

and Uganda that had been identified through projects funded by the Global Fund for Women. Mukenge evaluated the project.

The project found that the successful use of information technology depended on several factors, including the hierarchy of the organization and the degree to which ICT could make a noticeable difference in the organization's success, particularly its ability to attract foreign donors. The project also emphasized more traditional forms of communication and the need for NGOs to reach local organizations or networks to be effective at advocacy.

The problems faced by Women Connect illustrate another theme of this volume. As Barrig emphasized in her discussion of NGOs working in the Andes, relations between Northern donors and Southern NGOs are often conflictive. From the perspective of the Southern NGOs, donor requirements can distort NGO agendas and produce complicated reporting processes that may waste valuable resources or produce a rhetorical agreement that is not reflected in project implementation. Pillsbury and Mayer show how this looks from the Northern perspective: the grant required that this initiative work on women's reproductive health issues, especially HIV/AIDS, but that was rarely the top priority of the local NGOs. The need to meet the donor's conditions affected which NGOs were chosen and how the projects were carried out, with Pillsbury and Mayer in the role of intermediaries.

Global connections have been shown as a reason for the success and survival of local NGOs. But the ties between local groups and their audiences are assumed rather than studied. If NGOs are to be autonomous and responsive, the role of local members and supporters is critical. The chapter by Mayer, Pillsbury, and Mukenge emphasizes the importance of "traditional" outreach strategies to connect groups with local audiences as well as the usefulness of the Internet to link groups transnationally and to access sources of information that can be repackaged for local use.

In the final chapter, Irene Tinker reflects on her experiences over several decades working with individuals, NGOs, scholars, and donors on issues of women in development. Tinker's theme in this chapter is empowerment, not as a rhetorical issue or an organizational goal, but as it "happened"—that is, as women's mobilization was the often unintended result of initiatives intended to change the economic but not the gender status quo.

Tinker believes that early efforts to redirect economic resources helped women's organizations to get started, and she recounts the effects of the UN De-

cade and Beijing (1995) on the growth and increasing power of women's organizations. She looks at the current status of the broad range of issues in which she has engaged, from promoting Ester Boserup's work and the Percy Amendment, which drew attention to the issues of women and development, to exploring the relationship between women, technology and the environment, street foods, and housing and land. She takes a close look at the relative effects of different micro-credit programs. Returning to her original field of political science, Tinker discusses how different kinds of electoral systems, including gender quotas, are producing changes in political leadership in many countries, a process that works best, she argues, when government "insiders" are closely engaged with independent women's movements and with activist women leaders on the "outside." Tinker's assessment of women's organizing and its impact on policy is, like Irene Tinker herself, an equal mix of deep intellectual curiosity, constructive critique, and confidence that we can make change happen.⁶

COMMON THEMES AND NEW DIRECTIONS

Several themes emerge from the creative tensions addressed in this volume. Changing institutions, controlling resources, and mobilizing for power are not issues only in developing countries; they are challenges in all countries. A truly interdisciplinary perspective is needed to address the concerns of political participation, economic fundamentals, and the expanded capabilities that stress quality of life as well as material measures of what women value (see C. Graham 2003). The concern to recognize different goals and practices that drives the post-colonialist focus on equity (rather than equality) must be integrated with policy- and action-oriented efforts to improve women's lives (see Benería 2003; Zein-Elabdin and Charusheela 2004). These chapters underline the need to maintain a focus on women while keeping gender power relations in mind.

Crossing borders is also a recurring theme. Globalization and the need to bring lessons from the South to the North suggest the necessity of an approach sensitive to transnational issues. Migration, technology, resource management, employment patterns, and political mobilization are important examples. Yet the permeability of borders and the impressive rise of women's movements do not suggest giving up on the state; on the contrary, state capacity to regulate markets, provide social insurance, and criminalize various forms of trafficking in women remains a critical issue for women.

Another theme is the way globalization appears to be transferring risk to those

least able to cope with structural changes and survive the inevitable cycles that occur, even when the growth trend is positive. The human costs of structural adjustment in Africa and the Latin American and Asian currency crises of the 1990s show that we cannot assume that "development" is a smooth or irreversible process, even in those countries that are seen as the most successful cases of reform. In the 1990s, the end of the Cold War led to discussions of human security as a peace dividend (UNDP 1994), but more recent political and economic tensions have prompted WTD and GAD advocates to argue for a human security approach as an alternative to militarization. Behind the idea of human security is the need to develop effective policies to prepare women to survive and compete in increasingly marketized economies in an increasingly globalized world. It brings together the discourses of those who stress a rights-based approach to development with those who emphasize cultural pluralism and who argue that all women do not necessarily share the same interests and goals.

Transition, restructuring, and globalization have been accompanied by recurring economic crises that have not been adequately addressed. The neoliberal development model puts overwhelming stress on growth rather than equity and on markets rather than states. Although most who work on global financial and economic models omit gender issues, feminist critics have made some progress in bringing gender into the discussions of the UN's Millennium Development Goals, trade, and global public goods (see Cagatay et al. 1995). Gender budgets, labor policies in free trade zones, and transnational caring labor (such as the U.S. importation of nurses and the employment of immigrant women as household help) are among the issues being addressed (e.g., Ferber and Nelson 2003; see also Kardam 2004).

Another common theme is the role of women's movements. Women's organizations are both local and embedded in cross-national networks that provide support and resources to make local action more effective.⁷ Women's growing access to political power, through gender quotas in some cases and through the appointment of women to top administrative positions, is a new resource that could be linked more closely to development programs and negotiate the growing tensions between gender equity and traditional laws and customs.

Persistent inequalities demand continuous reevaluation and daring experiments. The call for gender equity is fundamental and transformative, but the barriers to achieving this goal are formidable, as thirty years of efforts to promote women and gender in development illustrate only too often. Earlier rejection

of efforts to "integrate women" met with bureaucratic resistance. The adoption of gender strategies was a victory at the level of policy but less reliably at the level of practices. In the 1990s, private investment greatly outpaced public capital flows, reducing the reach of gender equity policies, which can shape bureaucratic but not market behavior, and making macroeconomic policies the critical focus.

Today, we think the field that addresses women, gender, development, and globalization needs to renew and regroup. Efforts to reform bureaucratic practices and link them to women's self-empowerment must be accompanied by investing more attention in how to modify the regulatory and ideological contexts in which macroeconomic and trade policies are conceived and carried out. This will require new levels of interdisciplinary and cross-national cooperation and a sense of urgency. We think now is the time.

NOTES

1. The term "third wave" of democratization is from Samuel P. Huntington (1991). On the success of economic and political liberalization, see Fernandez-Armesto (2003).
2. For a defense of these policies, see Frum and Perle (2004). For a critique, see Daldler and Lindsay (2003).
3. A striking example is the Bush administration's call for 40 percent representation of women in the new Iraqi parliament. ("Iraqi Council to Debate Plan for Transition" 2004, 1). Women's representation is a means to avoid the potential institutionalization of a regime dominated by clerics and the adoption of sharia law, but it is likely to produce local resentment and may put women leaders in an untenable position; at this writing one American woman who was working on setting up women's centers has died. Cohn, Kinsella, and Gibbings (2004, 138) argue that the Security Council resolution on women's rights in Iraq may be seen as positive support for "women's rightful inclusion," but also a "tool to justify military occupation on behalf of 'liberating' women."
4. On the first, see Molyneux and Razavi (2003). On the capabilities approach, see Amartya Sen (1999) and Martha Nussbaum (2003). On human security, see UNDP 1997 and 1994; Commission on Human Security 2003; and Basch 2004.
5. There is an excellent and growing literature on institutions (see Jaquette and Staudt in this volume).
6. Because Irene Tinker has been so influential in shaping the field of women, gender, and development and because a full list of her publications hasn't appeared elsewhere, we list her complete works at the end of the bibliography.
7. Much has been written on local and global connections, but for a theoretically and empirically rich review, see Brysk (2000).