

of the marriage market as well as the labor market,” but they argue few would want to “make the marriage market follow meritocratic principles” (p. 137). And while this might be a winning argument against US welfare policies that promote marriage as a cure for poverty, together with the other justice arguments they make, these authors end up justifying inequality along the lines of polemical conservatives.

This book is a mixed bag for feminist social scientists interested in these issues. As a whole, the collection takes on important and interesting questions and stretches the empirical boundaries in the field. The editors and most authors make no claims about the importance of the role of gender or integration of feminist analyses, and, as a result, it is largely hidden. However, it is clear that the transmission of intergenerational inequality plays out differently for women than for men – making this a ripe topic for feminist social scientists to pursue.

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*Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*, by Devaki Jain, with a foreword by Amartya Sen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. 248 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-253-34697-1, ISBN-10: 0-25334-697-5 (hbk.). US\$60.00; ISBN-13: 978-0-253-21819-3, ISBN-10: 0-253-21819-5 (pbk.). US\$22.95.

In this long overdue book, Devaki Jain summarizes the interaction between the worldwide women’s movement and the United Nations for the sixty-year period between 1945 and 2005. The book is an insightful analysis of the growth of the worldwide women’s movement and its rising importance within the UN system, focusing both on the achievements and the obstacles the movement continues to face. It should be welcomed by US audiences interested in gender and women’s studies and international relations as well as by the international academic community.

Jain is uniquely qualified to write such a book because she has participated in many of these struggles through her work as a member of advisory committees or expert groups at several UN specialized agencies and as a participant in countless international conferences on gender and women. A feminist economist, she directed the Institute of Social Studies in Bangalore from 1975 to 1994 and in 1984 founded Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), an influential Third World network of women that deals with development issues and includes many economists.

As Jain notes (p. 79), by the early 1980s, women like herself had become part of a “communicating club” of progressive women scholar activists who met frequently at the international Women in Development (WID) conferences organized by the UN, its specialized agencies, private foundations, and other international agencies. I was a less central member of this group but participated in the last three UN world conferences of women, which gives me some insight into the issues she describes. Jain also brings a Third World perspective to international women’s issues, particularly in her critique of the modernization paradigm that many Western development specialists espouse. Clearly Jain is more familiar with the issues of South Asian and African women than those of Latin American and Caribbean women, some of which have been covered ably by Virginia Vargas (2006), coordinator of the nongovernmental organization (NGO) Forum for the Latin American and Caribbean region at the 1995 Beijing Conference, as well as the important collaborative article by Sonia Alvarez et al. (2003). For example, Jain does not mention the bi-yearly Latin American and Caribbean *encuentros* of feminists, which became so important in defining priorities for the region, particularly for grassroots women.

Nevertheless, Jain is to be commended for taking on such a formidable task. Clearly she has consulted endless UN documents and reports by other experts to analyze this sixty year process. As Amartya Sen notes in his foreword to her book, Jain was not content to discuss the ways in which the UN has addressed women’s issues but tries to show how the UN has been enriched by its engagement with the worldwide women’s movement, particularly in the area of women and development. Women scholars and activists questioned the existing models of development and put forth new paradigms of their own. Jain’s book is the only one in the fifteen studies commissioned by the UN intellectual history project series published by Indiana University Press to specifically address women’s issues.

The five chapters in Jain’s book are arranged chronologically, starting with the early period from 1945 to 1965, in which women had little voice. Despite this, women managed to establish the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) as a subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). As the composition of the UN changed with the addition of many new Third World countries, especially in Africa, women’s presence grew, evolving into what Jain terms a “triangular alliance” between women delegates, women working in the Secretariat, and women working outside, especially in NGOs (p. 34). Women’s voices in NGOs were strengthened by allowing some NGOs to be accredited and sit in on ECOSOC meetings, a bold initiative for an organization composed of sovereign member states.

Nevertheless, the UN Plan of Action did not explicitly include women until 1970, during the UN’s Second Development Decade (1966–75). As Jain shows, initially women were seen primarily as welfare recipients rather

than as producers and contributors to development. This stemmed from a modernization paradigm that viewed Western women as models for Third World women who lacked literacy, basic services, and a modernist market ideology. The publication of Ester Boserup's pathbreaking book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970) shattered the modernization paradigm. Boserup's analysis showed that modernization in the form of the introduction of cash crops had actually reduced women's economic importance, especially in Africa. These different approaches to development incited tension between the approaches of Western and Third World participants, which was already apparent at the first 1975 UN Women's Conference in Mexico City, particularly in the simultaneous Women's Tribune attended by women in accredited NGOs. As Jain notes, Mexico City led to the birth of the worldwide women's movement, particularly through the Women's Tribune, or Forum as it was later called, which grew in importance as a voice for grassroots women in NGOs with each world conference.

The following decade, 1976 to 1985, was dubbed the UN Decade for Women, which ushered in a period aimed specifically at the advancement of women. Third World women championed development goals, in which women were seen as producers and contributors to the household, as active agents rather than passive recipients of aid. Time-use studies deepened the understanding of women's work, particularly in the informal sector, and made it more visible. Jain gives credit for these successes in part to the strengthening of the Third World bloc with the growth of the non-aligned movement and the call for a new international economic order. But this analysis belies rising tensions between North and South and between East and West, as evidenced at the 1980 UN World Conference on Women in Copenhagen. Muslim fundamentalism made its debut in Copenhagen, following the Iranian Revolution of 1979, but Jain is strangely silent on the dangers religious fundamentalism poses to Third World women.

The major achievement of this decade was the 1979 UN proclamation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Jain calls a "Women's Bill of Rights" (p. 88). Jain credits CEDAW with changing formal legal equality into substantive equality by including public sanctions on private conduct if it infringes women's rights, which may be one reason why the US has yet to ratify CEDAW.

Although the UN Decade for Women proclaimed equality, development, and peace as its goals, it would soon become clear that these goals were never given equal weight. By the 1985 UN World Conference on Women in Nairobi, the status of poor women in Third World countries was already deteriorating, as the World Bank and other international agencies began to apply structural adjustment policies, leading to the "lost" development decades of the 1980s and 1990s. Jain writes that this crisis contributed to the formation of DAWN, a group of Third World researchers, which includes

Jain as a founding member. DAWN published a book by Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1987) that was sharply critical of the World Bank's export-led growth strategies and of the reinforcement of multinational corporations' control of Third World economies. Academic as well as policy circles have widely used Sen and Grown's book as a primer on alternative development strategies.

Support for these alternative development strategies weakened with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the socialist bloc. Jain describes how inequality grew between rich and poor, between the North and South, with devastating effects on poor women and children. Regional economic groups such as the European Union and NAFTA assumed new importance. Structural adjustment policies contributed to the "feminization of poverty," as government budgets were cut in health, education, and other vital services. The informal sector was no longer seen as backward but as an untapped development potential, especially for women. In line with the new focus on privatization, WID's goals shifted to microenterprises for women, with the formation of collective credit organizations like the Grameen Bank in South Asia. Jain discusses how organizations such as the Self-Employment Women's Association (SEWA) in India have been able to organize informal sector women, such as street vendors and garbage pickers, into successful collectives that bring them higher incomes and status.

As the last 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing approached, Jain outlines two opposing tendencies: the worldwide women's movement emerged as a strong political presence while the condition of poor women worsened, especially in developing countries. The Beijing conference was the largest UN conference ever held, with 6,000 official delegates and 30,000 participants (mostly women) at the Forum, which the hosts had located twenty miles away. Despite this distance, coordination between these two groups was facilitated by the inclusion of several NGO representatives in the official state delegations.

At this conference, the split between North and South participants weakened, but a new clash emerged between veteran institutionalized members of NGOs and grassroots women, many of whom felt frustrated in getting their voices heard. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the past few *encuentros* had seen sharp splits between grassroots women and older, more institutionalized members of NGOs, who were accused of selling out and no longer representing all women's interests (for example, see Alvarez et al. 2003). Jain does not comment on this split or whether it was also apparent for other regions, but she does bemoan the fragmentation that the diversity of the worldwide women's movement has produced. She feels this diversity threatens the ability of the movement to speak with one voice, which is true, but it also speaks to the strength of a movement which reaches not only scholar activists like ourselves but rural women, indigenous and Afrodescendent women, women in trade unions and religious

groups, and many more. At the World Social Summits now taking place primarily in Brazil, women continue efforts to forge a unified international agenda.

Jain's book ends on a pessimistic note, due not only to the growing poverty of poor women, especially in the Third World, but to the marginalization of women from power within the UN system itself. The percentage of women in top level and middle managements positions is still not equal, but has increased considerably over the past two decades. Jain is hopeful about the strong presence gained by the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which funded many of the NGOs participating in the worldwide women's movement. She is also enthusiastic about the human development ratings (HDR) currently employed by the UN Development Programme (UNDP), including two special indices for women, the Gender Equality Measure and the Gender Development Index (GDI), which act like a global report card on member states' progress toward specified goals. Jain underlines the progress achieved by women on peace issues, particularly regarding women refugees and the recognition of rape as a crime against humanity.

However, Jain's explanations for women's continued powerlessness are weak. Not only does she blame the diversity and fragmentation of the worldwide women's movement, but she also claims "the minds of men have not changed" (p. 165). This is surprising for a feminist economist who was critical of Western feminism for its emphasis on male dominance as an obstacle to women. It is true that women have changed more than men, and men have taken advantage of globalization and structural adjustment to shore up their power. But these macroeconomic policies promoted by the US and its global allies are the principal source of increasing poverty and inequality and must be changed for women's dreams for greater equity to be realized.

The clarity of presentation and depth of analysis make Jain's book a useful addition for both graduate and undergraduate courses in international organizations, women's studies, and development. Jain's analysis suggests fruitful areas for additional research, such as the role of women in the UN specialized agencies, the non-aligned movement, and the peace movement.

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*Economic Justice and Democracy: From Competition to Cooperation*, by Robin Hahnel. New York and London: Routledge, 2005. 423 pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-415-93345-2, ISBN-10: 0-415-93345-5 (pbk.). US\$19.95.

*Economic Justice and Democracy* is an invaluable resource for critics of the prevailing economic order, especially those seeking viable systemic alternatives and concrete guidelines for realizing them. The book is primarily concerned with "clarifying what equitable cooperation means, and developing an effective program for achieving it..." (p. 3). The four sections of the book proceed from (I) discussing dominant approaches and defining key terms to (II) rethinking past theories and practices, followed by (III) exploring prescriptive visions, to conclude with (IV) specifying how equitable cooperation can be achieved.

To specify what economic justice might mean, in Chapter 1 Robin Hahnel presents the pros and cons of four distributive maxims that suggest how individuals should be compensated for their economic activities. In abbreviated fashion, these include: (1) according to their contribution of physical and human capital (conservative), (2) according to only their human capital (liberal), (3) according to their effort (radical), and (4) according to their need (humane).

To sharpen the issues Hahnel makes an accessible and compelling critique of social contract theories, arguing that progressives must rethink not only familiar targets of conservative thought but liberal premises as well. While differing in focus, both vantage points rely on contribution-based theories, suggesting that rewards should be commensurate with contributions. But contribution-based theories are fundamentally flawed because individuals have little control over numerous factors that determine how much they can contribute. In contrast, Hahnel defends maxim 3 and defines "effort" – working more or under less desirable conditions – as "personal sacrifice for the sake of the social endeavor" (p. 27). He argues that the overriding issue is fairness, recognizing that people have more individual control over how much they sacrifice than how valuable their contribution is and that the burdens they choose to bear should be commensurate with the benefits they receive (p. 28). Hahnel does address differential needs but by a different logic. In effect, the pursuit of a fair and just economy must be