who contend that:

> "the theme of WED originated in the context of economic development of the countries of the South, i.e. discussions on Women in Development (WID) and Environment and Development as well as from within social movements in the South such as the Chipko...(since) the two global conferences on women and the environment in Miami (November, 1991) and the UNCED process (June, 1992, the UN Conference on Environment and Development, commonly referred to as the Rio Conference)...WED has gained a new international momentum. This is due to the fact that a larger circle of actors including development critics, political activists, feminists, women environmentalists, and ecofeminists from the North, South and also the ex-eastern block have entered the ...WED debate.

> "As a result of the fundamental questioning of developmentalism that the WED theme opens up, women and men working within the field of development assistance started to question the sustainability of development in the South...They began to understand the topic of WED not solely as observers from the North who assist the South in its economic development but they began to question the very sustainability of the dominant model of development in their own countries as well."

WID Today

> WID has grown steadily since 1975, in both presence and influence, and especially since 1985 with the international infrastructure of the UN Decade for Women fully operationalized and helping to institutionalize the rapidly expanding bottom-up grassroots movement with much-needed top-down resources (e.g. international communication networks of agencies, conferences, publishing, etc., funding for development projects and data gathering, all amounting to the organizational linkages crucial to the expansion and efficacy of the movement.) Despite the apparent rapidity of these organizational successes, it continues to be a "multi-generational, patient effort," as Interviewee # 8 observed.

Linking this long-range vision to the "sudden" emergence of WID, "an idea whose time had come," Interviewee # 4 tried to capture the nuances of academic activists' mixed anticipations of the reactions they would receive from professional colleagues. Her reminiscence echoes that of many interviewees who observed that they were continually "surprised" by the high level of professional and academic response they received to gender issues. Twenty years ago, Interviewee # 4 and her colleagues were researching the role of men and women in many different cultures. Looking to establish a professional organization to promote interest, research, publishing and funding, they held a conference on the topic, hoping to attract fifty people at the most. Three hundred development professionals and academics came. Laughing, she reminisced, "Where did they come from?!"

A majority of the interviewees observed an astonishing burst of growth in the international status and influence of WID in the UN in its second decade, between 1985 and 1995, a "critical mass" that had been growing all through the UN Decade for Women and had finally achieved "take-off":

> "Between 1983 and now (1995) the women's movement came on line with a vengeance -- by 1985 it was not only there, it was there big - and that all over the world." (Interviewee # 4)

> "The women's movement came on with an eruptive energy in 1985. It didn't seem to be there in 1980, it was not evident, meeting tremendous resistance, and marginality. But by 1985 -- something happened." (Interviewee # 21)

> "The Africans through their churches lead the way. They had regional groups called Mopacs which met every year. Then it was just everywhere -- spontaneous eruption -- millions and millions of small things came together." (Interviewee # 42).

> "Now, every organization in the UN says that the center of every issue is women's empowerment. Isn't that amazing?" (Interviewee # 8).

> "WID standards are set in every agency within the UN and there is also an oversight office in each to monitor." (Interviewee # 13)

But this is not to say that WID has accomplished all its goals. When asked if the resistance against implementing gender development has shifted, Interviewee # 4 responded,

> "I'm not aware that it has shifted; it is still there. For example, in FAO, women's groups are small, marginal, embattled in the larger system. They have a narrow mandate. They survive only because friends close to the top think they are important. The movement needs lots of hustling."

Interviewee # 13 also saw solid progress in WID's goals, and was therefore optimistic about the efficacy of WID as a social movement while at the same time noting it had not yet completed its mandate. When asked as a political scientist to evaluate this social movement in regard to its public policy goals, she stated:. "From

1970 until now, on a 0 to 10 scale, I would say we are at 4.8 -- not quite half way there. By end of this decade I anticipate we will be at 7.5." Interviewee # 21 explained her more critical assessment in more detail:

> "There have been changes, but only some changes. The UN development agencies have learned to use the language, and that is a big change in consciousness. But language does not translate into action. We give them rules on how to analyze but not on how to apply."

She elaborated here on her frustration with the hundreds of field training sessions she had done on gender and development projects throughout the world, in which field workers "willingly" followed newly established practices for mainstreaming women when specific steps are laid out for them, yet overall will resist creative problem solving on how to include women when sudden conflicts arise – as they often do in the field.

Today, the emergence of gender consciousness in the UN development agencies could be summarized in this fashion. The UN's development policies have been affected by WID' s interventions on three levels. The first is rhetorical, asserting in official documents and policy guidelines that women and gender considerations must be included in the various development agency projects as defining standards for policy planning implementation and evaluation. On this level, WID has been highly successful. "Member governments have given firm promises to rectify the imbalances between men and women in the UN as well as in global and national development" (Pietila, 1994).

The second is the level of research, analysis and documentation of gender disparities in the UN's on-going development activities. Here too, WID has been highly successful, bringing to widespread recognition throughout the field the costs that the absence of gender analysis has had on past development policies (due to project inefficiencies and mis-implementation) and how a gendered perspective has and will

lead to more effective development projects in terms of return on investment. And, most interviewees credit WID as being highly successful in pushing for the creation of new bureaucracies – in the UN and in many nations – for the gathering and compiling of statistics on women's economic contributions to national economies, data that simply did not exist before.

The third level is that of implementation. Here, WID has had mixed success.

> "Everyone knows now that in Africa most agriculture is done by women, and that is big change. Now, women are production, not just reproduction. But many [agencies] go blithely on planning development without taking gender into account. They know it but don't know what to do with the knowledge. It mystifies us" (Interviewee # 21).

The literature suggests that one explanatory reason for this resistance, is that the larger UN – the majority of the donor countries[4] which make up a majority of the General Assembly and the various other directive bodies in the UN – is still a male dominated culture at the highest level and therefore remains captive to a patriarchal belief system which finds a gender equity unacceptable despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary (Pietila, 1994; Staudt, 1990). This culture of "acceptable discrimination" unfolds from the top down in an ever-widening bureaucratic network to individual projects based on the political orientation of member states themselves. At the project level, a variety of reasons are cited for bureaucratic resistance, "foot-dragging," a non-fulfillment of project goals that look good on paper but can be side-stepped in the field or seen as "expedient rhetoric" at the time of implementation.

Wadehra, writing as a feminist man who is committed to the liberation of African women, is straightforward about the nexus of the problem as being that place, *in situ,* where a culture of donor insensitivity collides with the culture of village mores which subordinates women (Wallace 1991). This cultural conjunction can circumscribe

attempts to engage women in development projects on an equal footing with men and must be changed resolutely, over time, with persistence and patience:

> "Men have the power. It is indisputable that, historically, tradition, religion and the law have given power to the men. Therefore the inequality with which we now live is approved by tradition, by religion and also by the law. This has created a sort of mental oppression. A woman may be unable to consider herself as oppressed, because she believes that tradition is the source of her responsibilities and problems. Therefore she is not in conflict with men and does not consider men as her enemy. In the same way, men do not consider women as particularly oppressed because tradition, laws and religion have made the men powerful individuals. We, who want to change the situation are outside this system and therefore presented with a delicate problem. This is the case whether we are feminists, governments or NGO's like Oxfam. (Wallace, 1991).

Mehata summarizes his analysis with the succinct question, "Why is it that challenging gender inequalities is seen as tampering with traditions of culture, and thus taboo, while challenging inequalities in terms of wealth and class is not?" (Wallace, 1991). She argues that the problem comes down to unfounded academic and research presumptions about the household unit -- that it is somehow "sacrosanct" and that within it, there is no conflict, no unequal or exploitive allocation of resources and labor -- and also that in many societies, women are still literally seen as property:

> "Once...women are seen as property, any attempt to challenge ensuing inequalities is treated as unwanted interference in matters of 'property.' Certainly none would wish to or have a right to interfere in a man's treatment of his land -- it is his property and so he has a right to do what he wishes with it," so too "this attitude of noninterference is obvious when there are quarrels in the village. If it is between two men, be they brothers even, others will intervene and set up a system to settle it amicably. However, if it is between a man and (his) wife, it will be considered a personal matter and any interference would be termed unwarranted! Similarly, ...in divorce the woman rarely appears; at best, some other men represent her and settlements are made by the men amongst themselves (Wallace, 1991).

And finally, from a different perspective on the problem of implementing WID standards of equity at the individual project level, Adelina Ndeto Mwau harshly

criticizes the "myth" of integrating women in development by bluntly stating that due to overwork, "women are already over-integrated." She poses the more pointed questions, "Why is this already-existing massive labor not recognized? Is it enough to integrate women into an already unequal and unjust economic system?" and answers her question with the following statistics:

> "Most women in Africa work approximately 17 hours a day and yet women earn only one-tenth of the world's income. Women's share of labour in Africa is:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Domestic work | 95% |
> | Processing and storing | 85% |
> | Weeding | 70% |
> | Harvesting | 60% |
> | Livestock | 50% |
> | Planting | 50% |
>
> ...In Kenya agricultural workers visited men growing cash crops five times more often then they did women growing the same crop. (Yet) 38% of the farms run by women manage to harvest the same yields as men.... The planners, policies and extension sources treat women as invisible farmers."

And perhaps most crucial to the larger goals of this study, and immediately pertinent to the question of sources of resistance to implementing WID standards in development, she echoes Wadehra by linking the project level with the national level in noting that: "While 90 percent of countries now have organizations promoting the advancement of women, women themselves, because of their lack of confidence and their greater workload, are still not represented in the decision-making bodies of their countries" (Wallace, 1991).

A specific concern, raised by Pietila, is the shift that has occurred in many donor nations following the collapse of the socialist system, to a "faith in market forces, free trade and competition," an ideology that persuades these donor nations to shift their political and monetary support to the traditional neoclassical lending institutions

and away from the "women-friendly" organizations such as UNEP, UNDP, UNICEF, and FAO. She criticizes the post-Reagan/post-Thatcher ideology that the "free" function of the markets. (i.e. the myth of trickle-down) is the best means of creating resources for human development despite the overwhelming statistical evidence now available from the 1980's which quantifies what amounted to a "Development Debacle" in the Third World as the human costs of economic stabilization plans actually reversed development indicators (Jolly 1987). Quoted by Pietila, Susan George

> "speaks of 'economic apartheid' when she describes the world economy as a 'pyramid with a transnational elite at the apex, a more or less secure middle class below, and under them the vast and growing underclass of people who are (considered) unimportant both as producers and as consumers, and of which the system has absolutely no plans. This is a model of economic apartheid (Pietila 1994),

This chapter has provided a descriptive overview of major themes in the organizational history of the growth of WID into an international movement/regime as these interviewees perceive and reported it. The next chapter will focus on the specific strategies utilized by WID activists to influence the developmental policies of the United Nations.

Endnotes

1. "It is a central tenet of feminism that women's invisible, private wounds often reflect social and political injustices. It is a commitment central to feminism to share burdens" (Datan 1989).
"It is an axiom of feminism that the personal is political. ...The conversation format nicely illustrates how knowledge is socially constructed, tentative, and emergent. ...Reading conversations makes me very sensitive to the way single-authored writing smooths out controversy and silences voices. Conversation are harder to read because the reader has to take a part, and work out the differences; in single-voiced writing, readers can simply sit back and "listen" to the voice of authority" (Reinharz 1992).

2. Obviously other delineations of phases and periods are possible: "Gradually it was realized that the "Women in Development" issue could not be dealt with in isolation from its social and economic context. "Gender analysis" has been introduced in an attempt to rectify this situation. "Women *in* Development" is more and more frequently being replaced by "Women *and* Development" or "Gender Issues" (Royal Tropical Institute 1992).
Chen suggests the use of Rathberger's typology "WID-WAD-GAD" as more representative of the chronological unfolding of increasingly sophisticated and more inclusive critiques of the processes of discrimination against women as they emerged in the literature (personal communication). Based upon the historical evolution of theory and practice, Chen proffers the following schema of phases:
Pre-1975: early organizational efforts (see the historical discussion in Chapter Four here)
1975-1980: burgeoning of WID development projects; early networking
1980-1985: global networking, maturation of WID projects; transformation to WAD (Women and Development)
1985-1990: transformation to GAD (Gender and Development), deepening theoretical analysis, expansion of negotiation arenas
1990's: negotiation success at global summits, continued expansion of theory, mainstreaming gender as a variable

3. Agenda 21 is the centerpiece statement of the formal results of the Rio Conference. Cf. Appendix A at the end of this dissertation for a complete description.

4. BRAC is the largest Bangladeshi GRSO (grassroots support organization), and "has a staff of 3,600, is working with 4,356 GRSO's in 2,225 villages and has provided oral rehydration training for 11 million households" (Fisher 1993).

5. The Grameen Bank started in Bangladesh as a small village credit society for poor. "By December 1986, its 295 branches served 234,343 members, three-fourths of them women. More than 100 branches per year have been added since that time and, as of 1989, more than 400,000 loans averaging $60 each had been extended to purchase tools and livestock. By 1990,...membership reached over 830,000 in 762 branches" (Fisher 1993).

6. According to Chen, it should be noted that "within the broader NGO 'revolution' there (are) three international social movements-turned-international institutional regimes: the human rights movement, the environmental movement and the women's movement. Both the environmental movement and WID – separately and together – contributed to putting ecologically sustainable development on the international agenda. The point...empirically and theoretically – is what was WID's unique contribution to that effort" (personal communication 2000).

7. As opposed to a "transformative" minority of donor countries who were the original activists on gender and WID via committing major contributions attached to required performance on WID standards -- the Scandinavian countries, Canada, and the Netherlands are frequently cited as the political leaders of this upsurge at the UN, and as having far-reaching impacts on the General Assembly itself via the Decade for Women.

Figure A

Subdivisions and categorizations of NGO's. (Fisher, 1993)

	MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS		NONMEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS
	Individual	Umbrella	
DEVELOPMENT ONLY	Women's GRSOs*	Federations of Women's Organizations*	Research Organizations (*)
		GRO Networks (*)	Foundations (*)
		GRSO Networks(*)	Other GRSOs*
		Development Theatre Networks*	Development Theatres*
DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER ACTIVITIES	Women's Organizations(*)	Federations of Women's Organizations(*)	Foundations(*)
	Human Rights Organizations(*)	National Labor Federations(*)	Charities(*)
	National Professional Organizations(*)	Financial Federations(*)	Hospitals(*)
	Religious Institutions(*)	Religious Federations(*)	Universities(*)
OTHER ACTIVITIES ONLY	Women's Organizations	Federation of Women's Organizations	Research Organizations
	Human Rights Organizations	National Labor Federations	Foundations
	National Professional Organizations	Financial Federations	Charities
	Religious Institutions	Religious Federations	Hospitals
			Universities
			Arts Organizations

Figure B

Numerical estimate of a sample of grassroots organizations (Fisher 1993)

Country	Date	Estimated # of GROs
Kenya	1980	5,000 GROs
	1989	15,000 - 20,000 GROs
	1991	26,000 GROs
Brazil	1989	1,000 community schools, 10,000 neighborhood associations, 100,000 Christian base organizations
	1990	4,000 rural unions
Peru	1990	1,500 community kitchens
Chile	1989	12,000 lower class membership organizations
Costa Rica	1989	6,000 neighborhood associations
Guatemala	1988	800 local development associations
India	1989	"tens of thousands"
Senegal	1987	1,000
Burkina Faso	1987	4,500 (2,500 officially recognized)
All Sahel countries	1990	12,000 - 15,000
Philippines	1989b	3,000 Christian base organizations

Note: "GRO's (grassroots organizations) are also called base groups, people's organizations, or local organizations, ...working to improve and develop their own communities either through community-wide or specialized memberships.... Indigenous organizational knowledge is probably as important to human survival as time-honored agricultural techniques" (Fisher 1993).

Fisher notes that it is difficult to get numbers on GRO's because for those that choose to register with governments, totals may be inflated; however, the majority remain unregistered, and therefore, if

anything, their totals are underestimated. In the above chart, she uses a sample of just a few far-flung countries to give a sense of absolute numerical growth and of how widespread this phenomenon is (pp. 23-24).

In summary she states, "since the early 1970's, more than a hundred thousand nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) have been founded in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by peasant women and professors, squatters and students, fisher folk and unemployed intellectuals. This nongovernmental revolution seeks not to violently overthrow existing governments but rather to challenge their inequitable and often repressive political monopoly by enlarging civil society...(it) challenges both the narrow scope and the top-down style of decision making about human needs rather than merely the identity or even the ideology of decision makers" (pp. xi-xii).

As of 1993, Fisher estimated that total numbers of GRSO's (federations of grassroots organizations) numbered at least 35,000 worldwide (p. viii).

Figure C

Samples of Grassroots Support Organizations (GRSO's) and INGO's (International Non-governmental Organizations,) i.e. large "umbrella" organizations that function as networks or federations of more localized GRO's (Grassroots Organizations) (Fisher 1993 .

South America

Country	Publication/ Reference Dates	Source	Total # Orgs.	GRSOs	INGOs	Other Nonprofit Organizations	Notes
Argentina	1989	GADIS	115				Sources exclude 1,200 foundations, many of which are involved in grassroots support (Thompson, 1990, 1992).
	1992	World Bank	161	153	5	3	
Bolivia	1985	Schneider	227				
	1990	Bebbington		386			
Brazil	1988	Landim		1,200			Landim estimates that there are at least twenty percent more GRSOs than are listed.
Chile	1983	Vio Grossi	100+				Thompson lists 500 GRSOs, 75 "church NGOs," 69 "research centers," and 102 "environmental NGOs."
	1992	Thompson		700+			
Colombia	1985	Schneider	200				The CIDESAL directory lists over 5,000 nonprofit organizations, including charities, chambers of commerce, GROs, GRSOs, etc. Roughly one in six is a GRSO. Ritchey-Vance, of the IAF, estimates that the correct figure is considerably higher. '
	1990	CIDESAL (est)		1,000+			
Ecuador	1985	Schneider	300				
Paraguay	1990	CIRD (est)		78			The directory lists 300 nonprofits of all types.
Peru	1988b	Padron		350			See box in text.
	1990	Diaz Albertini		400			
Uruguay	1990	Barreiro & Cruz	92	72	5	15	
Venezuela	1992		107				Interview with Christopher Hennin, World Bank.

Figure C (continued)

Central America, Mexico, the Caribbean

Country	Publication/ Reference Dates	Source	Total # Orgs.	GRSOs	INGOs	Other Nonprofit Organizations	Notes
Belize	1989	CNIRD	11				
Costa Rica	1986	CINDE		50 (est)			
	1992	World Bank	130	105	25		
Dominica	1989-90	CNIRD & OAS (est)		12			
Dominican Republic	1986-88	CEDOIS	119	70			This is only a partial listing of Dominican GRSOs.
El Salvador	1988-92	Est. from: Interhemispheric Resource Directory, El Salvador; Partners of the Americas; World Bank		26			
Grenada	1989	CNIRD		12			
Guatemala	1988	Garoza		200+			There has been a burst of GRSO development since 1985, when the military dictatorship ended. FUNDESA estimates the total to be 400, including some GROs.
Haiti	1990	IAF	74				Members of the Haitian Association of Voluntary Associations only.
Honduras	1988	Est. from: Interhemispheric Resource Directory, Partners of the Americas.		58			
	1992	World Bank	95	70	22	3	

Figure C (continued)

Africa

Country	Publication/ Reference Dates	Source	Total # Orgs.	GRSOs	INGOs	Other Nonprofit Organizations	Notes
Angola	1992	UNDP	31	9	8	14	
Benin	1992	UNDP	113	78	16	19	
Burkina Faso	1992/1985	Atang	87				
	1992	UNDP	131	41	76	14	
Burundi	1992	UNDP	18	3	13	2	
Cameroon	1985	Schneider	12				
	1992/1989	Atang	52				
	1992	UNDP	45	27	15	3	
Cape Verde	1992	UNDP	30	10	1	19	
Central African Republic	1992/1988	Atang	25				
	1992	UNDP	34	16	12	6	
Congo	1992	UNDP	44	37	2	5	
Ethiopia	1992/1988	Atang	60				
	1992	UNDP	68	12	53	3	
Gabon	1992	UNDP	5	2	2	1	
Gambia	1992	UNDP	38	19	18	1	

Figure C (continued)

Africa (continued)

Madagascar, Comoros, Mauritius, Reunion & Seychelles	1989c	IFDA	114				This figure is the number of members in an informal network that includes some individuals.
Mauritius	1992	UNDP	48	30		18	Mauritius is also included in above data.
Mauritania	1992	UNDP	9	4	5		
Mozambique	1991	Clark	120				
	1992	UNDP	27	6	6	13	
Namibia	1992	UNDP	144	58/93	40	9/44	
Niger	1992	UNDP	64	22	37	5	
Nigeria	1985	Schneider	650				
	1991/1992	Atang	229				
	1992	UNDP	233	167	7	59	
Rwanda	1985	UNICEF	133	90/100	30/40		
	1992/1985	Atang	133				
	1988	UN	150				
	1992	UNDP	64	38	20	6	
Sao Tome & Principe	1992	UNDP	14	4	7	3	

Figure C (continued)

Asia

Country	Publication/ Reference Dates	Source	Total # Orgs.	GRSOs	INGOs	Other Nonprofit Organizations	Notes
Bangladesh	1985	Rahnema		500-600			Rural GRSOs only.
	1989	Durning		1,200			
India	1985	Rahnema		6,000			McCarthy's estimate includes local charities, and can be compared to 20,000 "voluntary service organizations" estimated in 1981. (IIRR, 1981). Durning's figure may have been accurate by the late 1980's.
	1985	Schneider	7,000				
	1989	Durning		12,000			
	1989	McCarthy	100,000				
Indonesia	1985	Schneider	277				McCarthy's estimate is limited to "social activist NGOs."
	1989	McCarthy		1,000			
Nepal	1989	PACT		140			
Philippines	1992	Ledesma & Desena	21,000				Includes charities, environmental organizations and NGO networks, but excludes civic clubs, commercial organizations, and political organizations.
Sri Lanka	1987	AIRD News		100+			Rural GRSOs only.
	1991	IFDA #80	555				Probably includes INGOs, but not charities
Thailand	1985	Tongsawate & Tipps	113				The first two estimates include GRSOs & INGOs.
	1988	CIDA	300				
	1989	PACT		200			

Chapter Five

The UN's Adoption of WID's Development Standards

Specifically, how was WID able to persuade the UN to adopt new gender-sensitive standards in its development programs? An answer and detailed description to this question is both the topic of this chapter and the heart of the case study. Most interviewees concurred that by engaging in on-going national and international political activism articulated via repeated series of simultaneous pre-negotiation and negotiation strategies, WID was able to develop into an international institutional regime situated both within and outside the various development agencies of the United Nations. This effort encompassed the entire repertoire of organizing, research, education, and mobilizing necessary to the establishment of an international social movement, which, in this particular case, due to its increasing capacity at pre-negotiation, negotiation and lobbying, could then institutionalize itself as an international regime.

It should be noted by the reader that the specific task of this chapter is to catalogue a rich answer to the above "how" question. Rich in the distillate of fifty scholar/activist/practitioners' professional experience working for this international goal; rich as a narrative of a new social movement's incipient mobilization and gradual transition into an influential international institutional regime. Rich in the sense of Clifford Geertz's use of the term "thick description" (1968). Rich in answering the "how" question in this chapter by examining the strategies, pre-negotiations and fully-elaborated on-going negotiations involving lobbying, political pressure and bargaining used by WID. Sufficiently rich so that, as a researcher, I can establish the empirical foundation here for the upcoming theoretical argument which will emerge, in the next chapter, on the relevance of these findings to the advancement and refinement of International relations theory.

The six practical political approaches which emerged as themes from the interviews are: (1) cross-fertilization through networking and information exchange among women's organizations, (2) the insider/outsider strategy, (3) developing mentoring and partnership relationships with men in established bureaucratic positions, (4) the creation, *de novo*, of research and data-gathering institutions (local, regional, national and international) for statistical analyses, thus providing the first-ever documentation of a vast social problem which had had no name (and therefore for which very little data existed to even begin to address solutions), (5) consensus building, (cooperating rather than competing with other women's organizations), (6) the conduct of diplomacy, re: UN summits and conventions (including pre-convention consensus building and document drafting, and parallel convention negotiation strategies). Because I am not intending any chronologically sequential pattern nor a

hierarchy of importance for these themes, each of these strategies will be described in this chapter simply as empirical data, that is, as the WID activists communicated them to this researcher. To most interviewees, each strategy represented an equally important strand in a complicated web of the social phenomenon of the emergence of WID as an international social movement. Again, it is noteworthy that each of these strategies was well known and consciously practiced by most of the interviewees who "created" or employed these approaches based on experience in other social movements, individual problem-solving and on collectively having learned them from each other in their networking co-education and organizing around the world.

WID's relationship with the UN

Before describing these initiatives on the part of WID, an attempt should be made to explain the underlying relationship that existed between WID and the UN as perceived by the interviewees. WID's early relationship with the UN was dynamic -- the informants repeatedly shared accounts that highlighted the complex nexus of multiple variables coming together within the "providence" of "great timing." In particular they often referred to a unique "window of opportunity" that existed before the political backlash of the 1980's occurred. According to them, this window emerged due to the political "opening" of the times which, in turn, was influenced by several broad, and at times, intertwining strands of social change: the Civil Rights movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the War on Poverty, other social justice movements in the US in the 1960's; and in the Third World, the many successful anti-Colonial movements for national independence and the emergence of the Non-Aligned Nation movement. For most of the earliest WID activists, their "coming of age" politically in

these other social change movements culminated in a sudden and surprising new awareness of the need for a fledgling women's movement "for liberation" both nationally and internationally, epitomized for US activists by the passage of the Percy Amendment. (The legislative passage of the Percy Amendment in and of itself represents a powerful example of how domestic/state level politics can affect the INTERNATIONALlevel of the system.)

Other variables which partially accounted for the UN's receptivity were the perceived failure of conventional development policies for the first thirty years (discussed in the Preface and Chapter One) and the attendant professional frustration, reassessment and search for new paradigms (Interviewee # 21). Also, the three-way interaction of "bottom-up" political organizing from the grassroots focus on women, poverty, and development issues with what I will call "middle-up/middle-down" influences, (i.e. mid-level professionals' /practitioners' filtering "down" new research, such as Boserup's, to field level projects and "up" from suddenly conscienticized WID development professionals, and newly appointed WID specialists, at mid-levels of bureaucracies in organizations like the UN, development foundations and throughout academia) combined with "top-down" initiatives (the UN's Declaration of the International Year for Women and the United Nation's Decade for Women) to expand the movement. Many noted with amusement that the UN's officiate had no idea of the immense groundswell the Decade would engender.

Therefore, WID's early structural relationship to the UN was not that of a unilateral intervention like a single international summit called to negotiate a particular international social conflict, but rather that of ongoing repeated rounds of negotiations in a decade-long summit reflecting the increasingly interdependent relationship that

existed between two initially very unequal international regimes. Initially, WID comprised a very "junior yet upstart" partner (comprised of advocates both within and outside the UN) to which over time quickly came to have the power to redefine a field far beyond its originally small constituency. As such, the UN provided just one -- though crucial -- framework (of what came to be many international frameworks through foundations, NGO's, bi-lateral donors, etc.) for the WID strategies, a "founding forum" that, while professionally validating these approaches, did not create them. A few details of this complex relationship are described by these interviewees in the following terms:

> "The UN was the scaffolding for all this WID energy, but it was not the creator. WID was driven by millions and millions of small things that came together rather then being something that came from the top." (Interviewee # 4).

> "The UN provided the vehicle to sort of capture – to pull together – all the women's movement's energy that was in so many different places. It gave us a context and the means to come together and see what each other was doing" (Interviewee # 25).

> "The women's development movement was a fermentation sponsored by the UN, but not created by the UN" (Interviewee # 13).

All the interviewees who addressed this issue described a burgeoning gender consciousness that was emerging around the world, a consciousness that was very often grassroots, rising in many parts of the world simultaneously yet, in that early time, still isolated regionally and nationally, a very culture-questioning consciousness which smoldered in activists working within other social justice movements and "had no name" -- yet. The UN provided mechanisms, especially funding for international fora, research, education, networking, travel, and non-binding international mandates -- which ignited this subliminal consciousness by carrying it across cultural and political

boundaries and therefore accelerated WID's growth through the classic two-stage development cycle typical of most successful social movements (Kardam 1991): the initial mobilization phase followed by "take-off" into the institutionalization phase with its requisite establishment of new international norms and standards within its particular field of international economic development -- the hallmarks of WID's evolution into an international institutional regime (Young 1989; Keohane & Nye 1989). The UN was a nexus, providing a scaffolding for world-wide organizing, but not the initiator nor the sole energy source. The labor, creative critique and research came from women and men themselves who were committed to improving the performance of development projects throughout the world. With the exception of the three world conferences for the Decade for Women, the contributing expenditures made by the UN in the beginning were minimal -- "low budget" in the estimate of those interviewed. "There was very little money and we had to scratch."

> "Women made up in labor and energy what was not given them in funding and logistical support. It was women's labor and energy and smarts. Money always went to the big pots, not to women. So we worked smarter" (Interviewee # 13).

The relationship between these two regimes was complex, both because the UN is a large, manifold organization of many independent agencies, and because WID, as an international movement, was in fact both inside and outside the UN organization. While it is accurate to say that within the UN "family" various entrenched bureaucratic actors resisted implementing the full implications of WID's gender consciousness, it is equally true to say that simultaneously, perhaps even paradoxically, the UN provided the institutional support -- political, professional and organizational -- necessary for WID's passage from grassroots mobilization to international regime. Recognizing this complex and nuanced interdependency, the

question returns: by what strategies did WID, as a movement, promote its agenda within UN developmental agencies?

Cross Fertilization/Information Exchange among Women's Organizations

> "The UN would send people around from one place to another to show each other what they were doing, rather than send a European in to tell them what to do -- individual visits and conferences. It was all low budget stuff, but very powerful " (Interviewee # 4).

> "We were doing a lot of TC'ing: technical cooperation among developing countries. In theory, we were giving technical assistance, but in fact we were carrying ideas as well. We would see their programs and tell them about ours." (Interviewee # 16).

Prior to The Declaration of the International Year for Women, and despite their burgeoning consciousness, activists were often socially isolated within their own cultural settings and left with the belief that their values were anomalies, a weak minority view in comparison to the dominant political powers of their regions. While they were able to sustain their minority convictions, they were often powerless to implement them in widespread public policy, given the political restrictions imposed upon them by local governments and cultural or religious norms.

Traditionally, the UN had provided programs of technical cooperation to the developing nations by sending technical advisors on the national and local levels to teach skills and to advise inhabitants on various agricultural, health, infrastructural, and economic development issues. Originally, these technical advisors were select experts from first world countries, frequently from agricultural and engineering universities. However, under emerging budgetary restrictions, later advisors were selected from neighboring countries which already had experience in beginning to address a

particular development problem. At this later stage, women were frequently appointed as well as men.

While these UN technical cooperation programs had no stated purpose beyond technical education, they in fact engendered the unintended and powerful spin-off of cultural interchange about many issues. Especially for the women, these interventions turned technical advice into cultural exchanges of empowerment.

> "These meetings turned strangers into colleagues. Where the women had experienced intellectual isolation, they found confirmation and support. While they thought that their beliefs were unique, they found that they were a part of a common consciousness. They made each other sophisticated and self-reflective. The UN enabled these women to educate and confirm in each other the gender values each held separately" (Interviewee # 8).

These meetings provided practical advantages as well. "They shared the frustrating experiences they suffered under local political restrictions and then learned new strategies which other women had used to deal with these same blocks in their regions" (Interviewee # 4). The ministers of some countries, for example, would not allow women to hold national conferences on women's rights issues or travel across their borders when they wanted to visit other regions for conferences on these same issues. So activists learned to use the UN to sponsor a national assembly on the environment, population, or some other more technical, less political issue, and then invited women from neighboring regions to speak at these assemblies (Interviewee # 13).

> "The UN moved women around the world to see each other's programs. I went in 1982 and 1983 up to the economic commission on AID, and then down the east side of Africa, talking to the women in various countries and telling them what we were doing, and what other women were doing, and learned what they were doing. Funded by USAID, women were sent from Tanzania to India and from Tanzania to Kenya and from Kenya to Ethiopia. Workshops on population moved

> women around, enabling them to connect with each other's programs" (Interviewee # 4).

This process of cross-fertilization of gender consciousness interconnected the spontaneous grassroots awareness from one region to another until it emerged into a world wide, international network. Overtly, this was "low budget" technical development in which local women experts of one country would be given travel expenses and support to educate a neighboring region on some domestic, health or agricultural skill. This was the mandated agenda. In fact, these women also were carrying their gender consciousness -- both frustrations and hope -- to the neighboring region, receiving information as well as giving it.

While less conspicuous than this "technical assistance" program, various other events and media contributed to this cross-fertilization of gender consciousness: newsletters, posters, papers, conferences, university education programs: "lots of points of connection, but unique to each situation; little events all over the place" (Interviewee # 25). Interviewee # 4, commenting on the UN poster program, observed: "For the first time ever those posters for the Year of the Girl Child were everywhere, and said to the isolated woman in Bakino Faso, 'I am not alone but part of something bigger -- something going on all over the world -- a world consciousness!'"

Insider/Outsider

> "It was a very clear strategy. We called it insider/outsider. It is rare for a junior bureaucracy to make a major change -- here from gender blindness to gender consciousness. How did it happen? Women inside networked with women outside..." (Interviewee # 4).

Continuing in more detail, Interviewee # 4 explained how this strategy emerged in the earliest days of WID. The Percy Amendment mandated that USAID programs were required to meet gender sensitive development standards. Understandably, this new requirement, while innovative and inspiring to some, was also resisted by the bureaucracy. Typically, in one form of funding mechanism, USAID would issue contracts to those who had applied to manage particular projects; it would then hold supervisory meetings to assess planning, implementation, etc. One interviewee gave a specific example of insider/outsider strategizing by relating one incident representative of the widespread use and efficacy of that strategy. In this case, when USAID called a meeting with the agricultural field research staff from one western land grant university, this informant organized WID activists to attend -- even if they constituted only two women out of a meeting of twenty or thirty professionals.

> Let us say that the USAID officials, including perhaps one WID supporter were the insiders who had called this meeting and the land grant folks, including a couple WID activists, were the outsiders. The handful of activists inside USAID would have already pushed as far as they could in attempting to redesign project criteria to meet gender sensitive standards. The activists in the land grant university at the meeting would assert that the Ford Foundation was making great progress on gender inclusion; what was USAID doing? Or that their own land grant university was developing gender sensitive programs where the staff was equally balanced between women and men; how far had USAID moved to implement this mandate? Or, why did this dry farming field project in Africa not include female farmers? (Interviewee # 4)

In time, this strategy was applied to multiple settings. WID activists, holding various bureaucratic positions within development agencies -- e.g. USAID, donor foundation, the UN, and the foreign aid bureaucracies/ ministries of national governments -- were ready when meetings or conferences were called and would mobilize, often in this early period literally through phone trees, which in turn were

based upon face-to-face professional relationships "of friendship." (This theme, of the political power of committed friendships across racial and national divides, emerged over and over in the interviews and constitutes a powerful and compelling subtext, probably partially explanatory of the surprising growth of WID given the risks of supporting it in its first decade, yet was unfortunately not amenable to empirical research given the focus of this particular dissertation.) When a meeting or conference was held, the word went out and the outsiders came, ready to play their role by questioning their cohorts inside the bureaucratic agency. The outsider could always more easily afford to raise the issue and put pressure on the insiders' agencies. This relatively simple watchdog function actually developed into a highly efficacious negotiation and bargaining practice -- a sort of "seat of the pants" brilliance according to one interviewee.

Many variations evolved using this strategy. Women inside an organization, usually junior in rank, would themselves hold a conference on some issue on which they wanted to spark political action. Men in leadership positions within the organization would be invited to speak at this conference. Then women from outside the organization would attend and raise questions from the floor at the conference: "What about this issue, what is your organization doing to affect this?" The invited attendees raising these questions would identify themselves as representing some competing organization. Usually the speakers addressed would understandably be concerned given the newness and therefore the uncertainty of the scope of the political and normative impact of the Percy Amendment on the development field in this early period. Interviewees summarized upper management responses as coming from a wide range of motives (from mere political expediency through a process of

conscienticization to authentic commitment) which, according to one respondent, nonetheless frequently led to one basic question: "What is this issue...What can we do about it?" (Questions, she said with some amusement, which encoded both the sincere desire to be educated and the simultaneous fear of appearing inept.) Insider women were understandably sympathetic with male leaders and sensitive to the political opening this represented, often volunteering to help out and "do something" to ameliorate the situation, (e.g., by proposing the rewriting of development policy assessment standards, designing training modules on gender roles in development projects, etc.) Often this represented how divergent bureaucratic motives could converge sociocentrically around a desired bureaucratic outcome -- at the senior men's and mid-level management's request, follow-up would be implemented by WID activists.

The key motivating stimulus of this particular strategy was competition -- to appeal to the competitive spirit of an organization to measure up to the achievements of a competing organization and "not look bad" in the eyes of their own constituency. Often insiders could not raise an issue within their own organization without looking either threatening or self-serving. However, by having outside "strangers" representing "the competition" raise these issues, response in the leaders of a particular organization was sparked, even if, or especially if, the issue was new and relatively little understood by the senior men.

Male Partnership

While they discovered, created and refined the various strategies discussed so far in this chapter to fulfill their political agenda, WID members were simultaneously

trying to figure out how to relate to their male, (at this early stage, mostly all senior) colleagues within the larger, predominantly patriarchal system of the UN.[1]

The WID agenda obviously could not be institutionalized without the help of its male counterparts as allies, yet WID activists also feared that the managerial involvement of some more bureaucratically territorial men could result in the displacement of the WID agenda to a marginalized, low priority position for enactment. The answer to this dilemma, the emergent strategy of male partnership, came not from any ideological formula, but was a top-down initiative from certain progressive male leaders who were not threatened by grassroots participation and mobilization but who, as social change agents, were inspired by its overarching vision of egalitarianism and inclusiveness, and therefore committed to a deeper understanding of the political ramifications of gender.

Interviewee after interviewee reiterated that the support of a few bureaucratically powerful men as allies was essential to WID's early institutional success. These senior male officials, many of whom had held their tenure for two decades or more, were eager to "shake up" moribund development organizations within the UN and were, what one interviewee described as "balanced risk-takers" -- i.e. willing to take risks in order to rejuvenate their respective bureaucracies and senior enough to keep stability in their programs as change progressed.

Interviewee # 4 credits her career growth to the mentorship of Abraham Abdu, a senior Ph.D. microbiologist from Egypt, who served as the Undersecretary General of the UN. Abdu, who strongly believed that the partnership between women and men of color was the most important political force extant at that time for social change, was

willing, based on the strength of his thirty year tenure at the UN, to take the risk of promoting a relatively unknown woman to the number two position in their division.

> It (the partnership between women and men of color) doubles our power and influence. He empowered me in our mutual relationship and that, in turn, empowered UNEP. With his sponsorship, I could not fail. He gave me my political will. It is the willingness of leaders of courage not to hoard power, and to believe in their hearts in public service rather than being public figures -- that produces change.

As various interviews revealed, there were many Abraham Abdu's, not only through out the UN system, but throughout the WID world. Sometimes supporting partners, sometimes similarly frustrated researchers or practitioners, sometimes just enlightened men who, because of their own marginality or life-experiences of discrimination, had developed a broader consciousness of gender relation as a system of unequal power relations. Some were husbands who held important positions in their own institutions -- such as development foundations or as directors of NGO's. Interviewee # 47 tells us, "My husband has been a trade union leader for a very long time. He encouraged me to participate in the union." Interviewee # 34, in summing up a life story of politicization from her early rural years as an agricultural worker ("I was just a peasant!" she said, laughing gently at the long path she had to travel,) in the Philippines and her involvement in organizing against the Marcos dictatorship, to her pioneering field work with battered women in rural villages, noted that her partner (who was later to be her husband) shared all her struggles along the way, that they also shared deeply a process of co-education in "very dangerous times." (her description of co-education was remarkably similar to Freire's use of the term "*conscientizacao*".[2]) After the revolution, he was elected as a national senator in the nascent parliament and continues to support her WID work with "commitment." In fact, this story is also an excellent example of how the strategy of male partnership with women intersects with

the dimension of the close connection between the domestic and international levels of the International system for understanding the institutionalization of WID as an international institutional regime: during the Marcos regime, the Philippines had been drained economically; therefore, funding for her national women's organization's economic development projects was difficult to find domestically. Instead it had to come from overseas, from bilateral donors, (for example Canada and Scandinavia), whose project support also had to be certified by the Philippine legislature as foreign investment that would help stabilize the economy as opposed to a history of exploitive foreign investment.

It is interesting to note that Third World interviewees for this dissertation were, in general, more open about appreciating husbands/male partners for the encouragement of their WID political work than First World respondents were. On the other hand, interviewees across the board credited senior men who distinguished themselves in their various bureaucracies for exhibiting "visionary leadership" and being courageous enough to take risks by pushing WID standards, not only for development projects in the field but for gender equity in employment in their organizations as well.

Several interviewees recognized that there were men in their various organizations who were sensitive and gender aware, and that it was strategically important to involve them because of the reality of the hierarchical structure of their bureaucracies (Interviewee # 31). Sometimes a "familial" connection raised the consciousness of men who had daughters who became career women; these men supported WID issues because they did not want to see their daughters suffer through the professional biases their mothers had had to face (Interviewee # 21).

Interviewee # 4 was a specialist in early childhood education when a group of ethnographers from her university asked her to join them in a development project to research food production in West Africa. The men on this team had finally "become aware" that, after a decade of fieldwork, they had no data on the women of the villages because men, due to exclusionary customs, were not permitted to interview or speak alone with women in that particular tribal culture; therefore the researchers enlisted her services to conduct these interviews for them. This "pure accident" allowed Interviewee # 4 to document (in a time prior even to Boserup's work) that women were central to the production of food in this region in Africa and yet, up to this time, all their labor had been invisible to the outside world -- the world of academic research, project planning and the national ministry of labor. It had been assumed in development projects for the previous two decades that food production was largely the work of male villagers. Without the cooperative effort of these men to include her in collaborative research, Interviewee # 4 would not have been exposed to the shock that made her entire professional career change from early childhood education to the microeconomics and gender roles of development projects.

Most of the WID activists/leaders whom I interviewed for this dissertation realized early in the movement's emergence that an anti-male (as opposed to an anti-patriarchal discrimination) stance would be self-defeating. The movement needed to build cooperative working relationships with supportive men in power; as one interviewee said "...to become allies with men in leadership positions who wanted to share power." Interviewee # 25 insisted on using the term "pro women" rather than "feminist" as the more effective political label, one that she insisted was much better received in the Third World, and in and of itself more accurately descriptive of the

types of struggles grassroots women were often engaged in. (This is similar to Alice Walker's argument for the use of her preferred term, "womanist.")

Nonetheless, there were also calculated risks involved during the earliest stages of relying on male partnership to help promote the transition of WID from international social movement to high-level institutionalization at the UN as an international regime. As junior level project directors, choosing to trust the mere verbal commitment of senior male managers, especially those who were socialized to work in an organizationally patriarchal culture created post World War II where male dominance was so pervasive that it was presumed to be "natural" -- ("and where wasn't it?!", as interviewee # 13 said rhetorically), WID activists were simultaneously choosing the risk that senior level men who were only interested in supporting WID for short-term political expediency within their agencies could passively let the system revert to more typical patterns of bureaucratic resistance and demote aspects of the WID agenda into a neutralized or marginalized position (Staudt 1990).

The internationalization of the WID movement, enabled women and men to see both the comparative cross-cultural depth of this problem and to analyze it from various perspectives, developing a wide range of practical strategies for political and social change, based on research, education and the capacity of individuals and organizations to learn (Haas 1990) via negotiation, processes which can also be described as "changing consciousness":

> "If we want to change the existing situation, which is accepted by both men and women, we have to work to raise the level of people's consciousness.... A revolution must be waged against an enemy whose behavior we must try to change. That is why I want to insist that a very hard-line, purist feminism will not resolve the problem" (Saad 1991).

The "enemy" this male writer is referring to is the patriarchal mentality, (not men themselves). In this particular discussion, he noted that this mentality is world-wide and held, not just by many men, but by many women as well. It is a "culture across cultures," embedded in the traditions, the religions and the laws of many peoples. From his Third World perspective, he contended that, in most of the world, women do not see themselves as oppressed nor in conflict with men. Men are not "the enemy"; rather the problem is a patriarchal mentality made unquestioningly powerful by tradition, law and religion. If this appears to be less evident in the First World (a minority position within the UN family), it is only that the First World patriarchal culture has now become more covert and verbally obscured. From his perspective and professional experience as a Third World man committed to WID development projects, he perceived that the objective conditions of patriarchy in various Third World contexts allowed activists to understand and respond to this "enemy"/problem in a wiser manner because it is less hidden and therefore not as easily avoided.

> We, who want to change the situation, are therefore presented with a delicate problem. What will resolve the problem is a type of feminism which is well thought out, which is not narrow, which poses problems, which asks questions, and which discusses issues with both men and women to arrive at a resolution which is acceptable to all. It is a revolution which must be carried out subtly. Without men, without these "enemies", success is impossible since the weapons available to women are very light in comparison to those which are available to men. This is not to say that the struggle is impossible but that it must carried out in an intelligent manner." (Saad 1991)

As Saad noted, it is "unintelligent" for the "enlightened" to impose their solutions on a culture against its members' understanding – change based upon international standards of equality and human rights needs to be accomplished diplomatically, with the goal of creating win-win situations. In the words of a Nicaraguan interviewee, "Revolutions are not exportable but grow inside and from out

of people's needs." When an insensitive intervention occurs, the project may be a success but its ultimate purpose will fail.

One World Bank interviewee recounted a field experience in Africa in which she headed a development project designed to promote school attendance among young girls. Although the girls were very excited and highly motivated to walk the long distance to the new community center where literacy classes were being offered for the first time to female children, when it came time to assess the project's performance, field workers discovered that grandmothers were very upset that the project focused on girls. At this stage in their life cycle, grandmothers-as-matriarchs were understandably very concerned with their own survival as they aged, and traditionally had relied upon young girls/women remaining in the home to take care of them. The grandmothers in fact felt that the project should have targeted boys because "after all, they will grow up to be men and leave anyway; if they were sent to school, then they would make more money when they leave the village and send more home to us." It should be noted that "bright" boys were already allowed to go to school; grandmothers preferred that all boys attend classes, and that all girls stay home -- they deeply feared that girls would also gain the skills necessary to be able to leave the village.

On the other hand, other interviewees emphasized the necessity of challenging certain patriarchal norms regardless of cultural acceptance; they noted that in these cases, moving forward with the partnership of men who strongly supported these changes in fact made controversial development projects both less threatening and more likely to succeed in the long run.

Interviewee # 8 described her successful effort to place the enormous -- yet at that time, socially denied -- problem of trafficking in young girls for prostitution on the agenda of the Social Development Division in Thailand in 1984. "There was a terrible resistance, particularly because in Bangkok it was a male norm, even within the Commission itself. It was seen as a way of life so why was I questioning what was normal? Why bring it up within an organization that was so male dominated?" Interviewee # 8, through long rounds of pre-negotiation that moved forward successfully due to the support of just two high level male officials who later shared in the repeated rewriting of the conference document, was finally able to succeed in placing this item on the agenda, and after much acrimonious debate, in getting it passed. However Interviewee # 8 then chose to resign her position in the UN in protest against the double standard of the many other men on the Committee who eventually agreed to the document in public while supporting child prostitution in private – they excoriated her for "invading" or "obstructing" their "leisure time" activities. All this despite, as Interviewee # 8 said, her warnings about the future possibility of a catastrophic spread of AIDS from the Bangkok sex industry. (It should be noted that, in this case, the cultural norm being challenged, while patriarchal, and absolutely sexually exploitive and traumatic to children, also simultaneously involved an entrenched business culture: men who wanted to be successful were expected to work extremely long hours; they combined evening business meetings with sex in brothels designed to serve both functions.)

While male partnership was usually an effective strategy for promoting the success of the WID agenda, it brought with it, to some degree, the risk of being co-opted into a marginalized status within various development agencies of the UN. (This

was less pronounced in the early period of this study; later in the decade, as the perhaps predictable reaction of bureaucratic resistance emerged, the problem of marginalization intensified due to competition for inadequate resources) (Staudt 1990). Within the development bureaucracies, WID activists had to learn to remain consistently focused on the needs of poor women and their households within any given setting, and on enlisting the support of reliable men for achieving the overarching goal of "Equality, Development, Peace" -- the theme of the UN Decade for Women.

The male partnership strategy, as it emerged from numerous interviews, was best summarized by Saad as follows:

> (1) "...think gender and culture, not male vs. female
>
> (2) involve men in each project for their approval and support – otherwise the project will be marginalized
>
> (3) keep each project focused on the needs of the women served and not on the agenda of the sponsoring NGO or donor nation. Case studies and days spent in villages with the village women involved, are essential before a project can be funded.
>
> (4) do not impose outside solutions which disrupt the village culture or values."

Much like the WID activists before him who had learned by trial and error what was the most diplomatic approach to promoting the WID agenda within international economic development regimes, Saad reflected upon what he had come to realize was the most pragmatic and the most efficacious approach to achieving social change in village settings, change that led slowly and incrementally -- but reliably, and in his judgement, without engendering backlash -- to the growth of equality between women and men:

> "...the inequality with which we now live is approved by tradition, by religion and also by the law. This has created a sort of mental oppression....If we want to change the existing situation, which is accepted by both men and women, we have to work to raise the level of

> people's consciousness... If we do not carry on the struggle together with men we risk achieving no victories, or only very short lived ones and ultimately we will have no effect... I believe that the struggle for women's liberation is a struggle at the level of consciousness; the strategy must take that as its starting point" (Saad 1991).

Creating Gender-Inclusive Statistical Accounting Methods and Institutions

> The virtual exclusion of women from the development planning process has actually whittled down women's preexisting functions and status in relation to men. The fact that the data base is still thin and that there are many gaps in knowledge in this field does not justify the continuation of practices which preliminary research shows to be detrimental to women (Margaret Mead, in Tinker et al. 1976)

If women are not "counted," they are invisible, discounted from policies -- as if they and their labor did not exist. Yet in fact they are a crucial resource for economic development.

> Women are moving to the forefront of the global agenda for ...development, but moving from agenda to policy to practice takes time, sometimes generations. It also takes numbers--to support the demands for equal status (UN: The World's Women, 1970-90.)

Generating awareness of the gender differentiated impacts of economic development policy and the resulting damage caused by a lack thereof, now helps guide policy planning, implementation and evaluation in terms of policy assessment. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the UN in 1990, asserted that the collection and analysis of reliable, comprehensive data has become a top priority of the UN since 1975, "...presenting and interpreting [these statistics] in such a way that policy makers and people all over the world can use them to advance the status of women through legislation, development strategies and effective lobbying" (UN: The Women's World).

The power of statistical research to raise the consciousness of social scientists and practitioners about the costs of inequality to development was first raised by Ester Boserup in her comprehensive analysis of women's participation in the labor force in Africa, Asia and Latin America under their rural, urban, and transitional economic labor systems. In *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), Boserup observed that the change from traditional to modern economic systems hindered women's participation in the labor force, reducing the overall productivity rate. As a solution, she proposed new training programs. Reeducating women for new roles, Boserup argued, would not only accelerate the economy beyond that attainable by male labor alone, but would also have the side effect of reducing birth rates as well (Tinker, et al. 1975).

While many scholars take issue with what are now seen as her overly simplistic solutions to this problem, most acknowledge that her path-breaking book was a major force in raising gender consciousness and that her strategy of using comparative statistical analysis opened the door to a powerful, persuasive tool in WID's development effort.

Prior to 1975, with the exception of scattered holdings in the research offices of the FAO, the ILO and the Commission on Women, there were few gender statistics compiled on even basic issues, let alone comprehensive data bases. At Mexico City in 1975, the UN's statistical services were enlisted to compile and monitor indicators on gender in several key areas: women's responsibilities in households, especially in relation to the changing economic roles of men; on the roles and influence of women in government; on women's health and child-bearing choices; on women's educational levels compared to that of men; on production indicators, including how various forms

of production were valued, (which was and is completely dependent upon how production itself is defined conceptually, a definition crucial to the consistency of comparative measures). Persuasive and comprehensive data began to emerge which illustrated the national costs of gender disparity in undeniable comparisons which could not be minimized or dismissed as mere rhetoric or ideological posturing:

> The number of illiterate women rose from 543 million in 1970 to 597 million in 1985, while the number of illiterate men rose from 348 million to 352 million.
>
> Women work as much or more than men everywhere--as much as 13 hours, on average, more each week according to studies in Asia and Africa.
>
> Of 8,000 abortions in Bombay after parents learned the sex of the fetus through amniocentesis, only one would have been a boy.

Numbers thus back up words with immense power -- the evidentiary power to substantiate claims for social justice. (UN: The World of Women 1991)

What is now a rich panoply of available statistical data came about through WID's organizing from the early 1970's on for the creation of international, national, regional and local mechanisms for data gathering which were previously nonexistent. This now large body of statistics illustrates a basic premise: Major gaps in policy planning, implementation and assessment have resulted due to the absence of data necessary to create gender inclusive development projects, adding to the barriers preventing women from performing to their full economic potential, and therefore depriving not just women but also skewing measurements of gross domestic product of nations throughout the world. It is worthwhile to briefly comment on some of these gaps as uncovered by statistical analysis:

1. Women's agricultural labor and production needs were seldom integrated into mainstream policies. For example, the early Green Revolution focus on the

technologically "enhanced" production of cash crops was simultaneously largely focused on men as target group recipients. Seldom was recognition given to subsistence agriculture, largely the traditional domain of women in many cultures, or to related exclusionary customs that functioned as constraints on full productivity of women's labor: e.g. in many places, women could not own their own land, enter into contracts, borrow money formally or even have the freedom of movement to walk unescorted in marketplaces to purchase seeds/fertilizer, sell goods or speak with informal money lenders there. With the inception of more comprehensive national and international statistical measures, a sophisticated picture of the extent of these losses to GDP could finally be calculated.

2. Women's total production, in and of itself, was seldom counted. No accounting had been made of the combined value of subsistence farming, housework, multi-generational family care (where women serve as the primary source of health care maintenance) and village upkeep to national economies. This is particularly crucial in the many regions world-wide that have undergone significant male-outmigration from rural areas to cities in search of cash-paying labor. In some places, (e.g., many low caste hill villages in western Himalayas) only very young or vary old males remain -- the outmigrated employable males return only briefly each year to plow fields. For women this situation creates the infamous and well researched "triple-burden" of three full-time jobs with a staggering increase in workloads: reproduction, production of survival -- subsistence agriculture, including long treks for forage for farm animals and fire wood -- and village upkeep/care of the elderly and sick (Mehta 1994). It is now estimated, based on various national measures, that their contribution is equal to or greater than men's and, if applied consistently internationally, the

measures of global output would increase 25 to 30 percent. "Without good information about what women really do--and how much they produce--governments have little incentive to respond with economic policies that include women." (Report of the secretary-general to the Statistical Commission at its 25th session [E/CN.3/1989/12])

3. Statistical measures have emerged which prove that investing less in the education of women results in great losses economically. In Malaysia, studies show that the net return to education at all levels of wages and production is consistently 20 percent higher for girls and young women than for boys and young men. (Psacharopoulos 1985)

4. Although population studies was one of the few subspecialties in the development field to recognize the importance of gathering statistics on women at the project level in the field and of collating them in national data bases, the pre-WID conceptual focus in this research was on mechanistically "controlling" women's reproduction. WID critiqued this paternalistic approach, and revitalized theory and research in population studies by arguing that fertility was women's choice and was most effectively impacted by the education and empowerment of women, particularly in regard to their capacity to plan for their senior years. In this case, while some mechanisms for statistical collection already existed, the conceptual analyses of these data were entirely revamped to reflect a new consciousness more sensitive to women's autonomy and cultural difference. Furthermore, this work increasingly highlighted costs to national economies: in Asia and Africa for example, on average, child-bearing begins at age 15 and ends at 37 -- 22 years of childbearing. In developed countries, on average, it begins at 23 and ends at 30 -- seven years of childbearing. Poor teenagers are the most vulnerable in childbearing and are twice as

likely to die giving birth. They are also less likely to get a good education or to have good health care for either themselves or their children.

Through the first three decades of UN development programs, women's contributions to national economies were largely invisible because women as economic agents did not exist on paper -- nor to the experts. Because they were invisible, their labor had no "value" (which hardly reflects empirically sound social science) because it was not measured or validated statistically. The recognition of this immense lacuna in the literature by WID initially engendered what is now with critical hindsight referred to as the welfare response, limited theoretically and analytically to focusing only on women's household and reproductive roles. In the second decade of WID, a more sophisticated (though some critics argue it is simply more economistic) argument about the necessity of building development programs with women themselves as the central focus (both in planning and implementation) and not merely as "add-ons" to pre-existing development projects, came to the forefront, premised upon the foundational justification of efficiency: i.e. that these projects would "perform" better on a variety of economic indicators for the donor involved, and therefore gave a better "return" on its investment in development projects. While there are conceptual risks involved in this approach also, (Cf. Jaquette, in Tinker 1990) nonetheless the creation of gender-inclusive statistical accounting methods supported the efficiency approach with solid cross-national data – data that simply did not exist in the previous decades.

Consensus Building: Negotiation and diplomacy skills within the WID movement.

Over the course of the Decade for Women, WID activists developed negotiating skills necessary to mediate and to begin building consensus among the various women's organizations within and around it rather than to compete with them. One long term evaluation of this process is offered by Chen (2000)

> Another result of the decade's national and international meetings – and of the thousands of smaller local meetings, seminars, studies and projects that sprang up around the world – was that women around the world not only knew each other better but were also better understood and more widely listened to. Women and development issues could no longer be overlooked by the United Nations or its member nations.
>
> However, much of the Decade for Women was spent in addressing differences in approaches to feminism at the theoretical or ideological levels and differences between women from different social, cultural, historical and geographic locations at the practical level. By the end of the decade, the international women's movement had only begun to address these differences; the hierarchies of class, race and dependency that condition women's lives continued to divide them. Over the past decade, in contrast, the international women's movement has been able to forge remarkable consensus and coalitions around specific issues that affect women, namely environment, human rights and population.

WID is a diverse movement, representing different political interests (empowerment, population, ecology, development, women's rights and human rights), different loci of organization (grassroots, practitioners, academics, UN, NGO's), and different geographic areas of the world (US, North, South, poor, rural, urban, tribal, refugee, etc.). Often these units organized themselves into various interest groups, each with its own political agenda. While this multiplicity had the potential to place one group at political odds with others, WID activists eventually learned that it was to their greater advantage to build cooperative working coalitions with mutually beneficial

purposes and goals than to struggle competitively for autonomous identity and political dominance, one over the other.

> Feminism cannot be monolithic in its issues, goals, and strategies, since it constitutes the political expression of the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds. We have to be responsive to these different needs and concerns of different women and allow them to defend these for themselves" (Sen and Grown, 1987).

Sen argues that feminism is being transformed by the diversity it experiences as it responds to each situation that subordinates women. "Our concern is not just for women, but for our world."

Speaking of one frustrating incident in her many satisfying experiences early in her career in India, one interviewee reported that various women's groups initially focused on showing how they were different from each other, thus wasting time and energy. For example, "...debating the population issue, one lobbying group was trying to get the state to ban amniocentesis and the other saying the state should never be involved in women's reproductive rights in any way whatsoever. But poor women themselves, regardless of how educated middle-class activists represented them, actually wanted access to amniocentesis choice -- whether right or wrong -- because their lives were so desperate economically that way." Other women's groups would not even let the word "population" be mentioned, because the top-down creation of any form of population control policy was seen as a First World plot against the growing power of the Third World. They argued that economic and environmental problems were not due to overpopulation, but rather to obvious patterns of over-consumption in the First World, and to maldistributions of wealth and technology transfer that were grossly inequitable. In these first efforts at political organizing in the early 1970's,

competing women's groups undermined each other's efforts and often prevented themselves from acquiring any national political advancement of their goals.

Other experiences, however, taught a more positive lesson. In the Philippines, interviewee # 34 described how the five national women's organizations which had been active in the overthrow of the Marcos regime became empowered when, in 1986, a new constitution was being drafted. The women's organizations came together to form a national coalition that was multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious (including Catholic, Muslim, Protestant and Tribal women), and cross-class, including both rural and urban women. Initially there was broad agreement on the input they wished to have on the writing of the new Articles of Constitution, but when they had to focus on particular social issues, (e.g., domestic violence) an impasse arose that reflected cleavages in cross-cultural beliefs about male prerogatives in the household. Eventually, through intense negotiations, they resolved these conflicts by deciding to refocus on writing a comprehensive National Family Code premised upon equality for all as derived from constitutional law. Strategically, they therefore decided to prioritize establishing a broad based, precedent-setting national law that would codify equality "in perpetuity" in case at any time in the future, given the vagaries of electoral politics, the legislature might become more conservative and attempt to pass any new law that was premised on unequal or discriminating treatment of women. In that hypothetical case, laws in violation of the National Family Code would clearly be seen as unconstitutional. Another Philippina, Interviewee # 5, noted that their coalition failed to secure only one of all its constitutional goals -- abortion rights -- failure she attributed to the influence of the Catholic Church in the Philippines.

In another example of the growing sophistication of WID in conducting pre-negotiation, negotiation and lobbying, Interviewee # 13 recounted the unfolding of the UN-sponsored 1991 Miami Conference (the "World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet") in which a possible clash between the economic development groups and the population control lobby was averted through the work of herself, others and the intense lobbying efforts of WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization) including its leader, Bela Abzug. Two major UN agencies, the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) and UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program) also worked together with WID activists to lobby the various attending donor nations and other UN agencies into supporting "Agenda 21" (Agenda for the Twenty-First Century, summarized in Appendix A), coming to agreement on its various articles, voting for its passage and promulgating it as an international UN mandate. [3] The UN was then able to back implementation of this mandate internally – through the resreps [4] and UN agencies -- and externally through diplomacy with donor and development aid recipient nations in order to educate them about this cooperative agreement and urge signatories to follow-up on their votes with enforcement at the national level.

In fact, WID activists learned that it was not only important to negotiate divergent voices toward consensus as emerged, but to actually seek out the pluralism of these voices and actively resist those who would suppress them. As stated in the above Sen quote, WID needed the wisdom of diversity and plurivocalism for its own growth and success as an international social movement in the formative process of institutionalizing itself as an international regime. Interviewee # 21, an economist and one of the first to create major training programs on the role of gender and development for the World Bank, noted that she had observed failures in some WID

projects when the focus was simply on "narrow feminist" issues and not on the broader goals uncovered by careful gender analysis in the field. She noted that this kind of empirical research consistently revealed the efficacy of gender inclusivity: educating both women and men about empowerment, development skills and equality.

Interviewee # 25 observed that the evolving cooperative practices of WID were essential in order to mediate the inherent problems that come with being such a diverse international movement. "WID is partly UN establishment, partly NGO and partly grassroots. Of course they have differences but that is part of the game of movements; it cuts across countries; it's an international movement that works on many levels."

Another area in which systematic cooperation has proven to be essential is between the NGO community, grassroots and indigenous women.

> Much of the energy of the women's movement comes from these non-governmental groups [NGOs] intermediary groups like Grameen Bank [5], Working Women's Forum [6]. These were not started by grassroots women but were founded for them -- that's really what the women's movement does for women.
>
> Ideally, these NGO's are outside facilitators who school themselves in a particular field and then serve as consciousness raisers and organizers of the grassroots. If these practitioners have their feet in the community, then to a certain degree they are seen as legitimate spokespersons of the grassroots. However, there are other NGO's who do not have this rooted experience and attempt to represent the grassroots perspective heavily filtered by their own intellectual perspective of either the North or the South. These voices are not considered legitimate and it must not be automatically assumed that they represent the real women's voices of the South (Interviewee # 25).

This diversity of voices does create a challenge for the researcher (or policy planner) who tries to unravel the authenticity of various layers of representation, of "who speaks for whom," with what intent and for whose goals and interests. However, this narrative complexity is what makes any story -- from this dissertation to the

hundreds of examples in the field which interviewees chose to share -- rich, compelling, demanding of analysis, amenable to empirical research, valuable to the building of theory. For WID itself, the strain of dealing with this extreme plurivocalism seems to have been far outweighed by the gains to WID's "developmental maturity" as an international institutional regime. Just as the WID approach first transmogrified during the early 1980's to WAD (Women *and* Development), so too it reflected its expanded sense of inclusivity and consensus building in its next analytic transformation to GAD (Gender and Development). "Women" needed to be changed to "gender" (thereby including men, and analyzing the social relations of production and reproduction, empowerment and disempowerment as they related to both women and men).

Evidence of WID's growing efficacy and negotiating consensus can be seen in the negotiation process at the final conference of the UN Decade for Women in Nairobi, 1985, which culminated in the adoption of the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women document (UN Dept. Public Information). It was

> adopted unanimously after long and strenuous negotiations in the various Commissions of the Conference. This unanimity was a great achievement, and makes implementation of the document in their own countries a much stronger obligation on all governments at the conference. ...The overall objectives of the Strategies are the same as those of the whole Decade: Equality, Development and Peace. These three objectives are internally interrelated and mutually reinforcing, so that the advancement of one contributes to the advancement of others (Pietila 1994).

Both the process and the achievement of the document are significant indicators of the skills WID activists had developed in the diplomacy of pre-negotiation and negotiation during the Decade (to be discussed in the next strategy presentation).

The process itself was being developed throughout the Decade for Women beginning with

> two major surveys: the World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, and the Review and Appraisal of progress achieved and obstacles encountered at the national level... the point of departure for both of these assessments processes was, naturally, the 1975 World Plan of Action adopted in Mexico to set the goals and objectives for the whole Decade, as well as the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the Decade adopted in Copenhagen in 1980. There was also the international Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade, adopted in 1980 (Pietila 1994).

Although the above list of documents may read like a mere series of bureaucratic internal audits, in fact the requirements and compliance standards they set for signatory governments constitute archival evidence of WID achieving the status of an international institutional regime in its powers to define rules, norms and behavior in the International system (Keohane 1984, Krasner 1983).

> ...this kind of intergovernmental exercise – responding to UN questionnaires and preparing for world conferences – is a mechanism for making governments implement the plan and recommendations put forward in UN conferences. In order to have something to report in the questionnaire, governments need to have done something in practice (Pietila 1994).

The Nairobi document illustrates the coalescence of WID constituents around the general goals of the UN Decade for Women. These three objectives – Equality, Development, Peace – became operationalized during the 1980's in major advocacy areas: human rights, anti-militarism and peace, reproductive health and rights, environment, education and empowerment, livelihoods/work, microfinance, and political participation and empowerment. The final example in this consensus section will look at just one of these strands which emerged as a major theme in a majority of the interviews – the environment. This was discussed by interviewees who were

involved in the environmental strand as well as by those working within the other foci of WID concerns listed above; their analytic concern, articulated in various arguments, was the topic of environmental limits and the sustainability of economic development.

Perhaps one of the most trenchant assessments of the primacy, in her opinion, of the ecological crisis circumscribing identity politics was made by an international statistician who began her career as an agricultural extension agent in Africa in the early 1960's -- when she was the only woman "ag-tech" in her organization in all of West Africa. Understandably concerned that some readers would interpret her remarks as politically incorrect or insensitive to the Third World, she struggled to explain clearly the nuances of her viewpoint: while many regions of the Third World suffer terribly from the costs of unequal and/or delayed development, after having spent over a decade working in West Africa herself, she felt it was clear that, at least at the village level, that most people in poverty with whom she had worked understood far better than those in the First World how to live with fewer resources and even more importantly how to share them. Her conclusion was, should there be a serious world-wide economic retrenchment brought on by widespread environmental crisis (e.g., global warming, rising sea levels, and climate disruption), "these people will have the skills to survive, but we, in the First World, will be destroyed because our lifestyle is so unsustainable...It will not be possible to improve people's lives all over the world until the ecological crisis is answered. We need to embrace the ecological crisis in our thinking to change profoundly and learn to share resources" (Interviewee # 16).

After nearly forty years of work as an academic, researcher and development practitioner in various agencies of the UN, and consultant in several US presidential administrations, interviewee # 13 concluded: "You cannot achieve sustainable

development without linking women's development and the environment, no matter how much effort you put into it. WID must be based on an alliance with environmentalists. You can't balance the economy if there is a growing body of poverty....We need the voices of the voiceless, the perspective of women and men from around the world who know what is needed for a sustainable ecosystem."

The Conduct of Diplomacy: Negotiation and pre-negotiation

While there were a multitude of settings in which WID attempted to influence the development policies of the UN, the three world conferences during the Decade for Women (Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi) were pivotal events that increasingly institutionalized WID's interventions and agenda. All interviewees agreed that the 1985 Nairobi Conference finally confirmed the widespread professional recognition of the importance of gender standards in the international development field.

However, this realignment in the field of economic development did not come about without years of trial and error, political strategizing and the development of bargaining techniques, in particular the refinement of pre-negotiation and negotiation skills on the part of the WID activists. Probably the two most crucial strategies, among all those discussed previously in this chapter, were the manner in which WID activists learned to effectively intervene through pre-conference caucusing at preparatory conferences and through the creation of numerically vast and politically influential parallel NGO conferences at each of the three major UN world conferences.

The official plenary sessions themselves were not open (particularly early in the decade) to direct participation by most WID activists because official attendance was limited to government delegates and the majority of these, appointed by the member

nations, had little awareness about WID issues (especially early in the decade – over time this shifted in a predictable learning curve). They were often not informed nor even supportive of gender analysis or the needs of women in the development movement. Even those delegates less biased often had neither the awareness nor the time to educate themselves on the gendered impacts of economic development projects.

Most of the interviewees agreed that the pre-conferences (in the UN vernacular, "prep-coms": preparatory committee meetings), at which the agendas for the subsequent conferences were determined, were even more important than the conferences themselves because they were far more open to political influence via pre-negotiation and lobbying to promote consensus in the writing and drafting of conference documents. For example, in order to orchestrate effective and proactive political interventions in the drafting and amending of conference documents, one NGO group of WID activists, WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organization), mapped out a series of pre-negotiation, lobbying and negotiation strategies which any WID advocacy group could train itself to use. The first step directed WID oriented groups to meet and identify their own agenda interests, and then to systematically share these goals with other local, national and international groups through mailings, conferences and other educational media. WEDO realized that an active communication and exchange of concerns would enable the WID activists to develop an emerging world presence of influence on a limited number of issues which, when presented at international UN conferences (e.g. the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Copenhagen, 1980), and then successfully negotiated through the arcane parlimentarianism of the UN, would have the

concentrated impact of the backing of the world community via the final conference document to which all participating government delegates commit their respective nations as signatories. WEDO recognized that the WID agenda needed to be politically sophisticated, lobbied with carefully coordinated diplomacy, and aimed at international accords in order to have significant impact.

The second step in this orchestrated approach to achieving international influence was to teach WID groups how to lobby their national governments for their international agenda. WEDO's action program gave the following directive: "Identify key government officials responsible for implementation of specific issues. Ask them to meet with your members to present your views and suggested plans of action. Stress the question of gender balance" (Pietila 1994). At these meetings, advocates would come prepared with the names of delegates that could represent the WID position at these conferences and lobby for their appointment to official government delegations.

Equally important, these lobbyists also sought out available drafts of the documents or proposals being developed for presentation at major international conferences. Typically, these drafts were initially composed at preparatory conference meetings; after being debated, lobbied and amended repeatedly at prep-coms (a highly political process, with many points of "openings" for pre-negotiation by WID activists) these documents in their final, formalized state would be presented at major international conferences; at this late stage in the process the conference document was usually passed unanimously with some debate and some revision, but little substantive change. These international accords (like *The Forward Looking Strategies* [7] from Nairobi), had considerable influence subsequently. Therefore, WID activists

realized they had to have impact at the prep-com draft stage in order to influence the final conference document; drafts were studied carefully on a daily basis and then responded to with comments, documented gender information and suggested amendments. Usually a small group of women (credentialed either because of their membership in the NGO community, or as development practitioners with agencies and foundations, or as academic experts) would then take the edited documents to officials in government delegations who were in a position to bring this new information to the floor for discussion and inclusion in later drafts.

One interviewee described how, after her full-time day as a development economist in a major foundation, she and Bela Abzug would obtain copies of draft proposals at the conclusion of each day of the prep-com at approximately six p.m., and then, with several other WID activists, work literally through the night reviewing, critiquing, adding gender perspectives and editing the draft. Then, a larger group from their organization "would meet each morning, deal with the document, get our language into it; a small group would then meet with the four authors and the Secretary General perhaps once a week. We would try to explain how to do gender analysis and what changes needed to be made in the document" (Interviewee # 3). This "night-work" continued throughout the two-week prep-com agenda-setting meetings. Only through these sustained oversight interventions "could we hold the UN conferences accountable" (Interviewee # 3). This demanding schedule of constant oversight and re-writing of prep-com drafts, followed by face-to-face pre-negotiation and lobbying in order to influence the final draft for the formal stage of international negotiation by government delegates at international conferences was highly successful -- an expertise Bela Abzug had perfected during her years of lobbying and

negotiating for legislation in the U.S. Congress and which she then carefully passed on to WID activists.

In this particular example of the methods employed using pre-negotiation to move toward a more sociocentric outcome, the pattern and goal of WID diplomacy may sound predictable with even predictable outcomes given the evidence presented previously in this chapter. However, it should be noted that in their initial meeting about this particular world conference with the Secretary General -- an unusual level of the highest access -- one of his adjutants, an Undersecretary, had the following response to his own first exposure to a WID re-writing of a major conference document (which in its draft form, had had no mention of gender): "People who are clever and produce useful things are in power, and that's why women are not in power -- they don't produce useful things -- they are not clever" (interviewee # 3). The WEDO experts realized the seriousness of the necessity for their daily vigilance. After two weeks of all-night re-writing, and another meeting constituting pre-negotiation with the Secretary General (who was very supportive of WEDO's work -- another efficacious example of male partnership -- and who observed the slow process as his assistant was gradually educated about the gender politics of economic development), the final document sent to the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995) was thoroughly re-written to include gender-sensitive standards for planning development projects throughout the UN system.

Another example of the success of this pre-conference intervention strategy was illustrated by DAWN, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, in 1984 when twenty-two Third World women researchers and activists, representing all three development continents, came together at Bangalore, India in August of that

year to prepare an independent report on world development for the subsequent Nairobi Conference from a Third World women's perspective. Their *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspective* had considerable impact on the parallel Nairobi Conference (NGO Forum '85) and the UN Nairobi Conference itself.

> One of the major achievements of the Decade was that the situation of the world's women was better mapped than ever before. An enormous amount of new information was collected; figures and statistics were becoming more accurate, and more and more of them giving figures separately for men and women, etc. The pivotal role of women in issues such as population and food was perceived, and some of the "invisibilities" started to be visualized. The whole story of so-called development from the woman's point of view began to be revealed, a story which is documented in the World Survey of the Role of Women in Development, in *DAWN-Report* and in countless other reports and stories. And after all, during this period, women's consciousness and expectations have been raised, and it is important that this momentum should not be lost, regardless of the poor performance of the world economy (Pietila 1994). [8 9]

Parallel Conferences were the second major strategy created and developed by WID during the Decade for Women. Since most NGO representatives were excluded from direct participation at the three scheduled world conferences (according to UN parliamentary rules, only formally appointed government delegates could participate), WID tried to lobby and have activists appointed to these delegations. [10] Because access was difficult at this level, WID activists decided to institutionalize and expedite the opportunities for information exchange in order to influence the formal government conference by holding a parallel conference at the same time and in as close proximity as permitted to the formal UN World Conferences.

The growth in power and effectiveness of the parallel NGO conferences is at least partially related to the numerical growth in participants, with dramatic expansion from one conference to the next. Attending the Nairobi Forum 85 meeting were

14,000 women from all over the world, representing 150 countries. This large gathering influenced the deliberations of the much smaller UN Conference itself via lobbying, on-going information exchange and education. As well as holding their own caucuses within the NGO Forum to share a "cross-fertilization" of views, the women attending this NGO gathering would hold informal meetings, meals, celebrations and media/cultural events with the official delegates of the UN conference, discuss their experiences and alternative perspectives, prepare statements and offer research papers/conference reports for the delegates to consider -- with all these multi-layered interactions occurring outside the scheduled NGO Conference meetings themselves. And, even when they were not communicating directly between the parallel conferences, WID activists at the NGO Forum continued their lobbying through exhibits, demonstrations, theatre, film and music presentations -- "innumerable ways in which they got their story told" (Interviewee # 4). The impact of these parallel conferences was immense:

> By the end of the Nairobi conference, which marked the conclusion of the UN Decade for Women, there was no question of the success of the international women's movement. The conference adopted guidelines (*The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*) that formulated standards regarding development assistance and stipulated that bilateral and multilateral agencies' policies for women in development should involve all parts of donor organizations and that WID programs and policies should be incorporated into all agency procedures at program, project, and sector levels (Kardam 1991) [11]

Endnotes

1. As of the beginning of 1972, "The position of women in the UN Secretariate had (also) become an issue. The proportion of women occupying senior posts was very low, and *no women* (emphasis mine) so far had been appointed to any top job." (Pietila 1994:76). In Civilization magazine (June/July 1999, p. 80) Nina Darton up-dates this report, noting that now nine major agencies are run by women, five being appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan over the past two years.

2. Conscientization, as used by Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* , refers to a process of self-reflection and dialogical questioning of "contradictions" in the political realm that "raise consciousness" (*conscientizacao*) and lead to the empowerment of the learner.

3. "The plan of the governmental UNCED (UN Conference on Environment and Development) was to ratify several documents, primarily Agenda 21, the programme for action for the 21st century. This long term plan for environment and development addresses: (1) social and economic issues, for example, development assistance, population control and the alleviation of poverty, (2) protection of nature and the management of natural resources, (3) the role of NGO's and other social groups (for example, youth, women, trade unions, business sector, local government) in sustainable development, (4) financial means for implementation; environmental education, information and decision-making and new institutions" (Braidotti et al. 1994:126-127).

4. "Residential representatives": UN officials of various development agencies who are stationed in the field.

5. Organized in Bangladesh, this is a major example of a credit group funded, not only by savings by its members from within but by outside grants from national and international NGO support groups outside. Hundreds of thousands of such groups were organized by the Grameen Bank (Fisher 1993).

6. "The women's movement in India was intertwined with the Nationalist Movement, beginning in the 1920's. Organized by educated, upper-class women, it was based on the idea of improving the position of women as wives and mothers" Fisher 1993, p. 54).

7. "The final document of the Nairobi Conference, the Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, was adopted unanimously after long and strenuous negotiations in the various Commissions of the Conference. This unanimity was a great achievement, and makes implementation of the document in their own countries a much stronger obligations upon all the governments present at the Conference" Pietila 1994, p. 48). The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. (UN Dept. of Public Information, New York, 1986).

8. For another mini-case study on prep com activity, see Braidotti et al. (1994: 91-102). "Until mid-1991, women had not been an explicit concern within the governmental preparations for UNCED. Through lobbying, networking and organizing, women won over some UNCED delegates with the result that decision 3/5 at the Third Preparatory Committee meeting in Geneva (August 1991), became the basis for the women's mandate in UNCED.

"Women's participation in UNCED was furthered by global women's conferences held in Miami in November 1991. The first was the Global Assembly, ' Women and Environment -- Partners in Life' organized by SWAGSD/UNEP (Senior Women's Advisory Group on Sustainable Development/UN Environmental Program organized by Joan Martin-Brown) and WorldWIDE, a US-based international network of women concerned with the management and protection of the environment....The second conference 'World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet' was organized by the women's International Policy Action Committee (IPAC), a body originating in the US Women's Foreign Policy Council and founded specifically to ensure women's input into UNCED....

"(These conferences led to the drafting of the 'Women's Action Agenda 21' represent(ing) a historic landmark...challenging the dominant paradigm of development....The global developmental and environmental problems were summarized as wasteful overconsumption in the developed world, inappropriate development leading to debt and structural adjustment in the South, increased poverty and continued land and forest degradation, environmental damage, pollution, and toxic wastes, population growth, creation of ecological refugees, and last but not least, excessive war and military spending associated with environmental damage. The Women's Action Agenda 21, based on the principles of global equity, resource ethics and empowerment of women represent the basis for a paradigmatic shift in development. (p.91, p 102). The following are excerpts from the Preamble to Agenda 21"

"As caring women, we speak on behalf of those who could not be with us, the millions of women who experience daily the violence of environmental degradation, poverty, and exploitation of their work and bodies. As long as Nature and women are abused by so-called 'free market' ideology and wrong concepts of 'economic growth' there can be no environmental security.

"Rainforest dwellers, island peoples, and inhabitants of fragile arid zones are threatened with displacement and dispossession due to human disruption and pollution of vulnerable ecosystems. In a world that condones such practices there is little hope for long-term survival or peace among peoples.

"We are deeply troubled by the increasing' quality of life' disparities between inhabitants of industrialized nations and those of the so-called 'developing 'nations and by the growing numbers of poor within the rich countries. In all instances, women, children, minorities and indigenous people are the chief victims.

"We are outraged by the inequities among children the world over, with millions denied food, shelter, health care, education and opportunities for a full and productive life. We condemn the racism and disrespect of diversity on which this inequity feeds.

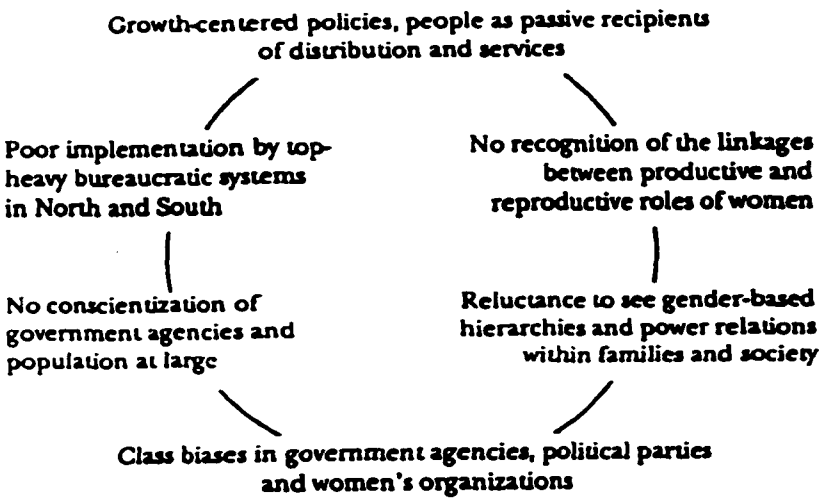
"We equate lack of political and individual will among world leaders with a lack of basic morality and spiritual values and an absence of responsibility towards future generations.

"We will no longer tolerate the enormous role played by the military establishment and industries in making the 20th century the bloodiest and most violent in all of human history. Militarism is impoverishing and maiming both the Earth and humanity."

9. "The Vicious Circle of Women in Development." An analysis by DAWN of the experiences of women during the UN Decade for Women, 1976-85. This is a chart prepared by Pietila (1994) drawing from a paper for DAWN-Report prepared by Gita Sen, August 1984.

Figure 1: The Vicious Circle of Women and Development

An analysis by DAWN of experiences during the United Nations Decade for Women, 1976-85



10. "Over the first thirty years of its existence...according to the UN accreditation rules at that time, the only women's NGOs that had consultative status with the UN were those that were both international and representative: e.g., the Associated Country Women of the World, the International Alliance of Women, the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, World Young Women's Christian Association and Zonta International. Only a few were headquartered outside Europe or North America...[continuing in a footnote] it is important to note that the history of NGOs lobbying the international community on issues of concern to women predates the United Nations. Before WW II, for example, a number of non-governmental organizations made a proposal to the League of Nations to prohibit sexual slavery, which was not adopted before the outbreak of the war. Soon after the formation of the UN in 1946, the issue resurfaced. And by 1949, the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others had been adopted (Chen 1995).

11. For a comprehensive overview and assessment of WID's involvement in UN world conferences covering the historical period before and after the time period of this case study, see Chen, "Engendering world conferences: the international women's movement and the United Nations",1995.

She concludes that "[T]he two decades from 1975 to 1995 have been the most dynamic in the history of the international women's movement, which was invigorated by Mexico City, grew strengthened during the UN Decade for Women... The international women's movement developed tremendous political and strategic skills in linking up to the UN system before and during the recent world conferences. ...[it] is well positioned, as it enters the 21st century, to consolidate and build on previous gains. The competence, solidarity, maturity, discipline, strength and will of the movement should not be underestimated. While one part of the movement has secured strategic gains for women at the global policy level, another part pursued practical gains at the local level by implementing concrete programs, working with the specialized agencies of the UN and organizing the grass roots. However, in the current global climate of social conservatism and fiscal austerity the international women's movement will need allies and resources both from within and outside the UN system. (Chen 1995)

Chapter Six

WID and International Relations Theory

The preceding case study has examined in detail how the WID movement was able to modify the economic development policies at the United Nations. This chapter will now discuss the implications that this case study has for certain aspects of international relations theory.

As an international social movement WID has relevance, not just at the individual level of politics, but also at the domestic/state level and the international level of the state system as well. As a non-state actor, WID should be studied just as seriously as a state level actor in terms of evaluating its capacity to influence policy-making within the international system. In successfully establishing itself as an international institutional regime, it has changed development policy at the level of the international system as discussed in Chapter One. The UN is one of the premiere non-state actors in the international system (organizationally, it functions as a "supra-" international institutional regime, coordinating the work of many different international

institutional regimes within the ranks), and WID has negotiated significant policy changes at the UN via the strategies discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Therefore, it has demonstrated the political efficacy necessary to wield influence and effect change in a major intergovernmental organization within the international system.

This case study demonstrates that international social movements can have an effect in international politics. Social movements such as WID that begin at the domestic level, and which build from the grassroots to the international level via participatory, representative modalities are therefore legitimate subjects for research within the field of international relations. This empirical demonstration, then, contradicts the classical realist contention that the purview of international relations should be restricted to the international level of the system and state actors. This present WID study supports the contention of Keohane and Nye (1979) who have sought to broaden the domain of international relations beyond state actors to include groups such as international institutional regimes. WID now constitutes such a regime within economic development planning divisions in the UN. In this lies one significance of the WID case study: it enlarges and democratizes the way international relations describes its epistemic universe.

The WID case study informs the field of international relations about the power that an initially small, visionary group, with few resources, can eventually develop in order to effect the realm of international politics. In this particular case, because the movement's vision was predicated upon fighting for participants' survival, it capitalized upon its own internal organizational commitment to unite its advocates despite classical socioeconomic cleavages such as East vs. West, North vs. South, rich vs. poor, male vs. female, and academics vs. field organizers. Furthermore, WID

strategically utilized both traditional and creative forms of political organizing, and traditional and creative forms of diplomacy (i.e. pre-negotiation and negotiation), in order to institutionalize itself as an international regime, capable of impacting on the formulation of economic development policy within the international level of the state system. This case study suggests that international relations theorists need to acknowledge cross-level dynamics and their possible effect on research – that there is an obvious, on-going, reciprocal and multivariate relationship between domestic level politics of the state and the international level of the state system (Milner 1997).

A very important "window of opportunity" should be acknowledged here. One reason for the initial success of WID was its fortuitous timing, entering the development scene just as the UN's post-WW II development paradigm (roughly 1945 to 1970) was being seriously questioned due to widespread failure at eradicating poverty in the field and achieving national economic "take-off" comparable to the German and Japanese experience. So too in the decade of the 1990's, an historic opportunity for a reevaluation of international relations theory presents itself with the demise of its own post-WW II paradigm: reified Cold War dualisms (which divided most US academic work into left vs. right, anti-communist vs. internationalist, etc.) have been superceded – this collapse of previously opposed, dichotomous positions now yields a more open epistemological field for creative theoretical development at least until, per Kuhn, this new frame itself becomes reified as the ascendant, privileged or unquestionable "mainstream establishment" (or dominant text or unproblematized paradigm) within international relations theory.

Furthermore, in the ten years since the demise of the Soviet Union, it is becoming clearer just how pervasively Cold War politics and ideological wars (and

whispers) undermined the objectivity of this social science within both the academic and the practitioner realms of this field in government and diplomatic service (Leffler 1992, Gendzier 1995, Chomsky 1996).

The WID case study, when placed within international relation's theoretical frame, has the potential of broadening this frame and thus enabling international relations theorists to take seriously several "anomalies" overlooked and ignored in the past (Kuhn 1970). In fact, WID itself, as an international social movement, constitutes one of these "excluded" anomalies. In the past, international relations theory has tended to construct its intellectual project as a positivist science (Neufeld 1995), analogous to the natural sciences, thereby attempting to identify certain predetermining laws of political behavior of states within the international system. As such it has traditionally focused on state level actors who behave according to egocentric motivations within the *a priori* of an anarchical setting (Waltz 1979). Obviously this circumscribed epistemological stance would ignore a social movement phenomenon such as WID, relegating it to a limbo beneath international relations' limited epistemic universe, and therefore disqualify it from having possible empirical relevance for generating "useful" heuristic questions.

For my argument, I am borrowing Thomas Kuhn's (1964) model of how paradigms change within a science and applying it to WID's theoretical relevance to research within international relations. I am arguing that until the 1990's, within the United States, international relations as a field had an established frame of thinking contained within a narrow spectrum of Cold War academic "debate" (Gendzier 1995, Chomsky 1996). Developments in the 1980's of the Realism/Institutionalism dialogue in some ways continue to define narrowly acceptable limits of "serious" academic

discourse within parameters of a somewhat widened mainstream due to institutionalist research (as described in the Preface and Chapter Two). Overall, the dominant post WW II, Cold War paradigm of international relations theory was established and articulated in textbooks, debates, journals, conference presentations, etc., and thus defined international relations' state of "normal science" (Kuhn 1964). It should be noted that, until Keohane's and Nye's Power and Interdependence (1979), Realism had clearly overwhelmed Idealist arguments, despite the empirical significance of the founding and growth of the UN and the theoretical implications of the emergence of the EC (the European Community).

WID, and many of the world events it is associated with, are "anomalies" that fail to fit within the long established mainstream international relations paradigm focused upon state actors; therefore, based upon this exclusionary logic, WID would simply fail to "exist" at all as an empirically relevant source of data. This non-scientific and non-objective outcome is not surprising in a field which, up until 1990 in the United States, was characterized by highly dualistic theoretical presentations. Furthermore, this polarization was correlated with the (usually) unacknowledged subtexts of ideological conformism (with its attendant professional rewards) or ideological renegadism (with its attendant professional costs).[1] Several of these unnoticed (or excluded or exiled) "anomalies" are considerable, as I shall presently document, and in fact though linked to the WID case study also go beyond it. I shall introduce these anomalies with a brief epistemological critique of the rationale for their previous exclusion: the function of Realism as the dominant post WW II philosophical approach to international relations theory-building.

Waltz (1979) was its most articulate proponent; through his application of structuralism, he sought to establish international relations theory as analogous to Newtonian physics, i.e. as a theoretical description and analysis of international politics with predictive reliability based upon accurate understanding of certain structurally determining forces, comparable to certain determining laws of nature, which had only to be uncovered and verified through empirical evidence. The irony here, of course, is that the field Waltz most filially mimics (physics) has itself in the 20th century moved radically beyond the reductionism of Newtonian science and its "structuralism" of billiard ball forces.

If international relations theory must make knowledge claims as an epistemologically valid positivist science, it would be far more persuasive were it to recast itself mimicking the norms of contemporary physics, (i.e. quantum physics), rather than the already superceded, 350 year old paradigm of Newtonian physics. The field of international relations might then be able to conduct research and build theory that embraces complex systemic interdependency and the intentional participation of the activist researcher, (i.e. the quantum-verified observer-observed effect, or as post-modernists term it, "standpoint-dependent" epistemologies) (Bohm 1980, Harding 1983). This is not the place to outline such a model; rather I am noting the greater reality "fit" that the WID case study, as described by the participant-observers themselves in these interviews, has with a non-reductionist model of science than it does with the structural-reductionist international relations model.

Scientific claims notwithstanding, billiard-ball forces arrayed within strangely de-politicized "structures" in fact did not accurately predict the implosion of the Soviet Union and the consequent supercession of the formal Cold War. Even Keohane's and

Nye's more inclusive model did not predict these outcomes. The WID case study is a small example of a small movement with an outsized capacity to produce large changes in the largest intergovernmental organization (IGO) in the international system. It suggests at least two epistemological cautions to international relations: it is epistemologically inaccurate for a social science to attempt to uncritically mimic the presumed predictability of the natural sciences (one of the best examples of this is Marx's obsession with constructing a science of history), just as it is also epistemologically inaccurate for a social science to uncritically mimic the supposed objectivity of the natural sciences (Bernstein 1976,1983; Neufeld 1995; Walker 1992).

International relations, as a *social* science, should de-emphasize the latter, inflated term and fully inhabit the former – social – therefore human, therefore inherently political, therefore inherently ideological, embedded in the dynamics and selected representation of power relations; not scientifically objective, and finally, not capable of prediction in a scientifically quantitative way like measurements of gravitational force. International relations should capitalize upon the *social* as a social science: its analytic strength lies in the connection between research and scholarly argument, as in the humanities, especially history, the *ur*-font of political science. In the late 90's, there is finally evidence emerging about this new epistemological openness within the field (See arguments by Smith, Wallerstein, Waever, Enloe, Mann, Ashley, Sylvester, Linklater, Rosenau, Halliday, and Zalewski in Smith et al. 1996).

A state of Kuhnian "normal science" has dominated international relations' academic theorizing up until the eclipse of the USSR, thereby exiling (to use Keyman's preferred term) many "anomalies" that range from the relevance of domestic politics in the international system to the relevance of gender (see Introduction). In this chapter,

I will present three examples of excluded anomalies which are uncovered, recovered and illustrated by this WID case study, examples which I believe should now be incorporated within a viable international relations theory: the emergence and growth of the NGO movement, overcoming gender blindness, and addressing the exclusion of the voices of "Others" – women, post-colonial peoples, people of the South, etc..

The NGO Movement

WID is a particular example of one strand of political mobilization within the larger worldwide social movement of Non-Government Organizations or NGO's. Therefore, one dimension of the WID related "anomaly," unaccounted for in international relations theory yet of major significance, is this explosive growth of the worldwide NGO movement, recently documented by several scholars (Dichter,1989; Durning,1989; James,1982; Berg,1987; Schneider, 1985), and exhaustively researched by Julie Fisher (1993). As discussed in Chapter Four, the magnitude of the movement and its complex institutional ties to the international system should be of significance to international relations theorizing about mobilization for participation in civil society. In addition to magnitude, the international breadth and organizational complexity of the NGO movement bridges what had been decreed as a heuristic "divide" to exclude domestic politics from the "privileged arena" of theorizing about the international level of the system (Milner 1995 contra Waltz 1979).

In many cases, the NGO movement explicitly (that is, through cross-class and international institutions) links the grassroots of domestic politics with the state level of the international system via the intermediary "engagement mechanism" of regional GRSO's (grassroots support organizations), which in turn are supported by bilateral

and multilateral donors and international-level donors. As such, an international social movement with complex links across all levels of the international relations system which explicitly (i.e. in its practice) links local development issues both to domestic level concerns of strengthening participation to rebuild civil society and to international level policy making in regard to human rights (including women's rights and labor) and to combatting/resisting/reducing environmental degradation (which are and will be increasingly regulated as irretrievable international public goods – e.g. climate) is heuristically fascinating and compelling. It suggests that the traditional international relations research realm, focusing on elites (state-level bureaucrats who are increasingly "regulating" the globalized international economy) and "top-down" decision-making in the international system are overlooking a major new arena of contestation for political power with the capacity to impact significantly at the international level of the system. The NGO movement's sheer size and cross-level complexity make it unprecedented as an international political movement; it portends massive yet still emergent consequences which up until recently international relations would have systematically "excluded" or exiled from its purview based upon a strict separation of levels of the system.

Becoming noticeable in the 1970's, and exploding during the "Development Debacle" of the 1980's (Braidotti 1994) "more than a hundred thousand nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) have been founded in Asia, Africa and Latin America by peasant women and professors, squatters and students, fisherfolk and unemployed intellectuals" (Fisher, 1993). These groups often emerge out of worsening poverty and unabated survival crises which have not been addressed by their governments; however, unlike previous revolutionaries, these NGO movements

challenge the specific government's institutional incapacity to respond to their daily survival needs, rather than challenging the ideologies of those groups in power. More often, the initial emergence of grassroots NGO's is stimulated by the loss of all expectation for redress from above; grassroots organizers simply assume self-responsibility to resolve their own crises out of their own "agency" of creative resources, (although there is a huge range in NGO politicization, from organizing for the most basic of necessities, e.g. at the barrio/favela level, simply for clean water and sewage disposal (Perlman 1976), to the *arpellistas* of Chile, doing both self-help and pressuring Chile about the disappearance of family members (Agosin, 1985) to Mothers of the Disappeared, whose relentless witness helped bring down a national junta of fascistic generals in Argentina) (Doughty in Downing & Kushner 1988, Jaquette 1994).

Sometimes local-level NGO's would be aided by regional-level grassroots sponsoring organizations, but more often the original impetus for organizing was realized on their own. This applies only for NGO's which could afford to be visible to national governments; those in danger of arrest or torture, of course, remain underground. Their growing expertise at self-organizing in the face of economic or political crisis was summarized by one tribal chief in southern Africa as:

> "The drought has become a weapon for us. With abundance, each one worked for himself. Now, we have had to discover ways to work together and grow more rapidly. Hunger has become a teacher that has taught us to think" (Fisher, 1993).

Given the variety of political contexts, the differing organizational and cultural resources that are available, and the particular survival needs that are experienced, these NGO's comprise a very heterogeneous movement with a diversity of forms. In fact, the quality of "grassroots" is probably their most common denominator.

While numbers are probably the most obviously impressive quantifiable data about the growth of the international NGO movement, because many NGO's are often unregistered and thus comprise a hidden movement, accurate total figures are not easy to obtain without extrapolating based on knowledge of the ratio of official (or registered) NGO's to unofficial or informal ones. At the upper, most visible level, are the GRSO's – grassroots supporting organizations – and because they have official status, it is verifiable to report that as far back as twenty years ago, as early as 1980, there were estimated to be from 30 to 35 thousand active GRSO's in the Third World alone. These sponsoring organizations formed an umbrella, networking downward to "hundreds of thousands" of grassroots organizations (Durning, 1989), whose membership embraced hundreds of millions – in the South alone.

Fisher offers the most systematic overview and method for measuring absolute numbers in this involvement by combining data on both formal and unregistered NGO's in country by country compilations for most nations in the world (Cf. Chapter Four, Endnotes). For example:

> A 1977 study of the Dominican Republic carried out by the Secretariat of Agriculture identified 1,116 registered but informal associations of small farmers that share labor or joint marketing. As of 1986, the number of grassroots organizations *not registered with the government,* including women's groups and groups of unemployed youths, was double that figure (Fisher, 1993).

While grassroots at its base, it would be short sighted to assume that this movement is therefore limited to that strata and unable to scale upward. In fact, the NGO movement is articulating and replicating the organizational lessons it has learned with regional, national and international networks, as it is learning to work at higher policy levels, and to effectively function across national borders (Dichter, 1989). This NGO movement, in its organizational development and ability to cross-link "levels of

analysis," is proving itself a new phenomenon whose "global reach" is yet to be carefully studied within international relations theory (See, for example, Rakowski, and Tinker in Blumberg 1995). A more detailed description is in order.

The NGO movement has become an ever-growing international complex of networks. While these grassroots organizations typically began locally in response to an escalating crisis of survival, they frequently then became sponsored by a supporting organization (GRSO) which usually is also regionally based (but which frequently relies upon international funding and training for assisting the grassroots NGO's with development projects.) The tendency has been for these groups to interconnect both informally and organizationally on their own level, and then over time up-scaling to the sponsoring national and international level above them.

> Grassroots organizations and grassroots sponsoring organizations have learned to network. NGOs are grassroots organizations plus grassroots sponsoring organizations plus both their network organizations. The increasing numbers of international conferences and the spread of personal computers have accelerated the momentum of this organizational proliferation. Never before have local organizations been so able to communicate with each other nationally and internationally (Fisher, 1993, p. 6).

These organizations have formed working partnerships for social change among the highest and least educated classes, with intellectuals and technically trained professionals working with grassroots villagers and neighborhood groups – in a "union" of those in both the poorer and middle classes who have been bypassed or impacted negatively by globalization. "To understand the potential role of the NGOs, we need to understand the political context within which they emerge. In so doing, we will begin to understand why they have emerged at all" (Fisher 1993).

In many nations of the South, particularly those hit hardest economically, the emergence of these NGOs poses an incipient challenge to the established military,

political and wealthy elite status quo. As noted, NGO's tend not to be explicit ideological opponents, rather they present as citizen groups organizing for their own survival, while simultaneously experiencing the political status quo as thwarting that necessity. This emergent, coalescing organizational power from below, pressing against the mass of social and economic oppression above, has the potential to loosen the grip of elites comprised of foreign investors, the local comprador class of land owners, industrialists, business and the military. One corollary of my description of this emergent power network should be obvious: this pressure will only increase with worsening poverty due to aggravated maldistribution/income gaps and aggravated environmental crises. "How long will it take before a critical mass of political power can begin to redress the balance against the power monopoly at the top without a violent revolution and the emergence of a new power monopoly?" (Fisher 1993). While each local situation is unique and presents its own case, nevertheless:.

> A gradual undermining of narrow political monopolies by an expanded independent sector within the Third World can have a more profound impact on sustainable development than did the accidental weakening or deliberate destruction of the political power of the ruling elites in some countries in the past (Fisher 1993, p. 16).

In other words, Fisher argues that this gradual evolution from within a culture will achieve more effective social change than interventions, economic or military (overt or covert) from without. It should be noted, however, that this political mobilization occurring "beneath" the status quo, while necessary, is still only an insufficient condition for ecologically sustainable economic development. (The parameters for this argument will be fully developed in Chapter Eight.) Despite its current limitations, this functional challenge to the status-quo (i.e. organizing to perform functions crucial to civil society that the status quo has failed at) is only part of

the impact being generated by the NGO emergence internationally. Other impacts include the strengthening of civil society, the documentation of human rights abuses (including violence against women and trafficking in women), the development of an activist politics that is not primarily situated in parties or voting, the local creation, management and distribution of public goods, (e.g., potable water, garbage removal, extension of electrical lines, education, healthcare) and the funding of producer and consumer cooperatives providing the necessities of life where national economics have not only failed the vast majority of citizens, but have intensified ratios of maldistribution.

Such developments, taking place at this moment, are difficult to draw conclusions about without international relations researchers taking the phenomenon seriously and therefore producing a mass of in-depth and comparative case studies (like this WID study) so that hypotheses can be developed and tested against empirical evidence from the field. NGOs are often ahead of their time in a given country and their impact, while discernable, may not be fully visible for years. Further, the relationship between old established systems of oligarchical electoral politics and the new emergent NGO political actors are often blended on the local and national levels, making analyses difficult. Nonetheless, due to sheer numbers, intricate organizational linkage to international regimes, impact on domestic politics, and imminent ecological crises that are appearing to be irreversible (climate), the NGO movement should no longer remain a Kuhnian "anomaly" to mainstream international relations theory in the United States.

The social conditions producing this phenomenal growth of grassroots organizations can be accounted for by both increased development support from

without (by NGO intermediary organizations such as donor-supported grassroots support organizations) and by survival crises from within. Population growth, flight to the cities, grossly inequitable land ownership, environmental degradation and poverty, aggravated by the macroeconomic decline of the 1980's and the social consequences of structural adjustment programs (SAPs), forced millions of people to organize themselves (Jolly 1987, Braidotti 1994, Caufield 1998, Mander 1988). Many build on traditional organizations already in place – religious, educational, gender – enlarging their original functions, and others are initiated *de novo* in response to an urgent need. "Even if foreign assistance were to end tomorrow, the demand-side behind the creation of grassroots organizations would continue to propel people to organize collectively for goals that individuals acting alone cannot achieve. In fact, the failure of sponsored development projects actually propel the grassroots to learn more quickly and become even more self-empowered." Fisher notes that, next to the loss of environmentally essential needs such as fuel, the liberation of women's energy maybe the single most important factor sparking the grassroots explosion.

All this is not to say that the growth of this NGO movement is not without organizational problems in this rapid growth stage of its development. While now experiencing the transition into a second generation of succession and leadership, NGO's are often not yet fully strategic about their vulnerability to changing domestic electoral politics, hostile oligarchs, failing economies, population growth, co-optation – let alone the worsening weather (Gelbspan, 1998). They are struggling with the imperative of somehow creating locally and ecologically sustainable development even as they are in the unprotected first rank of those who are exposed to suffering the consequences of environmental destruction the most. Many NGO's are in the process

of learning how much to involve themselves with donor sources, how to wisely negotiate compromise within their own goals, and how to decide when to establish independence from sponsoring institutions. On the other hand, foreign donors are only beginning to comprehend the potential power of these bottom-up initiatives for successfully operating as independent organizations.

While acknowledging these growing pains, nonetheless the NGO movement is already in the process of building a political model that is radically different from that presently found in the developed nations.

> What is emerging is a renewed interdependent sector based on broad ownership, with profits invested in public as well as private goods and services. Although this sector includes both nonprofit and for-profit organizations, it will not replace either the governmental or the traditional business sectors (Fisher 1993).

Faced with the global poverty-environmental-population crisis, the world's response must be both socially just as well as environmentally sustainable. Practical responses to this seemingly impossible standard are in fact on a day to day pragmatic basis being creatively forged by the NGO movement. It is indeed conceivable that this political empowerment from below could possibly begin to disentangle the negative connections that now sustain both poverty and environmental degradation due to globalization and models of infinite economic growth premised upon exhaustion of finite resource bases which accelerate maldistribution and concentration of wealth upward (Holmberg 1992, Norgaard 1994).

Gender Critique

This study reveals a second anomaly as it existed in mainstream international relations theory in the United States up until the 1990's, a blind spot that constrains its

ability to respond to the serious international crises that are now facing this field. Traditionally, international relations completely failed to include a gendered – let alone feminist – perspective; up until 1990, its masculine-gender dominance was an uncontested, unproblematic territory – a self-referential epistemic universe unique among the social sciences for being the most resistant to consideration of gender (Enloe 1990).

By challenging the gender blindness of international relations theory, and by documenting the extensive presence and participation of women and non-discriminatory men in the international political arena, this case study, by implication, requires extending the parameters of international relations as a discipline (Peterson 1992, Grant & Newland 1991, Sylvester 1996). Ideally, moving beyond both the former reductionist Realist perspective and even the newest, emergent feminist critique of the 1990's, international relations must ultimately transcend both its gender-blind genealogical history and the currently corrective (but hopefully unnecessary in the future) gender critiques of the same:

> "Adding a feminist perspective to the epistemology of international relations is a stage through which we must pass if we are to think about constructing an ungendered or human science of international politics which is sensitive to, but goes beyond, both masculine and feminine perspectives...[but] only when women are adequately represented in the discipline and when there is equal respect for the contributions of women and men alike" (Tickner 1991).

This stance concurs with the "alliance" thinking of Keohane (1991) who advocates the ultimate "ungendering" of international relations theory with an extension of Institutionalist thinking to include what he characterizes as feminist perspectives of connectedness and our obligations to other inhabitants of the planet as a sociocentric given, rather than simply accepting Realism's unquestioned egocentric zero-sum

definitions of "human" nature in stereotypically, almost exaggerated masculist gender terms.

> "Suppose planet earth were the primary affiliation rather than the separate nation state?...Feminist theories may reinforce an emerging trend away from the fragmentation and atomization inherent in traditional conceptions of international relations, toward a network-oriented, institutionalized approach that is truer to the emerging reality (Keohane 1991).

Given the context of the Second World War, the subsequent Cold War, and the threat of a nuclear holocaust, the dualism of a dominant Realist school vs. an Institutionalist school (with the concomitant exiling of Left analysis) can be seen as primarily shaped by ideology: that of anti-communism (Schiffrin 1997, Simpson 1998). The discourse of international relations was dominated by theorizing about power and conflict, diplomacy and military escalation – a male-described world of competition and brinkmanship (Tickner 1992). Consequently, up until the 1990's, few women either specialized in international relations theory or served in the diplomatic corps (Enloe 1990). Even in 1987, in the United States, women made up less than five percent of the senior Foreign Service ranks and less than four percent of the executive positions in the Department of Defense (McGlen & Sarkees 1990).

> "One notable exception, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who was the US ambassador to the United Nations in the early 1980s, has described herself as 'a mouse in a man's world'; for, in spite of her authoritative and forceful public style and strong conservative credentials, Kirkpatrick maintains that she failed to win the respect or attention of her male colleagues on matters of foreign policy" (Caprol 1987).

Given this male dominance, "with its vocabulary of power, threat, force and deterrence," (Tickner 1988), the discussions and descriptions of international situations were primarily made by men and would *ipso facto* reflect the same male bias. Consequently, if the practitioner field of international relations has been dominated by

men and a masculist-gendered perspective, so too the academic discipline; the constructing of theories to represent the international system were also overwhelmingly made by men.

> Women's experience systematically differs from the male experience upon which knowledge claims have been grounded. Thus the experience on which the prevailing claims to social and natural knowledge are founded is, first of all, only partial human experience only partially understood: namely, masculine experience as understood by men. However, when this experience is taken to be gender-free – when the male experience is taken to be the human experience – the resulting theories, concepts, methodologies, inquiry goals and the knowledge-claims distort human social life and human thought (Harding 1983).

While masculinity and politics have had a long and close relationship, scholarship requires that we must now become cognizant that socially defined masculinity, the "male warrior", is a socially constructed cultural ideal, more a stereotypical image than an actual personality that corresponds to the majority of men. This "hegemonic masculinity," to use R. W. Connell's (1987) term, not only defines a particular culture's ideal male, but differentiates and sustains that definition by contrasting it to the opposing de-valued female image. "Socially constructed gender differences are based on socially sanctioned, unequal relationships between men and women that reinforce compliance with man's stated superiority" (Tickner 1992, Scott 1995). Unfortunately, recognition of the relativity of these terms – that their origin lies, not in objectivity or "truth" but in cultural constructions – becomes lost when privileged discourse is unquestioned. Instead, what is usually conferred upon them is a taken-for-granted biological "facticity," (a misconception which also obscures, invalidates, and exiles the significant presence of non-hegemonic, non-discriminatory, i.e. feminist, men). Consequently, international relations as an academic field has been so embedded in the unproblematized values of a particular culture's definition of dominant

masculinity, that the workings of hierarchical gender relations of power have remained covert while its discourse, presumptions and explanations remain almost entirely based on the experiences of men.

> All knowledge is partial and is a function of the knower's lived experience in the world. Since knowledge about the behavior of states in the international system depends on assumptions that come out of men's experiences, it ignores a large part of human experience that has the potential for increasing the range of options and opening up new ways of thinking about interstate practices. Theoretical perspectives that depend on a broader range of human experience are important for women and men alike, as we seek new ways of thinking about our contemporary dilemmas (Tickner 1992).

By way of example, Tickner applies a gender analysis to the pivotal notion of "national security" in international relations theory. While the achievement of security is central in the concerns of international relations scholars, she delineates the inadequacies of traditional models that focus exclusively on military security and argues for broadening them to embrace global and multidimensional concerns, including political, economical and environmental security, all of which are dependent upon the achievement of social justice within ecological limits: "Moving the consideration of violence beyond its relation to physical violence allows us to move beyond simplistic dichotomies between war and peace to a consideration of the conditions necessary for a just peace, defined more broadly than simply the absence of war" (Tickner 1992).

Global insecurity in all areas, military, economic and ecological, is connected to unequal gender relations. Military security has traditionally privileged men as "protectors" and "providers of security." Yet, a study of economic security reveals massive gender inequality with a subset of men holding and controlling the vast majority of the earth's wealth. A study of the history of the environmental crisis reflects

how in the West, women have been identified with Nature, (by the European cultural hegemons of the Catholic Church, a newly emergent positivist science and national governments) placing both nature and women in a subordinate position, an epistemologically normative stance justifying unlimited exploitation, which is one of the underlying cultural causes of the current ecological crisis (White 1969, Merchant 1980).

> The achievement of peace, economic justice, and ecological sustainability is inseparable from overcoming social relations of domination and subordination; genuine security requires not only the absence of war but also the elimination of unjust social relations, including unequal gender relations.
>
> *If the world is insecure because of these multiple insecurities, then international relations, the discipline that analyzes international insecurity and prescribes measures for its alleviation, must be reformulated* (Tickner 1992) (italics mine).

Only through a gender analysis, can these hidden inequalities which underpin other causes global insecurity, be revealed as sexual discrimination "in their historical origins, conventional definitions and contemporary manifestations" (Tickner 1992). Using gender as the lens of analysis discloses the masculist, (i.e. male hegemonic, not inherently male), bias pervasive in international relations theory. Security, when defined exclusively in military terms as the prevention of war, is dysfunctional; it does not ensure, and furthermore, can even increase the threat of ethnic conflicts, poverty, family violence and environmental degradation. "All these can be linked to the international system, yet their elimination has not been part of the way in which states have traditionally defined their national security goals" (Tickner, 1992).

> Documenting ubiquitous androcentrism and its occlusion of gender hierarchy tends to render women as victims – as relatively powerless within male-dominated systems. In contrast, "adding women" disrupts existing frameworks as the mapping of "female worlds" reveals the significance both of women's experience and of women themselves as

> actors in accommodation with and resistance to structures of domination. No longer "invisible," everyday practices and women's activities – especially when differentiated by class, ethnicity, nationality, age, sexual orientation, or physical ability – illuminate the complexity and contradictions attending gender and other social hierarchies (Peterson 1992; see also Stimpson1984, Bernard 1987).

By re-analyzing Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (1973), J. Ann Tickner extrapolates the six basic principles of realism on which "several generations of scholars and practitioners of international relations in the United States have been nourished...since 1945" (1991). She argues that these principles are heavily oriented toward a masculine bias. Edited into a brief summary form, they are as follows:

> 1. Politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature, which is unchanging. Therefore, it is possible to develop a rational theory that reflects these objective laws.
>
> 2. Political realism stresses the rational, objective and unemotional.
>
> 3. Realism assumes that interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid....Power is the control of man over man.
>
> 4. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action, but also of the tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action.
>
> 5. It is the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves us from moral excess and political folly.
>
> 6. Political realism is based on a pluralistic conception of human nature. A man who was nothing but 'political man' would be a beast, completely lacking in moral restraints. But, in order to develop an autonomous theory of political behavior, 'political man' must be abstracted from other aspects of human nature (Tinker 1991).

Drawing on the work of Evelyn Fox Keller, (and parallel to the analysis the natural sciences of Thomas Kuhn described above) Tickner rejects the possibility of a rational, positivist theory of international politics based on quantifiable laws of nature.

Research has shown that such claims, in our culture, are associated with a particular culture's socialization of masculinity.

> Keller links the separation of self from other, an important stage of masculine gender development, with this notion of objectivity. Translated into scientific inquiry this becomes the striving of the separation of subject and object, an important goal of modern science and one which, Keller asserts, is based on the need for control; hence objectivity becomes associate with power and domination (Tickner 1991; see also Chodorow 1978).

In contrast to Morgenthau's claimed objectivity, feminist epistemology emphasizes connection and contingency, theory building in which the theorist "remains cognizant of, indeed relies on, our connectivity with the world" (Keller 1985). Such a perspective is participatory, working from within rather from a Cartesian distanced stance of objectivity. Some feminists question artificial dichotomization and the Western philosophical separation of subject from object as a masculist concept. They acknowledge multiple realities, ambiguities and differences. "These qualities could stand us in good stead as we begin to build a human or ungendered theory of international relations which contains elements of both masculine and feminine modes of thought" (Tickner 1991).

Offering a "ungendered" formulation parallel to the Morgenthau's six principles, Tickner promotes moving beyond masculine and feminine perspectives with this "inclusionary" reformulation (edited into a summary form):

> 1. Human nature is both masculine and feminine; it contains elements of social reproduction and development as well as political domination.
>
> 2. A feminist perspective believes that national interest is multidimensional and contextually contingent; it cannot be defined solely in terms of power. In the contemporary world the national interest demands cooperative rather than zero sum solutions to a set of interdependent global problems which include nuclear war, economic well-being and environmental degradation.

3. Power cannot be infused with meaning that is universally valid. Power as domination and control privileges masculinity and ignores the possibility of collective empowerment, another aspect of power often associated with femininity.

4. All political action has moral significance.

5. While recognizing that moral aspirations of particular nations cannot be equated with universal moral principles, a feminist perspective seeks to find common moral elements in human aspirations which could become the basis for de-escalating international conflict and building international community.

6. A feminist perspective denies the autonomy of the political. Since autonomy is associated with masculinity in Western culture, disciplinary efforts to construct a worldview which does not rest on a pluralistic conception of human nature are partial and masculine (Tinkner 1991).

This advocated goal, ultimately an ungendered international relations, will require a reconceptualization of previously unquestioned epistemological assumptions of this field. To genuinely reflect the lived experiences of women as well as men, there must be a far great incorporation of women within its academic ranks as well as in the international relations practitioner field. An intermediate step requires gender analyses making overt the embedded masculine bias and broadening the discourse and range of responses international relations can make to contemporary international crises of a political, economic and ecological nature.

Epistemological Critique.

A third anomaly suggested by this WID case study is the absence of the "Other" in international relations' universe of discourse up until the 1990's. The Realist definition advocated by Waltz limits itself to state level actors and their interaction in the international system. This theoretic perspective excludes actors of the domestic

level, even when they develop the political capacity to organize themselves into international regimes, and thus interact in the international system.

As a significant case that breaks these limiting barriers of "state level actors only", the WID movement opens the door in international relations theory to other "voices" significant to the international field of politics but which typically have been up until recently largely unheard in international relations theory. Thus far, we have documented the need for international relations theory to take into account the NGO movement and gender awareness when it researches and engages the international politics. On a similar level, there are several other "voices" – participants in the NGO movement and the WID strand of that movement in particular – within international politics which have been silenced, not taken seriously, excluded or made "non-existent" in international relations theory.

> To state the matter bluntly, while vague and inchoate accounts of world politics may allow us to distinguish women's experiences and struggles as a crucial part of contemporary political life, the categories of contemporary theories of international relations systematically render these experiences and struggles invisible. This point has been made with great cogency in the recent literature on feminism and international relations, but it is also a point that is, at a certain level, quite obvious.
>
> It is certainty no less obvious, for example, than the point that the categories of international relations theory have rendered class conflicts invisible or the point that these categories reify the ethnocentric hubris of particular cultures. In this sense, at least, accounts of the absence of women's experiences from the representations of international relations theory are not entirely without precedent (Walker in Peterson 1992).

How is "making invisible" possible? What is the mechanism by which a social science has the ability to blank out of its awareness, major and significant, major areas of the phenomenon it nevertheless proposes to study? In this case, many new critics point to the fact that international relations, as a social science, particularly in its

Realist articulation, had limited itself to a Eurocentric representation of state politics, and consequently has ignored the existence of several interacting international regimes that are having a significant impact in the international field (Ashley 1996, Walker 1993, Der Derian 1995, Smith 1996, Peterson 1992).

International relations, like all social sciences in the late twentieth century, should be cognizant of post-positivist critiques requiring any social theory to incorporate within its methodology a subjective consciousness of its own inner dynamics, of its own typical patterns of "self-representation." International relations theory-builders are themselves participant-observers, imbued with their own political values, therefore shaping, creating and circumscribing the very phenomenon they seek to describe (Keyman 1997).

The international political world (what Walker calls "world politics" as opposed to the "IR System"), which international realtions theory seeks to reflect and on which its theory is based, is in a malleable state, continually revealing itself in each generation with new presentations (Walker 1992). There can never be, in international relations as in any other of the social sciences, a permanent theory – a metaphysic – of an objective quality constituted once and for all. International relations theory must subject itself to a continual incorporation and reformulation as newer, formerly excluded evidence of the world makes itself apparent.

As Walker notes,

> It requires relatively little sociological or textual analysis to establish the patriarchal, or ethnocentric, or class character of this discipline, one desperately in need of affirmative action, perhaps. Rather more is at stake here, however, than the sociology of a profession or the gender/culture/class blindness of textbooks and course outlines. It is a matter of knowing how it is that questions about gender or indeed about class, culture, philosophy, or human identity, have been so easily marginalized, subverted, and co-opted in and by

> this particular discipline. In short, attempts to juxtapose feminism and international relations quickly run up against a much broader and more insidious politics of forgetting against a discourse that has made all forms of critique more or less impossible within this specific discipline (Walker 1993).

Inclusion/exclusion is an inherent device in theory building. "It is the crucial task of both breaking with these presumed boundaries and extending the horizon of the modern political imagination that critical theory undertakes" (Keyman 1997). However, the demarcation lines laid down in any given theory between that which is to be included and which is excluded, are inherently amenable to alteration given new evidence. It is time that the central locus of self-identification within international relations be shifted from the North and the West and broaden itself into a true global consciousness based on the task of achieving social justice for all without destroying the environment – i.e. within the endgame of ecological limits to production and reproduction. The point here is that the more international relations theory is derived from a strong Western rationalist and universalist posture, the more it reduces the "ethical space for the Other to represent itself in its own ownership of its history" (Keyman 1997).

Within international relations, a patriarchal Eurocentric "self" was presumed, and all other sources of knowledge – the "Orient," the South, women, the post-colonial states – were designated as inferior "Others" and consequently described and evaluated according to the standards of the hegemonic "self" (Said 1979).

> "Hence, while as a discipline in constant interaction with the Other (whether it be female, racial, or a cultural/ethnic Other), international relations theory operates as a practice of inclusion/exclusion, in which the privileged role of the Western sovereign-self is maintained as a rational, Cartesian, modern cogito, and what is perceived as its Other is excluded, marginalized and denied to be recognized, as different" (Keyman 1997).

In its critique, this dissertation constitutes one small contribution to an ongoing emancipatory project within critical international relations theory to alter the patriarchal Eurocentric self/other dichotomy and broaden "the horizons of modern political imagination." The WID case illustrates that the domestic/grassroots level of the state system – i.e. the vast majority of the Earth's population – can no longer be unproblematically relegated to the realm of "low politics."

> "While either political or economic factors are given primacy in the accounting for the functioning of international relations, the very cultural formation of these relations is marginalized as derivative of the systemic logic. More precisely, while the utilitarian modern (male) self is being universalized and privileged, the existence of different cultures and identities is (relegated to) the Other." (Keyman 1997).

According to Hedley Bull's analysis, international relations theory reflects "almost exclusively Western knowledge in origin and perspective: It cannot be denied that the role of the Europeans in shaping an international society of worldwide dimension has been a special one" (Bull 1984). Bull then conjectures therefore, that a proper understanding of international relations "which is predominantly non-Western," cannot be provided by a theory that is exclusively Western. As Keyman notes,

> "Bull therefore suggests that the nonrecognized nature of cultural diversity puts into question the explanatory power of the fundamental concepts of international relations theory. If so, what needs to be done, as it has been argued by Bull, is to integrate the study of culture in that theory in order to understand adequately the cultural formation of the international system as a crucial mechanism of its reproduction" (1997).

Expanding Bull's argument, Neumann and Welsh (1991) contend that Western international relations is critically unaware of the process whereby European states consolidated self-identities by constructing resonating images of foreign, presumed-to-be-threatening Others, ("e.g., the Turk as the barbarian"). They argue that "the cultural logic behind the expansion of the European international society was based on

the creation of the Other as 'the external antagonist against which internal identity was mobilized'. They proceed to suggest that 'what it was to be European was continually linked to the external differentiation of "Europeanness" from "barbarity" ' (1991; see also Said 1979, Fein 1986).

What is now needed, Bull insists, is the practice of cultural diversity. "What needs to be done is to insert the study of culture into [the theory of international relations] in order to understand adequately the cultural formation of the international system" (in Keyman 1997). Rather than international relations "normal science" analysis of the international world through reiterations of unacknowledged binary, hierarchical, dichotomous, oppositional "definitions" of reality – male/female, East/West, North/South, First World/Third World, etc. – within a racist, supremacist perspective that posits the West as the inherently superior development over the traditions of supposed "backward" cultures (Rostow 1960, Inkeles 1976, Verba 1971, per Weber's typology of cultures), there needs to be a shift to studying the profound interdependence of cultures, upon each other and most fundamentally upon Nature (Merchant 1980).

This concludes my discussion of the three major theoretical implications of this empirical case study to the field of International Relations. In Chapter Seven, I will briefly summarize the objectives and findings of this dissertation. Chapter Eight serves as an Epilogue, in which the WID interviewees will address an even more imperative, fourth anomaly in contemporary IR theory: the exiled and "Other" voice of the environment.

Endnotes

1. Cf. *Wholeness and the Implicate Order,* by David Bohm, (1980).

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

This dissertation is a case study examining in detail the political processes used by the Women-in-Development (WID) movement between 1975 and 1985 to influence the United Nations system to redefine its gender-blind economic development project standards. This case study argues that the parameters of international relations theory should legitimately include not only state level actor international regimes, but also international institutional regimes established by international social movements, which in this particular case, maintain links to the grassroots, are domestic in origin and representative in organization.

After an introductory overview of the dissertation, and an historical overview of both the United Nations and WID within an institutional context, the argument unfolds in two phases: an empirical investigation, constituting the case study itself – and then a theoretical inquiry, in which the results and implications of this case study are applied to contemporary international relations theory in the United States. This concluding chapter serves as a brief summary, recapitulating the objectives and findings of this study.

Following the Introduction and its introduction to the literature, two preliminary definitions were explicated, one of the WID movement itself and the other of the complex organizational structures and procedures of the United Nations system, based upon secondary sources and archival research.

Then, in order to situate the initial premise of the dissertation within its theoretical context, an overview of late Cold War mainstream international relations theory in the United States was presented in Chapter Two, broadly organized around the debate between the Realists/Neorealists and the Institutionalists. Prior to the completion of the empirical investigation itself, it was hypothesized that the Institutionalist position of Keohane and Nye (1979) would generate more useful heuristic questions for understanding the data of the empirical study to follow. This hypothesis turned out to be supported, with the proviso that, even within the school of International Institutionalism itself, empirical studies of international institutional regimes have tended to focus exclusively on state-related organizations that operate at the international level of the system; more research within this theoretical approach should be devoted to international regimes which interconnect the three classic levels of the state system and which emerge from international social movement mobilization. It was both hypothesized and observed that the particular international institutional regime researched in this study, due to its genesis as an international social movement, tended to be organizationally representative of its constituency, whose membership and leadership was drawn from the individual level, the grassroots/domestic (or state) level and the international level of the system.

Once the preliminary definitions were situated within the international relations literature review, the dissertation then turned to its fundamental empirical study: an in-

depth investigation of the WID movement itself, from the perspective of its participants, focusing on the years 1975 to 1985 comprising the UN's Decade for Women. The data for this case study was gathered from interviews with fifty grassroots activists, academic scholars, policy practitioners and administrators, men and women, both inside and outside the UN, who were part of the first decade of the WID movement and participated in its negotiations at the UN in regard to advocating for the redefinition of its heretofore gender-blind economic development policies. Subsequently, this data was analyzed and organized into major explanatory themes collated from respondents answers to heuristic interview questions as reported in Chapters Four and Five: Chapter Four focused on the historic emergence and mobilization of this international movement; the latter chapter focused on its institutionalization as an international regime via the specific political strategies the movement utilized to lobby the UN development agencies. The data which emerged from the archival record and the evidence gathered from interviews documented the processes by which this grassroots movement created linkages among the local, the state and the international levels, building the structures of an internationally mobilized social movement. Furthermore, the research data delineated the political processes by which WID developed into an international regime, influencing institutional norms, behavior, rules and regulations within the UN, thus leading to a fundamental redefinition of development standards and goals within its development divisions to include gender as a system wide policy standard for economic development projects in the field.

Then, in Chapter Six, the study turned to its concluding phase: an examination and application of this empirical evidence to mainstream international relations theory in the United States. Here, two major findings unfolded. The first finding concluded

that fundamental criticisms of Realist international relations theory advanced by the Institutionalist position (Keohane and Nye 1979), premised upon building theory about the efficacy of international institutional regimes as significant actors within the international system, had explanatory validity for this study. The major tenets of the Neorealist school on the other hand, focusing exclusively on state level actors maximizing egocentric motivations within an anarchical setting, were insufficient to explain the emergence, efficacy or institutionalization of WID as an international regime.

Secondly, while validating the explanatory relevance of the theoretical approach of the Institutionalist school within international relations to this particular case study, other evidence within this study nonetheless demonstrated that within mainstream international relations theory, up until the 1990's, both Neorealist and Neoliberal Institutionalist schools have had blind-spots – "anomalies" – in regard to major international political phenomena. (These blind-spots have carried over into the latest configuration of these schools which some theorists term "the neo-neo synthesis.") (Keohane in Smith et al. 1996)

Three of these "anomalies" were elaborated in detail, and as such serve as rich sources for further study: the political phenomenon of the NGO movement, of which WID is but one thematic strand; an historic blindness within international relations up until the 1990's toward gender and the major theoretical consequences of this blindness; and the larger absence of widespread incorporation of the "Other," i.e. peoples and classes that have traditionally been "exiled to the margins" of traditional international relations debate. This dissertation argues for inclusion of these groups, voices, texts and movements, not out of "generosity" or ethical considerations, but for

the pragmatic requirement of constructing relevant, effective and consequential theory-building within international relations as a social science. This argument is not grounded on logical persuasion but rather on the empirical evidence that these "blind spots" are in fact "peopled" phenomena, millions of people who have organized themselves in representative social movements in order to articulate their knowledge, theoretical analyses and political power via the NGO movement, thus contesting for participation and representation at all levels of the international state system. These voices are of major numerical proportion; for at least twenty years, they have been contesting with a visible impact via the proliferation of the NGO movement on political and economic international processes which are now finally widely recognized as "globalization." Theories of international politics, in order to be relevant, must assess the political efficacy of these millions seriously.

Epilogue

How could WID fulfill its mandate

within the next twenty years?

> Nongovernmental organizations have had a major impact on the international development discourse....Development [had been] largely framed in terms of technical possibilities and economic efficiency as a matter of making "the pie" grow as fast as possible. ...But serious concern for the environment and the sustainability of development, for women, for traditional peoples, for the incorporation of traditional knowledge, for cultural diversity, and for civil rights and justice have been forced upon the international development agencies, their national counterparts, and their epistemic communities by nongovernmental organizations (Norgaard 1994).

This chapter serves as an epilogue to the case study presented in the prior seven chapters. I initiated these interviews during the mid-Nineties, asking respondents to assess, retrospectively, the emerging years of WID, especially during the decade 1975 to 1985. Then, as a process of closure, I asked the interviewees to "brainstorm" about a final visionary question: I asked them to imagine and theorize as creatively as possible about how WID could meet its social justice goals by the year 2020 [1]. On one hand, it was not difficult to guess at the direction their brainstorming might take; a new consciousness was already emerging within WID in the mid to late

80's, a broad consensus linking the words "environment" and "sustainability" to "gender," "social justice," "economic development," and "global." But on the other hand, some completely new international concerns emerged in answer to the final interview question, concerns focusing on the political implications of their vision which can be broadly summarized as: how to extend the participatory representative process of the international WID grassroots/NGO movement's response to severe Third World economic crisis directly to the First World epicenters of economic planning which exacerbated those crises. The following chapter is a synthesis of their visionary response.

> [Norgaard continues the above quote:] At the same time discourses in politics and economics, narrowly defined, have become less open rather than more. The evolution of the role of economics in the public discourse in Western societies provides an ominous warning. In the United States until World War II, economics was a matter widely discussed by educated lay people. [But] from World War II, until well into the 1960's, economists in the public sector began to dominate as econocrats...
>
> Beginning in the 1980's, *economists in government and in academe were expected to defend free market reasoning, indeed ideology, per se.* Economic reasoning has been used in a power struggle against other types of reasoning for the determination of policy rather than used in a cooperative search for a deeper collective synthesis. ...Economics has become more a matter for experts and less participatory with other disciplines and the public than ever before. During the 1980's and well into the 1990's, economists and the International Monetary Fund nearly dictated [2] how developing economies should be restructured, while economists at the World Bank refrained from preparing development loans until such restructuring was well underway (Norgaard 1994) (italics mine).

Methodology/Epistemology

As a preamble to my articulation of the WID "future" vision, I wish to insert a methodological note. I am, of necessity, a participant-observer (van Maanan 1994, Mischler 1986). As will be obvious to the reader, I, as an international relations academic and as a researcher, am in accord with the latest and more environmental manifestations of the "Women-in-International-Development" as "Women, Environment and Sustainable Development." (See Ch. 4). Nevertheless, the approach of my method does expect me to re-present their vision as faithfully as possible, to represent their representations, as I have in the discussion to follow. I myself am certainly profoundly concerned with the enormous and increasing economic disequilibria between peoples within the North and between the North/South, and with the threat of environmental degradation to long-term viability on this planet; the following discussion reflects similar concerns from many of the WID respondents.

A second epistemological preamble will be helpful to the reader's understanding as well. How did these activists come to know what they know?

> I possess a hunger for "truth" which I did not find primarily in theories and books, but in real life. I grew up in an immense slum, Old Chinatown, which grounded me in "the reality" for whatever other realities I came up against (internviewee # 8).

What is their epistemological filter? An answer comes in two layers. First, many have had extensive training and credentialing in the traditional disciplines of academia, almost always in one or several of the social sciences. But to be more precise, some social sciences claim to be modeled more closely after the physical sciences and tend to make knowledge claims based on quantified data while others tend to model

themselves more closely on the scholarship of the humanities, relying more on argumentation to persuade their listeners to the cogency of their theories. (This epistemological diversity in the form of on-going epistemological critiques exists within these academic fields as well.)

To this academic training, however, a second layer has informed their articulation of experiences in the field, whether from within the grassroots itself or from being related to it via economic development work. Whether one labels it "multidisciplinary," "multicultural," "feminist," or "systems" thinking, these WID activists have learned to go beyond mastery of the methods of their particular social science to explicitly question the reductionism underlying positivist modes of research, replacing it with an interdependent, holistic, systemic approach to building theory and policy.[3] For example, their cross-cultural, cross-class experiences in the First and Third World seemed to have convinced them that short-term, top-down, technological interventions made with the monist goal of increasing economic growth, regardless of ecosystem context (e.g. the Green Revolution) [4] often effect long term disruptions of generations' deep, empirically acquired knowledge upon which people had depended in order to survive for generations within local ecological limits. I make note of this second layer of the epistemological base of WID answers to the final "visionary" question because it undergirds how many of the interviewees conceptualize the environmental issue about to be described. Without this epistemological framework, to the uninformed reader, their estimations may seem ungrounded, or exaggerated.

International Relations Theory – Re: Environmental Limits

The empirical evidence of this case study suggests that international relations theory expand the parameters of its definition of the international system to embrace international regimes that are not only state level actors but also simultaneously grassroots, participatory in organization and domestic in origin. Chapter Six discussed three critiques which argue for expanding the limited scope and overcoming the Othering boundaries of mainstream international relations theory. A fourth critique remains to be articulated, one which emerged over and over in interviewees' responses to the final "visionary" question, addressing what perhaps is the most consequential blindness/exclusionary silence in international relations: the voice of the environment. The ecosystem of this planet (or classically, Nature,) obviously cannot use language to write text, cannot "represent" itself in the post-positivist world, and as such depends upon ambassadorial advocates to bring this fundamental "voice" into the mainstream of international relations theory (Tickner 1992).

This Epilogue unfolds one strand in a conversation that could follow from posing an obvious question, yet one that, in a peculiar silence, is never asked: "Why does international relations even exist as a field at all?" I would suggest that, even after all my reading of new and critical re-interpretations of the canon of international relations, rarely have I seen attention focused on the explicit reason for the existence of this social science, or on its *modus operandi*, or, as Walker puts it, on the problem that "...once epistemological obsessions are relaxed, some rather difficult and important ontological and axiological questions still need to be addressed" (In Peterson 1992).

To the extent that international relations has constructed itself as important (ontologically) and useful (axiologically), I would say the foundation of its epistemological legitimacy (first, as philosophy, and much later as social science) has been its rhetorical capacity to think analytically about crises of survival — e.g. war, as addressed by Thucydides. As such, the study of international political relationships has focused most importantly on the preeminent question "How to survive" in the face of overwhelming threat – be that (in the West) as a city-state, empire, church, manor, princely municipality, kingdom, lander, nation-state, limited holding company, or newly-emergent male merchant class forced by aristocratic exclusion to argue for its own very particular political inclusion via the mechanism of equality claims for all.

If indeed international relations validity is predicated upon its relevance to survival "for all" by analyzing, understanding and promoting security for all, then, as a field, it should be addressing the greatest immediate security threat to all – degradations of the global ecosystems which in some sectors (e.g., atmosphere, climate, soil) may already be irreversible. This "ontological and axiological" present reality is at the heart of this Epilogue.

The Environmental Issue

> For the men and women in the field, the question of developmental assistance led to the question of the sustainability of this development in the Third World. They began to wonder if the dominant model of development proposed by the sponsoring organizations of the North was appropriate for their countries. (interviewee # 13).

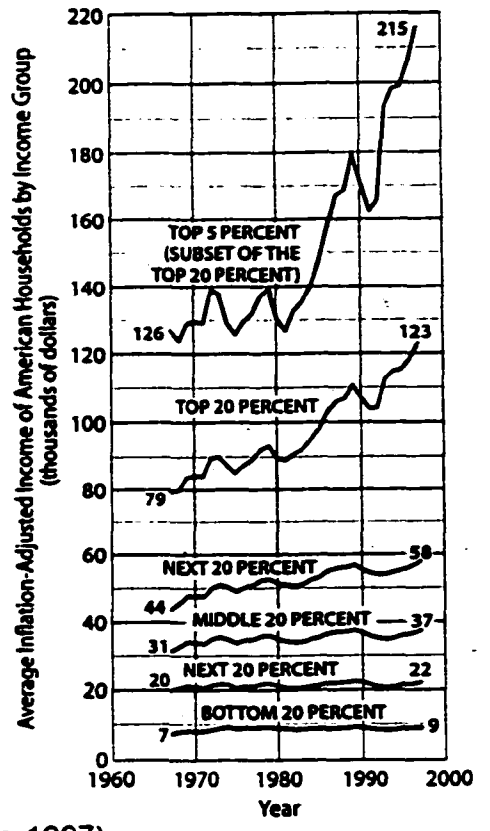
A major ethical and political concern of my correspondents was how to evaluate and promote the sustainability of our global life-support system – the environment. This sustainability will come up against increasingly severe limits in our lifetimes;

issues of growth, equity, development and distribution will create major political consequences if environmental limits do in fact prove to circumscribe unlimited economic growth (a spectre that is particularly resonant of one is well versed in the international political ramifications of previous cycles of severe economic retrenchment – e.g. in post World War I Germany.)

In many ways, while it is incumbent upon a First World observer to "see" (to recognize) the Third World's severe and worsening income and land distribution, circumscribed by accelerating environmental degradation, it is hard to "see", to recognize, the same pattern as it exists in the First World because of a "booming" period of economic "growth", --the real growth being in sharply accelerated disparities between the extremely wealthy and the loss of real income for the vast majority of middle and lower class in the United States.

> For about three decades – roughly the period from the early 1940's to the early 1970's – the US became progressively more egalitarian. ...But by the mid 1970's productivity growth slowed and real wages declined...the decline of American trade unions, which traditionally reduced the gap between worker and manager incomes, is [also] a factor as is the related drop in good-paying manufacturing jobs. Beginning in the 1980's, the supply of college graduates grew slowly, which led to a shortage of better-educated workers and consequently an increase in their earnings advantage over the less skilled.
>
> ...Another reason for rising inequality was the *dramatic surge, beginning in the early 1980's, in the share of income coming to the top 5 percent of households.* Lower tax rates, introduced by the Reagan administration probably also contributed to inequality. Income inequality is greater in the US than in Europe (Doyle 1999).

The following graph is the average inflation-adjusted income of American Households by Income Group in thousands of dollars.



(US Bureau of Census 1997)

Globalization has accelerated that inequality, both within and between the First and Third Worlds. And globalization as adjudicated by the WTO to address the failures of and conflicts in that market is expressly anti-democratic (as opposed to the WID/NGO model of international/cross-class/grassroots/participatory policy critique and formulation). As Harrington says,

> To move from national to international regulatory arenas is to shift policymaking further than it has already gone from legislative to executive bases – that is, from potentially democratic and constituent-based to definitively bureaucratic and elite-based authority.

> Robert Keohane, arguing *for a* move toward reduced state sovereignty, identifies precisely this problem. As economic interdependence shifts power to international institutions, he says, some means for decentralizing authority must develop. 'Otherwise, the decline in states' operational sovereignty will be accompanied by a further attenuation of democracy, and the growth of international institutions could come to mean the rule of impersonal public and private bureaucracies responsible to no one except each other.' Exactly." (Harrington, in Peterson 1992)

Ecological limits will have unique impacts across the classic sociological cleavages of class, race, gender, sexualities, ethnicity and across the political divide of North-South relations. Although I will discuss later how this interfaces with the international relations community, suffice it to say that, to the extent that international relations as a field represents itself as having theoretical and explanatory validity in relation to the international state system and its security issues, it must, as one of the interviewees said, confront the fundamental issue of "Real global security--planetary ecological survival for all" (See also Tickner 1992, Norgaard 1994).

As WID developed through the 1980's, it became more and more apparent worldwide that ecosystems were undergoing severe environmental stresses across state borders which therefore had to be addressed internationally (e.g. the protocols developed via intense negotiation in Montreal in regard to ozone depletion). Furthermore, regionally specific environmental degradation was severely intensifying the "triple-burden" of Third World women in their reproductive, productive and community management roles; for example, already long work days lengthened as women had to walk farther in search for fodder, fuel and water due to commercialized extractive impacts on accelerating local resources exhaustion (Agarwhal 1988). Agarwhal echoes other interviewees' conclusions about the triple-burden, noting:

> "Although commentators tend to stereotype the poor, and poor women in particular as 'exhausting the environment,' in portrayals of deforestation in the

> Himalayas, the reality is that these women have been forced to become even more brilliant managers of local environments that had traditionally sustained them for decades. The incursion of the market-based agriculture combined with the profit-driven forestry extraction has seriously affected what in many areas before were balanced subsistence agricultural settings" (Agarwhal 1988).

And, structural adjustment programs, imposed, as Norgaard says in the opening quote to this chapter, "dictatorially" by the North, were driving the intensification of regionally-specific environmental degradation in the South:

> The neo-liberal school of economics questioned the usefulness of explicit development policies altogether and gave rise to a liberal and free market style of development. Emphasis on short-term economic management in response to the crisis replaced a coherent development strategy for the Third Development Decade of the 1980's and led to a neglect of the human development idea of the 1970's.
>
> Structural adjustment policies (SAPs) were implemented in many countries of the South in order to speedily remove external imbalances of payment in the debt countries. Emphasis on debt repayment shifted the priorities for government spending away from the public sector...to areas where production for internationally tradable goods could be stimulated in order to produce goods in exchange for foreign currency. Debtor governments were advise to withdraw as prime movers in development.
>
> Government expenditures for social services were severely reduced with serious consequences for poorer peoples of the South as well as the natural environment. It is widely documented how poor women in particular had to compensate for the cuts in social services by an increase in their work (Elson 1990; UNICEF 1987; Commonwealth Secretariat 1989). This situation led to a standstill and even regression in social development in many countries of the South; poverty was increasing, and the natural resource base came under heavy pressure to compensate of the tightening situation. Natural resources in the South were increasingly exploited for debt repayment while satisfaction of local needs for fuel, water, fodder and other essentials became more and more difficult. The 1980's were therefore frequently referred to as the 'lost decade'. ...The process of structural adjustment steered the affected countries further into the direction of export-led growth, vulnerability to world markets and to stimulate investment by TNC's with their questionable practices in search of quick profits (Braidotti et al. 1994)

From 1982 on, INSTRAW, reacting to the socially destabilizing consequences of SAP's, started generating training programs to involve women in trying to create local solutions and manage environmental resources such as water, sanitation, fuel wood and fodder. As Bella Abzug says, "I came into the environmental movement out of a sense of horror at what the unbridled greed and social irresponsibility of multinationals, governments and war machines were doing to the health of our planet. It did not take long for me to learn that, typically, women were the major victims of these acts." Bina Agarwal links environmental degradation, gender and sustainable development as follows:

> "After three and a half decades of State-directed development, India continues to be characterized by high levels of poverty and economic inequality. Over the past two decades in particular, the pursuit of primarily growth-oriented structural reform, has resulted in its own contradictions: agricultural stagnation in several parts of the country, and the rapid degradation of the natural resource base; a continuing large population under poverty; and a deteriorating physical, social and political environment. More than ever there is a need to ask: Development for whom? Development in terms of what? And most important, development how?" (Agarwal 1989).

The need for more sophisticated and inclusive theoretical analysis on how the WID movement should respond to intensifying poverty and environmental degradation led to the creation of WEDO (Women's Environmental and Development Organization) as an international NGO network; and, in order to prepare for the Rio Summit (UNCED-UN Conference on Environment and Development) in 1992, a major preparatory conference--the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet--was held in 1991. Although there is no formal "watershed" when WID suddenly focused on environmental concerns, this conference marks the transition to analytically situating concerns about women facing poverty within the environmental context that frames their struggles. As interviewee # 13, a special advisor to the director of UNEP (a major

planner of the Rio Summit from the US) states: "Our theorizing, our research, our policy planning and implementation from now on must inextricably link the development of women to the preservation of the environment--the ecology we all are totally dependent upon."

The Problem: Three unlimited demands in a limited system

> As a movement, WID grew as the question grew. Beginning in development issues, our field work in the Third World led us from women to the question of sustainability and from there to environmental concerns – and on the way, from local to national to the international arena. Today, our question is nothing less than global survival (interviewee # 13).

The ineluctable and consistent pattern of response to the fourth interview question, "How could WID fulfill its mandate within the next twenty years?" can be summarized as: equitable distribution within a sustainable environment. That is the most succinct possible formulation of their twenty-year vision and the single most pressing development issue for most of these WID activists. In more precise terms: does a particular development program contribute to biodiversity...or deplete it? Several of the WID activists I interviewed grappled with answering the final visionary question's twenty year limit by articulating a three pronged environmental problem and then speculated, with a forced optimism, on a possible solution which could, should we so choose, lead us to turn-around and survival with equity. The "problem" analyzes the environment as being stressed by three interdependent forces: the first is the planet-wide escalation of human stress on our ecosystems, with population as one index; the second is the economic expansion of global capitalism with its commitment to unlimited growth and consumption, intensifying this environmental depletion, especially in the First World; and the third is the moral imperative that social justice, in

terms of allocation of resources, be achieved between rich and poor in the Third – First World.

Environmental limits.

> Many present efforts to guard and maintain human progress, to meet human needs, and to realize human ambitions are simply unsustainable – to both the rich and poor nations. They draw too heavily, too quickly, and already overdrawn environmental resource accounts. ...They may show profits on the balance sheets of our generation, but our children will inherit the losses. (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987)

It is no secret that the environment has limits and that its ability to sustain human life is being overdrawn in multiple sectors.

> In the 21st century, we are going to pass through a bottleneck. The land required to maintain one American's standard of living, on average, is 12 acres. The amount required to sustain the current standard of living of someone in one of the developing countries, where 80 percent of the world's population lives, is one acre. Now here's the problem: the whole world wants to live like Americans. Thus we have the aftershock following the population explosion: not only too many people, but people attempting legitimately, understandably, to increase the quality of their lives. .Its been estimated that to bring the whole world up to America's standard of living would require two more planet Earths. The results, politically, economically, and environmentally, of the rush to achieve that impossibility in the next century will be our greatest problem (Wilson 1999).

China's population is approximately 1.3 billion. In the summer of 1999, India also passed the one billion marker. Our total earth population is over six billion. Mid-range UN projections are that we will peak our growth rate within the next century, i.e. we will achieve an average birth rate of 2.0 children per couple. But before this peak

is reached, we will have arrived at a total population of 12 billion people, double our present level. (McKibben 1998).

While estimates vary, the average First World person presently "requires" or presumes access to 12.5 acres to meet his or her "needs." As E. O. Wilson noted in the quote above, presently 80% of the world, the yet undeveloped part of the world, requires only 1 acre. Confronting irreconcilable data like this, while deliberately decentering the First World presumptive subtext in the above quote, and building on the analysis of the economist, E. F. Schumacher in Small is Beautiful, Satish Kumar offers a provocative reversal of E.O.Wilson's observation in the form of an epigram, one deliberately stark, "Poverty is not the problem. Wealth is the problem. Poverty is the solution." (Resurgence Sept/Oct 1999)

The table below was prepared by the Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research in Bombay in 1991 comparing the North/South disparities in consumption. The table identifies both the average disparity rate (ADR) in consumption – the ratio of per capita consumption in Northern and Southern countries – and extreme disparity ratio (EDR) – the ratio between the richest nation, the USA, and the poorest, India.

It should be noted that the East European countries have been included among the Northern countries, while the newly industrialized countries of Asia are included among the Southern countries. The average disparity ratio is therefore smaller that the real disparities between, for example, the European countries and the low-income countries of Asia and Africa.

Consumption of selected items, North/South

	Share (per cent)		ADR	EDR
Item	North	*South*	*North/South*	*North/South*
Meat	64	36	6	52
Cereals	48	52	3	6
Fertilizers	60	40	5	6
Iron and steel	80	20	13	22
Cars	92	8	24	320
Electricity	81	19	13	46
$C0_2$ emissions	70	30	8	27

Source: Parikh et al. (1991)

The Northern countries have 24 percent of the world population, but their share in global consumption of the various commodities shown in the table ranges from 46 to 92 percent (Holmberg 1992).

On various fronts, the economic development profession, and WID in particular, have made a commitment to develop that 80%, a commitment rooted in social justice and equality. But perhaps equally interesting, the global economy as it is currently constructed "requires" the selected development of privileged sectors of these global markets in order to continue to fulfill its unlimited growth and unequal/unjust distribution dynamic. At least of now, expansion is at the heart of its mechanism. And thirdly, as the communications explosion visually publicizes the life-styles of the high consumption First World to the rest of the world, millions rightfully demand and seek comparable advantages. As a result, we have E.O. Wilson's quite "realist" conclusion that this expansion requires two earths to fulfill its objectives. The fact that a second earth is not available means we are facing serious economic, environmental challenges along with the consummate, over-arching political question of who determines limits for whom, nationally and internationally, and more

importantly, who allocates scarce resources and rising costs, how (to rephrase Lasswell). The morphing of GATT and NAFTA into the WTO (World Trade Organization) does not bode well for democracy in its competition with the power of elite-run globalized economy.

> I think feminists should be particularly alarmed about the new structures of international economic power proliferating and forming linkages to the political internationalism just noted. The giantism of the corporations – private, semiprivate, multinational – now organizing the international economy staggers the imagination. And it is a commonplace that complex organization and negotiation allow multinational corporations to keep their social obligations limited. To a great extent, they can operate around national tax laws, minimum wages, worker protections, food and drug regulations, waste controls, and environmental safeguards.
>
> [On the other hand,] the state is a dealer in power, a wielder of weapons, an inherently violent institution, is the object of suspicion and resistance by both antiliberal feminists and liberal internationalists. ...I believe that feminist critics of the present state system should beware. The very fact that the state creates, condenses, and focuses political power may make it the best friend, not the enemy, of feminists – because the availability of real *political* power is essential to real democratic control. Not sufficient, I know, but essential.
>
> My basic premise is that political power *can* significantly disrupt patriarchal and class (which is to say, economic) power... It is indisputable that, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has been the political power of states that has confronted the massive economic power privately constructed out of the industrial processes and has imposed obligations on employers for the welfare of workers as well as providing additional social supports for the populations at large. And the political tempering of economic power has been the most responsive to broad public needs in liberal democracies, where governments must respond roughly to the interests of voters (Harrington, in Peterson 1992).

China is the seventh largest economy in the world and has set development goals to be economically number one by 2010. It plans to add 18,000 megawatts of electric capacity per year, doubling or tripling coal burning by the year 2020. In its attempt to achieve this goal, China presently hosts nine of the ten most air-polluted

cities in the world. The World Bank reports that pollution of water and air kill more than two million Chinese people a year. Up to 90 percent of the rainfalls in Guangdong, center of China's economic boom, are acid. Lung disease causes a quarter of all Chinese deaths. Between 1950 and 1990, sprawl and erosion ate up as much farmland in China as exits in Germany, France and the United Kingdom combined (Hertsgaard 1999).

India has become the second nation to have a population of over one billion. To date, an increase in grain production has kept up with this population increase. However, irrigated land accounts for 55 percent of this grain harvest and, since India is experiencing a dropping of its water table from over-withdrawal of underground water, the harvest of grain will be reduced by one fourth. "Falling water tables will likely lead to rising grain prices on a scale that could destabilize not only grain markets, but possibly the government itself. With 53 percent of all children undernourished and underweight, any drop in food supply can quickly become life-threatening." Crises that are initially diagnosed ecological and economical obviously are political as well (Brown & Halweil 1999).

The depletion of the ozone layer and global warming – the greenhouse effect – conjures many images of concern, but one will suffice: a U.S. automobile, assuming it fulfills the federal mandate of 27.5 miles per gallon (which is rare in the age of SUV's) and lasting just 100,000 miles will emit 25 tons of carbon dioxide, the global-warming gas. While the world population has doubled since 1950, the number of automobiles has increased ten-fold. Imagine if you will what the global development of our economy and its accompanying First World life-style will do to these carbon dioxide/ozone figures in another fifty years.

> The numbers are so daunting that they're almost unimaginable. Say...we cut world fossil-fuel use by 60 percent – the amount that the UN panel says would stabilize world climate...and that we shared the remaining fossil fuel equally. Each human being would get to produce 1.69 metric tons of carbon dioxide annually – which would allow you to drive an average American car nine miles a day. By the time the population increased to 8.5 billion, about 2025, you'd be down to six miles a day. If you carpooled, you'd have about three pounds of CO_2 left in your daily ration – enough to run a highly efficient refrigerator. Forget your computer, your TV, your stereo, your stove, your dishwasher, your water heater, your microwave, your water pump, your clock. Forget your light bulbs, compact fluorescent or not (McKibben 1998, p. 78).

Global warming is not a future concern; the planet has already heated up a degree or more and the UN's 1995 Climate Change panel of 2,000 scientists predicts between 3.6 degrees to 6.3 degrees by 2010. A new earth is being born right now. To name just a few factors, warmer air holds more water, therefore twenty percent more heavy storms, ten percent more winter precipitation and, compounding the opposite effect, those parts of the planet that are dry will become even dryer. Both Charles Keeling of Scripps Institution of Oceanography and R. B. Myneni of Boston University, independently observed that Spring is coming eight days earlier than it did just ten years ago. The total effects are too many to note and most probably beyond our awareness just yet. Glaciers and permafrost melt, the ocean level rises, summer heat dries harvests through greater evaporation, etc. [5]

In summary, if mainstream academic research needs to be referenced to avoid accusations of "apocalyptic millenarianism," this conclusion is argued by 1,575 of the world's most distinguished scientists, including more than half of the living Nobel Prize winners, in their statement "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity" made in 1992.

> Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. Human activities inflict harsh and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at risk the future we wish for human society and

> the plant and animal kingdom, and may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental changes are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present course will bring.

That was 1992. Monitoring this report, 850 contributors to the UN "Global Environment Outlook 2000," presented an update in 1999, after two and a half years of research.

> It is too late to halt global warming and time is quickly running out to prevent other potential environmental catastrophes. ...The gains made by better management and technology are still being outpaced by the environmental impacts of population and economic growth. We are on an unsustainable course....A long-term target of 90 percent reduction in the consumption of raw materials in the industrialized countries may seem far-fetched, but without it hundreds of millions of people will be condemned to a life of suffering. (Globe 1999).

Global Capitalism.

> To be honest, when I think of my own life, I find it hard to come to terms with all that this implies. I know that my life-style goes well beyond my share of what the world's eco-system can bear, but the changes I am called to make are almost impossible for me to imagine. This challenges me at my very roots (interviewee # 4).

But if this ecological crisis is so evident, so well documented and so imminent, why has the U.S. or the First World not substantively responded to it thus far, at least in any proportionate manner? The answer is simple: from within our "free-market" culture, we refuse to conceptualize or enact the life-style changes in consumption required to make an appropriate response. We move from cognitive dissonance to total denial. We exile, exclude and silence the "Othered" voice of the environment.

> It's a culture. Capitalism, growing materially better and better – whatever "better" really means – is a culture. It's inside us. So it's very hard for an American to imagine a life style that sustains – that maintains, materially, a status quo. That's just not the way we have been raised (interviewee # 42).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, capitalism has become the de facto economic system of the entire world. While its "free-market" has recently had calamitous consequences in Asia, Latin America, and Russia [6], (involving black markets and money laundering scandals entangling reputable banks, the World Bank and IMF), by default global capitalism has become the operating system of economics for the entire planet. And its fundamental premise and illogic is unlimited growth despite limited natural and fossil resources.

> Capitalism, as many of the world's greatest economists – both mainstream and radical – have long acknowledged, is a system that can never stand still. If the investment frontier does not expand, and if profits do not increase, the circulation of capital will be interrupted and a crisis will ensue. A "stationary" capitalism is an impossibility. (Foster 1994).

Most mainstream economists agree that its "engine" requires the continual development of new markets and its basic fuels are the natural resources of the earth (for an important dissent on this perspective, Cf. Schumacher (1973), and the proliferating literature within the field of ecological economics (Daily and Cobb 1994). Presently, the globalized marketplace has a short-term utilitarian approach to ecosystems – they are calculated as atomistic collections of resources, of raw materials to be tapped for use by the economy, and then as a sink into which to dump waste. This "growth" dynamic, now on a planetary level, continues to consume the very social and natural environments upon which it depends.

> The earth is finite. Growth of anything physical, including the human population and its cars and buildings and smokestacks, cannot continue forever. But the important limits to growth are not limits to population, cars, buildings, or smokestacks, at least not directly. They are limits to *throughput* – to the flows of energy and materials needed to keep people, cars, buildings, and smokestacks functioning.
>
> The human population and economy depend upon constant flows of air, water, raw materials, and fossil fuels from the earth. They

> constantly emit wastes and pollution back to the earth. The limits to growth are limits to the ability of the planetary *sources* to provide those streams of materials and energy, and limit to the ability of the planetary *sinks* to absorb the pollution and waste (Meadows 1992).

In his first Earth Day speech, 1993, Clinton promised to hold the United State's carbon dioxide production by the year 2,000 to the 1990 level. In fact, we are emitted 15 % more. Why? In a State Department report to the UN, two reasons were offered: lower than expected fuel prices and economic growth. While offered as an unavoidable fact, it was actually a political choice; Clinton strategically chose to support unlimited economic growth as immediately politically expedient in the short run.

Beginning in the 1700's, what we now call the First World went through stages of economic modernization premised upon a major philosophical shift to viewing the natural environment (Nature) as a mystery to be "penetrated" so "her" resources would serve as an unlimited supply for scientific experiment and nascent technology. Descended from this Cartesian rationality, until recently, post-enlightenment society has constructed itself as preeminently modern; one of the major defining characteristics of modernity as it emerged historically in Europe is separation from and superiority to nature (Merchant 1983). But this atomistic Western detachment is an illusion (Norgaard 1994). Ecologists report that this engine of capitalism is running out of fuel and is choking on its own waste.

The consequence of this mistaken perception may not simply be the unfortunate demise of some economic system, but rather the already occurring demise of thousands of species with the attendant possibility of the same outcome for the human species itself (Wilson 1998) [7]. Nevertheless, the First World seems to be racing toward this destiny because the economy is superceding representative political

processes necessary to cope with its unequal and destructive consequences. For First World national leaders, unfettered growth is the only formula proferred to solve social problems. A fundamental cultural shift in the way the ecological system is evaluated and used – and of ourselves as human beings within it – is needed to turn us away from our obvious fate. Perhaps one useful cultural shift would be to educate First World overconsumers about the distinction between "growth" and "development":

> To grow means to increase in size by the assimilation or accretion of materials. To develop means to expand or realize the potentialities of; to bring to a fuller, greater, or better state. When something grows it gets quantitatively bigger; when it develops it gets qualitatively better, or at least different. Quantitative growth and qualitative improvement follow different laws. Our planet develops over time without growing. Our economy, a subsystem of the finite and no-growing earth, must eventually adapt to a similar pattern of development. We think there is no more important distinction to keep straight than that one. It tells us that, although there are limits to growth, there need be no limits to development (Meadows 1992).

Third World Development.

> Creating increased awareness about the linkages between population, wasteful consumption and environmental degradation is an important task of governments in rich and poor countries alike. However, in Northern countries this will only become effective if coupled with efforts to introduce what the strategy refers to as an 'ethnic for living sustainably', a new morality of consumption, one that emphasizes that more is not necessarily better, and that accepts the notion of limited economic growth in the rich countries.
>
> ...Sadly, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there will be no significant change in current consumption patterns until the effects of global warming and ozone layer depletion really start to bite in the North. Not until the ordinary man (sic.) in the street is affected, has close relatives afflicted by skin cancer due to increased ultraviolet radiation or experienced economic dislocation because of climate change, not until then is it likely that we will see Northern governments introduce the policies that may save this small planet (Holmberg 1992).

The dilemma is clear: on one hand, the consumption level of the wealthy in wealthy nations and in the Third World is unsustainable for the environment and

morally repugnant in terms of its consequences for the rest of humanity On the other hand, in some sectors, such as food, the good news is that there is more than enough to feed six billion humans and avoid current famines. The problem, as Amartya Sen has so eloquently shown, is maldistribution. A review of comparative rates of food vs. energy consumption reveals:

> Overall, Northern per capita consumption is three to eight times higher than that of developing countries for items of basic needs (food, etc.) and more than twenty times higher for motor cars. Energy consumption as measured by carbon dioxide emissions is eight times higher. The per capita consumption of cereals was 717 kg in the North and 247 kg in the South. ...It should be perfectly possible to feed a world of some 8 billion people at the Northern consumption level. The European countries at present more or less feed themselves despite high population densities. There are techniques available that are capable of sustaining the needed cereal production without undue ecological stress.
>
> However, this is manifestly untrue for consumption of energy-intensive products and services. Northern countries generated the equivalent of 3.36 tons of carbon per capita in 1988 (5.4 tons in the US). For a world population of 8 billion, the total annual gross atmospheric emissions would be 27 billion tons (or 43 billion tons at the US rate) compared to present gross emissions of 5.7 billion tons per year. The rate of carbon dioxide build-up in the atmosphere would thus be almost 5 times higher (7.5 times higher, if the US consumption rates are used) than it is today, and at the present rates the world seems set for sustained global warming due to excessive energy consumption. Obviously, such increases would not be sustainable (Holmberg 1992).

Presently, the gap between the 20% holding 84% of the world wealth, and the 80% living on the remaining 16%, is a gap that is ever widening. Once again, the solution seems held captive by a dominating, mechanistic cultural elite that runs on competitive self-interest rather than on the ecological reality of ecosystemic interdependency. One alternative is to develop different economies of scale based on bioregional self-sufficiency, community exchange and seeking fulfillment in values beyond material acquisition.

> As we humans seek to create an environmentally sound future, no challenge will be more crucial, or more difficult, than bridging the ancient gap between rich and poor. Can we learn to share? The hardest sharing will not be of money – the rich have plenty of that – but of environmental space, because that will require Americans and other well-off fold to cut back their own consumption to make way for that of the ascendant poor (Hertzgaard 1999).

Is a Solution Possible?

> Building a model of political economy that starts at the bottom and takes into account individuals and the local satisfaction of their basic needs envisages a state that is more self-reliant with respect to the international system and more able to live within its own resource limits; such a state would be less militaristic and could therefore give priority to social issues rather than military considerations (Tickner 1992).

> ...my concerns in the limits-to-growth field led me to ask, *How did we ever think it was all right for us to do what we have done to nature?* (Elizabeth Dodson Gray, Feminist Theologian, in Green Paradise Lost 1979) (italics in text).

Humans have always imposed their mark on the environment, but only in the 20th century has it had irrevocable ecological consequences. Only in this century have we developed a capacity of total annihilation, if not of the entire ecological system, at least of the human species itself. This capacity was first achieved in the nuclear arms race. Seemingly, we have survived that crisis. But now we face a second of equal proportion: the ongoing destruction of global ecological balance.

Nevertheless, many experts, and especially WID activists, believe that a resolution is still possible, but only possible if achieved quickly before destabilization of climate become irreversible. If it can be found, we must be able to negotiate a middle ground, a redistribution of resources worldwide: improving conditions in the third world, while convincing better-off nations and individuals of the first world that it is in their own best long-term interests to reduce consumption and waste – particularly of

climate destabilizing fossil fuels – and to share rather than squander resources, especially on energy intensive activities.

> Military hardware is highly energy intensive. As military spending continues to increase in all parts of the world, environmentalists draw attention to the trade-offs between military and environmental spending. The Worldwatch Institute has estimated that expenditures of a cumulative sum of about $774 billion during the 1990's, a sum less than annual world military spending since the early 1980's, could turn around the adverse trends in soil erosion, deforestation, and decline in energy efficiency, as well a contribute to the development of renewable sources of energy (Tickner 1992).

True to our culture, our first consideration looks to financial solutions. Hertzgaard, among others, believes that financial resources are available: "there is lots of money available – we're just spending it foolishly." For example, the estimate for preserving two-thirds of the Amazon rain forest is three billion dollars, the cost of just six Stealth bombers.

But the solution requires a deeper approach than a mere reallocation of financial resources. A hegemonic culture premised upon a single overriding economic goal of short term growth devalues myriad other processes more essential to the long-term maintenance of life in communities within ecosystems. Ironically, but not surprisingly, many grassroots people from underdeveloped regions who participated in this study revealed greater sophistication and skills in regard to maintaining human and natural communities within ecological limits than did First World respondents.

> Sustainable development is now the focus of international attention and Indigenous peoples have become the focus of [that] international attention because of their philosophies, knowledge, and their sustainable economic systems. The Bruntland report suggests that Western industrialized nations could learn a lot about sustainable development from Indigenous peoples: "These communities are the repositories of vast accumulations of traditional knowledge and experience that link humanity with its ancient origins." The report concluded that the West could learn from traditional methods of managing complex ecological systems (Brascoupe 1992).

In the U.S., the juggernaut of material acquisition and waste – the heart of the environmental problem – is ostensibly a means to the end of achieving the "good life." And, at least in America, it has proven itself unable to deliver: members of the upper 20% income bracket in the United States now work longer hours and have less free time than the people of any nation on earth (Shor 1993). Furthermore, the majority of Americans do not enjoy better health nor, on applied measures of happiness, do they necessarily compare to those of other, "less fortunate" nations – and these consequences are exacerbated across traditional sociological cleavages like sex and race:

> We must question whether women are gaining equally to men from economic nationalist prescriptions to pursue wealth and power. In all states, women tend to be clustered at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale; in the United States in the 1980's, 78 percent of all people living in poverty were women or children under eighteen. In the United States, certain feminists have noted a trend toward what they term the increasing feminization of poverty: in the 1970's and 1980's, families maintained by women alone increased from 36 percent to 51.2 percent of all poor families (Tickner 1992).

> It is often said that African-Americans are relatively poor in comparison with whites in the United States, but that they are not absolutely poor in comparison with people from the third world. As a rough generalization, this has some plausibility, so long as we confine our attention to comparisons of income. If, however, we were to look at other indicators, such as the freedom to live to a mature age, we would get a very different picture. It turns out that African-Americans not only have less chance of reaching older ages (say, over 50) than do American whites, but they also have a lower probability of doing so when compared with people of many of the world's poorest economics. African-Americans are overtaken in terms of chances of survival by the Chinese, the Indians in Kerala, the Sri Lankans, and others. In terms of the freedom to live to a mature age, African-Americans are not just relatively deprived when compared with American whites, but also absolute deprived (in terms of needless death from escapable causes) and relatively deprived in comparison with some of the poorest in the world (Amartya Sen 1999).

Living Examples

Is it both possible and practical for us to live with less, materially speaking, and yet have more, speaking in terms of the "good life"? Is it possible to live at a reduced environmentally sustainable level, and yet live in a satisfying, comfortable life style? In both the North and the South, there exist today abundant "models" of such a life style – islands of sustainable living amidst the dominant culture of material "growth," some by choice and careful design, some by necessity of limited resources. Reviewing a few of these models that combine sustainable living with the "good life" reveal some interesting characteristics.

Several generations were inspired by Scott and Helen Nearing's The Good Life: How to Live Sanely and Simply in a Troubled World, the autobiography of an economist (and author of the most widely used economic text in the early twentieth century in the U.S.) who was blackballed from academia due to an investigative report he wrote criticizing child labor in Pennsylvania coal mines. Mine-owning members of the University of Pennsylvania Board of Trustees fired Nearing from his university professorship for refusing their demands to suppress the report. Nearing and his wife, Helen, a violinist, created homesteads in Vermont (and later, Maine) based on the simple principle of right livelihood.

Over a sixty year period, they built their own stone homes, organically farmed, and developed a producer-sufficient life style in which their goal was "how to live sanely in an insane world." In the early years, it translated into the practice of balance necessary for a "good life": four hours of bread labor (gardening, house building, writing), four hours a day for avocation, and four hours a day for building community with people beyond their homestead.

Rather than an isolated, self-centered life, they "kept open house, fed, lodged and were visited by hundreds of people" who learned from their life style, many of whom went off and duplicated this way in their own lives. Their dictum, "materialism does not produce happiness," has often been quoted. Yet, rather than totally reject the modern world, they sought to "wed socialism and capitalism into a working philosophy." The fruits of their experience went into books – Helen wrote fifty of them – and their published wisdom sometimes made the best-seller lists.

On a much different level of larger scale, McKibben (1995) describes the mid-size city of Curitiba, Brazil. Like many Brazilian cities, its members are relatively poor – average per capita income is $2,500 and it has tripled its population to a million and a half over the past quarter century. Given this, it should resemble in miniature the congested slums of Sao Paulo but in fact, it is strikingly different. A shantytown *favela* does exist at the edge of town, given the recent population influx of the past five years, but even it is different – clean for example because every sack of garbage collected gets a sack of food in return. Curitiba's difference is its "livability", its refusal to waste resources, carefully planned and cultivated, yet simple and inexpensive.

Using a well designed, ultra convenient transportation system, the center of Curtiba is a pedestrian mall, almost devoid of automobiles which draws the populace to the center rather than sending them off into sprawling suburbs or leaving them isolated in a favela. Curitiba's "speedybusses," carrying up to 300 passengers per bus, opening all five doors at once, arriving every minute and traveling in dedicated lanes, carry more passengers (1.5 million per day in 1993) than New York City busses. The result is a city for humans, not traffic.

> In a recent survey 60 percent of New Yorkers wanted to leave their rich and cosmopolitan city; 99 percent of Curitibans told pollsters that they were happy with their town; and 70 percent of Paulistas, residents of the mobbed megalopolis of the north, said they thought life would be better in Curitiba (McKibben 1995).

What makes Curitiba so significant is its commitment on the part of activist planners who promote participatory public policy to simplicity based upon local ecological limits. Keeping it simple is a challenge, a challenge to continually integrate the rising immigration of poor displaced farmers into the prosperity of the city rather than abandoning them to become isolated *faveledos.* Keeping their habitats livable and human, providing education and training for new occupations, and integrating them into Curitiba's city life has, thus far, succeeded in accomplishing this.

> It is a true place, a place full of serendipity. It is not dangerous or dirty. It is as alive as any urban district in the world: poems pasted on telephone poles, babies everywhere. The downtown, though a shopping district, is not a money-making machine. It is a habitat, a place for *living* – the exact and exciting opposite of a mall. A rich and diverse and *actual* place that makes the American imitations – the Faneuil Hall Marketplaces – seem like the wan and controlled re-creations that they are (McKibben 1995, p. 103).

Gaviotas, in Columbia, is another "model" of ecological turnaround. In 1971 a group of visionaries from Bogota selected one of the most uninhabitable areas in their country – the desolate plains or *llanos* of eastern Columbia – anticipating that overpopulation and other ecological problems would one day force people out into such areas. Their challenge, as a non-profit foundation, modeled for the United Nations Development Program, was to fashion a livable habitat there by creating affordable sustainable technologies and a satisfying community life. Their accomplishments are documented in Gaviotas: A Village to Reinvent the World (Weisman 1998).

Gavoitas is located on a savannah – a high altitude plain of sparse grasses and sun-baked soil – located about 150 miles east of Bogota, in the upper Amazon equatorial region. The founding visionaries saw this place as an ideal setting for their experiment, a totally South-created form of ecologically sustainable development appropriate to the limits of this harsh zone.

The technological innovations they developed were as simple as they were elegant. First researched and engineered were windmills designed to aeronautically capture the predominantly very weak equatorial breezes. Then came solar panels laid out on aerodynamically curved roofs, capable of heating water with the diffuse sunlight during the rainy seasons. This, in turn, became the source for cooking through solar pressure cookers. Next came the creation of double-sleeve hand/foot pumps which tap water six times as deep as conventional pumps, yet are so easy to use that they can be operated by children at play on seesaws.

Their major achievement was the planting of a million pines imported from Honduras which are capable of thriving in the thin soil of this region. To the amazement of the developers, in the now moist understory of these imported pines, dormant seeds of native trees, not seen for generations, are sprouting – 40 species of them! In time, they will choke out the non-native pines and will reconstitute northward extensions of the Amazon rain forest making major contributions to biodiversity.

Spin-offs from these ecologically appropriate, low-energy input, technologies are shared in an egalitarian community, now surrounded by natural beauty: mango trees and bougainvillaea, populated with yellow warblers and crimson tanagers in pine forest with a complex understory supporting the return of deer and anteaters. After a quarter of a century, and under seriously adverse conditions, "Gaviotas makes

'sustainable development' not only believable, but fresh and surprising" (Weisman 1998).

Repeating themes emerge in these widely disparate examples of sustainability: frugality in material consumption and richness in community, local scale, energy efficiency – in sum, keeping the human community within environmental limits is the primary value in order to sustain generations of people to come. Gavoitas, this small, isolated community of twenty-five years, developed some interesting facets of its own: it has no police or crime – housing, education and health-care are free for a population that has varied to three hundred members – there is no poverty; everyone earns the same minimum wage. All live by unwritten, informal communal codes. Internally, politics are minimal (though externally Gaviotas is surrounded by intensifying conflict among large-landowner paramilitaries, guerilla factions and government military troops.) Religion is not institutionalized; rather it seems to be expressed in spontaneous celebrations of nature, much informed by the indigenous tribal people who live in and around Gaviotas: the Guahibos.

In another approach to sustainability based in the United States, Vicki Robin and Joe Dominguez, through their best-selling book *Your Money or Your Life: Transforming Your Relationship with Money and Achieving Financial Independence*, are tapping into and inspiring a counter-consumerism movement in the First World. Their primary argument for frugality (related to established nineteenth-century traditions of Yankee thrift as espoused by Thoreau), is to focus on having more by buying less – that is, to be especially rich in having more time.

> Also signaling the growing strength of the frugality movement in the United States ("the shift to thrift") is the number of Americans

> interested in simplifying their lives so they can establish a better balance in the amount of time they devote to their job and the rest of their lives. Many people are now reassessing their way of life and asking themselves if they would not enjoy a simpler, slower-paced, less expensive lifestyle (Lerner 1998).

A 1995 Report of the Merck Family Fund noted that 85% of Americans agree that "We buy and consume more than we need," and that 67% further agree that Americans cause many of the world's environmental problems because we consume more and produce more and waste more than anyone else in the world. This suggests that a majority of Americans already well understand that there is a direct connection between consumption and environmental degradation. Ironically, to become such high consumers, Americans must now work harder, with longer hours, to have the money to make these purchases. Harvard economist Juliet Schor calculates that today's two-income families work 1,000 hours more a year than couples did 25 years ago (Schor 1993). What seems to drive this compulsion without pleasure is American advertising – teenagers, according to Robin and Dominguez, are exposed to 360,000 advertisements by the time they graduate from high school.

In trying to transform this cultural addiction, Robin and Dominguez agree that blaming the victim is futile. Rather than preach consuming less, they focus on the very topic many are obsessed with – money – but they argue by offering their own life stories. At fifty-eight, Dominguez is financially independent. He saved $85,000 by age thirty, invested in long-term treasury bonds, retired and has, for the past twenty-five years, lived comfortably on the $7,000 interest he receives annually – not rich but smart in the way he spends his money. Following a similar path, Robin lives on $6,000 a year.

> What Dominguez and Robin discovered was that by living frugally they could drop out of the job market at a young age and devote

> the rest of their lives to work that they wanted to do; they could follow their hearts (not their jobs) and be of service to others. "When I worked on Wall Street I saw that most of the people there were not making a living, they were making a dying. They would come home form work a little deader than when they started out in the morning. I was determined I would not make the same mistake" (Lerner 1998, p. 74).

David Gershon is another voice of helping American families, "one household at a time," to learn to use energy and resources more efficiently and develop a more ecologically sustainable lifestyle. The word "learn" is precise; David runs a four month behavior modification program called GAP (Global Action Plan for the Earth) which has enabled 8,000 families to reduce their consumption patterns. Working in the grassroots, Gershon suggests that Americans focus on reducing the wasteful aspects of their lifestyle.

> The real problem is ordinary individuals in high consumption countries living lifestyles that are environmentally unsustainable given the finite resources of the planet. If how we live our lives is the problem, the good news is that how we live our lives can also be the solution (Lerner 1998, p. 342).

If the reader's reaction to this range of real-world models of extant possibilities is – "Impossible! I am not going to give up my hard-won economic security and freedom in order to live small, circumscribed lives like these people" – I fully empathize. On the other hand, WID activists and the vast primary and secondary literature cited in this dissertation suggest that worldwide, as of the year 2000, there are an almost unimaginably vast range of creative local and regional economically sustainable NGO experiments; yet this wide variety of economic approaches could be summarized as falling into just two political scenarios: we the people can make economic planning choices democratically about how to survive, or the "elite of the

elites" will make top-down authoritarian, technocratic decisions on unsustainable rates of economic growth, and fiscal and monetary policies which have so far seriously aggravated rates of maldistribution. And, it is terrifyingly possible that either scenario could fail to adequately address this ecological "endgame." In that case, global warming will make the choice for us.

I think the economics of the challenge, within easily recognizable ideological parameters of disagreement (from the Cato Institute to the Worldwatch Institute) are fairly clear. However the politics of how these economic problems will be resolved – who decides for whom – poses an immediate destabilizing threat to democracies throughout the world. [9]

This crisis should be an immediate priority for study in international relations, because we are obviously being confronted with not only with the ultimate issue of our own survival, but also with the fundament of society which political science in its many forms has traditionally sought to address: power. Who will decide how to allocate globally finite resources? This dissertation suggests that WID is just one example of a participatory-representative model for development and distribution in the face of free-market failures, connecting the grassroots to the international, a model rooted in values based on social justice with a conscious awareness of preserving the environment for future generations.

Perhaps at the opposite extreme is the model of the WTO – another international institutional regime, rooted in fundamentally opposed values of maximizing short-term profit regardless of environmental cost or political consequences, via top-down creation of international law premised upon neoclassical economics. The Turning Point Project argues that this model constitutes an "invisible,

global government...but it was elected by no-one...The WTO's judicial system ("Dispute resolution Body") operates in secret: no press, no public, no public interest organizations. Three bureaucrats (former corporate or government trade officials, with no social or environmental training) make profoundly important judgements affecting human health, jobs, agriculture and food, and the environment. The only standards these invisible judges apply concern consequences to the freedom of corporate trade. They have never once ruled in favor of the environment." (New York Times, November 29, 1999, A15; paid political advertisement).

Almost ten years ago, long before the emergence of the WTO, Mona Harrington took the contentious position of trying to elaborate a subtle argument for the preservation and strengthening of the liberal state as an agent of feminist change; (published in the book *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*.) Her position was difficult because

> the problem feminists [have] seen with liberalism [is] that ...it does not take sufficient account of the unequal power among contracting parties to exercise freedom. Specifically, it takes no notice of socially imposed, group-defined identities that individuals do not choose, and that systematically disempower whole categories of people. Women, people of color, the poor, have less bargaining power than men, whites, the rich. A system of supposedly free contract is actually a system of systemic privilege. Also it is a system with no moral ground except freedom. Right and wrong depend on individual choice. It is a system that denies inherent social relation or social obligation (Harrington 1992, See also Pateman 1988).

Despite liberalism's illiberal aspects, she nonetheless argued the importance of strengthening democratic access for excluded, unequal Others to the state, as the necessary and only feasible counterbalance to a far more threatening form of unequal, undemocratic decision-making. In reflecting upon international law, based on her experience as a former state department negotiator with a law degree and a Ph.D. in

government, both from Harvard University, she posed the obvious question: Who is legitimized to make these binding international rules and regulations?

> National executives do. National legislatures do not. International rule making enthrones the outlook and interests of professional foreign policy elites. In the United States, this means the virtually all white male priesthood whose mentality Carol Cohn so precisely documents: insulated from electorate, wrapped in secrecy, as distant as officials in a democracy can be from the outlook of constituencies different from themselves.
>
> ...What are the international norms that would displace the retrograde power of the state? Where do they come from? Who defines them? The answer is spelled out in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The sources of international law are: (1) treaties and agreements, (2) custom, (3) the general principles of law endorsed by civilized nations, and (4) case opinions and the commentaries of legal scholars. Who, though, makes treaties, customs, civilized principles, and legal opinions? A very small class, the elite of elites. The foreign policy and legal establishments of powerful states. White professionals. Men. Decent, high-minded public-spirited men seeking a better world, yet by no means representative of or responsive to the perspectives of very differently situated groups. In fact these are people whose strongest convictions shield them from asking in what ways the experience and interests of law definers might shape the content of the law. Spike Peterson shows this mentality operating in the clear androcentrism built into the field of human rights (Harrington, in Peterson 1992).

Relevance to the International Relations Community

> Feminism and environmentalism are among the most powerful social movements of the late twentieth century. The vision of promise – the carrot on the stick – of both movements is the possibility that personal interactions and institutional arrangements can be transformed into non-exploitive, nonhierarchical, cooperative relationships. Both are progressive movements, both are a challenge to mainstream "business as usual" standards, both assert the need for reordering public and private priorities, and the constituencies of both overlap (Seager 1993).

This dissertation has already addressed the bearing that my case study might have on contemporary international relations theory in Chapter Six. In this final

chapter, WID activists have spoken more personally to international relations as a fellow community of scholars, as colleagues of WID in the international field. (These voices are representative of a cohort within the larger group of interviewees comprised of political scientists who are also WID scholars.)

Their first exhortation is for international relations to move beyond preoccupation with the Neorealist/Neoliberal dichotomy. Several interviewees referred to this as "a dysfunctional debate within the field," an "anachronism" after the collapse of the Cold War, and a dualistic, "hierarchically dichotomous" way of thinking, emblematic of eclipsed Enlightenment postures, which both distort the issues and distract the participants from the real survival threats circumscribing the field. Several noted that both approaches in context-dependent situations can be pragmatically useful and often interdepend in their validity, especially in regard to integrating different negotiating strategies (see also Baldwin 1993). But the debate itself is not the issue; it is that international relations' preoccupation with this debate keeps it from taking notice of the significant events occurring beyond that debate today.

For example, in the last twelve to fifteen years in the Third World, the emergence of some 500,000 NGO's is a phenomenon of political mobilization for peoples' survival, for women's rights and human rights, and for the environment on a scale that does not have a similar level of representation in the literature of international relations in the United States. As far as many of my correspondents were aware, the field of international relations world has overlooked the magnitude of this international social movement and not engaged seriously the task of theorizing about its significance to the international system.

WID, as an NGO-related, social movement – born, international institutional regime, is one viable, unfolding model of cooperative, transformative learning – of scholars, practitioners, and grassroots activists – coming together to effect change in the world in the face of unrelenting and worsening crises of survival. They have cooperated across cleavages of North vs. South, academic vs. field activists, male vs. female, in common interest, politically organizing to stem those survival crises of people and the environment in the South in sustainable ways that model hope even for the sybaritic North.

Several WID interviewees urged the international relations community to move beyond its epistemic posture as an objective, detached, "imperial observing" social science. Given its highly privileged social position of staking professional claim to training and credentialling practitioners as diplomats in understanding world conflict and survival, and therefore in being able to negotiate and mitigate that conflict, one commentator said there is no other social science upon which this responsibility falls more than international relations.

If, however, international relations is to seriously engage the multi-dimensionality of environmental extinctions, then I think this scholarly community needs to begin speaking explicitly to this issue in all the levels of work that occur in international relations, in teaching, research, textbooks, and publications. The earth will survive, but not unchanged and not without the loss of myriad species, possibly including humans.

I think WID provides one imperfect but working model of politically responsible social action, crossing and linking the levels of analysis of the international system. Organizationally, in terms of its values, its philosophy and its practices, WID itself is

also an operational model for what could come about in international relations, of how to decenter the elitism of the field, suggesting that international relations should also consider bringing together researchers in academia, practitioners in the development field, and grassroots activists to conduct research and build theory together. While originally in the mid-seventies WID focused on developing a sophisticated critique of gender-blind economic development programs, by the end of the first decade of its existence many WID thinkers were facing the intellectual task of addressing an overarching analytical category beyond gender which circumscribes all identity politics of gender, race, class, ethnicity and sexual preference because all are ultimately dependent upon the viability of the planetary ecosystem – the earth – which sustains the life of those identities.

I close with a quote from Joan Martin Brown, former public affairs director for the EPA, organizer of the global NGO World-Wide Network (mobilizing women in environmental management), North American regional director of the United Nations Environment Program, one of the organizers of the 1992 Earth Summit (UNCED) in Rio, associate with the Council on Foreign Relations. Although for the last two decades, she has been one of the harshest critics of the World Bank, she now serves as special advisor to the Bank's vice president for environmentally sustainable development, representing the Bank at the 1995 Climate Change Meeting in Rome.

> [Based upon] her thirty-five years of fighting for the environment...she estimates that as many as seventy-five percent of community activists are women. 'That's why I am a little bit cranky that not until very recently, did any environmental organization have a woman CEO.' What gives Martin Brown hope that humans will be able to save the planet before it is too late? 'I don't know if I have that hope...*although male/female perceptions and priorities* should be integrated, women have a hard time confronting the dominant mechanistic perspective, in which body and mind, nature and people,

knowledge and values, present and future generations, science and society, technology and economics are segregated from each other.

'Women and the environment are the shadow subsidies which support all societies. Both are undervalued or perceived as free even while others profit from them...The political future of women is to lead, for the right reason, in the right direction. The right reason is human survival, and the right direction is towards for people on an earth which can support life. Politics is an approach to managing power. When properly managed, power enables people to make a difference for the better in their own livers and serves human justice and survival. (Breton 1998).

Endnotes

1. I explained that I saw each person as a "library" of knowledge and skill about how to effect social change; and, since their expertise was hard-won through years of trial and error, I wanted to in some way help to pass that expertise along so that the next generation of diplomat/politicians – women and men organizing for international social justice within increasing international environmental limits – would not have to repeat trial and error learning, but could rather build on an already existing knowledge base. (This is comparable to Bella Abzug training WEDO-NGO members in the arcana of international negotiation and parliamentarianism.)

2. This dictatorial practice, arrayed against Third World economies, became the defining cultural norm (in Koehane's phrase "rule of behavior") of the IMF as an international regime, thus setting the stage for the expansion of these dictatorial powers – now also arrayed against the First World – in the organizational structure and rule making of the World Trade Organization (WTO) codifying unprecedented secret "judicial" hearings.

3. There is a strange irony here. In their experience, mainstream academia tends to dismiss this second mode of thinking as undisciplined, ungrounded and New Age-ish. Yet it is, in fact, this basic mode of systems thinking -- wholistic and interdependent -- that has been established by quantum physics, now seventy-five years old, and has undergirded modern technological advances including computer science.

4. "[Vandana] Shiva describes how traditional agriculture in India has, with minimum external input, been truly sustainable by being in harmony with natural cycles and using a diversity of traditional crops. The introduction of green revolution agriculture was an act of violence against nature and people: it exacerbated differentiation amongst the peasantry; large farmers, who could afford to invest into high-tech agricultural input, benefited and pushed many small-and medium-scale farmers out of agricultural production. Its impact on nature was destructive in that it led to production of few high-yield varieties of crops only, dependent on foreign input of fertilizers and seeds. Crop production is concentrated on the requirements of the export market" (Shiva 1988).

   People who work their land with traditional methods are usually perceived as poor and backward but, so Shiva argues, they in fact have an acceptable standard of livelihood. She concludes that, in India, through the introduction of development most people have become materially poor because, deprived of their livelihood, they had to sell their labour on the market of cash. This critique of the dominant development model's values leads her to redefine such crucial terms as development, progress, sustainability, poverty and wealth. Redefining such terms as a salient feature of Shiva's and many others' critique of the dominant Western development model.

Shiva's critique of Western science is not essentially new because she draws on earlier European critiques. But highlighting the interconnections between science, capital and the state from a Southern perspective gives immediacy to the direct perception of science as violence in theory, acted out in practice (Braidotti et al. 1994).

5. "...Roughly 35 percent of the CO2 emissions come from industry, 33 percent from transportation, 18 percent from residences, and 14 percent from the commercial sector.. ...If there was less consumer demand for energy-intensive products, fewer would be produced, and less CO_2 would be emitted, If more people rode bikes, or had smaller homes, or lived closer to their places of business, or ate locally grown, organic food, these greenhouse gasses would decrease in the atmosphere.

...In 1990, total CO_2 emissions in the U.S. were 4,833 million tons. The U.S. Kyoto pledge is to decrease CO_2 emissions 7 percent from 1990 levels by 2012; this means lowering our emissions to 4, 495 million tons of CO_2 emissions per year. The U.S. population is about 270 million people. This means that each individual can produce 16.7 tons of CO_2 emissions per year, and the U.S. in within Kyoto limits (*ignoring for the moment the fact that population is increasing and that scientist say we need reductions of more than 60 percent rather than 7 percent.*)

...To find out if a US citizen is Kyoto compliant, the categories in the following test add up to just about 33 percent of the emissions for which an individual is responsible (The reminder come from business providing us services, the industries that make everything from our clothing to our chemicals, and the trucks shipping our food from coast to coast). 33 percent of 16.7 tons is 5.5 tons or 11,000 pounds.

...I (Jennifer McCullough) have to admit that after taking the test, I was a bit dumbfounded. I'm doing well in most categories, but one plane ride to visit my parents is over 6,000 miles – that's 5,400 pounds of CO2, more than I should emit in a whole year to be sustainable."

For your household (answer all question based on yearly total):

- **number of miles travelled per year _____ ÷average miles per gallon of your vehicle ____ x 22 pounds CO_2/gallon = ... _____**
  (do this for each car and any other motor-fueled vehicle, boats included)
- **number of miles air travel _____ x .9 pounds CO_2/mile = ... _____**
- **miles travelled on mass transit _____ x .5 pounds CO_2/mile = ... _____**
- **miles travelled on taxi or limo _____ x 1.5 pounds CO_2/mile = ... _____**
- **kilowatt hours of electricity _____ x 1.5 pounds CO_2/kilowatt hour = ... _____**
- **gallons of heating oil _____ x 22 pounds CO_2/gallon = ... _____**
- **therms of natural gas _____ x 11 pounds CO_2/therm = ... _____**
- **gallons of propane or bottled gas _____ x 13 pounds CO_2/gallon = ... _____**

TOTAL PER HOUSEHOLD ..... _____

Household total _____ ÷ number in household ____ = TOTAL PER PERSON ... _____

Jennifer McCullough, based on Gelbspan 1998.

6. William Pfaff documents the results of the "free trade" application to the former Soviet Union by quoting from a UN Development Program report, observing that it has "plunged more than 100 million people into dire poverty and stripped millions more of economic security." Further quoting Alan Greenspan saying, "We assumed that communism's collapse would automatically establish a free-market entrepreneurial system. (Globe. Aug. 30, 1999, p. A 17).

7. "None of the ecological hazards in question threatens to end all earthly life, just human life. Modern humans have inhabited the planet for only 200,000 of its estimated 5 billion years; the earth could exist perfectly well without us. The real question is whether we will act quickly enough to save ourselves" (Hertzgaard 1999, p. 65).

Appendix A

The Results of Rio

(This excerpt is quoted from Exhibit 1.1 of Julie Fisher's The Road to Rio: Sustainable Development and the Nongovernmental Movement in the Third World. 1993, p. 6.)

The centerpiece of the formal results of the Rio conference is Agenda 21. By focusing on developmental and environmental issues in an integrated fashion, Agenda 21 fundamentally alters both the international agenda and the public debate. Agenda 21 also addresses the reverse flow of resources from developing countries and connects this issue to sustainable development. It commits the developed to countries to providing 0.7 percent of GNP for Official Development Assistance (ODA) and proposes a restructuring of the Global Environmental Facility that would expand its scope and accessibility.

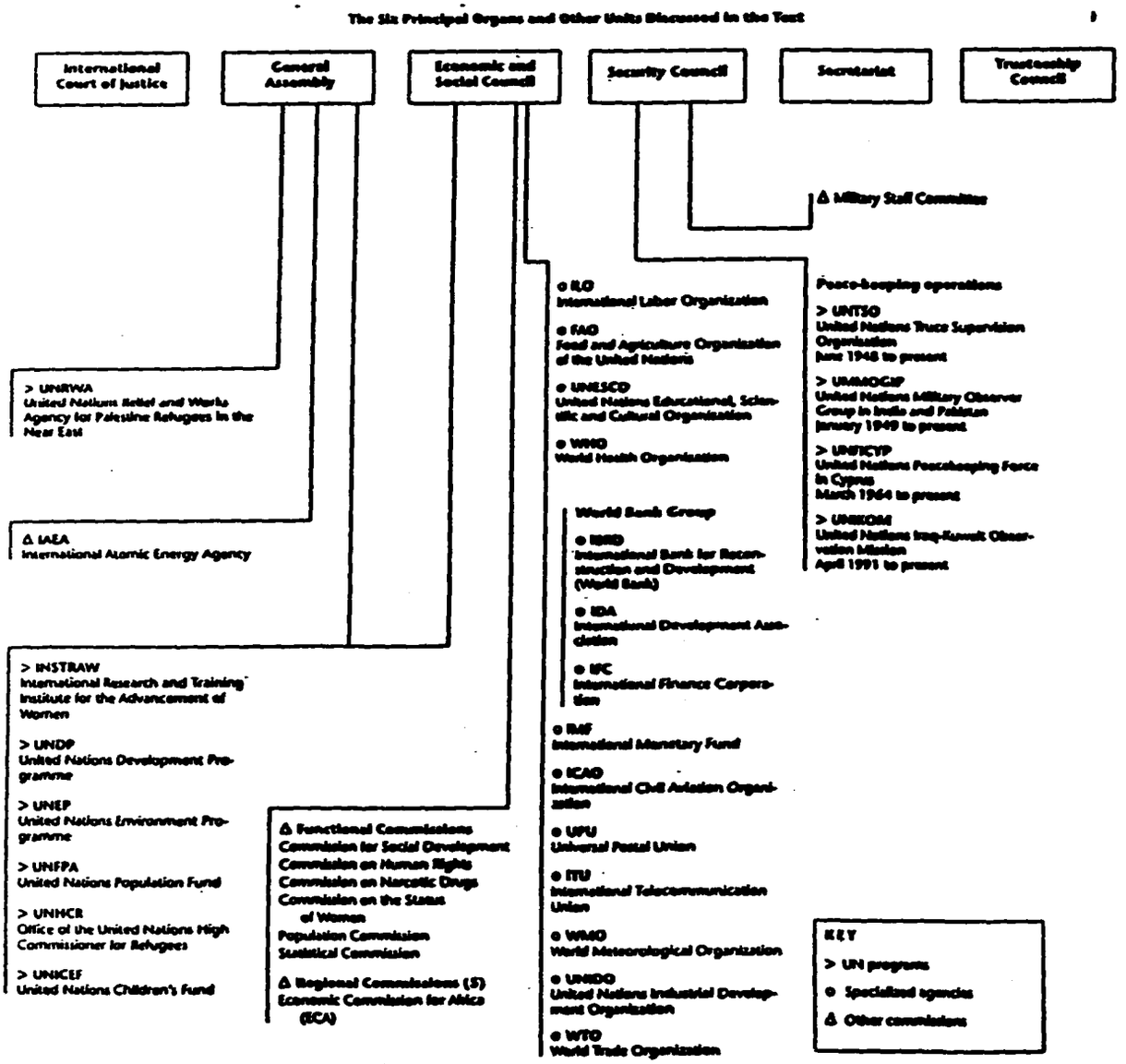
Agenda 21 also combines two strands of development action: one strand that focuses on improving the access of the poor to resources and the other that deals with the management of natural resources. The major groups of detailed programs deal with land, water, and biotic management in developing countries. Within each group are elaborate, detailed discussions of such issues as the development and conservation of forest resources. The discussion links the international conventions already negotiated on ozone layer depletion to other environmental problems.

The Commission on Sustainable Development, charged with monitoring Agenda 21, will be the focal point of intergovernmental decision-making in the years ahead. In some cases, the specific details outlined in the agreement are sufficient to begin implementation immediately, but another cases, such as the impact of population on sustainable development, much work will be required. "When historians put UNCED in perspective, they may highlight the paradox between the cardinal importance of the human population factor in most of the issues UNCED was addressing, and a remarkable reluctance to address this factor in the UNCED documentation. The political reasons for this are well-known" (Blackburn, 1992).

UNCED's most dramatic outcome was the nongovernmental networking that occurred under the aegis of the parallel Global Forum. Over 20,000 participants representing 9,000 organizations from 171 countries, in addition to 9,000 journalists and 450,000 visitors, attended the sessions. Although over 350 meetings were formerly scheduled, there weren't estimated 1,000 organized substantive discussions held over the 14 days of the Forum. According to the Center for Our Common Future (1992), the results of this "information overload" will take years to assess.

Appendix B

The United Nations System



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