

Women Navigating Globalization

FEMINIST APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT



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NEW MILLENNIUM BOOKS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



Deconstruction feminism emerges out of poststructuralist theory, which asserts that cultural discourses constitute social reality and human subjectivity, and offers tools for analyzing these discourses. Here the emphasis is on structures of thought.

A deconstructive approach is useful in calling attention to what is omitted and marginalized in the categories and concepts we use. For example, as mentioned above, feminist scholars examining security issues question why the concept of national security in political science is associated with military strength, whereas broad dimensions of human security, particularly issues of development, are not considered relevant.

A poststructuralist approach takes a skeptical stance toward universalizing theories of progress, development, and liberation, arguing that in practice they advance the interests of their authors and are exclusionary and oppressive to others. Feminists have used this approach to critique development theories to reveal how they marginalize women. A deconstructionist approach also enables feminists to look critically at their own political projects, which may reflect the interests of some women and not others. Deconstruction feminists criticize general concepts, such as "the Third World woman," arguing that they silence dissident voices and obscure underlying power relations. The backward, poor, and vulnerable Third World woman is conceptualized as the opposite of the modern, affluent, and liberated Western woman. From a deconstructive perspective, this binary opposition legitimizes a hierarchical relationship in which the Western feminist rescues the Third World woman whose own knowledge is made invisible.

One of the most important values of deconstruction feminism is the way in which it clarifies that the effort to categorize a messy, fragmented reality into neat packages of intellectual constructs may advance our understanding, but it also leaves out, silences, and obscures certain aspects of that reality. For example, a difference feminist construction of women as peaceful does not fit the cases of women leaders such as prime ministers Golda Meir (Israel, in office 1969–1974), Indira Gandhi (India, 1966–1977 and 1980–1984), or Margaret Thatcher (Britain, 1979–1990). All three were heads of government when their countries fought wars. Deconstruction feminism also reminds us that we carry assumptions arising from a Western (or Asian, or Middle Eastern) worldview. This is essential when we study other cultures.

A limitation of deconstruction feminism is that it neglects the role of material conditions—institutions, resources, and laws—with its focus on discourse. The main weakness of this approach, however, is that "critique is privileged over action."²⁵ Liberal, difference, and diversity feminisms are better guides to political action because each incorporates goals and strategies, whereas deconstruction feminism remains suspicious of general principles. In deconstructing the category "woman," deconstruction feminism may, in Kathy Ferguson's words, "rob women of the capacity for resistance and struggle that their own women's voice can provide."²⁶

Ferguson contends that deconstruction feminism and the other feminist perspectives need each other because deconstruction feminism keeps the others honest while the others provide direction. She states, "Rather than thinking of the tensions . . . as

contradictions that we must resolve, we might better approach them as riddles that we must engage."²⁷ We think Ferguson's point applies to the three sets of tensions in feminist theory examined above. Instead of resolving the tensions or choosing one or another tendency, we recommend holding the different strands in tension with each other. The advantage of this strategy will be seen in chapter 4, where the analysis of trafficking and the proposed policies to address it illustrate both the tensions in feminist theory and the efforts to resolve them.

In sum, we all make certain assumptions about the way reality operates. These assumptions condition the way we think about or "frame" problems and, consequently, the policy solutions we propose to address them. The significance of a feminist approach is that it guides our assumptions with a commitment to gender justice; it has produced a wealth of research on the contexts and relations of gender injustice; and as a result, it has exposed as critical for understanding globalization and development the relations of power and gender hierarchy embedded in structures and processes that most people have long considered gender neutral. By recasting assumptions, understanding, and therefore policy proposals, a feminist approach points us in the direction of greater gender justice.

Despite these accomplishments, feminist theory, research, and movements have too often fallen short of producing real improvements in the lives of poor women. In part, this is due to the overarching power of the ideological, economic, cultural, and political structures within which we live. But it is also clear that feminists are often at odds over their diagnosis of the problems and the policies needed to address them. These disagreements reflect the tensions explained above; many of them are inherent in debates over the nature of globalization and development.

The above section on tensions in feminist theories takes an analytical approach to the subject, presenting a conceptual overview of theories that developed unevenly over time. The next two sections discuss how these tensions played out in feminist efforts to engender development practice and the emergence of global women's advocacy networks out of a series of UN women's conferences. Here a historical approach is taken, looking at processes that unfold over time.

THE POLITICS OF WID AND GAD

Beginning in the 1960s, development practitioners, scholars, and policy makers sought to address the gender gap in development thinking and practice. The first phase of gender awareness came to be labeled "women in development" (WID) in the 1970s. A second phase followed, becoming more common in the late 1980s. This second phase, known as gender and development (GAD), was largely a response to the first and sought to address the perceived shortcomings in both theory and practice that characterized WID.²⁸ Both the WID and the GAD approaches mirrored the larger debates within the development communities over the meaning of development, the barriers to economic growth, who gained and who lost from development

projects, and even the right of those in the "first" or industrialized world to define the problems of poor, predominantly agricultural countries.

The WID field resulted initially from the realization that development as practiced through the 1960s had "left out" women and in fact had often disadvantaged them. In response, WID drew on liberal feminist theory to argue that women should be integrated into development programs by emphasizing their productive roles.²⁹ In contrast, GAD argued that women had always been a part of development, but they were in subordinate relationships based on gender, class, race, and nationality. GAD's theoretical heritage was more mixed, reflecting mainly diversity feminism with its attention to multiple social hierarchies, but adding some elements of difference feminism in a focus on reproduction as well as production (see table 2.1).

The discussion that follows summarizes the WID-GAD trajectory and debates, then reviews the international organizing that transformed much of our thinking about the role of women specifically and gender more generally in development processes. The trajectory of the 1960s–1990s was not a tidy, linear chronology. At times it was unruly, marked by both contradictory and overlapping ideas and movements. Organizations came and went; government ministries committed themselves to "integrating women into development" or to "engendering development," only to minimize or even abandon their commitments a few years later. Activists, policy makers, and scholars all wanted to be heard; but because they were connected to development issues in different ways, their views on what should and could be done also differed.³⁰

Table 2.1. Comparison of Women in Development and Gender and Development

	<i>WID (Women in Development)</i>	<i>GAD (Gender and Development)</i>
Origins	1970s; American influence (academics, practitioners)	Late 1980s, counterpoint to WID; global influences
Theory	Liberal economics and modernization theories; women disadvantaged by development policies of 1950s and 1960s (liberal feminism)	Class analyses and dependency approaches; criticized basic assumptions of economic liberalism (diversity feminism)
Emphasis; policies	Call to integrate women into development programs through policy changes; emphasized women's productive roles (instrumental view)	Argued women always part of development; questioned some assumptions of development; emphasized household, gender relations, issues of class, race, and ethnicity
Contribution	Did not challenge existing social structures; emphasized the status of women and specific issues such as income generation and education	Called attention to the "private sphere" and need to examine intra-household relations and the structure of power; women viewed as agents, not passive recipients of development

One of the earliest moves toward integrating women into development came from Sweden. In 1963, the Swedish parliament first proposed the use of foreign aid funds to improve women's access to training and education; and by 1968, Sweden had suggested to the United Nations a long-range program for the advancement of women.³¹ In the United States, an amendment to the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act required the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to promote the integration of women into development programs funded by the US government.

These early WID initiatives were grounded in a growing awareness of gender as a factor in the division of labor. Danish economist Ester Boserup did more than any scholar of her generation to criticize the omission of women's roles in the vast literature on economic change. In the preface to her 1970 book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, Boserup wrote: "Economic and social development unavoidably entails the disintegration of the division of labour among the two sexes traditionally established in the village. With modernization of agriculture and with migration to the towns, a new sex pattern of productive work must emerge, for better or worse."³² Boserup addressed numerous topics that would later receive more detailed analysis from scholars and development workers, such as the division of labor in traditional agriculture, the impact of colonialism on women's labor, export-sector work, migration, and the significance of education.

Boserup's analytical approach, though innovative for its time, was nonetheless grounded in the dominant economic assumptions that characterized most thinking about development in the 1960s and 1970s. She assumed that modernization is an economic phenomenon defined by rural-to-urban migration, wage work, manufacturing, capital accumulation, and increasingly complex technologies. Although sensitive to cultural differences, she tended to see them as a barrier that would give way before a unique development model,³³ and she emphasized women largely in isolation from their social relationships with men.

In contrast, subsequent gender and development (GAD) approaches emphasized *gender relationships*, the multiple ways in which women and men relate to each other. For example, these approaches were more attentive to the interplay of productive and reproductive activities, the latter including all of the tasks implied in creating, maintaining, and protecting the family and household, broadly interpreted. These approaches also led analysts to consider the origins of female subordination in patriarchal family and social relations, as well as in forms of economic production. Taken together, gender and development approaches generally were more sensitive to *intra-national* class and ethnic differences than we see in the work of Boserup and early women-in-development analyses.

In addition to gender relations, the productive-reproductive dynamic, and the role of intra-national differences, GAD approaches drew attention directly to structural issues that differentiated national economies. They moved our thinking more clearly in the direction of understanding a country's position in the international economic system. In this move, the GAD approaches were indebted to changes in development thinking more broadly, including those explained in chapter 3. Although the gender

and development and women in development approaches emphasized different factors, both were primarily concerned with individual nation-states. Only in the 1990s did the structures and forces of globalization fundamentally alter our thinking about women/gender and development. The emergence of a renewed focus on care work, particularly in a global context, was one of the most important feminist contributions at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century; and it represented a new phase in linking gender and development in the global economy.

CARE WORK

Understanding the reality of the multitude of reproductive and productive responsibilities confronting most women, feminists have always responded with contrasting analyses and policy recommendations. For example, during the peak of industrialization in Europe and North America, nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century socialist feminists typically called for liberating women from "housework" by encouraging paid labor and, in some instances, communalizing household and family tasks. Their primary goal was to insist that women, like men, belong in the public sphere. Liberal and difference feminists, led by economists, have worked to highlight the significance of reproductive activities by attaching a monetary value to tasks such as cooking, transporting, child care, cleaning, and so forth. Both of these approaches have been deeply influenced by a view of development as primarily economic. In contrast, more recent thinking about development reassesses the importance of social reproduction and the way we understand it.

Mainstream theories of development have long ignored or diminished the significance of reproductive labor in assessing policy strategies or outcomes. But by the 1990s, partly in response to the added burden on women of some neoliberal economic policies, one strain of feminist thought turned WID on its head, emphasizing the centrality in the development process of what is now widely referred to as "women's care work." Care work refers to the disproportionate efforts of women doing housework, dependent care, and meeting psychological needs of family members. It also includes the work of housemaids, nannies, and other service workers from across town or from another country performing these tasks for pay.

Feminist analysis of care work shows the influence of difference feminism and the interest of GAD writers in intra-household relations. Joan Tronto offers an expansive definition of care work, which she describes as "a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web."³⁴ Care work does not fit neatly into frameworks of development as it straddles existing categories such as instrumental tasks and affective labor, unpaid and paid work, public and private sphere, economy and family.

The economic and political dimensions of development theories have taken for granted the massive time and effort women invest in care work, with the result that this work has been largely invisible in crafting and implementing development policies. To illustrate, it is estimated that as much as 70 percent of the hours spent on care work are contributed by women.³⁵ Kate Bedford notes that "the dominant models of growth overlook the enormous value of these activities disproportionately done by women" and "overburdened women by failing to take into account unpaid household labor."³⁶ Feminist scholars argue that this situation has been exacerbated under neoliberal globalization because public services that benefit the poor are typically one of the first areas cut when government budgets shrink. At the same time, women face increased pressures and opportunities to enter the paid labor force. Development strategies fail to consider that "any person's public existence floats upon this enormous amount of care work and reproductive labor that has come before and transformed a human infant into a capable citizen."³⁷

To address these issues, feminist scholars have advocated both fundamental changes in thinking about care work and development, and some practical policy reforms. Mahon and Robinson argue that we need to deconstruct the autonomy/dependence dichotomy and see interdependence as "a defining feature of social life instead of thinking of independent men and dependent women."³⁸ Because care work contributes so broadly to the development of human capabilities, both public policy support and the active participation of men in family care should occur. Scholars note a tension between "a wish to support and value care and to liberate women from the confines of caregiving so as to enable their more active presence in the public sphere."³⁹ In part, this tension reflects cultural differences. For example, Western women tend to see care work as a burden, whereas Caribbean women tend to emphasize the importance of this work.⁴⁰ All of these approaches, however, show the impact of conceptualizing development in the context of gender relations.

The three types of policy interventions that have been made in the area of care have to do with increasing time (paid care leaves), resources (cash transfers), and services (child care).⁴¹ Although most feminist scholars advocate a larger state role in care work, Bedford reports that a World Bank program in Ecuador involved a privatized solution instead of a public program, encouraging men to engage in care work as an alternative to supporting child-care services, a strategy that many feminists would applaud.⁴² In general, feminist scholars and practitioners alike advocate improvements in remuneration and rights for paid care workers, both of which require a change in political thinking about the importance of care work and its centrality in development.

INTERNATIONAL DYNAMICS: THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

Although most people think of globalization purely in economic terms, the political structures and activities of international organizations are central to the global order

in the twenty-first century. The most familiar of these is the United Nations, established in 1945. Debates about development and gender have been deeply influenced by the United Nations system, its organizations, its conferences and covenants. From the creation of the Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 in the immediate aftermath of World War II, to the drafting and signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), to the international conferences on women, population, human rights, and the environment, the United Nations is central to the story of gender and development.

The United Nations Charter, signed in 1945, affirmed "faith in fundamental human rights" and also "the equal rights of men and women." From its earliest months of operation, issues of women's rights were highlighted in the activities of the General Assembly and the Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission undertook to study a variety of barriers to gender equality, including legal and political inequalities (such as the absence of female suffrage), and by the 1950s had turned its attention to a central contradiction that persists to the present: The goal of guaranteeing universal human rights and gender equality inevitably challenges deeply imbedded customs and cultural practices in many societies. In 1954, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling on its member states to "take all appropriate measures" with a view to abolishing "customs, ancient laws and practices" relating to marriage and the family that subject women to conditions that are inconsistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁴³

The fact that more than a half century later this tension between the long-standing goals of gender equality and the reality of cultural differences persists could be interpreted as simply another failure to implement the UN declarations. This conclusion, however, belies the considerable progress that has been made in uncovering, defining, and placing on the international political agenda laws and practices that degrade many women. Part of this history has been to link the rights emphasized by the Commission on the Status of Women in its early decades directly to development, with the result that by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the convergence between issues of development and of gender equality was widely accepted.

This historical convergence has been a laborious process, but as we will see in future chapters, points of consensus have been growing. Much of the consensus that has emerged has been the result of the Commission on the Status of Women and four UN conferences on women along with the nongovernmental (NGO) gatherings that accompanied them. The conferences led to what one participant has called a "feminist methodology" of globalizing frameworks around economics, the environment and rights, and a process of feminist consciousness-raising. The process starts with testifying to local or individual experiences, moves to a negotiation of differences, and finally to the effort to articulate a general position that synthesizes the diversity of experience.⁴⁴

The first United Nations Conference on Women was set to mark the beginning of the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–1985). Held in Mexico City, the conference celebrated International Women's Year (IWY, 1975) with the theme

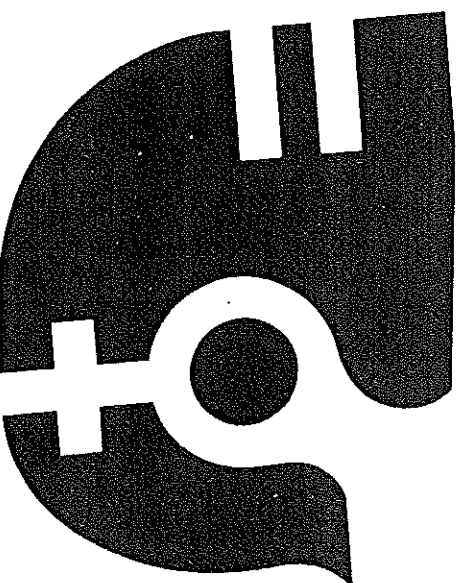


Figure 2.1. International Women's Year (IWY) Logo

"Equality, Development, Peace." The IWY logo, a dove of peace incorporating the symbols for women and equality, was ubiquitous (see figure 2.1). Like the succeeding three conferences, the Mexico City meeting drew thousands of participants to the parallel NGO gathering. The issues debated at Mexico City reflected a potpourri of causes and international cleavages. In retrospect, four long-term legacies of the IWY conference were especially significant. First, both the official conference and the parallel meetings generated a momentum for women's movements around the globe and established a mandate for government initiatives to address issues of gender equality. Second, the gatherings exposed the differences that existed between the women's rights advocates from Europe and North America, many of whom were ignorant of the economic realities of much of the world, and the participants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Third, IWY encouraged research and theory about the reality of gender inequality and its link to development processes around the globe. To illustrate, scholars and activists concerned with food production popularized the phrase, "the farmer . . . she . . ." to counteract ignorance of gender roles in agriculture, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (see figure 2.2). Finally—and perhaps most important—the conference mobilized grassroots organizations and established multiple feminist agendas around the world.

Each of the three succeeding UN conferences had its own dynamics, and by the Fourth UN Conference on Women, in 1995, more than thirty thousand people converged on Beijing (see table 2.2). During the period between the first and fourth conferences, government organizations and policy statements, research findings, data gathering, and NGOs proliferated around the globe. All of these were—or, at least, professed to be—devoted to the advancement of women. Women and men seemed to be organizing everywhere, and many United Nations forums that were not created with the primary intent of addressing gender issues were pressured by activists to

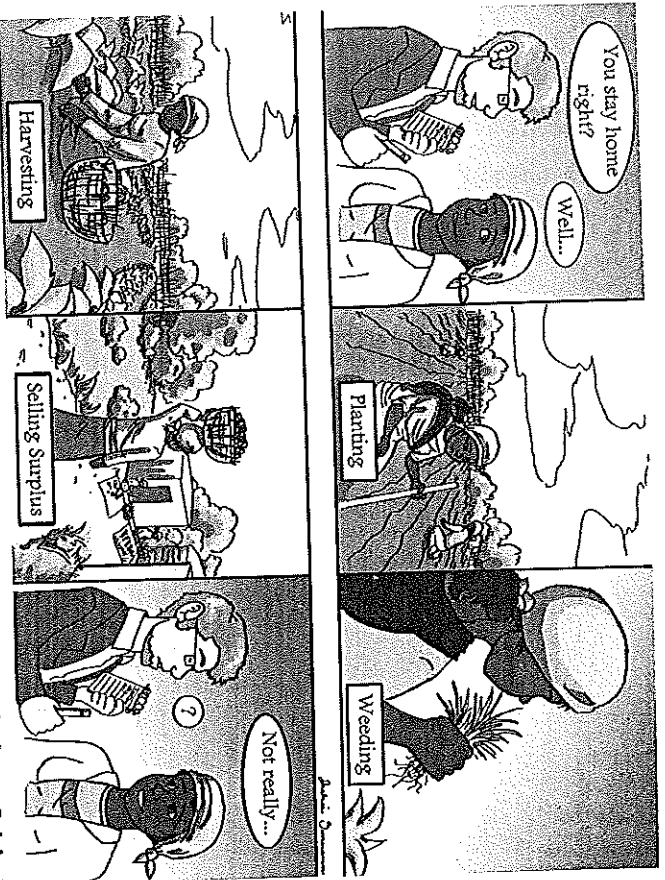


Figure 2.2. Cartoon Emphasizing Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Agriculture. Original drawing courtesy of Jaquelyn Bonnema

include gender in their deliberations on development—for example, the conferences on the environment (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), population (Cairo, 1994), and social development (Copenhagen, 1995).

One of the first concrete accomplishments of this frenzy of organizing was the drafting, adoption (by the UN General Assembly in 1979), and ratification of CEDAW. The story of CEDAW illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses of this global activity. As noted in the discussion on equality and difference perspectives in feminism, the negotiation of the Convention and the reservations expressed at the time of its adoption exposed the deep-seated cleavages that still persist over demands for gender equality.⁴⁵ Although the overwhelming majority of UN member governments subsequently ratified the document, the signatories included many countries that have become notorious for their egregious violation of human rights generally and women's rights specifically.⁴⁶

Despite large areas of consensus, the controversies over CEDAW, male-female equality, and the cultural "appropriateness" of human rights definitions viewed as Western-dominated are with us in the twenty-first century. Much of the controversy may be traced to the rejection by many people of the secularist bias in development, which is explained in chapter 3.

Despite its detractors, CEDAW remains a benchmark in the ongoing process of defining and establishing global legitimacy for human rights. It does represent a

Table 2.2. United Nations Women's Conferences, 1975–1995

Date	Location (Secretary General)	Themes	Parallel NGO Meeting ^a
1975	Mexico City–IWV (Helvi Sipilä, Finland)	WID emphasis: education, health, employment, peace, human rights; call for research data; North-South differences become apparent	IWV Tribune, approximately 6,000 participants
1980	Copenhagen: "Mid-Decade Conference" (Lucille Mair, Jamaica)	Five-year progress review; CAD emphasis on causes of inequality; tension over cultural differences; international political conflicts influence Conference—e.g., Israel-Palestine; emphasis on women's organizations	Forum, approximately 7,200 participants
1985	Nairobi (Leticia Shahani, Philippines)	International economic issues—debt reduction, strategic adjustment (SAPs); new focus on violence, pornography; increasing racial, cultural diversity; "Forward-Looking Strategies" agenda	Forum '85, DAWN founded, ^b approximately 15,000 participants
1995	Beijing (Cetrude Mongella, Tanzania)	Targeted issues of international and domestic violence; debates over reproductive freedoms; concern about women's declining economic situation (impact of SAPs)	NGO Forum, approximately 30,000 participants

^a The nongovernmental meetings that overlapped the formal intergovernmental UN conferences were known by different names. Attendance figures are approximate: most participants registered, but many did not, and numbers for attendance vary considerably.

^b Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era. Founded in India, DAWN refers both to the platform document prepared for the Forum and the organization of those, primarily from developing countries in the South, who criticized the dominant growth model of modernization.

process of international consultation and debate, and for many advocates of gender equality in numerous countries, the Convention serves as a tool to pressure their governments.⁴⁷ Put differently, the Convention is central to the effort to publicize and give legitimacy to gender equality. It is ironic, however, that the effervescence of political globalization that generated the adoption of CEDAW, along with the energy and optimism reflected in the UN conferences, was diminished in many ways by the economic forces of globalization at the end of the twentieth century.

One of the central lessons to emerge from the experience of the UN system during the second half of the twentieth century is that conferences and policy agendas *always* reflect the international political and economic contexts within which they take place. For example, hostilities between Israel, Palestinians, and representatives of

Arab states percolated through many of the sessions at the four UN conferences on women. In March 2012 UN officials proposed convening a Fifth UN World Conference on Women (5th WCW) in 2015. Feminist reactions were mixed given the lack of prior, systematic consultation with civil society groups or UN Women and inadequate funding for UN Women and women's rights organizations. But those supporting the convening of the 5th WCW saw it as an opportunity to raise consciousness and perhaps generate the kind of networking among women worldwide that had emerged during the earlier conferences.

POLITICAL WILL

If one takes a long view and compares the early twenty-first century with the middle of the twentieth century, it is hard not to be impressed by the enormous progress made in placing issues of gender and development on policy agendas from the local to the global level. It is a rare person, and certainly not one knowledgeable about the realities of development, who argues today that development processes are gender neutral. Furthermore, in much of the world, domestic and international laws and conventions now deem violence against women to be morally and legally unacceptable. Fifty years ago, safe houses didn't exist, few knew what "genital mutilation" meant, and military sexual slavery was not a subject of international legal discourse.

We have made enormous strides simply in *counting* women, girls, and their activities. Statistics disaggregated by gender were rare fifty years ago; they are now common. As a consequence of the United Nations conferences on women, both donors and recipients of development assistance systematically introduced criteria for including gender issues in their development strategies. New tools for gender equity, such as "gender budgeting," have made their way into some government practices, making it possible to assess the differential impact of public budgets on women and men. Thus even the most arcane of government activities, drawing up an annual budget, now may be subjected to gender analysis.

Feminist activities seeking to alter development practices are astonishingly diverse in their approaches and the levels at which they work. They range from the scholars who explore household structures or international migration patterns, to bureaucrats who argue with colleagues on a daily basis in order to chip away at institutional gender bias. They include high-profile lawyers and politicians who argue on behalf of rape victims caught in war zones, to local NGOs helping those victims put their lives back together. They are as diverse as the languages, cultures, and religions they represent, and it is perhaps surprising that they agree at all on key policy agendas.

Despite this energy, the life conditions of most women and men around the world today look little better—and often they are worse—than in the mid-twentieth century. Income gaps have grown in many countries, including in rich countries such as the United States. Environmental degradation and its cost to the poor, who are least able to pay the price, have accelerated. Some of the most heinous war crimes—such

as the systematic use of rape to demoralize enemy populations—have occurred on a widespread basis, ruining the lives of their victims. AIDS and other infectious diseases continue to destroy families. What are we to make of what seems to be a massive failure on all fronts?

Central to this failure, we argue, is a lack of political will. Much of what has been accomplished has been transformed into technical or bureaucratic procedures that have been "routinized"—another form to fill out, another box to check off. In this sense, "gender mainstreaming," the process of including references to gender issues in development strategies, has been successful. However, it has not been transformative in terms of the lives of those supposedly benefiting from these strategies. Ines Smyth argues that, in fact, the word "gender" has helped to neutralize the specific commitment to women's conditions by making it easier to think of development more as a technical matter and less as a political matter.⁴⁸ It also helps mask the fear that NGOs and international institutions have of the word "feminist," which is linked to a political project that directly threatens existing power arrangements at all levels. Finally, notes Smyth, the recognition of cultural diversity has increasingly been deployed to avoid "interference" in local, regional, and national structural arrangements. "One cannot fail to note a discrepancy here. Development organizations . . . express reluctance to impose what are considered Northern cultural values on gender; at the same time, they appear fairly unconcerned about exporting Northern views and practices on how best to grow crops, dispense credit, manage an organization or communicate with people."⁴⁹

The persistence of gender injustice and inequality is thus the result of a variety of real problems. Bureaucracies have their own internal organizations, cultures, and priorities; maintenance of the bureaucratic structure itself takes precedence over any policy initiative that threatens that structure. Overturning patriarchal structures and altering repressive cultures by definition threatens existing power arrangements and consequently is rejected by those in power. Efforts at change will be resisted and may be co-opted, subverted, or simply eliminated by destroying the individuals or organizations pressing for change.

In recent years, these kinds of debates over development and globalization have led to a rethinking of the connections between gender and development and how we might better address the inequalities between women and men that lead to female subordination. Acceptance is growing that empowerment ultimately occurs as a result of fundamental changes occurring in the communities within which women and men live, and these communities range from the domestic unit to the nation-state. Feminists increasingly argue in favor of positioning women as full participants in the community, enabling them to claim equality and demanding accountability from those who hold power. Anne Marie Goetz describes this as "inclusive citizenship," and prescribes practical steps to achieve this, including legal pluralism (recognizing customary dispute resolution as well as formal law), linking customary law to international human rights norms, and using collective action to assert citizenship claims that give women voice in their communities.⁵⁰

Feminists now pursue both inclusionary and transformative approaches to achieve gender equality.⁵¹ Inclusionary approaches require engagement with the state and international organizations, seeking women's representation in positions of power, as well as laws and public policies responsive to the needs of women. Transformative approaches involve confrontations with the state and challenges to cultural norms to achieve a redistribution of economic, social, and political power. Both of these approaches are apparent in efforts to improve women's access to water discussed in chapter 5.

It is important to stress that the approaches are not mutually exclusive. Feminist strategies may draw on both simultaneously or sequentially. For example, in December 2012, a young Indian woman boarded a bus with her boyfriend in New Delhi. He was beaten, while she was gang-raped and so badly injured that she subsequently died. Massive protests followed in Delhi and other Indian cities; both women and men accused the police and government officials of indifference. Feminists, joined by a variety of grassroots activists, aired complaints about a culture that tolerates—even encourages—discrimination and violence against women.

Meanwhile, dozens of people representing women's and human rights groups testified before the government committee established to recommend changes to the criminal justice system and submitted nearly eighty thousand recommendations to the committee.⁵² Feminists critiqued the committee report, as well as the legislation adopted by parliament to implement some of the recommended reforms, such as broadening the definition of rape and criminalizing stalking. Other goals were sidelined in the spirit of reform, but feminists recognized that legislation alone would not stem the pervasive cultural tolerance of violence against women. Nonetheless they were in the forefront of engaging the government deliberative process, even as they confronted the police, organized demonstrations, and called for cultural awareness of the problems facing Indian women.

The India example reminds us that any successful strategy must be multidisciplinary, multipronged, and ultimately political. This should not be construed as an argument for rejecting gender mainstreaming in development agencies, or accumulating statistical data. Nor is it an argument for the supremacy of one feminist theory over another, for—as noted earlier—it pays to hold the theories in tension with one another. One does not abandon the effort to enhance individual autonomy because one acknowledges the constraints imposed by a global neoliberal economic system, a repressive state, or corrupt village politics. One can be self-conscious and “reflexive” about one's personal cultural lenses, even while refusing to accept them as an insuperable barrier to cross-cultural dialogue or a global human rights agenda.

The next chapter provides more in-depth discussion of the background and central issues of what development is—and is not. It clarifies the importance of bringing a feminist perspective into debates and practice, especially in the era of neoliberal globalization. In the subsequent four chapters, we describe promising strategies for addressing four very different kinds of problems that are widespread in the world. Each represents a different cluster of development issues and requires multiple strate-

gies across all levels. Each reveals the multiple dimensions of globalization. Finally, each reflects the constraints imposed by structures, but also the opportunities that may be available for enhancing agency.

NOTES

1. Quoted on the front piece of the NGO Forum *Schedule of Activities*.
2. J. Ann Tickner, “Feminism Meets International Relations: Some Methodological Issues,” in *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, ed. Brooke Ackert, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20.
3. Mary E. Hawkesworth, *Globalization and Feminist Activism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 3.
4. See Hawkesworth, *Globalization and Feminist Activism*; Catherine Eschle, “Feminist Studies of Globalization: Beyond Gender, Beyond Economics?,” *Global Society* 18, no. 2 (2004): 97–125; and Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). The term “global care chain” refers to the globalization of reproductive activities that rely on labor migration from other countries. The hiring of nurses and nannies is an example.
5. Eschle, “Feminist Studies of Globalization,” 121.
6. Sandra Harding, ed., *Feminism and Methodology* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987); Mary Margaret Fonow and Judith A. Cook, eds., *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Caroline Ramazanoglu, with Janet Holland, *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices* (London: Sage, 2002); Shirlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Michelle L. Yáñez, *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Tickner, “Feminism Meets International Relations.”
7. J. Ann Tickner, “What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions,” *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2005): 5.
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