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Introduction: Dilemmas, Dialogues, Debates

Wendy Harcourt

Introduction

This handbook starts from the premise that feminists engaged in GAD debates are caught in a dilemma. On the one hand they wish to act in solidarity across the globe, to create spaces and possibilities for all women, wherever they are placed. But, on the other hand, they can only do so by unpacking the profound divisions, tensions and systemic inequalities and failures that underline a development discourse dividing cultures and societies into ‘developed’ and ‘undeveloped’. To begin with, as Raewyn Connell points out in her foreword, even speaking about ‘women’ proves to be a dilemma, as does feminist engagement working for social justice in a world dominated by patriarchal, racist, militarist neoliberal capitalism.

The topics I chose to be covered here reflect these dilemmas: ‘gender, power, decoloniality’; ‘institutions, policies, governmentality’; ‘globalization, care, economic justice’, ‘gender, science, ecology’; ‘livelihoods, place, community’; ‘gender, race, intersectionality’; ‘violence, militarism, conflict’; ‘bodies, sexuality, queering development’; and ‘visions, hopes, futures’. They are admittedly somewhat unusual topics for a GAD handbook. In putting this volume together, I was not interested in assembling a predictable set of essays on ‘agriculture’, ‘economy’, ‘governance’, ‘population’, ‘education’, ‘youth’ and ‘health’. I wanted to push beyond the canon of GAD texts that are already available and to take the opportunity to explore some of the dilemmas, debates and dialogues I have been involved in over the last 20 or more years. I also wanted to create a multifaceted dialogue that could connect the diverse feminist locations, generations, experiences and disciplines that I see as shaping GAD discourses. I therefore selected nine ‘core’ texts by feminist scholars and activists who while not central to development policy I would argue have critically influenced feminist analyses, strategies and visions in GAD discourse. Put together, I see these nine texts as producing a systemic analysis of the dilemmas,

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debates and dialogues in GAD with important insights into how development processes have shaped gender relations in peoples' lives, cultures and environments. I have deliberately selected critical texts by a somewhat eclectic range of scholars and activists in order to open up the traditional boundaries of what is GAD. The main aim of the handbook is to encourage readers to go beyond mainstream development institutional discourse to look at how feminist practice and vision (whether in IR, political ecology or social movements) shape development policy and studies.

Even though there are a hefty number of pages here, inevitably one volume can only partially cover all that GAD claims as its field. So what I hope will make this handbook particularly engaging is its structure. The nine core texts have been used to kick off a discussion that is analytical, critical and respectful among generations of scholars and activists. Each section is made up of a republished core text, followed by a set of chapters by established and upcoming feminist scholars and activists. These essays respond to the core texts directly, and at the conclusion of all but one section there are the candid responses from the authors of the core text. I was particularly appreciative of the open engagement among the core text writers with the responses – it is difficult to have earlier work critiqued by another generation of colleagues. It is in their thoughtful and candid replies to the observations, stories and critiques that their original texts evoked that you see the personal and political way in which feminists from around the world can work together in unpacking and challenging the complex issues underlining GAD.

GAD and IR

As editor I encouraged contributors to tell the 'inside' story alongside their observations, analysis and critique of GAD processes. So in this introduction let me add my inside stories of how the handbook emerged in order to explain further its somewhat quirky approach and to signpost some of the key debates that have shaped feminist analysis and political engagement in development over the last 15 years.¹

The idea of a handbook first emerged in a conversation with Palgrave when I was describing some of the debates that surfaced at a conference entitled 'Feminism, Difference, and Beyond' organized by the Swiss International Relations Collective (SWIRCO).² My planned speech was 'Gender Matters to Whom? Keeping the Politics in Gender and Development', where I wanted to speak about the 'body politics' of feminist movements challenging the bureaucratizing of gender within population and development policy (see Harcourt 2009). On the first day of the conference I listened as very sophisticated ideas about gender, power, nationality and difference and the role of feminist theory were debated. They were sparked by papers that analysed what

I saw as not particularly representational or important historical events: a video of a woman being beaten in a street; a set of photographs of a US military cemetery; the narrative experiences of a surrogate; and a reading of a UN document on sexwork. I was intrigued by how visuals were so important, and how so much was being deciphered from images, narratives and stories. The immediate impact was that I rushed back to my hotel room and changed my presentation to speak to images of gendered bodies in 'development' through which, I argued, power relations around the body were normalized and the experience of class, gendered and racialized othering was made invisible. In the conference dialogues I felt there was a lot of translating needed between 'GAD' and feminist IR. The GAD 'practices' I was describing, others saw as a quaint world of women's movements engaged in UN speak and ideological pushes, and pools of small amounts of development funds for 'gender equality'. Such time-consuming negotiations papered over the real power issues related to sexuality, militarism, government machinations and masculinities. Reading the essays in Section VII, and in particular Spike Peterson's powerful and instructive response about feminist theory and practice in her work (Chapter 7.4), I think my instincts at the conference were right.

Engaging with feminist IR raised for me some important concerns about 'high' and 'low' feminist theory, and the different approaches of IR and GAD. Feminist theorizing on racism, sexuality, power, embodiment, violence, masculinities and militarism is taken for granted among IR scholars. In contrast, in GAD, such concepts are on the edge of development policy and debates. On the other hand, IR seemed to be all about theory, whereas GAD scholars assumed their work could be used by people 'in the field' and was integral to the shaping of development discourses. As I read the essays in Section II and the candid reflections on governance feminism in Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay's response (Chapter 2.4), I felt there were different approaches that needed clarification. I particularly found Sara de Jong's contribution (Chapter 2.1) helpful in this debate.

The handbook, then, is set up to make connections among feminist IR and GAD practitioners in order to understand how to speak across theory and practice, whether it is challenging the politics of development technocrats or analysing military power and repression; whether it is making visible the gendered politics of sexuality in development or the racism in war economies.

Other knowledges and decoloniality

A second set of conversations that inspires the handbook comes from when I joined ISS and found myself needing to translate my experiences as a feminist writer and advocate in social justice movements and NGOs into formative

knowledge as a lecturer in development studies. At the outset I found myself puzzling over how to be a feminist in a development studies institution.

In starting this new phase of my life where I was paid to teach and research, I discovered that different things counted. In my activist life what was important was whom I had met and knew; what events I had attended; which networks and movements I was engaged in; and my 'off the cuff' opinions on the latest events. I found that in academe what was important was which school of thought I belonged to; where I published in the hierarchy of academic publications; and therefore to which literature I was contributing. As a feminist I found this difficult. Following my belief that 'personal is political', I felt compelled to bring in how feminist practice informed my work, and to translate how those experiences were part of GAD 'real world' and therefore should be taught as part of the learning process. There was no real school of thought about that. I also wanted to bring in the many conversations from the 'outside' of development that were critical of development processes. Again, these did not appear in academic texts – at best there were footnotes to the 'grey texts' of the writings (blog posts, visual stories) of NGOs and social movements. How, I asked myself, could I translate the different knowledges I had built up from my engagement in development policy and advocacy debates outside academe into an order of knowledge that could be studied and taught? How could I connect my students and my academic writing to these 'other' conversations about development?

I admit I felt quite at loss. But then, via my friend and sometime writing partner Arturo Escobar, I made contact with some ISS colleagues (Rosabla Icaza and Rolando Vazquez, Chapter 1.3), who were convening with students the 'other knowledges' group on the edge of the ISS (literally meeting in the house of a former lecturer). Here I found an intellectual space where my political and institutional concerns about 'teaching' development critically from experiences could be expressed. The first meeting I attended in 2012 together with Sunila Abeysekara, a 'scholar at risk' at ISS.³ We were both searching for an intellectual space where we could share and reflect on our years of activism. Sitting on the floor, with glasses of wine and nibbles being passed round, we heard from three women in their 30s – from Mexico, Indonesia and Belgium – about their journey as subjects of development as women from (or visitors to) 'developing' countries, and how as students and as teachers they wanted to reclaim their stories from the dominant development narratives. During the conversation that followed, and further encounters of the other knowledges group, I started to feel more able to be a feminist in an academic space. In these discussions I could engage in intercultural dialogues that were profoundly critical of development processes, sharing and learning from others' experiences (see Harcourt and Icaza 2014). I was able to position myself more comfortably as a teacher speaking from my position as a white, educated Australian/European-based

feminist who was first involved in feminist and environmental activism in the 1980s before I had ever heard of development. In the other knowledges group, and in various other seminars that grew from those discussions, questions were opened up about whose and what experiences and knowledges count in development studies. How do different places, histories and communities converge in, or how are they subsumed in, the mainstream of development? What are the 'otherwise' realities to hegemonic economic and social processes? How do UN advocacy and social movement visions interact with government policy and globalized privatization processes? These questions that helped to 'decolonize' our understanding of development processes enabled me to doubt less about whether my knowledge 'counted' in development teaching. The inspiration I felt from these dialogues, many originating from Latin America, is why this handbook begins with a section on 'gender, power, decoloniality' and the very enlightening essays on power, gender and otherwise knowledges in the responses to 'The Coloniality of Gender' by Maria Lugones.

Place and the possibility of transformative politics

J. K. Gibson-Graham has also inspired critical thinking on GAD, although like Maria Lugones they would not position themselves as development scholars. Their work has been pivotal for my own explorations of the politics of place and feminism. Gibson-Graham's intellectual rigour is matched by a tremendously positive hope in feminist transformative processes. Although neither belong to feminist movements, they have built an impressive following of feminists across genders, disciplines and continents. Writing as a team,⁴ they have nurtured an important network of scholars that opens up the feminist debate on development via a post-modernist critique of capitalism. In their intellectual project of the decentring of capitalism they show that it is possible to create a more just social and economic world. The vital and ongoing legacy of Gibson-Graham can be seen in the exchange among the essayists in the section as they break through the hegemony of capitalism working from a place-based perspective that allows new economic imaginaries to flourish.

Intersectionality and the queering of GAD

A major debate throughout the handbook is how gender is perceived – from the questionings of Section I on the decoloniality of gender to Section III's body politics and the move beyond the dual category 'women' and 'men' to include 'trans', and Section VIII's questioning of heteronormativity and the queering of development. As I pointed out above, there is a tension around how not to focus on 'only' women in GAD as well as how to understand race, class, colonial histories, religious, social and cultural categories and identities

that define femininities, masculinities and ‘othering’. The awkward category of intersectionality emerges in many places, and again I was reassured that it is a tricky and not easily understood concept. One of my first assignments as a teacher was to give a lecture on intersectionality. I dutifully read all the articles I could and admit to finding Nira Yuval-Davis with her discussions on the politics of belonging in the core text here, and her other work, an instructive way into understanding the ‘intersections’ of so many different social definitions and identities. As the authors in their brilliant writing in Section VI show, ‘intersectionality’ is a slippery and difficult concept but is also crucial to debates around how to think about gender beyond women and female embodiment.

Queering development has been something I have learnt much about through fascinating conversations with Andrea Cornwall and Susie Jolly, and their large network within and outside what they call the ‘development industry’. I vividly recall in the 2008 meeting, mentioned in the chapters in Section VIII, being asked what it was like to be married to a man, be a mother of two daughters, and be a feminist. The intimation was that it was probably almost impossible. Good question, I thought, and one that GAD needs to ask far more often in all contexts. In another animated conversation about sexual desire where I spoke about my sexual passion during late pregnancy, I later realized that I had been speaking to a sexworker, who, it dawned on me, was not actually describing a fantasy when she spoke about an exciting encounter in a hotel with a waiter. Sexuality informs and abounds in our lives and yet in GAD it is too often seen as a ‘problem’, a ‘risk’ or a violation – yet it is about desire and pleasure, and is at the heart of many of our positive choices about life.

Tippling points – and what keeps us going

Silently undergirding discussions about GAD are the taken-for-granted relations we have with nature understood through the prism of modernity, progress and exploitation. As Arturo Escobar argues, that development’s inherently violent process towards peoples, natures and cultures has become so naturalized that it is no longer remarked upon (Escobar 2004). GAD processes are inevitably linked to those forms of violence played out in the ‘well-intentioned’ work of developmental specialists and development experts who ‘cannot snap the bond of violence and development’ (Kothari 2004: 10). As Section VII graphically shows, development processes are about conflict, war, oppression, violence in and outside of homes, displacement of communities, scarring of landscapes and the destruction of cultures.

The recognition of the violence of development is starkly evident in the increasing unsustainability of dominant economic and social ‘lifeworlds’, as Dianne Rocheleau so evocatively describes the intertwining of all living beings. Section V on the ecology and critiques of science inspired by Rocheleau’s work

goes deeply into the many contradictions and difficulties of bringing environmental concerns in GAD discourses, beginning with the need to unpack Western science and economic ideological assumptions on which development is based. The section offers keen insight into how feminist political ecology (FPE) grapples with different feminist knowledges (scientific, indigenous, ecological, anthropological) in order to map out the narratives and rooted networks that connect our lifeworlds. It counters the fears that are dominating mainstream development that continually reminds us of the endgame we are playing with the Earth's resources.

The entire handbook is motivated by feminist visions of how to work with the violence, change it and move to 'otherwise' lifeworlds. Feminists are positioning themselves in interesting ways in this neoliberal era of capitalist technologies and power. Section IX speaks to feminist engagement in social movements that are trying to bring about a feminist vision, in multiple ways – whether in transnational feminist networks, as citizens working for peace in India, or fighting in alliances to change the oppressive political regime in Iran. All have their imagined utopias that help to keep us going.

Outline of the handbook

This handbook starts with a provocative and substantive foreword by a key figure in gender studies – Raewyn Connell – which, together with this introduction, sets out a broad critical feminist approach to GAD in theory and practice.

Section I establishes the critical approaches to GAD from the perspective of power, race and colonization. Starting from the concept of decoloniality as developed by Maria Lugones, it sets out 'the modern/colonial gender system' which undergirds GAD theory and practice, both in the hidden assumptions and in the contestations of the 'modern gender system' by women of colour, indigenous women and feminists from the global South. The core text is 'The Coloniality of Gender' by Maria Lugones, with the following chapters by Catherine Walsh, Claudia J. de Lima Costa, and Rosalba Icaza and Rolando Vázquez.

Section II explores the 'doing' of GAD in development institutions with an examination of the institutional project of development in the last two decades. The critiques examine the governance practices in the bureaucratizing of GAD, with a critical look at gender mainstreaming, and the world UN conferences on gender, donor gender policies and national gender machineries. The section raises questions about the amount of feminist energy that has been invested in these global or national level bureaucratic spaces. The core text is 'Mainstreaming Gender or "Streaming" Gender Away: Feminists Marooned in the Development Business' by Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, with the following

chapters by Sara de Jong, Aruna Rao and Joanne Sandler, and Anouka van Eerdewijk.

Section III looks at the critical linkage between globalization, care and economic justice, taking the cue from the core text, which shows the complex links between globalization, women's health and economic justice. It critically examines globalization and its impact on gender relations in families, societies and transculturally as the backdrop to development that continues to focus on national wealth and governmental responsibility for care relations despite its evident failures. The core text is 'Globalization, Women's Health, and Economic Justice: Reflections Post-September 11' by Rosalind Petchesky with the following chapters by Alexandra Garita and Debolina Dutta.

Section IV explores a feminist political ecology perspective on the interlinkages between ecology, economy and technology that inform rural-based GAD theory and practice. It takes up the ideas developed by Dianne Rocheleau to present some of the cutting-edge feminist analysis on the gendered nature of science and technology underlying development's often racist and gender-blind approaches to the growing bioeconomy. The core text is 'Rooted Networks, Webs of Relation and the Power of Situated Science: Bringing the Models Back Down to Earth in Zambrana' by Dianne Rocheleau with the following chapters by Padini Nirmini, Ingrid L. Nelson and Lyla Mehta.

Section V looks at women's political engagement in place at their defence of their homes, environment and livelihoods. It examines the interrelations among diverse gender relations, agriculture, ecologies and economies in women's gendered struggles for their wellbeing and livelihoods. The focus is on women's organizing and creative resistance for personal and community survival, including the current concern over climate change. The core text is 'Building Community Economies: Women and the Politics of Place' by J. K. Gibson-Graham, with the following chapters by Kelly Dombroski, Michal Osterweil and Yvonne Underhill-Sem.

Section VI unpacks the concept of intersectionality looking at how racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other systems of discrimination create inequalities and structure the relative gender positions of women. Reflecting on issues of identity, belonging and racism proposed by Nira Yuval-Davis, the authors explore the concept of belonging and why and in what contexts feminists and gender policymakers have taken up intersectionality as a tool for analysis, advocacy and policy development to combat exclusion. The core text is 'Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging' by Nira Yuval-Davis with the following chapters by Aili Mari Tripp, Susan Paulson and Marisa Belausteguigoitia-Rius.

Section VII looks at how militarism, global restructuring and economic insecurity determine the global gender order that derails and determines development strategies. The violation of women's rights as part of war, the search

for security, and the violence and militarization of development are not often addressed in mainstream development, but they are explored here by taking up the complex arguments around militarisms and gender set out by V. Spike Peterson. The core text is ‘Gendering Insecurities, Informalization and “War Economies”’ by V. Spike Peterson with chapters by Maryam Khalid, Heather Turcotte and Sara Niner.

Section VIII examines sexuality at the core of body politics that critically informs development practice. It takes up the proposal by Andrea Cornwall and Susie Jolly that sexuality is a cross-cutting issue that lies at the heart of the disempowerment of women. The section looks at the heteronormative assumptions about sexuality that inform GAD practice, and the side-stepping issues of sexual pleasure and sexual identity, unless addressed in terms of deviance. It discusses how sexuality is a critical part of human behaviour, embodiment and identity and therefore GAD. The core text is ‘Sexuality and the Development Industry’ by Andrea Cornwall and Susie Jolly, with the following chapters by Stella Nyanzi, Andil Gosine and Xiaopei He.

Section IX concludes the handbook with reflections on how feminist activists continue to inspire and engage with GAD, bringing in insights from non-Western cultures, asking how we can rethink what is community, and how to live with the Earth and embrace the spiritual with the material. Reflecting on the vision of Peggy Antrobus, it gives space to feminist activists and myself (wearing my feminist activist hat) to describe their hopes for the future that keeps GAD alive to the needs for alternatives. The core text is ‘Feminism as Transformational Politics: Towards Possibilities for Another World’ by Peggy Antrobus, with the following chapters by Mansoureh Shojaee, Shobha Raghuram and Wendy Harcourt.

I hope the handbook will be welcomed by teachers and students of GAD studies as well as by those engaged in feminist policy and activism, complementing other texts used in GAD studies departments.⁵

With such original, engaging and brilliant contributions, the volume confirms feminist scholarship in development studies as a vibrant field of academic study. It reveals the diverse ways that feminist theory and practice inform and shape gender analysis and development policies as it bridges generations of feminists working in different institutions and disciplines and among diverse geographical regions.

Notes

1. I have elsewhere written a more detailed historical survey of major debates by feminists in the context of the UN and social movement debates since the 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 (see Baksh and Harcourt 2015).
2. The debate continued in a published conversation with other keynote speakers – L. H. M. Ling and Marysia Zalewski – on how scholars theorize international politics

- and development studies, and the methodological and political intentions of feminist IR (Swirco 2015).
3. Sunila was a wonderful and inspiring feminist, human rights defender, artist and friend of many. She sadly passed away in 2013. Her last piece of writing was on South Asian transnational feminist movements (see Chhachhi and Abeysekera 2015).
 4. Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson wrote together under the penname J. K. Gibson-Graham and Gibson continues to do so in this book although Graham sadly passed away in 2010.
 5. For example, Mohanty et al. (1991), Ostergaard (1992), Marchand and Parpart (1995), Jackson and Pearson (1998), Parpart et al. (2002), Cornwall et al. (2007), Richardson and Robinson (2008) and Visvanathan et al. (1997, 2010).

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