

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations · ix

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| | Introduction: From Modernization to Microcredit | 1 |
| PART I | A WAR ON GLOBAL POVERTY | |
| CHAPTER 1 | The Trouble with Foreign Aid | 15 |
| | <i>“Assaulted by Waves from Left and Right”</i> | 18 |
| | <i>The Challenge of World Poverty</i> | 29 |
| | <i>Rejecting Trickle Down</i> | 36 |
| | <i>Redistribution?</i> | 42 |
| CHAPTER 2 | Redistribution: South and North | 53 |
| | <i>A New International Economic Order?</i> | 56 |
| | <i>“To Satisfy, as a Matter of Urgency, the Basic Needs”</i> | 66 |
| | <i>Jimmy Carter’s Hunger</i> | 78 |
| | <i>An International Tax</i> | 85 |
| PART II | HOW WOMEN BECAME THE DESERVING POOR | |
| CHAPTER 3 | Developing Women | 97 |
| | <i>Making Women Modern</i> | 99 |
| | <i>The Percy Amendment</i> | 108 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| | <i>“Was This Yet Another Experiment in Neocolonialism?”</i> | 116 |
| | <i>Worldwide WID</i> | 123 |
| | <i>The Mainstream Appeal</i> | 129 |
| CHAPTER 4 | Private Developments | 140 |
| | <i>Beyond Charity</i> | 144 |
| | <i>Private WID</i> | 149 |
| | <i>Poor Women as Entrepreneurs</i> | 153 |
| | <i>The Reaganomics of Global Poverty</i> | 160 |
| | <i>WID, WAD, GAD</i> | 170 |
| PART III | THE MICROCREDIT MOMENT | |
| CHAPTER 5 | Macro Debt and Microcredit | 183 |
| | <i>Dangerous Debt</i> | 184 |
| | <i>Promising Credit</i> | 193 |
| | <i>The Grameen Model</i> | 200 |
| | <i>Empowering Women?</i> | 208 |
| EPILOGUE | The Development of Poverty | 221 |

Acknowledgments · 231

Notes · 235

Index · 293

INTRODUCTION

From Modernization to Microcredit

A poverty curtain has descended right across the face of our world, dividing it materially and philosophically into two different worlds, two separate planets, two unequal humanities—one embarrassingly rich and the other desperately poor.

—MAHBUB UL HAQ, *THE POVERTY CURTAIN*

IN 1976, Michael Harrington traveled to India, Kenya, and Tanzania to witness global poverty. A prolific author with a prophetic bent, Harrington had risen to fame in 1962 with *The Other America*, a book that stunned readers with its searing exposé of poverty in the United States. The book caught the attention of President Kennedy and inspired policy makers in Washington, who invited Harrington to consult on President Johnson's War on Poverty. *The Other America* eventually sold more than a million copies and made Harrington, as the *Village Voice* pronounced, a "vital voice of conscience" on the American stage.¹ Fifteen years later, in 1977, Harrington promoted a different war on poverty. In a new book, *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor*, he recounted his travels abroad and brought a global scale to his voice of conscience. "In the nineteen hundred seventies," he wrote, "the government and the people of the United States are turning their backs on the

[1]

wretched of the earth.” Poverty “in the globe’s South” had left “great masses of people . . . on the margin of human existence.”²

With *The Vast Majority*, Harrington joined an impressive array of public figures—including Pope Paul VI, Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal, and Tanzanian president Julius K. Nyerere—who had turned to “the challenge of world poverty” and asked Americans to address “the widening gap” between the world’s rich and the world’s poor.³ In the 1970s United States, a growing concern with global poverty deflected attention from a failing war on domestic poverty and an unpopular war in Vietnam. High-school students went on antipoverty fundraising walkathons, the World Bank called for an end to “absolute poverty,” and Congress passed a “New Directions” mandate that aimed to nudge foreign assistance away from Cold War geopolitics and toward aid for the poor.

This book recounts the checkered history of US involvement in the campaigns against global poverty of the 1970s and 1980s. It focuses especially on the attempts in the 1970s to place antipoverty efforts at the center of international development, and on the reformulation of those efforts in the more conservative 1980s. Over the course of two decades, development experts, policy makers, and international officials shifted their vision of economic assistance from the modernization projects funded in the 1960s to the micro-credit programs that won acclaim in the 1980s. They moved away from large-scale industrial and infrastructure projects aimed at national economic growth and toward small-scale antipoverty projects aimed at individual enterprise.

Over the same period, they redirected their antipoverty efforts away from men and toward women. As programs and policies shifted from the macro level of the nation to the micro level of the individual, development advocates paid increasing attention to women’s everyday economic activities. They gradually turned to women as the economic actors who could lift families and villages out of poverty. In the 1970s, while US conservatives branded impoverished women, especially Black women, within the United States as welfare cheats and irresponsible mothers, development advocates positioned impoverished women overseas as the deserving poor.⁴ In the 1980s, as faith in the market impinged on faith in the state, they reimagined poor women as the entrepreneurs who

would borrow money, build their businesses, repay their debts, and leave poverty behind.



The campaigns against global poverty belong in a longer history that includes centuries of plans and programs to change economic conditions in the poorer parts of the world. In the twentieth century, these economic interventions came to be called “development.” Economists described wealthier industrialized nations as “developed” and poorer nonindustrial nations as “underdeveloped,” “less developed,” and “developing.” They constructed theories and models to develop the undeveloped, and if they had influence, they persuaded policy makers to put their ideas into practice.⁵ The programs that ensued consisted of a complicated mix of national self-interest, political power, international rivalry, transnational collaboration, technocratic faith, humanitarian ideals, and social justice commitments. In the United States, experts and policy makers expressed hopes that economic development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America would improve the living conditions of the poor and also expand markets for investment and trade, stabilize friendly regimes, and prevent communist revolution.

In the 1950s and 1960s, development experts had put their faith in multiple versions of “modernization.” They promoted schemes that supplied technology, built industry, and constructed infrastructure to boost the productivity of poorer nations, and they experimented with crops and farming techniques to increase the output of foodstuffs. They encouraged civic participation at the village level and insisted on population control to reduce the number of people who taxed the world’s resources. The US government played a central role in devising and implementing these plans. But in the late 1960s and early 1970s modernization in its various guises came under fire, tainted by failures, corruption, coercive practices, and environmental damage, and by its close alignment with US power, corporate interests, authoritarian regimes, and Cold War military interventions.

Historians have written excellent accounts of the rise and fall of the US-sponsored modernization programs of the 1950s and 1960s.⁶

But what happened next? Development did not crash to a halt, and it did not leap from modernization to the austere free-market policies of the 1980s. In the 1970s, development experts reframed their work as antipoverty programs. They moved to the left, pushed by social democrats in Europe, socialists in the global South, and religious idealists, all of whom denounced poverty as evil and pointed to the inequities that kept nations and peoples impoverished. With a critical version of economics, they rejected “trickle-down” theories that positioned national economic growth as the primary measure of success, and they called for a redistribution that would benefit the world’s poor.

It might seem surprising to point to the Left in the 1970s. In 1976, the author Tom Wolfe characterized the 1970s as the “‘me’ decade,” with a self-absorbed populace retreating en masse from social change, and for a while the phrase stuck.⁷ More recently, historians have described the decade as years of rightward turn.⁸ With hindsight, it might seem clear that billowing debt in the global South, Augusto Pinochet’s coup in Chile, Margaret Thatcher’s ascent to power in the United Kingdom, and the growing clout of the Christian Right in the United States portended the coming conservative era. But in the 1970s, those trends and events, significant as they were, had not quashed the quest for change that fueled left and liberal attempts to address inequality. The radical ethos of the 1960s reached into the 1970s, with the spirit of social movements informing at least some facets of law and policy.⁹ On the international scene especially, socialism, anticolonialism, economic redistribution, antipoverty, racial justice, and gender equity all had legs in the 1970s, and sometimes they entered and walked the halls of power.

That quest for change included calls to restructure international trade, to meet the basic needs of all the world’s citizens by the year 2000, and to levy global taxes to pay for a transfer of resources from the rich to the poor. It also came with a new twist in the politics of gender. In the 1950s and 1960s, development experts had shown minimal interest in women, except as excessive breeders who needed to curtail their reproduction or uneducated mothers who needed help in rearing their children. They offered technical advice, vocational training, and jobs primarily to men. Over

the course of the 1970s, they revised their views. An international “women in development” movement called for gender equity and saw impoverished women as potential earners. Its supporters pushed for programs to give women income-earning work beyond the piecemeal craft sales that some development plans already promoted. They asked for a fundamental reconsideration of who and what development entailed.

In the 1970s, the left-leaning development advocates had widespread impact, including on US policy. In the US government, liberals searched for politically palatable ways to win support for foreign aid. They wanted to disarm their critics on both the left and right, and they hoped that the moral inflection of the antipoverty cause would have greater public appeal than the technocratic monotone of modernization. In the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, they codified their new approach with a legislative mandate to reorient foreign aid toward the poor and an amendment that required the inclusion of women.¹⁰ But in the US government, the liberals who fought for foreign aid faced constraints, and sometimes also their own half-hearted commitment. International and domestic politics, the stagnating economy, and conservative opposition diluted and washed out the more ambitious antipoverty proposals. International development was (and is) a tangled thicket of politics, economics, morality, justice, and condescending benevolence.

In 1980, with the election of Ronald Reagan, US antipoverty advocates tamped down their expectations, but did not relinquish them entirely. Some resisted the cooler political climate; others accommodated to it. For the most part, they retreated from their more radical calls for structural change in the international economy and large-scale transfer of resources from the wealthier to the poorer nations. They looked for funds to implement small-scale projects in cities and villages, and they ramped up their interest in women. Microcredit—with its tiny loans to the poor for building business enterprise—seemed to offer an antipoverty approach tailored for wide appeal and custom fit for the limited prospects of the era.

Microcredit came to prominence in the same years that an international debt crisis devastated the economies of dozens of poorer nations. The notion that loans to poor people would alleviate

poverty rose, in other words, just when loans to poorer nations dragged them down toward bankruptcy. But in some ways the proffered solutions for nations resembled those for individuals. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund instituted structural adjustment policies that extended loans to indebted nations only if they promised policy changes that would introduce free-market ideals and cut government spending. In a similar vein, microcredit provided loans to the poor in return for market-based activities and fiscal discipline in investing, borrowing, and saving.

With the rising interest in the smallest enterprises, and in conjunction with the global women's movement, development experts devised microcredit programs that extended loans to indigent women. Women, they claimed, saved money, cared for their children, and repaid their loans, while men wasted their income on alcohol, tobacco, and prostitutes. Women, they now suggested, were better investments than men.



This book looks primarily at development advocates—economists, other social scientists, policy makers, officials, and activists who worked in government, international institutions, foundations, universities, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and think tanks—and asks how they attempted to address global inequality. It picks up the story of development at the moment when most histories leave off, and tracks the transnational circulation of ideas and their impact in the United States.¹¹ It does not focus on US development policy in a particular region of the world or offer in-depth assessments of specific development projects. Rather, it follows the trends in development thought that found their way into US policy and economic assistance programs and shows us a neglected genealogy that extended, and then withdrew, the promise of global redistribution.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the United States did not start the war on global poverty or take the lead in fighting it. One aim of this book is to place US programs and policies in international context; that is, to study the United States and at the same time decenter it. In the 1950s and 1960s, US economists and policy makers had played

a critical part in constructing development programs. The American economist Walt Rostow, to give the most obvious example, had an outsized role in theorizing modernization. But from the start, development was an international project with a global network of experts who devised, circulated, and debated competing theories and models.¹² In the 1970s, the United States was still a superpower with major sway in international affairs, but it was no longer in the vanguard, if it ever had been, of the transnational conversations on development. In some respects the US campaigns against global poverty borrowed from US domestic policy, most notably from Johnson's War on Poverty.¹³ But in the 1970s and 1980s the United States imported ideas and programs as much as it exported them.¹⁴

The chapters that follow point to a number of informal ambassadors or "influencers" who came from outside the United States and had unusual clout within it. In our social-media-saturated culture today, "influencers" are public figures who promote products. In this book, the "influencers" (a term used now, but not then) are public figures who promoted policy. Barbara Ward, a British author, and Mahbub ul Haq, a Pakistani economist, shaped the campaign against global poverty. Ester Boserup, a Danish economist, played a formative role in launching the international "women in development" movement, and Ela Bhatt, an Indian activist, advanced programs for self-employed women in the informal economy. Muhammad Yunus, a Bangladeshi economist, made microcredit a worldwide phenomenon. All of them, and others as well, knew how to sell their ideas in the United States. They developed connections with people in power; they influenced institutions, including, among others, the United Nations (UN), the US government, the World Bank, and the Ford Foundation; and they created networks of development experts who joined them in their efforts. Within the United States, they helped shape policy and made the multiple sources (and geographic range) of development thinking harder to ignore.¹⁵

More generally, this is a history of how left-leaning economists, postcolonial leaders, and feminists, all renegades of sorts, protested inequities in development programs. Some of them worked with government agencies, international organizations, and foundations, and some established their own NGOs. Many of them

worked with research institutions outside the United States—the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, and the International Labour Organization, for example—and incubated development plans that had an impact on US policy. In the 1970s, those who had entered established institutions introduced what the Hammarskjöld Foundation labeled “another development,” an alternative approach that attempted to move beyond colonial hierarchies and Cold War rivalries.¹⁶ They foregrounded the issues of poverty, public services, fair trade, redistribution, and equity rather than economic growth, and they moved toward the human metrics of life expectancy, literacy, and health, to replace, supersede, or at least accompany the economism of gross national product (GNP), per capita income, population statistics, and agricultural yield. They tried, with some success, to institute change. But from the start they also encountered resistance and saw their bolder ideas for redistribution and equity ignored, underfunded, coopted, and reshaped.

The advocates of “another development” included (and demanded inclusion of) experts from the global South. The paired words “developed” and “developing” or “traditional” and “modern” had replaced the racialized language of “savage” and “civilized” or “Christian” and “heathen.” In general, in the late twentieth century, development experts across the political spectrum avoided discussions of race. But the race-blind vocabulary of economics could not hide the obvious: most of the “developing” nations were inhabited by people of color and most of the “developed” nations were majority White.¹⁷ “Another development” embraced an inclusive, cosmopolitan vision and had some success in fostering it. Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, the center of gravity in international development circles shifted subtly but perceptibly from North to South. International conferences and commissions, once dominated by Americans and Europeans, responded to demands for inclusion from those who came from poorer nations, and economists and officials from the global South formed their own organizations and think tanks. Nonetheless, those involved in the expanded networks sustained the faith that “developed” was inherently better than “developing,” and even with global participation, they maintained the technocratic hierarchies in which educated professionals could figure out

what was best for the far-flung cities and villages that they hoped to change.

In some ways, the new generation of development experts added layers onto, rather than replacing, older programs and policies. (In the field of development, it seems, nothing is wholly new.) They built on earlier programs aimed, for example, at rural productivity, women's labor, and credit for farmers, and they reiterated and reanimated earlier demands for inclusion from the global South.¹⁸ But in the 1970s, they also challenged what had become the conventional wisdom in their professional circles. Their repeated repudiation of trickle-down economics, their collective retreat from Cold War rhetoric, their insistent turn to development for the most impoverished, their specific plans to end the worst of poverty within a generation, and the high priority they came to place on increasing women's income marked departures from the past. Equally important, they understood themselves as game changers who hoped to rewrite the rules of development for a new era.

The results were decidedly mixed. In the United States, the attention to global poverty inspired some projects that helped the poor, including poor women, and others that floundered. By the end of the 1980s, US development officials were seeking greater collaboration with experts and organizations from the global South, but they retained their commitment to US national interests. They cooperated selectively with those who knew how to court them, and they molded their programs to fit the changing political parameters of Washington as well as those of the wider world. Along the way, a global redistribution—the transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor—was lost, and so was the goal of ending poverty by the turn of the century.



This book is divided into three parts. It begins with two chapters on the war on global poverty in the 1970s. The next two chapters show how women became the deserving poor, and the final chapter and the epilogue provide a history of the early microcredit movement. The three parts could be read independently, but taken together they relate a more complex history. The war on global poverty

provides critical context for understanding why development experts turned their attention to women as “income generators” in the 1970s, and the rise of microcredit in the 1980s allows us to see how the growing interest in women’s economic activities sustained the war on global poverty in a more conservative time. Some parts of the book will be more familiar to historians of development, and others more familiar to historians of global feminism or scholars of microcredit. The chapters are written, I hope, so that readers without background in these fields will gain some fundamental understanding of their history, and readers steeped in any or all of the fields will also learn something new in every chapter and see interconnections they had not seen before.

Chapter 1, “The Trouble with Foreign Aid,” shows how and why development economists rejected an earlier generation of development plans, especially the trickle-down economics that presumed national economic growth would benefit the poor. As critics discredited foreign aid, a global antipoverty movement, inspired in part by religious ideals and left-leaning activism, made its way into US legislation and World Bank policies. In the government and the Bank, calls for redistribution came conjoined with an ongoing faith in economic growth and market-based solutions.

Chapter 2, “Redistribution: South and North,” turns to the late 1970s and proposals that aimed to redress inequities in the global economy. The New International Economic Order (NIEO), a UN declaration written and backed by leaders of the global South, asked for fundamental changes in the patterns of trade that subordinated the poorer nations. The NIEO won support from the US Left but not from the US government or the World Bank, both of which came to advocate programs to meet the “basic needs” of the world’s poorest. At the end of the 1970s, some influential development experts proposed a global tax to fund the transfer of resources that the NIEO and basic needs programs would have required. But a global tax was an aspirational gambit in the late 1970s, and even less likely in the 1980s.

In their early articulations, the war on global poverty, the NIEO, and the basic needs approach had almost nothing to say about women. In response, an international “women in development” (WID) movement pushed economists and policy makers

to consider women seriously in their plans to address the poor. Chapter 3, “Developing Women,” traces the WID movement in the 1970s, including the Percy amendment that committed the US government to integrating women into its foreign aid programs. In the United States, the women who supported the WID movement ranged politically from Republican to Marxist. With the rise of a global feminist movement, they all wanted equity for women, but they disagreed, sometimes forcefully, on what development and equity meant. In the US government, the Ford Foundation, and international organizations, they won clout by building on the concerns—productivity, poverty, and population control—of mainstream development experts.

Chapter 4, “Private Developments,” follows the privatization of development and the rising interest in women. In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of US-based international charities and private organizations moved from short-term disaster relief to longer-term programs that aimed to alleviate poverty. The US government funded NGOs to undertake such antipoverty development. With the urging of the WID movement and with a new interest in the poorest workers in the informal economy, more of those projects focused on women. The “NGOization” of development took off in the 1970s and continued after the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. The chapter uses one NGO, the Overseas Education Fund, to show how private organizations refashioned their women’s projects as “business development” to align with the policies of the Reagan administration. But not all NGOs steered to the right. A more radical WID movement flourished outside the government, especially in the global South.

Microcredit combined the concerns with women and poverty, and promised a new approach to those who were disillusioned with state-led planning, large-scale public projects, and top-down modernization schemes. Chapter 5, “Macro Debt and Microcredit,” asks how credit came to the forefront of development plans in the 1980s, the very years when the overextension of credit was creating a global crisis in debt. Microcredit seemed to avoid the problems with funding that stymied other antipoverty schemes. Its calls for self-empowerment appealed to a wide swath—left and right—of the political spectrum, and it democratized finance by offering loans to

the poor people whom conventional banks routinely excluded. But it backed away from redistribution. Through tiny loans to women, it professed a faith in capital investment, even at the smallest scale, as the route to prosperity, and at the same time it deepened surveillance through fiscal discipline at the micro level of everyday life.

The epilogue, “The Development of Poverty,” moves to the later career of microcredit and suggests how the war on global poverty of the 1970s and 1980s has shaped—and limited—the parameters of antipoverty programs and women’s “empowerment” in more recent years.



A note on terminology: I have avoided the value-laden terms “developed” and “developing” to characterize nations, and I have also eschewed “third world,” which is rarely employed today. Instead, I use other imperfect terms: “poorer nations,” “global South,” and sometimes “postcolonial” to refer to the nations—mostly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—that received foreign aid, and “wealthier nations” and “global North” to refer to noncommunist donor countries, mostly western European nations and the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan. These terms are still, unfortunately, homogenizing, as are references to poor, indigent, impoverished, or destitute people. “Poor people” are not an ethnic group or unified class; they do not share customs, traditions, community, or politics. And “poorer” nations too, of course, had and have significant variations among them and within them. The use of “poorer” and “wealthier” nations tends to erase the enduring poverty within the wealthier nations and the entrenched elites within the poorer ones. “Poorer,” “wealthier,” “global South,” and “global North” are convenient terms in use today, but like their earlier counterparts they carry their own problematic connotations and fail to capture the heterogeneous complexity of the world in which we live. I ask my readers to keep these caveats in mind as they read this book.

INDEX

- Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab, 225
- ACCION International: microcredit work by, 203, 208, 216; PISCES project carried out by, 155-56, 194-95; WWB, support for, 283n43
- ACVFA. *See* Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid
- Adelman, Irma, 38
- Adelman, Jeremy, 239n14
- Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (ACVFA), 145, 147-48, 162-63
- African Americans: Ferguson, C. Clyde, Jr., 63; Leland, Mickey, 212; Long, Nira Hardon, 111; mass incarceration of male, 228; National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), 150 (*see also* National Council of Negro Women (NCNW)); self-help ethos in communities of, 207-8; "welfare cheats," women branded as, 2, 177; Young appointed as first Black US ambassador to the UN, 65
- African Development Bank, 217
- Agriculture, U.S. Department of, 100-101
- Ahooja-Patel, Krishna, 95
- Aiyar, Shahnaz Anklesaria, 219-20
- Akula, Vikram, 224
- Albright, Madeleine, 166
- Allan, Virginia, 109-10, 166
- Allende, Salvador, 74
- Alliance for Progress, 15
- "alter-globalization" policies, 229-30
- American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (ACVAFS), 150
- American Express, 158
- American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 34-35
- Amin, Samir, 26
- Anderson, Jack, 29
- antipoverty discourse/efforts. *See* global poverty, campaigns against
- Antrobus, Peggy, 128
- Argentina, 186
- Ashe, Jeffrey, 195
- Asian Development Bank, 217
- Association of African Women for Research and Development, 173
- Attac, 230
- Awe, Bolanle, 118
- Babb, Sarah, 228
- Band Aid, 140-42
- Bangladesh: Germain and the WID movement in, 128-29; Grameen Bank in (*see* Grameen Bank); microcredit NGOs in, limited impact of, 215; war, natural disasters, and famine in, 50, 78, 200; War of Liberation, 200
- Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, 124
- Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), 133-34, 203, 215
- Barba Negra Appeal, 258n102
- Barber, Elinor, 119, 126, 128-29
- basic needs approach to global poverty: Carter administration support for, 66, 79-81; Ford administration opposition to, 70; fragmentation of, 91; the global debt crisis and, 190-93; microcredit and, 220; the NIEO and, 75-77, 80; as one option for redistribution, 55-56, 66-68; support for, 68-71; the Upper Volta project and, 97; women in development and, 124, 138-39 (*see also* women in development (WID) movement); the World Bank and, 55, 67, 71-75, 77, 138-39
- Bauer, Peter T., 28
- BBC News: report on famine in Ethiopia, 140

- Belafonte, Harry, 141
Benería, Lourdes, 171–72
Bereuter, Doug, 204–5
Bergsten, C. Fred, 29, 58
Beyer, Clara, 109–12, 152
Bharat Financial Inclusion, 224
Bhatt, Ela: background and career of, 159; on the bankers' reaction to SEWA members, 196; Ford Foundation, acceptance of funding from, 160; Germain and, 128; as "influencer," 7; at the International Microcredit Summit (1997), 218–19; at the International Women's Year conference, 196–97; Women's World Banking, activities at, 198–99
biopolitics, 102, 129, 212, 227–28
Black Americans. *See* African Americans
Bono, 226
Boserup, Ester: *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, 105; as "influencer," 7; *Integration of Women in Development: Why, When, How* (with Christina Liljencrantz), 108; Mexico City WID seminar, attendance at, 116; Myrdal and, 105; private export industries in donor countries as pressure groups, 257n93; Wellesley conference, attendance at, 121; WID, foundational work for, 170; *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, 105–8
Bosnia, 224
Boxer, Barbara, 206
Bradley, Bill, 189–90
Brandt, Willy, 87–89
Brandt Commission: conservative reaction to, 90–91; establishment of, Pearson Commission and, 87–89; report of (*see North-South: A Program for Survival* (Brandt Commission)); second report of: *Common Crisis North-South: Cooperation for World Recovery*, 189; the summit, 91–92; universal taxation, call for, 90
Brazil: the debt crisis and negotiations with the IMF, 186; inequality in, study of, 38
Bread for the World, 78, 189, 214
Britain: antipoverty efforts in, 33; dominance of free-market advocates in Thatcher's, 91; support for the NIEO in the *New Internationalist*, 61–62
Brookings Institution: basic needs approach, report supporting, 80; international taxation, conference and book supporting, 86–87
Brown, Wendy, 290n3
Brown & Root Overseas Inc., 29
Budhoo, Davison L., 193
Bundy, McGeorge, 126
Burki, Shahid Javed, 72
Burnham, James, 243n34
Buvinic, Mayra, 130
Canada, 198
CARE: annual spending of, 143; "beyond charity" change in NGOs promoted by, 150; microcredit in the portfolio of, 216; the Peace Corps and, 145; USAID initiatives, concerns regarding, 147–48; US Cold War foreign policy goals promoted by, 145
Carnegie Corporation, 137
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 60
Carter, Jimmy: basic needs policies and, 79–84; hunger as touchstone for, 79–80; North-South relations, evolution of position on, 64–65; the ODC and, 78; Presidential Commission on World Hunger, 83–84
Carter, "Miss Lillian," 136
Carter administration: antipoverty advocates disappointed by, 227; basic needs approach to global poverty of the, 66, 79–81; foreign assistance, giving up on, 84–85; "Miss Lillian's" trip to Africa, 136; NIEO, rejection of, 65–66; Policy Review Committee, 80; population control movement, backing away from, 104; WID division of USAID, support for, 114
Castro, Fidel, 92
Catholic Church: Commission for Justice and Peace, the Vatican's, 31; global poverty initiatives by, 30–33;

- population control programs, opposition to, 104
- Catholic Relief Services, 140, 145, 148, 216
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 151
- Chamber of Commerce, U.S., 83
- Chaney, Elsa, 104, 114-15, 120, 132, 134
- Chen, Martha (Marty) Alter, 134, 215
- Chenery, Hollis, 46-47, 187
- Chile: dominance of free-market advocates in Pinochet's, 91; World Bank loans and, 74
- China, People's Republic of: economic development programs, investment in, 77; poverty reduction in, 228-29
- China, Republic of, 91
- Chowdhry, Kamla, 159-60
- Christian Aid, 33
- Clark, William, 18, 25, 43
- Clausen, A. W., 187, 281n11
- Clinton, Bill, 208, 216
- Clinton, Hillary, 208, 216-19
- Clinton administration: microcredit and neoliberalism, focus on, 216
- Club of Rome: *The Limits to Growth*, 68; *The Limits to Growth*, retreat from in favor of basic needs approach, 71; RIO report, 86
- Coalition for Women in International Development (CWID), 114, 163-64
- Cockburn, Alexander, 223
- Cocoyoc Declaration, 69-70, 75, 85-86
- Cocoyoc symposium, 68-69
- Cold War: Carter and, 82; foreign assistance and, 19, 99, 145, 157; foreign assistance and the waning of, 2, 8-9, 17, 40, 49, 58, 157; modernization and, 3; North-South split as the new, 63; the OEF and, 151
- Collins, Joseph, 78
- Colombia, 37
- Columbia Conference on International Economic Development (1970), 23-26, 44-45, 90
- Columbia Declaration, 25-26, 38, 42, 46
- Commission on International Development (Pearson Commission), 19, 87-89. *See also* Pearson report (*Partners in Development*)
- community development (CD) programs, 15-16, 49
- Conable, Barber, 174, 190, 193
- Conference on International Economic Co-operation (1977), 63-65, 79
- Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), 217
- Cooper, Frederick, 229
- Corea, Gamani, 75
- Cornia, Giovanni Andrea, 191
- Costa Rica: vocational training for women in, USAID funding for, 152; women-owned businesses, OEF funding to support, 166
- credit: extension of as trend in anti-poverty programs, 178-79, 183-84; the promise of, 193-200. *See also* microcredit
- cultural imperialism, 131-35
- cycle of poverty, 212-13
- Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation: basic needs approach supported by, 68-70, 75; GAD concerns, support for, 173; as incubator for development plans, 8; international equity and the new international economic order, support for, 61; "South-North" conference in Tanzania (1980), sponsorship of, 188
- "Dakar Declaration on Another Development with Women," 173
- Daley-Harris, Sam, 206-7
- DAWN. *See* Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
- debt: the basic needs approach and the global debt crisis, 190-93; of the global South in 1990, 193; structural adjustment loans and the global debt crisis, 6, 184-93, 214. *See also* credit; microcredit
- Debt Crisis Network, 189
- Debt Trap, The: The IMF and the Third World* (Payer), 187-88
- Dell, Michael, 226
- Dell, Susan, 226
- Dellums, Ron, 206
- Denmark, 77
- dependency, 211

- dependency theory, 26–27, 54
- development: credit and, 178–79, 183–84
(*see also* credit; microcredit); history of from modernization to microcredit, 226–30; the informal economy and, 153–56, 211–12; liberation theology as critique of, 32; microcredit and (*see* microcredit); as modernization (*see* modernization policies/theory); population and women as childbearers, focus on, 102–4; public-private collaboration on, 144–49 (*see also* nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)); reorientation towards global poverty, 17–26 (*see also* global poverty, campaigns against); trickle-down economics and, rejection of, 17, 36–41, 51, 226; as twentieth-century term for economic interventions against poverty, 3; WID and, 129 (*see also* women in development (WID) movement); women as childrearsers, focus on, 100–102
- Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), 173–76, 199–200
- Development Group for Alternative Policies (DGAP), 155–56, 189
- DeWine, Mike, 206
- Dole, Elizabeth, 163–64
- Dominica, 158
- Dunne, George, 32
- Echeverría, Luis, 117
- economic development. *See* development
- Ecuador, 152
- Ekbladh, David, 239n13
- Elliott, Charles, 32
- El Salvador: FEDECRÉDITO, coordinating credit cooperatives and extending credit by, 195; tomato raising and processing project, OEF promotion of, 166–68
- Emmerij, Louis, 70
- Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, 198–99
- Ethiopia: famine in, 140–41; famine relief diverted to the military or separatist rebels, 141–42; women in, NGO projects targeting, 142
- European Community, Liaison Committee with European NGOs, 169
- famine: African, perspective on women in the wake of, 176; in Bangladesh, 50, 78 (*see also* Bangladesh); in Ethiopia, 140–42; fundraising for relief of, 140–44; reported in American newspapers, 29–30; in the Sahel, 50, 78, 141
- Fanon, Frantz, 13, 53
- Farbman, Michael, 210
- Fassin, Didier, 20, 241n12
- Feighan, Edward, 205–7
- feminism/feminists: credit for women as an issue for, 198; as cultural imperialists, WID and, 131–35; development pursued in mainstream institutions, critiques of, 120–21; equal employment opportunities for women, attention brought to, 107; GAD and, 173; Marxist-feminists, 104–5, 120–21, 171–72, 174; Percy amendment, appeal of, 116; population control programs, opposition to, 103–4. *See also* gender
- Ferguson, C. Clyde, Jr., 63
- Feulner, Edwin J., Jr., 161–62
- FINCA, 209, 216, 226
- Finnemore, Martha, 51
- Fishlow, Albert, 38
- Food First (Institute for Food and Development Policy), 78
- Ford administration: opposition to the NIEO, 117
- Ford Foundation: Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs WID seminar sponsored by, 124; Brookings conference on international taxation, funding of, 86; Columbia conference, funding of, 23; credit equity for women in the global South, funding of reports on, 199; DAWN, funding of meeting that founded, 173; “discipline” associated with microcredit, 212, 215; economic development programs, internal review of funding of, 37; Grameen Bank, funding support

- for, 202–3; International Microcredit Summit, tensions preceding, 219; microcredit, limitations of and doubts about, 214–15; NGOs, collaboration with, 169; Overseas Development Council (ODC), funding of, 38, 61; population control programs, backing of, 103; *Seeds* pamphlet series, 137–38; Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), support for, 159–60, 197; SODEPAX, support for, 32–33; Southern Development Bank corporation, funding for, 208; third world mistrust of the United States, report on, 42; USAID and, 127–28; Wellesley conference, funding of, 126; Wellesley conference, reaction to, 119, 121; “What Ever Happened to Poverty Alleviation?” (Tendler), 178; the WID movement, increasing support for in the 1980s, 171–72; the WID movement, support for, 126–29, 137–38; Women's World Banking, support of, 198; Yunus, financial support of, 202, 204. *See also* Germain, Adrienne
- foreign aid: antipoverty strategy, obstacles to and limitations of, 49–52; antipoverty strategy, reorientation towards, 18–26 (*see also* global poverty, campaigns against); basic needs and (*see* basic needs approach to global poverty); critique from the left, 26–27, 50; critique from the right, 27–28, 50; “dependency,” concerns about, 211; for development (*see* development); microcredit as (*see* microcredit); for modernization (*see* modernization policies/theory); US (*see* US foreign aid)
- Foreign Assistance Act of 1973: abortions, prohibition of using foreign aid funds to pay for, 263n33; goals of, 5; New Directions mandate of (*see* New Directions mandate); the Percy Amendment to (*see* Percy Amendment); privatization of development programs, mandating of, 144–45; from relief to development, change in public-private collaboration, 145–47; signing of, 111
- Foucault, Michel, 102
- Fraser, Arvonne: Chaney, recruitment of for WID division of USAID, 120; coordinator of the WID division of USAID, appointment as, 114; defense of WID, cultural imperialism issue and, 133; Germain's view of, 127; institutionalization of women in development at AID, efforts toward, 163; “Miss Lillian” Carter's visit to Upper Volta, planning of, 136; OEF board of trustees, position on, 166; Percy amendment, lobbying for, 111; photo of, 115
- Fraser, Donald M., 38–39, 111, 114, 132
- Freire, Paulo, 134
- Fundación Bariloche, *Catastrophe or New Society? A Latin American World Model*, 71
- Gandhi, Indira, 92
- Gates, Bill, 226
- Gates, Melinda, 226
- Geldof, Bob, 140–41
- gender: empowerment of women through microcredit, 213–14, 220; gender equity and alleviation of global poverty, interconnected histories of, 226–28; reversal in the politics of, 177–78; women *versus* men for anti-poverty investments, 176–77; women *versus* men for microcredit programs, 208–10, 215, 220. *See also* feminism/feminists; women; women in development (WID) movement
- gender and development (GAD), 170–77
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 92
- Gerhart, John D., 174, 176
- Germain, Adrienne: Bangladesh, work in, 128–29; cooperation with USAID, question of, 120; dismissals of WID noted by, 135; human capital, WID as utilization of, 129; on the International Women's Year conference, 123; OEF, criticism of, 153; SEWA, work with and funds for, 159–60; USAID, criticism of, 127–28; as a WID advocate at the Ford Foundation, 126–27;

- Germain, Adrienne (*continued*)
WID success stories publicized in pamphlet series, 137–38; women as more responsible than men in allocating family income, arguments for, 176; women in the global South, building relationships with, 128; Yunus and, 203
- Geyer, Georgie Anne, 166
- Ghana, 172
- Gilligan, John J., 80–81, 114–15, 127
- Girl Effect, 228
- global poverty, campaigns against: anti-poverty strategy of the 1970s, obstacles to and limitations of, 49–52; in Britain, 33; Christian initiatives, 30–33; credit and, 178–79, 183–84, 211 (*see also* credit; microcredit); current goals, familiarity of, 229; history of US involvement in the 1970s and 1980s, 2–3; humanitarian argument supporting, 20; internationalization of poverty into a global problem, 51; Johnson's War on Poverty and, 29–30; longer history of, 3; microcredit and (*see* microcredit); in the Pearson report, 17–26; redistributive approaches of the second half of the 1970s, 55–56 (*see also* basic needs approach to global poverty; New International Economic Order (NIEO)); rejection of trickle-down economics and, 36–42; trends of the late 1970s and 1980s, 142–44; in the United States, 34–36; WID and, 129–30 (*see also* women in development (WID) movement); women as superior to men in, 176–77; at the World Bank, 43–49 (*see also* World Bank). *See also* development; modernization policies/theory; poverty
- global South: antipoverty programs of the 1970s, tepid reception to, 50; austerity conditions, objections to imposition of, 188–89; bilateral aid from the US suspect in, 42, 148; credit equity for women, call for, 199; cultural change supported by women in, 133; the debt crisis and the consequences of austerity, 184–93; debt owed by in 1990, 193; dependency theory applied to, 26–27; divisions within the WID movement, suspicions directed at USAID and, 116–19; economists from included in the Columbia conference, 23, 26; GAD approach to WID in, 173–74; New International Economic Order written and supported in, 55–58 (*see also* New International Economic Order (NIEO)); nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) suspect in, 148–49; political views of WID activists in, 124–25; the UN as multilateral institution of choice in, 42–43; usage of the term, 12
- Goddard, Paula, 164
- Goodin, Joan, 117
- Gorbachev Foundation, 217
- Graham, Billy, 30
- Grameen Bank: in Bangladesh, limited impact of, 215; borrowers in 2006, number and gender of, 221; criticisms of, 222–23; establishment and rapid growth of, 202–4; international fame of, 178, 183, 206–8; *60 Minutes* segment on, 207; Nobel Peace Prize awarded to, 221; poor women as entrepreneurs, view of, 211; “16 decisions” borrowers memorized and recited, 211–12; women, increasing percentage of loans going to, 203, 208
- Grameen Bank Project, 201–2
- Grant, James P., 38–39, 60, 78, 85–86, 190
- green revolution, 15–16
- Gremillion, Joseph, 30–31
- G-77 (Group of 77), 42, 57, 117
- Gutiérrez, Gustavo, 32
- Gwatkin, Davidson, 159
- Haig, Alexander M., Jr., 92, 161, 164
- Hammar skjöld Foundation. *See* Dag Hammar skjöld Foundation
- Hansen, Roger D., 78, 84–85, 252n41
- Haq, Mahbub ul: basic needs approach, reframing of, 192; basic needs approach, support for, 72–76; Brandt Commission and, 87, 93; as “influencer,” 7; international tax, support

- for, 85–86; McNamara and, 45–46, 73; photo of, 74; on the poverty curtain that divides the world, 1, 73; at the “State of the World” forum (1996), 217; World Bank, position in, 46, 72–73
- Harrington, Michael: ambivalence between liberal and radical commitments, 54–56; Carter’s plans, cautious hopes for, 65; comment on the Brandt Commission, 93; discourse and politics of compared to Ward, 53–54; McNamara, opinion of, 54; NIEO, support for, 62; *The Other America*, 1; on US diplomats’ response to Nyerere, 75; on the US opposition to the basic needs approach, 70; *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World’s Poor*, 1–2, 53–55
- Hart, Keith, 274n35
- Harvey, David, 210
- Hasina, Sheikh, 217
- Haslemere Declaration, 33
- Hatch, John, 209, 214
- Hatch, Orrin, 206
- Hayter, Teresa, 26
- Height, Dorothy, 113, 133
- Heritage Foundation, 161–62, 217
- Hesburgh, Theodore M., 40, 78
- Hewlett Foundation, William and Flora, 165
- Hickey, Margaret, 149–50
- Hicks, Norman, 72
- Honduras, 166
- Hong Kong, 91
- human development approach, 192–93
- Humphrey, Hubert, 23, 110
- hunger: Carter’s focus on, 79–80, 83–84 (*see also* Carter, Jimmy; Carter administration); mid-1970s focus on, 78–79. *See also* famine
- Hunger Project, The, 78
- Huntington, Samuel, 28
- Hutar, Patricia, 166
- IBM, 158
- ILO. *See* International Labour Organization
- IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
- Immerwahr, Daniel, 239n13
- Independent Commission on International Development Issues. *See* Brandt Commission
- India: Ford Foundation support for small-scale women’s work in, 172; ILO studies acknowledging the exploitation of women in, 172; microcredit in, problems with, 223–24; Self-Employed Women’s Association (*see* Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA)); Working Women’s Forum of Madras, 156, 172, 178
- Indian National Congress, National Planning Committee, 106
- informal economy: development and, 153–55; microcredit and, 211–12 (*see also* microcredit); poor women as entrepreneurs in, 155–60
- Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First), 78
- Institute for Policy Studies (IPS): Debt Crisis Network, membership in, 189; the global debt crisis and the IMF’s response to it, warnings about, 188; NIEO, support for, 62; protesters at the International Development Conference (1970) from, 27; “South-North” conference in Tanzania (1980), sponsorship of, 188
- Institute of Development Studies: founding of, 72; as incubator for development plans, 8; participants for the Columbia conference, consultation on, 23; World Bank, collaboration with, 46
- InterAction, 142
- Inter-American Development Bank, 183
- Inter-American Foundation, 267n79
- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). *See* World Bank
- International Center for Research on Women, 113–14, 119
- International Conference on Microenterprise Development (1988), 183
- International Development Association (IDA), 43
- International Development Conference (1970), 27

- International Development Conference (1978), 76–77
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 202, 206, 217
- International Labour Organization (ILO): basic needs approach, women in development and, 124; basic needs approach to poverty supported by, 55, 70–71, 77 (*see also* basic needs approach to global poverty); the GAD variant of WID pursued by, 172–73; as incubator for development plans, 8; the informal economy, studies of, 153–54; Programme on Rural Women, 123–24, 172; “redistribution from growth” concept, 47; women’s labor and income in the global South, attention directed to, 107; World Employment Programme (WEP), 37, 154
- International Meeting on Cooperation and Development (1981), 92
- International Microcredit Summit (1997), 217–20
- International Monetary Fund (IMF): free-market policies of, GAD’s rejection of, 171; the global debt crisis and, 185; governing of, call for better representation of the global South in, 89; major powers’ insistence on running the world economy through, 92; structural adjustment loans/policies of, 6, 186–91, 193; the “Washington consensus” and, 187
- international taxation: Brandt Commission’s call for, 90; to fund global economic development, 85–87; revival of calls for, 230; Tobin tax, 258n99
- International Women’s Year conference: confrontations/tensions at, 116–17; Ford Foundation funding of activists’ travel to, 126; as galvanizing event, 123; World Plan of Action, 117, 123
- Interreligious Task Force on US Food Policy, 78
- IPS. *See* Institute for Policy Studies
- Isenman, Paul, 72
- J. P. Morgan, 158, 166
- Jackson, Michael, 141
- Jackson, Robert G. A., 22
- Jahan, Rounaq, 128
- Jahanbani, Sheyda, 239n13
- Jain, Devaki, 123
- Jamaica, 76
- Jaquette, Jane, 114–15, 120
- Johnson, Lady Bird: photo of, 24; on Ward’s influence on Lyndon, 23
- Johnson, Lyndon: multilateral aid, preference for, 42; population control programs, backing of, 103; Ward as an adviser to, 22–23; War on Poverty, 1, 7, 29–30, 34
- Joint Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX), 32–33
- Jolly, Richard, 36–37, 47–48, 190–91
- Jones, Quincy, 141
- Karim, Lamia, 291n14
- Kennedy, Edward, 206
- Kennedy, John F., 1, 15–16, 19, 22
- Kenya: ILO support for developing small enterprises for women in, 172; informal sector in, report on, 153; microcredit in, limitations of, 215; research on rural women in, conflict over who conducts, 119; training of poor women as entrepreneurs, 156
- Kenyan Women’s Bureau, 119
- King, Martin Luther, Jr., 30
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane, 163–64
- Kissinger, Henry, 59–60, 64, 112
- Kiva, 226
- Korea, Republic of (South Korea): credit cooperative organized in, 195; state-supported economic growth in, 91
- Kragen, Ken, 141
- Krauss, Melvyn B., 90–91
- Krueger, Anne, 187
- LaFeber, Walter, 161
- Lal, Priya, 254n68
- Lappé, Frances Moore, 78
- Leacock, Eleanor, 121
- League of Women Voters: Overseas Education Fund (*see* Overseas Education Fund (OEF)); Percy amendment, lobbying for, 110–11

- Leet, Glen, 158–60
Leet, Mildred, 158–60
Leland, Mickey, 212–13
Letelier, Orlando, 62
liberation theology, 32
life expectancy as indicator of well-being, 8, 68, 192
Lilienthal, David, 290n2
Liljencrantz, Christina, 108
Limits to Growth, The (Club of Rome), 68, 71
literacy as indicator of well-being, 8, 68, 192
Live Aid, 141–42
Long, Clarence, 83
Long, Nira Hardon, 111, 113, 197
Los Angeles Times: cartoon objecting to structural adjustment loans, 191
Lundine, Stan, 204–5
- Magdoff, Harry, 27
Malawi, 207
Malaysia, 172, 207
Mali: attempts to replicate the Grameen Bank in, 207; Ford Foundation support for small-scale projects in, 172; women in, NGO projects targeting, 142
Manley, Michael, 58, 76
Marcos, Ferdinand, 58, 92
Marcy, Mildred, 109–10
Marino, Katherine M., 265n58
Marshall Plan, 18, 22
Marxism/Marxists: Amin as, 26; Cockburn as, 223; dependency theory and, 54; Freire and, 134; Magdoff as, 27; Marxist-feminists, 104–5, 120–21, 171–72, 174; *Populorum Progressio* (Paul VI) dismissed as “warmed-over,” 31; USAID rejection of, 121; WID supporters included, 11
Mazumdar, Vina, 118, 128
McCain, John, 206
McClelland, David, 101–2
McNamara, Margaret, 125
McNamara, Robert: antipoverty strategy for the World Bank, establishment of, 43–48; antipoverty strategy for the World Bank, reframing as basic needs, 71–72; background of and influences on, 44–46; Brandt Commission, proposal of, 87–88; fertility and economic opportunity for women, connection between, 131; Haq and, 45–46, 73; Harrington’s opinion of, 54; New International Economic Order, reaction to, 60; Pearson report, invitation leading to, 19, 87; in photo, 48; structural adjustment program, initiation of, 186–87; Ward as an adviser to, 22; WID, interest in, 125; World Bank relations with the US, 43
McPherson, M. Peter, 161–62, 164, 207
Mennonite Central Committee, 145
Mernissi, Fatima, 118
Mexico: Banco Compartamos as business rather than NGO, investor profits from, 223–24; the debt crisis of 1982, loans with austerity conditions and, 185–86; ILO studies acknowledging the exploitation of women in, 172; Mexico City WID seminar, 116
microcredit: as antipoverty approach, emergence of, 5–6, 183–84, 193–200; contemporary status of, 225–26; critics of/doubts about, 214–16, 219–20, 222–25; the “cycle of poverty” and, 212–13; “discipline” associated with, 211–12, 215; empowerment and non-economic impacts of, 213–14, 220; Grameen Bank (*see* Grameen Bank); International Microcredit Summit (1997), 217–20; neoliberalism and, 184, 210–11, 216; organizations offering in the mid-1980s, 203; positive images of, 210–14; profit-making model, turn to from NGO model, 223–24; the Southern Development Bancorporation, 208; in the United States, 204–8; for women, 195–200, 208–16
microfinance, 221
MicroStart, 218
Mills, Donald O., 255n71
Minhas, Bagicha S., 255n71

- modernization policies/theory: biopolitics and, 102; development programs of the 1950s-1970s, 3-4, 6-7; popularized by Ward, 22; rise and fall in the 1960s, 15-16; trickle-down economics and, rejection of, 36-37, 51; women and, 99-102, 104, 177-78
- Moffitt, Michael, 62
- Morocco: microcredit repayment crisis in, 224; spending of women with dependents in, 177; spending of young men in, 177
- Morris, Cynthia Taft, 38
- Moyn, Samuel, 255n71
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 59
- Moynihan report of 1965, 177
- multilateral aid/institutions: United Nations, preference of global South nations for, 42-43 (*see also* United Nations (UN)); World Bank, preference of the United States for, 43 (*see also* World Bank)
- multinational/transnational corporations: concerns regarding, 27, 50, 54, 56, 59, 61, 71, 84, 89, 91, 118, 121, 229, 230
- Museveni, Yoweri, 219
- Myrdal, Gunnar: antipoverty discourse, contributions to, 33-34; Boserup and, 105; international tax, advocacy of, 85; Streeten and, 72; untying US foreign aid, campaigning for, 41; world poverty, addressing the challenge of, 2
- Nation: review of *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor* (Harrington), 54
- National Christian Council of Kenya, 156
- National Council of Churches, Coordinating Council for Hunger Concerns, 78
- National Council of Jewish Women, 111
- National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), 113, 150-51. *See also* Height, Dorothy
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women, 110
- National Organization for Women, 108
- National Review*, 222
- National Women's Studies Association, 122
- neoliberalism: basic tenets of, 210; microcredit and, 184, 210-11, 216; paler variants of antipoverty and feminist movements accommodated by, 227. *See also* Reagan, Ronald; Reagan administration
- Nerfin, Marc, 68-69
- Netherlands, the: Brandt Commission, financial support for, 89; as donor nation, 77; New International Economic Order, endorsement of, 61; Women's World Banking, support of, 198
- New Abolitionists, 33
- New Directions mandate: codification of antipoverty aims in, 227; congressional action establishing, 2, 38-42, 81; NGOs brought into, 149; Upper Volta project and, 97, 136; WID aligned with, 113; women not mentioned in original legislation for, 108. *See also* Foreign Assistance Act of 1973
- New International Economic Order (NIEO): adoption of by the UN General Assembly, 117; the basic needs approach and, 75-77, 80; Brandt Commission report and, 89-90; the Carter administration and, 64-66, 80; declaration of by the UN, 55-57; declining influence of, 227; development establishment response to, 60-61; endorsements from the Left for, 62; European response to, 61-62; North-South dialogue and, stalemate of, 63-64; racism and political economy as underlying tensions for, 63-64; support for in the global South, 57-58; US government response to, 58-60, 64; women and development (WAD) and, 170, 173
- New Internationalist*, 33, 62
- Newsweek*: the North-South split as the new Cold War, 63
- New York Times*: famine in Ethiopia, public response to, 140; microcredit, praise for, 222; praise for *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor* (Harrington), 54; profits from

- Mexican microcredit NGO-turned business, report on, 223–24; skepticism about the Brandt Commission, 87; structural adjustment loans for Mexico, practical implications of, 186; “tying” policy, implications of, 82; women in India devastated by microcredit, story on, 224
- “NGOization,” 167, 169, 178
- NGOs. *See* nongovernmental organizations
- Nicaragua, 224
- NIEO. *See* New International Economic Order
- Niger, 216
- Nike, 228
- Nixon, Richard: Beijing, visit to, 157; Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, signing of, 111; multilateral aid, preference for, 42; “New Directions” legislation and, 38–39, 41; opposition to foreign aid proposals by, 28–29; public-private collaboration on economic development, promotion of, 144; USAID, poor opinion of, 41
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): celebrity fundraising for famine relief and, 141–42; the global debt crisis, organization in response to, 189; incorporation as businesses, profits from, 223–24; the informal economy and small enterprise, interest in, 153–60; international agencies and foundations, collaboration with, 169–70; microcredit and (*see* Grameen Bank; microcredit); poor women as entrepreneurs, focus on, 156–60; public-private collaboration, beyond charity and, 144–50; Reaganomics and, 160–69; trends of the late 1970s and 1980s, 142–44; US government assistance to in 1983, 169; women, focus on, 142–44; women in development (WID) and, 149–53, 173–74. *See also* Accion International; CARE; Overseas Development Council (ODC); Overseas Education Fund (OEF); Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA)
- Norris, James, 30–31
- North-South: A Program for Survival* (Brandt Commission): basic needs and NIEO supported in, 93; broad range of goals of, 89–90; countries in arrears, the debt crisis and, 185; universal taxation, promotion of, 90; women and issues related to women, prominence of, 138
- North-South dialogue: Brandt Commission and, 87–90 (*see also* Brandt Commission); as ideological tug of war, 52; shifting center of gravity in the 1970s, 8–9; stalemate in, 63–64. *See also* global South
- North-South Roundtable of the Society for International Development, 192
- Norway: as donor nation, 77; Grameen Bank, funding support for, 202; SEWA, support for, 197; Women’s World Banking, support for, 198
- Nyerere, Julius K.: basic needs, supporter of, 75; the IMF and austerity conditions, objections to, 188–89; at the International Meeting on Cooperation and Development (1981), 92; invited to visit the White House, 65; the NIEO, supporter of, 58, 75; photo of, 88; “trade union of the poor” attributed to, 250n12; world poverty, addressing the challenge of, 2
- Ocloo, Esther, 197–98
- ODC. *See* Overseas Development Council
- OEF. *See* Overseas Education Fund
- Offner, Amy, 239n13
- oil crisis of 1973, 50, 58
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): Development Assistance Committee, 124; *Voluntary Aid for Development: The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations*, 169–70; women in development, planning meeting to discuss, 107–8
- Organization of African Unity, 186
- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 58, 77, 91, 185
- Osman, Suleiman, 238n8

- O'Sullivan, Kevin, 251n27
- Overseas Development Council (ODC):
basic needs approach promoted by, 77–78; *Beyond Charity: U.S. Voluntary Aid for a Changing Third World*, 147; “beyond charity” shift promoted by, 150; bottom-up development, argument for, 37–38; Carter and, 78, 84; “New Directions” legislation steered through Congress by, 39; New International Economic Order and, 60–61, 64; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), diversity of, 148; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), promotion of, 147
- Overseas Education Fund (OEF): business development model, internal conflict over, 165–66; CIA, cooperation with, 151; Coalition for Women in International Development, sponsorship of, 114, 163–64; credit and business skills for women, appeal for funding for, 199; criticism of, 153, 167; El Salvador tomato success story, promotion of, 166–68; renamed OEF International, 166; USAID funding for, 149, 151–53, 165–67, 199; WIDTech Project, 165; women’s fish-processing project in Senegal, funding of, 142
- Overseas Private Investment Corporation, 144–45
- Owens, Edgar, 39–40, 49
- Owens, Sarale, 112
- Oxfam, 33, 140, 197
- Pakistan, 224
- Palmer, Ingrid, 123–24
- Papanek, Hanna, 129
- Parker, Daniel, 111–12
- Partnership for Productivity, 155–56
- Partners in Development*. See Pearson report (*Partners in Development*)
- Pathmarajah, Appiah, 70
- Patterson, Orlando, 76, 255n69
- Paul VI, 2, 30–31, 236n3
- Payer, Cheryl, 187–88
- Peace Corps: CARE and, 145; establishment of, 15; Trickle Up Program, collaboration with, 158; WID, concerns about cultural imperialism related to, 131–32; WID, increased interest in, 164
- Pearson, Lester B., 19, 21
- Pearson Commission (Commission on International Development), 19, 87–89
- Pearson report (*Partners in Development*): critique from the Columbia conference, 23–26; critique from the left, 26–27; the debt crisis and debt relief as form of aid, 184–85; formation and popular promotion of, 19–23; increases in foreign assistance requested in, 90; multilateral aid endorsed in, 42; women neglected in, 138
- Percy, Charles, 110, 112–13, 115, 117, 164
- Percy Amendment: divisions within WID movement regarding, 116–17; enactment of, background leading to, 108–11; implementation by USAID, struggle for, 111–15; NGOs and, 149–50, 152; WID, as one foundation for, 170, 227 (see also women in development (WID) movement). See also Foreign Assistance Act of 1973
- Philippines, the: attempts to replicate the Grameen Bank in, 207; focus of PISCES team on women, 157
- Piketty, Thomas, 221, 230
- Pinochet, Augusto, 4, 62, 74
- Population Bomb, The* (Ehrlich), 103
- population control movement, 102–4, 130–32
- Population Council, 103, 137, 173
- Populorum Progressio* (Paul VI), 31, 236n3
- Portillo, José López, 91
- Portman, Natalie, 226
- poverty: absolute, McNamara’s definition of, 44; basic needs and, 66–67 (see also basic needs approach to global poverty); cycle of, 212–13; famine as evidence of dire, 50; global (see global poverty, campaigns against); Harrington’s description of, 53; internationalizing,

- 51; market economy as the solution to, faith in, 48–49; microcredit as inadequate to address, 224–25; people living in extreme, 2015 estimate of, 229; recognition of global in the 1970s, 1–2
- Prashad, Vijay, 75
- Prebisch, Raúl, 57
- Presidential Commission on World Hunger, 83–84
- private voluntary organizations (PVOs), 145, 162. *See also* nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
- privatization: mandated by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, 144–45; “NGOization” and, 167, 169; the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and, 144–45; the Reagan administration and, 143, 162–63
- Pronk, Jan, 61
- Proshika, 215
- Protestant Churches. *See* World Council of Churches (WCC)
- Public Law 480, 146
- race/racism: avoidance of discussing by development experts, 8; in the population control movement, 103–4; in South Africa, 32; tensions over the NIEO and, 63–64
- Reagan, Ronald: election of, 5, 160–61, 227; foreign aid supporting small businesses, support for, 162; free-market advocacy by, 91–92, 292n18; at the International Meeting on Cooperation and Development (1981), 92; the “welfare queen,” story of, 177
- Reagan administration: “basic human needs” subsumed under “strategic and political interests,” 163; battle over foreign aid cuts within the, 161; Clausen, criticism of, 281n11; North-South transfer of resources rejected by, 227; privatization of development and antipoverty efforts, encouragement of, 143; WID goals, endorsement of, 164
- redistribution: by “alter-globalization” policies, 229–30; by an international tax, 85–87, 90, 230; the basic needs approach (*see* basic needs approach to global poverty); of the benefits from growth, 47, 52; limits of by mainstream institutions, 18; the New International Economic Order (*see* New International Economic Order (NIEO))
- Redistribution with Growth* (World Bank), 47
- Regan, Donald T., 92
- religion: antipoverty movement/programs, support for, 4, 10, 30–33, 45; Carter, reaching out to religious leaders by, 82; Carter, religious convictions of, 79; contraception opposed by the Catholic Church, 104; discrimination by lenders based on, outlawing of, 198–99; hunger, concerns and actions regarding, 78; the NIEO and, 251n28; Ward as devout Catholic, 22, 45
- RESULTS, 206–7, 217
- Ritchie, Lionel, 141
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 198
- Rockefeller Foundation: Brookings conference on international taxation, funding of, 86; conference center in Italy, World Bank meeting to discuss antipoverty strategy at, 47; Overseas Development Council (ODC), funding of, 38, 61
- Rockefeller Foundation, Winthrop, 208
- Rosenberg, Gabriel, 239n13
- Rosenstein-Rodan, Paul, 22
- Rostow, Walt, 7, 25–26
- Rowan, Carl T., 92–93
- Roy, Ananya, 181
- Ruppe, Loret Miller, 164
- Saadawi, Nawal El, 118
- Safer, Morley, 207
- Sahel, the: Carter’s request for famine relief aid for, 79; drought in, 186; famine in, 50, 78, 141
- Save the Children, 140, 216
- Scali, John, 59
- Scott, Gloria, 123, 125
- Seers, Dudley, 36–37, 245n59

- Seidman, L. William, 59
- Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA): Ford Foundation funding of, 160, 172; founding of, 159–60; as a “good performer” among antipoverty programs, 178; international inspiration, microcredit program as, 196–97; microcredit program of, 196, 203, 208; Women's Cooperative Bank, 196, 198
- Sen, Amartya, 192
- Sen, Gita, 171
- Senegal, 142
- Sewell, John W., 174
- Shiva, Vandana, 217
- Sierra Leone, 133
- Simon, William, 59
- Singapore: ILO studies acknowledging the exploitation of women in, 172; state-supported economic growth in, 91
- Singer, Hans, 37, 76
- Singh, Ajit, 76
- SKS Microfinance, 224
- Smith, Elise Fiber, 142
- Snyder, Margaret, 176–77
- social business, 222
- Society for International Development, 107, 108–9, 191–92
- SODEPAX. *See* Joint Committee on Society, Development and Peace
- Sofia (queen of Spain), 217
- Somavia, Juan, 255n71
- Southern Development Bancorporation, 208
- South Korea. *See* Korea, Republic of (South Korea)
- Soviet Union, 77
- Speth, James Gustave, 218
- Spivak, Gayatri, 158
- Sri Lanka, 152
- Standing, Guy, 75
- State, US Department of, 108–9
- Staudt, Kathleen, 114, 122
- Stegall, Lael, 164
- Steichen, Edward, 30
- Stevenson, Adlai, 22–23
- Stewart, Frances, 72, 191–92
- Stockman, David A., 161
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 120
- Streeten, Paul: basic needs strategy for the World Bank, creation and promotion of, 72–76; international tax, support for, 85; UNDP's *Human Development Report*, development of, 192; women as more responsible than men in allocating family income, argument for, 176
- Strong, Maurice, 68, 85–86, 258n102
- structural adjustment loans, 6, 184–93
- Sudan: Ford Foundation support for a small businesses project in, 172; women in, NGO projects targeting, 142
- Sussex, University of: Institute of Development Studies (*see* Institute of Development Studies); negotiations on the NIEO, urging of economists for, 63
- Swanirvar, 203
- Swaziland: pig-raising project for women funded by USAID in, 151; training of poor women as entrepreneurs, 156; women's need to support themselves, reasons for, 157
- Sweden: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (*see* Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation); as donor nation, 77; Grameen Bank, support for, 202; SEWA, support for, 197; women included in development programs, 107; Women's World Banking, support for, 198
- Taiwan (Republic of China), 91
- Tanzania: project to replicate the Grameen Bank in, 207; USAID, funding accepted from, 75–76. *See also* Nyerere, Julius K.
- taxation, international. *See* international taxation
- Tendler, Judith, 178–79
- Thailand, 172
- Thant, U, 22
- Thatcher, Margaret, 4, 92
- Third World First, 33
- Third World Forum, 73, 188
- Thornton, Thomas, 84
- Thorsson, Inga, 107
- Tierney, John, 222

- Times of India*: coverage of the International Microcredit Summit (1997), 219; "Death by Microcredit," 223
- Tinbergen, Jan, 71, 85
- Tinker, Irene: conflicts between scholarly and applied researchers, recognition of, 120; International Center for Research on Women, establishment of, 113-14; on the lobbying for the Percy amendment, 111; Mexico City seminar facilitated by, 116; at the State Department meeting that helped launch the Percy Amendment, 108-9; at the State Department meeting that helped launch the WID movement, 263n27; women as heads of households, poverty and, 130
- Tobin, James, 258n99
- Togo, 151
- Transnational Institute, 62, 188
- Treasury, US Department of: Bradley Plan, rejection of, 190; the "Washington consensus" and, 187
- trickle-down economics, rejection of: in the basic needs approach, 66; by development experts, 36-41, 51, 226; emphasis on the informal economy and, 154; by foreign aid advocates, 17; by Haq and the World Bank, 46-47; by the WID movement, 125
- Trickle Up Program, 158-60
- Trudeau, Pierre, 91
- UN Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, 124
- UN Economic Commission for Africa: African Training and Research Centre for Women established by, 123; Ford Foundation funding of women's programs of, 126; regional conference on WID sponsored by, 124; women's economic activities, growing interest in, 107; women's program launched in 1971, 112
- UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), 57, 187
- United Methodist Church, 198
- United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 190-92
- United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, 69
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 42-43, 57, 68
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), 217; *Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development* (1977), 123; *Human Development Report*, 192; *Integration of Women in Development: Why, When, How* (Boserup and Liljencrantz), 108; *Rural Women's Participation in Development* (1980), 123; Trickle Up Program, financial backing of, 158; Women's World Banking, support of, 198
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 68-69, 86, 253n56
- United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, 142
- United Nations Office of Technical Cooperation, 156
- United Nations (UN): *Attack on World Poverty and Unemployment*, 37; automatic contributions for development in the global South, endorsement of, 86; Bangladesh, emergency relief operations in, 200; Carter's speech on basic needs, 79; Commission on Social Development, 107; Commission on the Status of Women, 107; Declaration of the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (1974), 55-56 (see also New International Economic Order (NIEO)); "development decade," the 1960s as, 15-16; General Assembly, adoption of NIEO in, 117; General Assembly, shifting balance of power in, 42-43, 56-57; Group of 77 (G-77) formed in, 42, 57; International Women's Year conference (1975), 108, 196-97; "International Year of Microcredit" (2005), proclamation of, 222; Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Integration of Women in Development, 107; NGOs, collaboration with, 169; small-scale urban enterprise

- United Nations (UN) (*continued*)
projects pursued by, 155; Sustainable Development Goals, poverty and, 229; WCC proposal, endorsement of, 31; women in development, expanded commitment to, 123; World Conference on Women (1985), 166, 173–74; World Food Conference, 78; World Population Conference (1974), 104
- United States: celebrity fundraising in, 141; credit, legislation guaranteeing access to, 198–99; global debt burden, legislation addressing, 189–90; hunger and poverty, walkathons addressing, 34–36; inflation and the “Volcker shock” of 1979 in, 185; the Mexican debt bailout by, 186; microcredit in, 207–8; New International Economic Order, reactions to, 58–60, 64–66; Peace Corps, WID and, 124 (*see also* Peace Corps); philanthropic loan societies in, 195; third world distrust of, 42; the World Bank and, 43 (*see also* World Bank); Yunus in, 204–8, 222
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID): basic needs approach backed by, 80–81, 97; Bureau for Private Enterprise, 162; “business development,” eclipse of “income generation” by, 164–65; changing priorities of, 153; Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), 217; criticism of, 80–81; establishment of, 15; ILO’s Basic Needs Strategy, reservations about, 253n53; impoverished women overseas, bringing sanitation and American home economics to, 100–101; International Conference on Microenterprise Development (1988), hosting of, 183; Micro and Small Enterprise Development Program, 216; microcredit, limitations of, 214–15; microcredit, psychological gains from, 213; microcredit, spending on, 216, 226; microcredit legislation, objections to, 207; microcredit program, focus on women in, 208–9; Microenterprise Initiative, 216; New Directions programs, implementation of, 41–42, 48, 149; New Directions programs, obstacles to, 50–51; Nixon’s opinion of, 41; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), grants for, 149; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the Reagan administration and, 162–70; nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), working with, 146–49; the OEF and, 165–67; Office for Private and Voluntary Cooperation, 146; Operation Phoenix, funds funneled to, 29; Percy Amendment, initial struggle to implement, 111–13; Percy Amendment, mandate to integrate women into development projects from, 149–50; population: funding for family planning, 103; population: lowering of fertility and economic development, 131; private enterprise approach to foreign aid, McPherson and, 161–63; privatization of antipoverty projects, 143–44; Program for Investment in the Small Capital Enterprise Sector (PISCES) project, 155–57, 193–94; SEWA, report on, 196–97; “tying” of funds spent by, 82; Upper Volta project, 97, 135–37; WID section (*see* USAID Women in Development (WID) section); women as key resource in alleviating food crisis in Africa, report on, 176; women as preferred allocator of family income, report stating, 176; Women’s Entrepreneurship Development Program, 203; Women’s World Banking, support for, 198
- Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) project, 97, 135–37
- Ure, James “Midge,” 140–41
- USAID. *See* United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
- USAID Women in Development (WID) section: credit programs for women in the global South, establishment of, 199; cultural imperialism, response to charges of, 132–35; establishment and early years of, 113–16; feminists in disguise at, 134; the Ford Foundation and, 128; Goddard as coordinator of,

- 164; Kenya, tensions over research in, 119; Sierra Leone conference funded by, 133; success stories in congressional testimony, 135–36; suspicions directed at, 120, 122; tensions between scholarly and applied perspectives, 121; Wellesley conference, sponsorship of, 117–19; WID projects of NGOs, funding of, 150–53; “Women-Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning” (Buvinic and Youssef), funding of, 130
- USA (United Support of Artists) for Africa, 141–42
- US foreign aid: basic needs approach, Carter administration support for, 66, 79–81 (*see also* Carter, Jimmy); basic needs approach, Ford administration opposition to, 70; basic needs approach to the grassroots poor, 55 (*see also* basic needs approach to global poverty); bilateral, problems with, 42; dependency theory and leftist attacks on, 27; economic development, hopes for, 3; free-market policies of, GAD’s rejection of, 171; global poverty, calls to extend war on poverty to, 29–30; global poverty and, 17–18; implementation of (*see* United States Agency for International Development (USAID)); level of commitment to, 16–17, 21, 50, 77; microcredit as part of, 207–16; modernization theory, foreign aid based on, 3, 6–7, 15–16, 36; multilateral, emerging preference for, 42; Myrdal’s critique of, 34; New Directions mandate (*see* New Directions mandate); Nixon proposals and policy, assaults on, 28–29; overview of, 1970s–1980s, 4–6, 9; political, economic, and humanitarian arguments for, 19–21; population control and, 103–4; public opinion regarding, 16–17, 79–80; Reaganomics and, 160–70; self-interest in, 40–41; spending on development assistance in 1963 and 1973, 17; “tying” policy, 20, 34, 41, 82–83; the WID movement and, 98–99, 108–10 (*see also* Percy Amendment; women in development (WID) movement); WID/Percy amendment seen as American imperialism/neocolonialism, 116–22
- US International Development Finance Corporation, 144
- US National Businesswomen’s Committee, 166
- Vajrathon, Mallica, 118
- Vance, Cyrus, 64–65, 79
- Vietnam War, 145
- Village Voice*: Harrington’s impact, 1
- Volcker, Paul, 185
- “Volcker shock” of 1979, 185
- Wachtel, Howard M., 188
- Waldheim, Kurt, 92
- Wall Street Journal*: Bauer piece opposing foreign aid, 28; New International Economic Order, opposition to, 59; *Populorum Progressio*, reaction to, 31
- Walmart, 208, 222–23
- Walsh, Michaela, 197–99
- Ward, Barbara: “An Ecumenical Concern for World Poverty,” 30; background information on, 22–23; Brandt Commission, brainchild of, 87; Carter’s plans, optimism regarding, 65; changes in development ideas of the early 1970s, outline of, 51–52; Christian initiatives addressing global poverty, support for, 30–33; Cocoyoc symposium, chair of, 68–69; congressional breakfast meeting with, 38; on the deadlock over the new economic order, 64; death of, 92; Harrington, comparison with, 53–54; heckled after a speech, 27; as “influencer,” 7; international tax, support for, 85–86; McNamara, as influence on, 45; “new abolitionists,” call for, 33; *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet*, 68–69; photo of, 24; *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations*, 22–23; weekend meeting in 1967 organized by, 18

- War on Poverty, 7, 29–30, 34
- Washington Post*: Carter administration's retreat on development assistance, 82; Haq, description of, 73; Pearson report, editorial on, 21; *Populorum Progressio*, reaction to, 31; Stockman's proposed cuts in foreign aid, report on reaction to, 161; on US standing in the Third World early in the Carter administration, 65
- Waters, Maxine, 166
- "We Are the World" (Ritchie and Jackson), 141
- welfare, microcredit distinguished from, 210–11
- Wellesley College WID conference, 117–19, 121
- WEP. *See* World Employment Programme
- Wolfe, Tom, 4
- Wolfensohn, James, 218
- women: antipoverty efforts and changing image of in the 1970s and 1980s, 2–3; as entrepreneurs in the informal economy, 155–60, 211–12; the Grameen Bank and, 203; impoverished, alternative perspectives on, 177; as key suppliers of basic needs, 176–78; microcredit and, 195–200, 208–16; modernization and, 99–102, 104; NGO focus on, 142–44; the population control movement and, 102–4. *See also* feminism/feminists; gender
- "Women: The Key to Ending Hunger" (Snyder), 176–77
- women and development (WAD), 170, 173–74, 176–77
- women in development (WID) movement: criticisms of, 131–35, 171; divisions within, 116–22; fish-processing in Senegal, funds for, 142; the Ford Foundation and, 126–29 (*see also* Ford Foundation); launched in the US government, 108–10; mainstream appeal of, 129–31; Mexico City seminar, 116; microcredit, interest in (*see* Grameen Bank; microcredit); nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and, 149–53 (*see also* nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)); origin and evolution of, 97–99, 104–8; the Percy Amendment and (*see* Percy Amendment); the Reagan administration and, 163–68; of the 1980s, arguments made by advocates of, 174, 176–77; success stories and impact of, 135–39; the Upper Volta project and, 97, 135–37; Wellesley College conference, 117–19, 121; WID-WAD-GAD chronology of, 170–78; the World Bank and, 125–26; worldwide expansion of, 123–25
- Women's World Banking (WWB), 197–99, 203, 208, 216
- Woods, George D., 16, 18–19, 22–23
- Working Women's Forum of Madras, 156, 172, 178
- World Bank: "absolute poverty," call for an end to, 2; American economic interests and, 82–83; antipoverty strategy, limitations of, 48–49, 76; antipoverty strategy, McNamara's establishment of, 43–48; antipoverty strategy, obstacles to, 50–51; antipoverty strategy, revival of, 193; basic needs approach and, 55, 67, 71–75, 77, 138–39 (*see also* basic needs approach to global poverty); Brandt Commission as independent from, 88; campaigns against global poverty, joining, 17; Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP), 217; free-market policies of, GAD's rejection of, 171; funding for the Columbia conference from, 23; goal of reducing extreme poverty by 2030, 229; governing of, call for better representation of the global South in, 89; International Conference on Microenterprise Development (1988), hosting of, 183; major powers' insistence on running the world economy through, 92; microcredit promoted by, 217; microfinance industry, size of in 2015, 225–26; New International Economic Order and, 60, 76; NGO Committee, impact of structural adjustment loans addressed by, 189; NGOs, collaboration with, 169; people

- living in extreme poverty in 2015, estimate of, 229; population control programs, backing of, 103; *Redistribution with Growth*, 47; scrutiny of, 81; small-scale urban enterprise projects pursued by, 155; structural adjustment loans/policies of, 6, 186–93, 227; US dominance of, 43; the “Washington consensus” and, 187; WID and, 125–26, 138–39, 174, 211; Yunus’s criticism of, 201. *See also* Haq, Mahbub ul; McNamara, Robert; Streeten, Paul
- World Conference on Church and Society (1966), 31
- World Council of Churches (WCC), 31–32, 34
- World Development*: informal sector, special issue on, 155; “What Ever Happened to Poverty Alleviation?” (Tendler), 178; women, special issue on, 174
- World Employment Programme (WEP), 37, 154
- World Hunger and Moral Obligation*, 79
- World Hunger Year, 78
- World Relief, 216
- World Vision, 216
- WWB. *See* Women’s World Banking
- Young, Andrew, 65
- Young Women’s Christian Association, 111
- Youssef, Nadia H., 130
- Yudelman, Montague, 125–26, 267n79
- Yudelman, Sally Watters, 267n79
- Yunus, Muhammad: “discipline” of repaying debts as beneficial to poor women, 211; educational and career background of, 200; entrepreneurial activities of, 221; exchange with Akula at the Clinton Global Initiative, 224; as fundraiser, 202; Germain and, 203; Grameen Bank, establishment of, 202; as “influencer,” 7; as international celebrity, 217; at the International Conference on Microenterprise Development (1988), 183; at the International Microcredit Summit (1997), 218–19; microcredit as “business,” not welfare, 210; Nobel Peace Prize awarded to, 221–22; non-economic benefits of microcredit, 213–14; politics of, 201–2; rural development project leading to the Grameen Bank Project, 201–2; selling of microcredit and the Grameen Bank by, 204–8; “social business,” call for, 222; at the “State of the World” forum (1996), 217; in the United States, 204–8, 222; women, learning to make loans to, 203; women as preferred microcredit borrowers, 209–10; on the World Bank, 201, 217
- Zablocki, Clement J., 38
- Zambia, 152
- Zeidenstein, George, 128
- Zeidenstein, Sondra, 128
- Zimbabwe, 165