

Development **BULLETIN**

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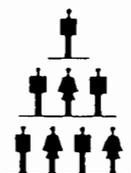
Ethics and Development

Inside

- Discussion papers: Ethics, human rights, development and development assistance
- From the Press: The aid budget, population and development, AIDS and women
- Aid Update: Advisory Council on Aid Policy, WID update
- Books, book reviews, conferences

AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES NETWORK

The Network



The Australian Development Studies Network seeks to provide a forum for discussion and debate of development issues, and to keep people in the field up-to-date with developments and events, publications, etc. The Network does this through its publications program and by conducting or co-sponsoring seminars, symposia and conferences. The Network produces three publications:

Development Bulletin is the Network's quarterly Newsletter. It includes short articles (normally 1,000 to 2,000 words); reports on conferences and seminars; announcements of forthcoming events; details of courses, research and work related to development or development studies; articles on the centres pursuing these activities; and information about development education materials, recent publications and other news.

Briefing Papers address a wide variety of development-related issues. They are concise (normally 2,000 to 5,000 words) and accessible to the non-technical reader, and may include implications for Australia's foreign development assistance policy.

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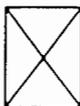


You may have information you wish to share with others in the development field: conference announcements or reports, notices of new publications, information about the work of your centre or courses you offer, or you may wish to respond to articles or *Briefing Papers*. If so, please write to the Editor.

If you wish to obtain Network publications or enquire about membership, subscriptions, seminar sponsorship, etc., please write to the Network Director. The address is:

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Deadlines



Closing dates for submissions to *Development Bulletin* are mid-November, -February, -May and - August for the January, April, July and October issues respectively.

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Editors notes

This issue of *Development Bulletin* considers the relationship between ethics, development and development assistance. We have brought together contributors from a variety of disciplines and different areas of expertise. They include academics, members of parliament, journalists, human rights lawyers, aid workers and representatives of non government organisations. Human rights is a recurring theme.

Briefing paper

In the briefing paper, 'Rich and poor', Peter Singer discusses the philosophy of equality as a fundamental ethic for all development assistance.

Aid update

We provide background information on the structure, role and composition of the new Advisory Council on Aid Policy and on Australian development assistance in the field of HIV/AIDS.

WID Update

To keep up-to-date with preparations for the United Nations Fourth Conference on Women and the Women's NGO Forum to be held in Beijing next year, we have included the latest documentation from Canberra, New York and Washington.

From the Press

We have combed the national and international newspapers, journals and newsletters for snippets of interesting information and comment, outrageous and otherwise, on aid and development. After Gordon Bilney's hard work to increase the aid budget many feel a bit blue about the cuts.

Conferences

As usual, we provide reports on important development conferences and information on future conferences both in Australia and overseas. Suzette Mitchell and Helen Hill provide reports on recent women in development conferences in Washington and Manila. Please mark your diary - the Network is holding a symposium, 'Teaching for Development', 23-24 September, 1994, at the Australian National University. Write or phone for further information.

Bulletin format

To make the Bulletin more attractive and easier to read Mark Kelly has helped us to change the format. We hope you like it.

AIDAB assistance

The Network gratefully acknowledges the on-going assistance of AIDAB in publishing the *Development Bulletin*. AIDAB has also assisted the Network publish the book *Retrospective on Australian Aid*. It is now available.

Good reading and we look forward to seeing you in September,

Pamela Thomas, Elaine Bliss, Rafat Hussain

Discussion

Ethics and development

Ethics, and the relationship between ethics, development and development assistance are issues that are seldom openly discussed and more seldom written about. Yet, ethical concerns of one kind or another underly much of Australia's development assistance policy and practice. The following papers provide open and informed discussion on the subject and attempt to provoke wider interest in what should be of primary concern to those establishing development policy and those providing and receiving development assistance.

At a time when the Australian Government has cut the aid budget, Peter Singer considers how ethical it is for rich countries not to give greater assistance to the poorer. He poses the philosophical question of whether it is the moral equivalent of murder for affluent countries and/or individuals not to provide assistance to those who are starving and thus allow them to die. He raises the question of whether we have an obligation to assist poor countries whose governments have policies that make our aid ineffective. Moral responsibilities to assist the very poor are also taken up by Noel Preston.

Changes in the international Code of Ethics established by non government organisations are discussed by Russell Rollason who also raises the ethical question of what donor countries should do when aid money is misused by recipient governments. Stephen Loosely argues that ethical considerations, most particularly those relating to human rights, are given priority in the Labour Government's aid deliberations and that these issues influence practice. He provides case studies of Australian relations with Burma, Vietnam and Papua New Guinea. Gordon Bilney discusses conditionality of development assistance and the relationship between good governance, conditionality and human rights.

The divide between rational economic thought and the ethics of conservation are discussed by Clive Hamilton, a theme which is also taken up by Greg Barrett. Both arrived at the conclusion, albeit by different routes, that economics is not the value-free objective science that it is often claimed to be and that this has ethical implications. Ian Lowe considers the ethics of energy use and supply.

Terry and Valerie Hull review the international debate on human rights and family planning - an issue that is topical in Australia at the moment following the completion of the Independent Inquiry into Population and Development commissioned by the Australian Government. Beris Gwynne provides information on the role of international law in supporting human rights.

Global militarisation and its impact on the right to development is discussed by Kevin Clements and Wendy Lambourne who argue that if the right to development is a positive right, then there is an infringement of rights if appropriate aid and development assistance is not forthcoming. Christine Fox reviews the ethics involved the provision of training by Australian consultants and Nóra Godwin considers the ethical questions of global information technologies and their portrayal of developing countries.

The philosophy of equality has dominated development assistance ideology for the last 25 years, however development practice has often resulted in growing inequalities. The very poor, most particularly women have often been bypassed. The ethics of development for women is discussed by Suzette Mitchell.

Ethics of development

Russell Rollason, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

Traditionally, discussions about the ethics of development have tended to focus on the standards of behaviour of the donor - be they non government organisations (NGOs), governments or intergovernmental organisations - and issues of corruption amongst officials of developing country governments.

But times are changing and in the post Cold War world, discussions about the ethics of development are increasingly focusing on two issues. Firstly, the Cold War thaw has seen a rapid increase in the number and intensity of local conflicts with consequent rapid increase in emergency humanitarian crises. How the international community responds to these crises and the relationship between peacemaking, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance is raising a range of ethical issues.

Secondly, the demise of competing ideologies in the post Cold War period and the decline in confidence in governments - North and South - has led to a sense of uncertainty about values in society and the objectives of development. The urge to redefine values and the ethical standards to which we aspire is reflected in such political slogans as 'Back to Basics' and 'Agenda for People'.

Codes of ethics

In the 1980s, NGOs around the world were addressing ethical issues in the process of adopting Codes of Conduct and Codes of Ethics. A landmark conference in London in early 1987 brought together over 100 development professionals from 42 countries around the world to discuss 'Development alternatives: The challenge for NGOs'. The conference proposed a Code of Conduct for NGOs which sought to forge a more productive, collaborative relationship between northern and southern NGOs. The basis: equal partnership, openness, mutual accountability and risk sharing.

The International Council of Voluntary Agencies also adopted a set of guiding principles for improving partnership between northern and southern NGOs around this time.

In 1989 the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) adopted a Code of Ethics which stipulated that to be a member agency of ACFOA, the agency must sign and adhere to this mandatory code. The ACFOA Code of Ethics had drawn on a similar code adopted a few years earlier by InterAction - the peak council for aid and development NGOs in the US. The ACFOA Code requires members to follow ethical fund-raising practices, to report publicly, use accurate information, not be part of any corruption,

oppression or exploitation and respect the dignity of recipient communities.

ACFOA elects an Ethics Committee each year from among its members and the Committee has heard several complaints, mainly about the images used in agency advertising. The NGO community has long struggled with the 'starving child' image. It is reality in the Third World and the public responds generously to such images; but the majority opinion is that such images rob the dignity of the people we seek to help and reinforce a view that people in developing countries are helpless and dependent. NGOs increasingly take the view that over-dependence on emotionalism in public appeals is unethical.

Rethink on NGOs raises ethical issues

The current inquiry by the Industry Commission into Charitable Organisations in Australia is rekindling debate about ethics within the Australian NGO community.

This Industry Commission Inquiry follows similar reviews overseas of the role of charitable organisations and their relationship to government. A recent report from an independent conservative British think tank, the Centris Research Group, to the Home Office in the UK, has recommended radical changes in the relationship between charities and the UK Government.

At the heart of the British debate is the role of charities in political advocacy. Should charities which receive funds from government be involved in political lobbying and advocacy for changes in government policy? Fortunately this issue has not arisen in Australia.

In the US, the House Ways and Means Committee of the Congress is undertaking a review of the salary packages and benefits paid to the executive officers of charitable organisations. This follows startling allegations of exorbitant salaries and lavish perks provided to chief executive officers and directors of several US-based domestic charities. The rich rewards of helping the poor!

Underlying these inquiries is a more basic policy change nurtured by the economic rationalism of the 1980s. As governments struggle to reduce debt burdens, the top priority has been to cut public expenditure and governments have thus turned to charitable organisations as cheaper ways to deliver services.

In development, aid donor governments frustrated with the policies and practices of southern governments have looked

to NGOs as an alternate channel for providing assistance. Official development assistance channelled through NGOs has increased rapidly in recent years (e.g. in Australia from one per cent of total aid in 1983 to seven per cent of aid in 1993).

For NGOs, this trend initially raised ethical debate about what proportion of NGO income could come from government without compromising their independence. The debate about independence and receiving government aid still continues amongst NGOs but the issues are increasingly about NGO priorities versus government priorities, accountability to the recipient versus accountability to the donor, and developmental effectiveness versus donor identity and commercial returns to the donor.

A key issue likely to emerge from the Industry Commission Inquiry is whether the government should move to regulate charities or whether charities should strengthen their self-regulation. ACFOA has consistently argued for self-regulation and sees its Code of Ethics and the effective operation of its Ethics Committee as the preferred option to the heavy hand of government regulation.

Broader ethical issues

The most burning ethical issue of the age is, however, the reverse flow of resources from the poor countries of the South to the rich countries of the North. Servicing debt now costs the Third World around US\$257 billion a year, more than three times the annual official aid flows of about US\$76 billion to developing countries.

The poorer the country, the faster their debts have mounted. Sub-Saharan Africa, which includes two-thirds of the world's poorest countries, has seen its debt more than double over the last decade. The *1992 Human Development Report* revealed how the disparity between the richest 20 per cent of the world's people and the poorest 20 per cent of the

world's people had doubled over the past 30 years. Yet aid flows are declining and as the 1993 *Reality of Aid* report showed, less than 10 per cent of aid is targeted to reducing poverty.

The other disturbing trend in official development assistance is the increasing commercialism of aid programmes. Increasingly aid donors the world over, and Australia is no exception, are tying aid to goods and services sourced in the donor country. Aid becomes a means for exporting unemployment rather than boosting industry, sustainability and self-reliance in developing countries.

The Pergau Dam fiasco in which the British Government provided aid for a dam in Malaysia in return for Malaysian purchases of British armaments is a particularly disturbing example of the commercialisation of aid. The linking of aid and arms sales must surely qualify as one of the most unethical development deals in recent years.

As the new millennium approaches, the most basic ethical issue confronts the international community. Do we live in one world? Do the rich have a responsibility to assist the poor? A welcome sign of hope is the reaffirmation at the Vienna Human Rights Conference of the link between human rights, development and democracy. The international human rights instruments are fundamentally an internationally agreed statement of values that 'put people first'. They are the values the international community aspire to.

The need to rediscover the values that underlie international cooperation, to rediscover the ethical basis for development has also been voiced in the preparations for the World Summit for Social Development scheduled for March 1995. If the Summit succeeds in 'putting people first' in the development process, the international community may well have taken a significant step towards restoring ethics in development.

Ethics and ends

Stephen Loosely, Chair of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, and Chair of the Human Rights Sub-Committee

Ethical considerations are often seen as separable from 'pragmatic' economic or strategic considerations in the allocation of development assistance. Underlying this is the assumption that ethical considerations can be ignored. They cannot. On the contrary, the goal-oriented nature of development assistance means that choices are involved and values inevitably come into play. The current media and information revolution has widened the number and scope of actors contributing to aid discussions, further increasing the prominence of ethical and moral considerations in decision making.

Ethical considerations, including human rights and adherence to the rule of law, have been and continue to be a main priority in aid deliberations of the Labour Government. However, having regard to our limited resources and middle power status, a policy of comprehensive consultation with the recipient government, in countries where human rights violations have occurred, is seen on some occasions to be more effective in improving the situation of those under pressure. Punitive actions are reserved for extreme cases as a last resort. Nonetheless, Australia has been prepared to be vigorous in pursuing issues on an international agenda for human rights within parameters defined by both capacity and common sense.

Human rights violations are an obvious barrier to the development of closer relations. But aid relations can sometimes prove useful in fostering political contacts as part of Australian humanitarian efforts. A healthy political relationship with the recipient country can afford Australia the channels through which to maximise influence in relations to the promotion and protection of human rights.

When considering the use of punitive measures, such as the withdrawal of aid or aid conditionality, it is necessary to acknowledge that it is partly through development that stability and economic well-being within the region is assured. Australia needs also to be conscious of regional sensitivities. At the recent Regional Meeting for Asia of the World Conference on Human Rights in Bangkok, the Asia-Pacific nations vehemently opposed 'any attempt to use human rights as a conditionality for extending development assistance'. While such sentiment ought not to be embraced, it cannot be ignored.

The aim of the Australian Government is to adopt that course most likely to promote respect for human rights as distinct from rhetorical statements which, though satisfying, are largely ineffective in improving the situation of the victims of human rights abuses. The Government's response

to human rights in recipient countries will naturally differ in regard to the particular circumstances. Burma, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Papua New Guinea will be discussed briefly.

Burma

The Australian Government has and continues to take the political situation in Burma into account in the conduct of its foreign relations with, and aid allocations to, Rangoon. Prior to September 1988, Australia was the third largest aid donor to Rangoon, providing approximately A\$12 million annually in direct bilateral aid. In response to the ruling junta's brutal crackdown on democracy demonstrators in September 1988, the Australian Government suspended aid to Rangoon. The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was urged to halt its human rights abuses and to honour the outcome of the 1990 democratic elections in which the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was elected to be the governing party. A ban on the export of defence and defence-related goods was implemented in 1990, and defence visits from Australia have been suspended, exceptions being subject to ministerial consultation.

Of the countries in the region, Australia has been the most active proponent of human rights adherence in Burma. However, the apparent failure of proposals within the wider community for implementing economic and military sanctions against the SLORC regime serve to remind us of the limits of Australia's political and economic strength. In spite of Australia's attempts to achieve punitive sanctions against the SLORC regime, the overall level of Rangoon's trade with regional countries has steadily increased. The arms flow to the ruling military junta continues, although sources appear to remain limited.

The Government's increased emphasis on positive dialogue with Japan, the United States, China, the EC and the ASEAN countries on Burma, involving a process of quiet diplomacy is an acknowledgment of the above situation. The Australian Government continues to seek to engage these countries in broader discussion on ways to promote democracy and human rights adherence in Burma.

While direct bilateral aid to Rangoon remains suspended, the need for humanitarian assistance is being acknowledged. Despite the fact that Burma's level of trade has increased steadily over the past five years, the standard of living for the citizens of Burma has decreased rapidly. This year, the Australian Government allocated A\$200,000 for HIV/AIDS

prevention to be implemented through NGOs or UN agencies. Under the Government's Discretionary Aid Program A\$45,000 has been allocated for primary health care at the grassroots level. In addition, 10 full scholarships have been awarded to exiled Burmese with another 10 being proposed for next year.

The SLORC's attempts at reconciliation with the non Burman ethnic nationalities has failed to significantly stem the flow of refugees from Burma. Over 350,000 refugees are estimated to have fled to the Thai, Indian, Bangladesh and Chinese borders, around 74,000 being concentrated on the Thai-Burmese border where the risk of malarial infection is high.

The Australian Government is continuing to provide humanitarian assistance to displaced Burmese in Thailand (A\$300,000 last financial year), and A\$1.5 million is proposed for repatriation of refugees in Bangladesh. Cross-border humanitarian assistance, however, confronts obstacles owing to disputes over sovereignty and recognition. Through a process of consultation between the Thai National Security Council, respective governments and NGOs, progress ought to be made towards increased access for humanitarian aid in this area. Negotiations and cease-fires between the SLORC and non Burman ethnic groups (NBEs) could also lead to increased aid flows. By urging dialogue and reconciliation between the SLORC and the NBEs, Australia is endeavouring to promote the preconditions that would enable aid flows to reach the victims of human rights abuses on the border.

The SLORC regime has an appalling human rights record. Changing the nature of the Burmese political climate is a real challenge for all those committed to democratic fundamentals. Australia has not lost sight of these essential values.

Vietnam

Australia's relationship with Vietnam is an illustration of the potential for Australia's policy of comprehensive engagement on human rights with countries receiving Australian aid to achieve definite ends. Australia's prompt recognition of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976, resumption of bilateral aid in 1991 and efforts to encourage a Cambodian settlement, have sought to encourage Vietnam's emergence from regional and international isolation. This has distinguished Australia from certain other Western nations and some countries of the region. The allocation of A\$100 million over four years was a step taken in acknowledgment of Australia's favourable position to develop close and constructive relations with the government in Hanoi, a critical element being comprehensive dialogue on human rights issues.

Withdrawing aid or making aid conditional upon greater adherence to human rights in Vietnam may merely constitute a minor irritant to the government in question. At a donor

conference in Paris late last year, more than 20 governments and a dozen international agencies pledged US\$1.86 billion in aid to Vietnam next year. In addition, US\$900 million was promised by the International Monetary Fund/World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Punitive actions run the risk of jeopardising, for no real return, other Australian priorities in the bilateral relationship, political contact, growing economic exchanges and, further afield, a regional security framework. In addition, taking punitive action runs contrary to Australia's continuing policy of encouraging an end to Vietnam's long political and economic isolation which has only served to perpetuate poverty for too many Vietnamese.

Australia's policy of engagement seeks to build upon the relationship with Vietnam. Much will depend upon our ability to maintain purposeful dialogue with the government in Hanoi. In the short-term, the Australian Government is maintaining close and constructive dialogue which is focused persistently on individual human rights cases. This has achieved real success. In the long-term, the Government is supporting the economic development and growth of Vietnam through aid and developing trade. Economic opportunities will serve to ease the plight of Vietnamese perhaps destined otherwise to become refugees. By introducing Vietnam to the broader outside world, the current political structure will inevitably be affected by the flow of information and evolution of new ideas that economic change brings rapidly in its wake. And significantly, within the framework of the bilateral relationship, Australia continues to argue for a human rights delegation to visit Vietnam in mid-year to focus on issues of concern.

Papua New Guinea

Australia has always sought to conduct bilateral relations with Papua New Guinea on the basis of mutual respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and equality. Australia's role as a colonial power prior to independence and our present status as Papua New Guinea's primary aid donor are facts that make the Australian Government implicitly aware of sensitivities towards conduct or attitudes that Papua New Guinea might deem inappropriate to equal, independent and sovereign neighbours.

The Australian Government has allocated over A\$300 million in its bilateral aid programme with Papua New Guinea over 1993/94, representing just under a quarter of Australia's development cooperation programme. Australian aid seeks to specifically target Papua New Guinea's law and order problems that are stunting the economic and social development opportunities for some communities.

Commencing in 1994/95, over a period of seven years, there will be a continuous reduction of budget support accompanied by a corresponding increase of sector programme aid. This move is aimed to make our aid

spending more accountable and to ensure that Australian aid is being used to maximum effect.

Australia continues to raise concerns regarding human rights abuses in Bougainville while urging the Papua New Guinean Government to seek a political solution, rather than a military one, to the conflict in Bougainville. Guidance concerning the proper treatment of civilians during military operations and components designed to strengthen soldiers' awareness of humanitarian law are included in military training programmes funded under the Defence Co-operation Program. The Government continues to support NGO activities in the province and to urge the Papua New Guinean Government to lift all restrictions on humanitarian aid and access of NGOs on Bougainville. The Labour Government acknowledges that the Bougainville problem is one which needs to be solved permanently through a political settlement and not temporarily through external imposition. A comprehensive process of reconciliation and discussion among all parties involved is encouraged. Again, Australia is pressing for a delegation, focused on human rights questions, to visit Bougainville in the near future.

The future of human rights and Australian aid?

The Australian Government is currently exploring constructive measures by which to consolidate the linkages between aid and human rights. By further incorporating human rights into the design, appraisal and delivery of Australia's development assistance, respect for fundamental liberties can be promoted in a non confrontational manner. Education and training of police and other law enforcement officials and infrastructure and equipment provision for human rights training are some areas in which Australia can play a prominent role.

The Australian Government recognises its role in arguing human rights causes and is committed to universal respect for freedom and democratic values. Human rights abuses are not ignored. They are an integral factor taken into account in the formulation of Australia's aid policy.

The research assistance of Ms Anne Witheford is acknowledged in the preparation of this article.

Passion, judgement and repining restlessness in development practice

Doug Porter, Human Geography, Australian National University

In 1982 I attended a meeting of the Society for International Development on the topic 'What should the Jackson Committee say?' The meeting was addressed by a member of the Jackson Committee, a development economist, who began by noting that over 400 submissions had been received by the Committee on this controversial issue. 'What I find most interesting however,' he said, 'is not the number of submissions, but that each has really failed to address the issues. Each submission tries to tell us what aid should be about' he said. 'But my beginning point is nothing so emotional. I'm a little sick of all these 'shoulds'.' He went on to explain that as an economist he was interested in beginning with how things really are, that is, he began with the facts and then reasoned by way of evidence to a set of conclusions and recommendations.

Judging by the nodding assent around the table, the audience considered that we in Australia were fortunate that even if the facts are ugly or irksome, as they can be in development aid, those in charge would not rebel against the facts. Instead they would take the world as it is without yielding to the 'shoulds' of nostalgia, ideology or subjective belief.

The speaker provided a vigorous rendition of a theme which was to occupy centre stage in Australian and international aid debates of the 1980s. His authority seemed to rest on a view of himself as a prison warden. The 'shoulds' were cast as either passionate, unregenerate sinners or a pack of murderous inmates who must be kept under high security.

But we know the assertions about development contained in the Jackson Report in 1984 have not stood the test of time. The question of ethics has come once again almost to centre stage in development, not just because of the unflagging efforts of development ethicists like Denis Goulet, or esteemed economists like Amartya Sen, but also from a general recognition of the failures of the 'Lost Decade' of the 1980s. Nowadays, putting aside the tired 1980s dichotomies of 'growth versus equity', even World Bank literature attests that development is about ethics, since it is from the first to the last, about demands, claims, rights, approvals, punishments, imputations and most importantly, about obligations.

Events during the 1980s mean that the 'shoulds' can no longer be kept under high security. There is recognition of the considerable problems faced by the aid bureau in generating development activities which are relevant to the lives of the poor, institutionally feasible and sustainable once the aid lifeline is cut. Globally significant events, which

have led to clarion calls for sustainable development, have also fostered a deep sense of biospheric and societal uncertainty which has dispelled the aura of infallibility surrounding documents like the Jackson Report. Civil society now demands greater participation in societal decisions and far greater consideration of the 'shoulds' of the global future. Furthermore, whilst ideas about development aid in Australia have never been directed by debates in academic institutions, it is clear from sea changes here that the clairsentient arrogance evident in the privileged and near unassailable positions adopted by international development agencies in the 1980s, is unlikely to return without contest. I refer here to the host of 'posts' (post-structuralism, post-modernism, etc.) which challenge the previously hidden, white, male, elite and privileged character of discourse about development (Sachs 1992).

All this is worthy of applause. It is good that the values and sacrifices entailed in the high religion of the market place advanced by bureaucrats and technicians are peeled away. It is good that development ideals are more 'polyphonic', that multiple voices are heard; that practice becomes more 'pluralist' and responsive to competing interests. But if our concern about development ethics becomes just an evocation of ideals and a passing of judgements on the fallibility of the means used by politicians and bureaucrats to advance these ideals, then the ethics debate, as it was in the late 1970s, is likely to be swept aside by a new orthodoxy or worse, to become a cynical orthodoxy itself. Debates about ethics need also to occur with an eye to 'the possible'. We must listen to the frustration in the Jackson Committee member's remarks. It is a cruel hoax to preach ideals of dignity, equity and environmental sustainability unless we also develop systems of practice and institutions that combat the obstacles to their attainment, and have a clear-eyed appreciation of 'what is' possible as well as 'what should' be possible.

There are historical and contemporary precedents from which we can discern what needs to be avoided in the passionate calls for participatory, 'people-centred' development practice. Essentially, there are two trends in the new, 'post-modern' form of development ethics. Both trivialise the potential contribution of 'participation' to ethical development assistance. The first involves romanticising the irrational. A colleague in the Philippines was recently confronted by an indignant Australian human rights activist railing against an AIDAB funded project because it presumed to query a statement of needs expressed in a farmers' association project proposal. 'How could the

project be participatory if it did not respond immediately by releasing funds to what was so evidently a genuine expression of true needs on the part of the people?" The error here is that instead of recognising that 'the poor farmers' can be irrational or simply wrong in their assessments of their needs and interests, our post-modern inclination is to rescue such assessments from the abyss of the simply irrational and to make them unassailable truths which it would be unreasonable for us to disagree with.

This trend has arisen a number of times in the past, particularly following periods of uncertainty such as evident in the 1980s. Immediately following the Great War and the October 1917 Revolution, there was fervent debate about ethics. Sociologist Max Weber summed this up in the famous essay, *Politics as a Vocation* which followed a paper by V. I. Lenin entitled *What is to be Done?* on the problems of revolutionary ethics. Weber would have rejected the implication of the Jackson Committee member that 'the facts speak for themselves'. Weber denied 'cool judgement' could allow anyone to objectively justify value choices, yet he was convinced that commitment and choice was an ethical imperative. The problem of practical ethics, what he called the 'art of judgement', was how to combine both 'hot passion' (of forcefully expressed needs/interests) with the 'cool judgement' (of the possible, the rational) in the same personality. Lenin would have seen only reformism in the Jackson Committee member's cool pragmatism. But he would also have cautioned against the potential for terrorism in the case of the hotly passionate defence of 'the peasant'. Both, he said, were ever present and necessary tendencies in political practice. Lenin's view was that we should resist the 'provocativeness' of both tendencies, but that our practical convictions should contain elements of both: 'Only those who are accustomed to sitting between two stools lack 'provocativeness,' he argued (Lenin 1947:180).

There is a second trend, evident in contemporary post-modern literary criticism and social science, that needs also to be avoided in debates about development ethics. Here we can see passionate disputants in development becoming so concerned to be 'polyphonic', to give adequate representation to all views, all accounts of people's needs and world views, that the possibility of judging amongst them becomes lost. It is often a short step from stating that all views should have near equal weight in development decisions to a relativistic situation where there is no stability, no place to stand in making judgements. As the feminist

writer Haraway (1988:575-99) notes, this becomes merely a 'way of being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere' which paralyses one's critical will since there are no longer any grounds for judging the relative merits of one claim about needs, interests, or what should occur over any others (1988:575-99). In this way the 'participatory ethic' in development can become the new, cynical orthodoxy.

Development workers are so often obsessional interveners, or what Majid Rahnema calls 'actomaniacs', that they are unlikely to be so easily immobilised by 'polyphonia' (Sachs 1992:126). However, it is clear from the passionate defences of 'participation at all costs' that the participatory ethic is being treated so superficially that one wonders whether this new ethic is more about repositioning factions within the development aid industry than it is about improving the lives of those in whose name the participatory ethic is being invoked.

The value of the participatory ethic lies not in fostering largely untangleable debates about what, or more correctly *whose*, ends should prevail in development. Rather, and this is evident in the best post-modern academic writing on other topics, it is that the participatory ethic focuses our attention on 'authorial power' in development practice, on the political play that occurs in the decisions of development workers, consultants, NGOs, bureaucrats and others with privileged access to the resource allocation process. Who initiates the project, how, who decides priorities, tasks, contract forms and contents - all the things that inevitably occur before 'the peasant' is encountered, but which powerfully construct the boxes and terms of the process in which she is invited to participate.

The value of this kind of ethics debate is not found in an epistemological excavation of the assumption behind the assumption in the search for the ultimate statement of what ethical development assistance should be. This promises merely to replace one orthodoxy with yet another, more hotly passionate one. Rather, the value of the new participatory ethic is to foster an attitude toward all orthodoxies captured in the phrase 'repining restlessness' in George Herbert's poem 'The Pulley' (1912:144). It is a restlessness that derives from discontent, from the realisation that development assistance so often 'is accommodated not to reality or common need but to the beliefs of the contented' (Galbraith 1992:10).

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Ethics and the economist

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The economic worldview

The economics profession has achieved a high degree of influence since the 1960s. We find economists occupying positions of power in public and private organisations that were previously occupied by people with training in law or engineering or the humanities. In the 1970s economics became the fulcrum of political life. Today, in a way that has never before held true, the Treasuries rule the world, and the models of the economists rule the Treasuries.

The ascendancy of economists has been watched by many people with an ill-defined uneasiness. There is a pervasive feeling that economics adopts and applies a distorted view of the world, one that is rigid, partial and doctrinaire, one that lacks compassion, objectifies people and robs us of our humanity. To these people economics seems to symbolise the one-sidedness of the world. The economists have built a giant machine to explain the world and humans must be fitted into the machine so that our behaviour can be expressed in equations.

Economists have become very adept at building complex and sometimes difficult models to analyse aspects of human behaviour. Although economics has employed models since the time of the Physiocrats in the 18th century, today it is *de rigueur* to express economic thought in the form of mathematical equations. The economists construct their models to represent a certain view of the world. The human actor in the economic world must be moulded and shaped so as to conform to the well-defined parameters of the model. While models can undoubtedly be very useful in pointing to some significant forms of relationship between economic variables, it is a fundamental mistake of economics - a mistake which provokes constant hostility from non-economists - to confuse the models with the economies they represent. Carl Jung once said: 'One ought not to go to cadavers to study life.'¹ Economies are living systems. That is not simply to say that they are dynamic - machines are dynamic too - but that they revolve around living humans who often behave in impulsive, chaotic and whimsical ways.

The economics profession actively encourages the objectification of humans to the exclusion of living people. In a recent survey of American graduate students of economics, respondents were asked which of several characteristics are most likely to place students in the fast track of professional success. Ninety-eight per cent said that 'excellence in mathematics' is 'very important' or 'moderately important'. Only three per cent considered 'a thorough knowledge of the economy' to be 'very important', while 68 per cent thought that it is 'unimportant' (Colander and Klamer 1987). J. K. Galbraith has written that

universities today are producing 'a generation of idiots savants, brilliant at esoteric mathematics yet innocent of actual economic life' (ibid).

An economy is made up of living people and people have a complexity that is beyond the ability of models to capture. But modern economics remains entrapped in the mechanical view of the world that was propagated by 19th century science. The mechanical view is founded on the analytical process, that is, the process in which the object of study is broken down into its constituent parts in order to understand how it works. But the essence of the human cannot be found by analysing our constituent parts, even if these parts are assembled into an extraordinarily complex model, for the essence lies in its wholeness. Goethe (1945:95) expressed it precisely:

To docket living things past any doubt,
You cancel first the living spirit out:
The parts lie in the hollow of your hand,
You only lack the living link you banned.

Neoclassical economics insists on its objectivity, on its status as a product of pure thought. But modern economics is not the rational, value-free science it pretends to be. It is actually driven by a powerful emotional need, the need to be detached from one's feelings. The retreat to the intellect is an emotional response to fear. Morris Berman (1990:112-13) makes this point strongly in his discussion of academic history. He observes that the Scientific Revolution - of which economics remains a faithful child - saw an intellectual rejection of sensual, visceral appreciation of the world.

Yet if the truth be told, it is not that the emotional life got repressed, but that one particular emotion triumphed above all the rest. 'Emotionless' activity, e.g., scientific and academic detachment, is driven by a very definite emotion, viz. the craving for psychological and emotional security.

Perhaps it is the imposition of this psychic distance between the intellectual and the visceral that makes economics so boring, the 'dismal science' in which sensual life itself is banished. Practitioners of economics tend to display an extreme form of obsessive rationality involving a suppression of their feeling natures and a deep split between their intellectual and emotional selves. Strict rationality and denial of feelings is held up as the most laudable quality of economic analysis, just as it is in the society of adolescent boys struggling to find their manhood. Economists appear to have become stuck in this adolescent phase. This fact helps to explain why the profession is a largely male

preserve, for the emotions of modern patriarchy - the need to control, competitiveness, the pursuit of omniscience and obsessive rationality - are those of modern economics.

The environmental rebuke

The environmental movement has posed the most serious challenge to the economic worldview to date. It has compelled us to re-examine what it is that is valuable to us and indeed what we mean when we say that something is valuable and therefore worth having. Environmentalism has provided this challenge by its insistence that there are alternatives to the ideology of economic exploitation, that the world can be thought of as a living environment as well as a set of natural resources, and that there is something deeper and more human beneath the rational calculator of economics. This has led to a challenge to the very notion of economic value. In economics something in the world is valuable if it gives pleasure to the individual human, and the extent of its value is the extent of the pleasure it gives. The extent of pleasure, relative to other economic goods, is measured by its money price.

This approach is known as utilitarianism and is particularly associated with the 19th century British philosopher Jeremy Bentham. The problem is that the utilitarian approach of economics cannot go beyond relative utilities; in particular, there is no place for the ethics of a decision. But environmental decisions are seen by most people as involving vital moral questions. Environmentalism dares to suggest that there are ethical values in addition to economic ones, indeed that there are values that are independent of the human valuer. Here we have a challenge to the very notion of ourselves as rational economic calculators who make decisions by weighing up the benefits and costs of decisions to ourselves. When faced with critical decisions such as those concerning biodiversity and global warming the policy implications of the two ways of seeing the world are vastly different. The difference between the two ways of seeing the world suggests that to become an environmentalist is for many people as much a personal struggle (against the economist within) as a battle against corporations that pollute the rivers and denude the landscape.

The conservation debate has emphasised the impact of the degradation of the natural environment on our accustomed material living standards. But the above suggests that in addition there is a growing questioning of the ethical principles that underlie our attitudes to the natural environment. Some believe that our current crisis is due fundamentally to a set of beliefs about ourselves and the world that is hostile to the natural environment and therefore, if we could only recognise it, hostile to ourselves.

It is not enough, then, to want to preserve the tropical forests because they are the lungs of the Earth and the source of new medicines. It is not enough to oppose pollution of the sea because it harms the fisheries and the beaches. To make

a decision that could result in the extinction of a species is not a question of which path will render greater satisfaction to humans. It is a moral decision. There may be other moral issues that enter the decision, but fundamentally it is a moral decision which no amount of economic calculation can resolve.

This emerging environmental ethic - one that centres on our duty to act as custodians of the Earth's resources - has arisen not out of processes of rational analysis, but out of an understanding of how we feel about ourselves and our relationship to the world. Indeed, after more than two centuries of domination by rationalism, this new ethic is reaffirming the validity of acting according to the imperatives of our feeling nature rather than always succumbing to the arguments of the intellect. This of course is anathema to economics.

The growth of environmentalism in the West comes at a time when increasing numbers of people see their lives as essentially meaningless. Although it is very hard to put a finger on it, many now question the authenticity of their lives - of their work, of their personal relationships, of their relationships to themselves, and of their relationships to the natural world. The great American mythologist Joseph Campbell argues that what we lack and what we seek is the experience of being truly alive, alive in a way that allows our external lives to be an expression of our innermost being, of our true natures as humans (Campbell 1988).

Environmentalism, then, touches on some deep feelings. While there are very good arguments for greater attention to conservation of the natural environment that draw on the threats to our material living standards, there is a deeper strain to the environmental movement, one that denies that the pursuit of the good times is enough in life. This deeper strain expresses the doubts that many people are having about the self-centredness of their existence. It asks people to care about something bigger and more important than themselves and to do so for selfless reasons. It is an expression of a deep and mostly unconscious feeling many have that the collective psyche of the world has become dangerously unbalanced - that there is too much self and not enough other, too many commodities and not enough belief, too much masculine and not enough feminine, too much rationalism and not enough intuition.

Beyond rationality

Western society is obsessed with rationality. Human reason is a wonderful thing, and many argue that our problems are due to an insufficiency of it. In our attempts to apprehend, understand and control the outside world, we apply rationality to it. But there is a mode of awareness beyond the rational that can reveal knowledge at a level inaccessible to even the most brilliant rational mind, a mode of awareness available to all of us.

Environmentalism wants to go beyond obsessive rationality.

The natural environment is the warp and weft of the symbolic world within, the world that gives us access to 'the beautiful forms of things', as Wordsworth put it. It is not just the wilderness out there that we want to preserve but the wilderness within, the deep ground of being that has been progressively buried beneath layers of rationality, materialism and alienation at least since the time of the scientific-industrial revolution.

If there is a central philosophical position that is articulated by the environment movement, it is its opposition to anthropocentrism, the idea that the world revolves around humans, and that natural resources are valuable because they serve our needs. This 'instrumentalist' idea is so fundamental to economics that it is never even raised as an issue. But within the environment movement there is a strong feeling that sentient beings other than humans have value for their own sake.

The question we must face is whether we see our position at the top of the natural order as an opportunity to dominate and exploit the natural world or as a moral responsibility to protect and nurture it. Do we act as the dictators of the natural world or as its guardians? We are the only creatures to be presented with this divinely-inspired choice. The scientific-industrial revolution was a critical turning point in the history of our species for that reason. We are offered the choice of seeing ourselves as separate from Nature or as part of it. This is the essential moral question that the environment movement has resurrected.

It is apparent, now that the ecological equilibrium of the planet has been disturbed, that the way humans are answering this question, this truly earth-shattering question, is the most important decision humanity will ever make. It is also clear how this decision is inextricably linked to the way we conceive of ourselves as beings; whether we see ourselves as isolated, rational, self-centred, calculating individuals or as inseparable parts of the Earth with special responsibility for its care.

Some people accuse the conservation movement of campaigning with quasi-religious fervour. But if religion means a return to the deepest spiritual and moral values, a reconnection between ourselves and our source in the natural world, is that not a cause for celebration? Are not the gravest ills of our society, and the gravest ills of ourselves, due to the selfishness, the greed, the alienation and the ingratitude that grow directly from the separation of our daily lives from our true natures? I am not suggesting that we replace science and economics with religion. I am arguing that we need to be chemists and alchemists, economists and moral philosophers, rational thinkers and numinous believers. In other words, we need to transcend duality and become whole.

This is an adapted version of the first chapter of Clive Hamilton's new book entitled *The Mystic Economist*, Willow Park Press, 1994.

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The trade, environment and development debate: An economist's perspective on the ethics

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It may come as a shock to see the words economist and ethics in the same sentence. However, economics and ethics are inseparable. Many economists are uncomfortable with this reality but the core of economics is the determination of value. Unfortunately, most economists limit their study of the determination of value to the operation of markets, yet determining value is a choice of ethics.

Economics has several schools of thought which can be distinguished by their ethical approach to the determination of value. The dominant school in Australia is neoclassical economics which provides the basis of nearly all the economics taught in Australian universities and the theoretical underpinning of the policy-oriented rational economics.

Neoclassical economics believes that value is determined by individuals and expressed through markets. Individuals value goods and services by the utility they provide to themselves. The individuals express that utility through their willingness to pay in a market place and value is measured by market prices. In this way neoclassical economics is based on the ethical principles of individualism and utilitarianism and is very much a child of the 18th century European Enlightenment.

Marxist economics believes that value is determined by labour. Like neoclassical economics, Marxist economics places people's utility at the centre of value determination. However, it is man as a worker rather than man as a consumer that is paramount. This rejects individualism in favour of the determination of value through the social process of labour. Value is set by society, not simply by markets. Thus value is a social choice rather than simply an individual choice.

The central ethical difference between neoclassical economics and Marxist economics is the role of the individual and the state in value determination. Marxist economics supports a major role for the state while neoclassical economics rejects the state. These two economic schools of thought are the extremes of a continuum which recognises that over time and between sectors the best balance of social and individual value determination will vary.

Both theories support the ethical principle of utilitarianism or use value, which places man's use of the environment at the centre of value determination. However, there are other

ethical approaches which believe that the environment has its own intrinsic value which cannot be determined by mankind.

The intrinsic value of the environment can come from a Judeo-Christian-Islamic basis as God's creation which mankind holds in stewardship. In many animist, polytheistic or Buddhist traditions the godhead is present in each part of creation and the environment's value lies in its sacred character. At its most encompassing this is the belief in *gaia*, or the sentience of the planet as a whole.

If we apply these ethical concepts to economic and environmental problems we can see an ethical conflict in the trade and environment debate. Neoclassical economics supports free trade where individuals exchange goods to maximise their individual utility. Marxist economics supports state managed trade to achieve society's goals. Both of these place people at the centre of their schemes and will incorporate the environmental impacts into the value of trade only where they impact on individuals or society.

Neoclassical economics believes that individuals will protect their environment through the purchase of appropriate goods in the market. Marxist economics believes that trade is a social choice and should be regulated by the state to ensure that the adverse environmental impacts of trade on society are minimised. These economic approaches have no role for the intrinsic value of the environment if it is not recognised by individuals in their purchases or by governments in their decisions.

As an exchange between nations, trade involves the ethical question of national sovereignty. Does one country have the right to force environmental protection on another country by trade restrictions? This ethical conflict is an important development issue. Do rich country environmentalists benefiting from their forefathers destruction of the temperate forests and the inequitable international distribution of wealth have the right to tell poor countries not to exploit their environments? This is an issue because it is generally believed that these restrictions would discriminate against poor countries which are unable to afford costly environmental protection. An example of this is the US ban on imports of Mexican tuna which has a high level of incidental dolphin kills.

The economic ethic states that we do not have the right to

interfere in the environmental impacts in other countries unless they impact on us as individuals (neoclassical economics) or as a society (Marxist economics). This is incorporated in the international trade rules of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which allow trade restrictions on imports causing environmental damage in the importing country, but not on goods causing environmental damage in the exporting country. The environmental ethic is of the intrinsic value of the environment as a global whole in which nation states are an artificial imposition. For example, they generally oppose GATT rules that uphold national sovereignty at the expense of exacerbating the destruction of the world's rainforests

by preventing trade restrictions on tropical timbers. My own view is that we do not have the moral authority to force the poor countries to preserve their environment. However, we do have the wealth to assist them to protect that environment and I believe we have an ethical obligation to provide that assistance.

The issues of economics, environment and development are ethical issues. Some economists vainly attempt to portray economics as a value-free objective science. It is very important that economists recognise that their work is ethical in nature and take responsibility for their own ethical positions.

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¹ I should make clear that I am writing this as an economist and the ethical issues covered here are my own views and not a rigorous exposition from the formal study of ethics.

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Human rights and development cooperation: The Australian perspective

*Gordon Bilney, Minister for Development Cooperation
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The years immediately following World War II were formative both for development assistance programmes as we know them today and for international human rights instruments, specifically the *Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations in 1948. However, for much of the Cold War era development assistance tended to focus more on achieving economic and social advancement than on protecting and promoting civil and political rights.

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been an increasing interest on the part of bilateral donors and multilateral institutions in raising issues relating to civil and political rights in policy dialogue with recipients, and many have announced intentions to link development assistance to performance in the areas of civil and political rights and governance. For example:

- the European Union and its Member States are now committed to a policy giving highest priority for development assistance to countries which promote respect for human rights, encourage representative democratic rule and reduce military expenditure;
- the United States launched a 'Democracy Initiative' as part of its development cooperation programme in 1990;
- Japan's 1992 Official Development Assistance Charter makes human rights performance a criterion for development assistance; and
- the United Kingdom announced in 1991 that it would more than double the level of its development assistance aimed at promoting better government.

In each of these cases, the objective is to protect and promote rights of an essentially civil and political character.

The response from developing countries to these policy initiatives has been mixed. Of course, some countries have welcomed the prospect of more assistance in organising elections, establishing human rights monitoring bodies and strengthening legal systems. However, the views expressed at the 1992 Jakarta Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement typified those of many developing countries. The Heads of State and Government at that Summit were critical of the West's perceived emphasis on civil and political rights at the expense of economic, social and cultural rights, which were said to 'relate more immediately to humankind's need for food, shelter and health care and the elimination of poverty and illiteracy'.

Australia's stance

Australia does not seek to establish general linkages between human rights performance and development assistance, preferring to focus on ways of achieving the most productive outcomes in individual cases. The nature of the linkages between development assistance and human rights therefore varies from case to case, depending on the frequency and severity of alleged violations, the adequacy of recipient government responses and the strength of governing institutions.

Let me take this opportunity to stress in particular how much the nature of the linkages between human rights and development assistance in particular cases is dependent on the strength of governing institutions. In this respect, developing countries are now much more diverse than ever before.

At one extreme we have situations in which there has been a serious erosion or collapse of effective government as a result of civil war, natural disaster or a combination of the two. Somalia is a particularly clear and stark example. In such cases talk of conditionality and policy dialogue is empty, and the role of donors is to ensure that the process of reconstruction, when it takes place, is such as to strengthen the rule of law and the capacity of the civil administration to establish and maintain order in a manner consistent with basic human rights precepts.

At the other end of the spectrum we have situations in which the governing institutions of a country are well established. Here the most effective approach will usually be to raise human rights issues in the context of policy dialogue on the future direction of development cooperation programmes.

Let me also briefly comment on the issue of governance, which is to a large extent inseparable from that of human rights. Australia does not place conditions on the form of government a country must have in order to qualify for development assistance. Commentators have frequently pointed to examples of rapid economic growth achieved under authoritarian governments, contrasting this with the sluggish economic performance of some democratically governed developing countries.

Good governance needs to be understood broadly as the effective management of a country's social and economic

resources in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable and equitable. I firmly believe that as populations become more affluent, they will tend to demand more freedoms and a greater role in government.

In advocating the views outlined above, Australia acts as something of a bridge between developed and developing country stances. The Australian Government is strongly of the view that constructive engagement is usually more effective in the long-term than punitive measures. Moreover, the Government recognises the importance of selecting the forms of such engagement with an appropriate degree of sensitivity to cultural and historical context.

Positive programmes

As the fundamental objective of Australia's development cooperation programme is to improve the social and economic conditions of people in developing countries in ways that are ecologically sustainable, the programme as a whole directly addresses and promotes economic and social rights.

Assistance aimed at the promotion of civil and political rights is for the most part a relatively new element of Australia's development cooperation effort. I am pleased to say that Australia now more actively seeks opportunities to support programmes and projects conducive both to good governance and the promotion of civil and political rights in developing countries, in particular through institution building at the national level.

Examples of positive measures supported through the development cooperation programme to promote good governance and civil and political rights include:

- assistance for the development of national institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights;
- institution strengthening activities aimed at improving the integrity and effectiveness of corrective institutions and court systems, including training programmes for police and other justice enforcement officials in areas such as minimum standards for the treatment of detainees, conflict resolution and community relations;
- development projects and special education programmes targeted at minority groups and children who are often the victims of human rights abuses;
- technical assistance for organisation and monitoring of elections;
- assistance to media organisations aimed at strengthening their capacity to present news and current affairs fully and objectively; and
- support for activities of multilateral institutions in the areas of policy dialogue and institution building.

A recent informal survey of Australian development cooperation activities indicates that Australia devotes well in excess of 0.5 per cent of its development cooperation

budget to activities specifically and primarily designed to promote human freedoms, humanitarian values or minority rights, and therefore already exceeds the target recommended by the former Secretary-General of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights for the year 2000.

As a concrete indication of the importance Australia attaches to capacity building measures in the fields of human rights and good governance, Australia recently contributed A\$300,000 to the Geneva-based United Nations Centre for Human Rights (UNCHR) for institution strengthening activities in developing countries in the Asia-Pacific region. This contribution, which was announced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, will be used for a variety of activities to be identified by the UNCHR in consultation with the Australian Government.

It should be borne in mind that human rights considerations enter into the planning and delivery of country programmes at many levels and in a variety of ways. Considerations relating to the government's effectiveness and the equity and transparency of its procedures may influence decisions on the levels and forms of development assistance provided. Where a government itself has identified vulnerable or disadvantaged groups, special efforts may be made to target assistance accordingly. There are many small-scale credit and primary health care projects in rural areas - sometimes aimed at groups such as female headed households or the disabled - which are designed to promote social justice and improve community self-reliance and opportunity, and special provisions have been made in training programmes to meet human rights criteria in the selection of candidates, such as displaced persons.

Punitive measures

Australia's response to human rights violations in developing countries is determined on a case-by-case basis, and tries to focus on what will be most productive in assisting the cause of the victims of human rights abuses and promoting more open and consensual government. Where specific human rights violations have been identified, the Government has taken a consistent and principled foreign policy stand. Australia has frequently made bilateral representations on matters of human rights concern to close allies, significant trading partners and close neighbours.

The suspension of development assistance has been used as a last resort only in cases of persistent and flagrant human rights violations, and has usually been undertaken in concert with other major donors. The Government is conscious that such action can further penalise the victims of human rights abuses and reduce the influence that Australia could otherwise bring to bear on the recipient government. Moreover, continuing development cooperation provides a valuable means of contact between the peoples of developing countries and Australia - contact that can foster an improved

mutual understanding of different systems of social and political organisation.

Programme management

The Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), the Government's development assistance agency, has taken concrete steps to integrate human rights concerns into the management of the development cooperation programme on a more systematic basis, including:

- revising guidelines on development assistance programming procedures to ensure specific consideration of human rights issues in activity design, implementation and evaluation; and
- establishing a staff training programme on human rights

issues, implemented jointly by AIDAB and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Conclusion

This Government has placed an increased emphasis on the broad range of human rights issues both in policy dialogue and in development cooperation activities. The essential feature of the Government's approach to human rights issues in the context of the development cooperation programme is that, in general, continued dialogue and targeted engagement at the project level are preferred to punitive measures. However, where substantial and persistent human rights violations occur in a recipient country, Australia has demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate its willingness to respond promptly with appropriate condemnation and punitive measures.

Human rights and family planning

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The broad field of family planning, including marriage, contraception, abortion, and new reproductive technologies, has become a focal point for debate on some of the thorniest issues of human rights and ethics in modern times. This paper looks closely at the nature and perception of human rights and how these are relevant to people's freedom to make decisions on family formation and building. Also explored are how UN human rights initiatives are applicable to the promotion of programmes of family planning and population control. It also reviews a variety of evidence which implies that such programs must incorporate strong support for human rights if they are to be effective and sustainable, and if they are to deserve international acceptance.

The definition of 'Human Rights' given by Bledsoe and Boczek in their *International Law Dictionary* (1987:69) has a strong value orientation: 'The rights considered as fundamental or natural to any individual, as defined by civilised nations. Such rights are felt to be inalienable and essential if a state is to be counted among those that are included in the category of so-called civilised states.' Because this kind of value loaded definition is so common in lay and specialist discussions of rights, it is not surprising that debates over specific rights often degenerate into exchanges of charges about the degree to which one protagonist is civilised, or another is oppressively colonialistic in pressing a claim.

The concept of human rights and expectations of people and their families can differ fundamentally between the cultures. There are a number of human rights landmark developments which have achieved wide international acceptance and which address issues directly relevant to family planning. Of course, international agreements and declarations are not guarantees of human rights. Most countries which violate their citizens' rights cannot be brought to an international court or tribunal of any kind. An important element of modern discussions of individual human rights has been the wide acceptance that duties and responsibilities go with them. United Nations conferences and conventions have attempted to discourage states from generating arbitrary or vague lists of duties for citizens.

One such landmark is the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Quotations from the Declaration selected on the basis of relevance to reproductive behaviour are:

Article 1. All Human Beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and

conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of law against such interference or attacks.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

Article 16. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

Article 16. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Article 25. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

Article 29. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

The UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Background

In his influential book *World Human Rights Guide*, Charles Humana argues that while UN discussions of human rights reflect Western liberal traditions and values, they are by no means ethnocentric, much less neocolonial. As evidence for this conclusion he points both to strong human rights traditions in non western societies, and to the fact that 159 states have voluntarily joined the United Nations and in doing so tacitly subscribed to its Charter, Declarations and Covenants.

The links between human rights and family planning have always been complex and contradictory. The repressive fertility policies the Fascist regimes pursued were among the prominent characteristics which precipitated the post-war international movement to codify human rights. Their denial of individuals' rights to determine the timing and pattern of their own childbearing was abhorrent to western democracies despite the fact that the democracies themselves at that time were developing incentives to increase fertility in their own populations to stem a perceived threat of 'race suicide'. The massive reaction to Fascist population policies cast a pall on pro-natalism and eugenics in Western Europe which persists to the present day (Teitelbaum and Winter 1985: 78).

The United Nations addresses problems of population

The rights surrounding family planning were not directly stated in the Universal Declaration in 1948. However, they have since been addressed in various UN declarations and most notably in the 1968 Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran. The conference concluded it was time to draw attention to the connection between population growth and human rights (see Box). The Act warned that the rapid rate of population growth in some areas of the world hampered the struggle against hunger and poverty and efforts for adequate standards of food, clothing, housing, medical care, social security, education and social services - 'thereby impairing the full realisation of human rights'. The Act also strongly supported couples' basic right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and access to adequate family planning education and information (see Isaacs 1981:352-3).

In retrospect, such a strong declaration is startling. Family planning was absent in the early post-war human rights agenda and various political and ideological groups were becoming more vocal in criticising the family planning movement in the 1970s and 1980s. The declaration represented a high point in the international recognition of family planning, or more specifically fertility control, as a basic human right which should be protected and promoted by governments.

Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran, 1986.

Believing that it is timely to draw attention to the connection between population growth and human rights [the conference]:

1. Observes that the present rapid rate of population growth in some areas of the world hampers the struggle against hunger and poverty, and in particular reduces the possibilities of rapidly achieving adequate standards of living, including food, clothing, housing, medical care, social security, education and social services, thereby impairing the full realisation of human rights;
2. Recognises that moderation of the present rate of population growth in such areas would enhance the conditions for offering greater opportunities for the enjoyment of human rights and the improvement of living conditions for each person;
3. Considers that couples have a basic human right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and a right to adequate education and information in this respect (see Isaacs 1981:352-3).

On Human Rights Day, December 10, 1966, twelve world leaders signed a Declaration on Population promoting their belief that most parents wanted to have the knowledge and means to control the timing and number of births. The declaration stated that 'the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right' (Isaacs 1981:355). In 1967 another 18 Heads of State signed the Declaration on Population.

In 1974 the World Population Conference in Bucharest produced a World Population Plan of Action giving UN agencies a strong administrative basis for a more active role in family planning. Article 14(f) of the Plan restated the right of couples to decide 'freely and responsibly' the number and spacing of births. It also declared that 'the responsibility of couples and individuals in the exercise of this right takes into account the needs of their living and future children and their responsibilities to the community' (Isaacs 1981:354). The recognition of such a wide range of legitimate interests paved the way for governments to intervene in fertility decision making in the interest of the general community and future generations.

The Declaration of the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico emphasised the rights of individual choice. It included a statement that 'every couple and every individual has the right to decide freely and responsibly whether or not to have children as well as to determine their number and spacing, and to have information, education and means to do so' (Isaacs 1981: 354).

International debates

Can human rights be seen as immutable? Hardly, for not only have the apparently firm and consistent statements by the United Nations not been fully implemented, the fundamental bases of control over reproduction have been subject to continuing debate as to whether women's rights to control their reproduction are in conflict with rights of unborn children or other family members, or whether the State has an overriding interest to prevent wanted pregnancies in the interest of controlling population growth. Covenants and Declarations have not faced these conflicts squarely, with the result that they remain issues of controversy and conflicting interpretation.

At any given time, deeply established rights in one setting may be fragile or only superficially supported in other settings - even when all nations ratify appropriate international covenants. This is so often demonstrated in practice as to be a truism. It is not more widely acknowledged because, once nations have formally expressed international consensus, leaders are reluctant to reveal they are really talking about quite different national values and behaviour.

Concern for human rights, then, should lead to consideration of different and changing value patterns among nations. This is likely to lead to greater emphasis on reproductive rights and reproductive duties. Even as such patterns are defined, they are likely to be part of wider changes as different forces within societies compete over particular value issues. This, in turn, is likely to change attitudes to reproductive behavior.

Support for the above two propositions in recent demographic research is growing. A number of studies argue that changes in fertility have more to do with changing patterns of thinking than increasing material welfare associated with economic development. Individualism and egalitarianism spread through school systems have been suggested as one form of changing values and attitudes to fertility. Equally, the ebb and flow of religious beliefs (Bellah et. al. 1985) are seen as indications of shifting values which may lead to rises and falls in fertility as community norms concerning the role of women and the family are reshaped.

Family planning and women's rights

The world has now had more than four decades of internationally declared human rights. At the national level, years of effort have gone into promoting basic principles of freedom, equity, and human dignity. Yet today many women around the world lack the ability to determine the timing of their own childbearing, despite the existence of extremely efficient and safe techniques of conception control and pregnancy termination.

In much of the world, cultural traditions degrade the status

of women in ways that produce unequal access to nutrition and health care. As a result an estimated 60 million women are 'missing' from the world population due to excess rates of mortality in comparison with their male counterparts (Coale 1991:523). In addition, for women living in traditional patriarchies, their spouses, families, and sexual partners often claim dominant rights to determine whether they will use contraception, and their communities acknowledge their worth as human beings largely on the basis of their ability to bear children, and produce sons for their husbands. Such values may even be encouraged by governments as elements of the protection of the 'family unit', and seldom is the loss of women's individual human rights acknowledged.

It is useful to acknowledge the intellectual and activist precursors to UN efforts on international recognition of family planning rights. Pioneers in the field, as exemplified in Margaret Sanger's incarcerations, Marie Stopes' pamphlets and speeches, and the history of the development of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and its national affiliates, were all efforts to promote contraceptive services as a basic right of women which substantially predate the UN efforts. They emerged at a time of relatively little interest in the issue of rapid population growth, and focused exclusively on the problems of women burdened by many closely spaced pregnancies, often under conditions of abusive and degrading marital arrangements. For the pioneers, the issue of human rights, and especially women's rights, was the core of the question of providing access to contraception (Sai 1976:7-16; IPPF 1983).

While the family planning movement began with the goal of expanding individual human rights, the emergence of population growth objectives set in a framework of economic planning has seen the State claiming overarching rights of control or promotion of childbirth in many nations. Contraceptive technology has become a tool in a tense negotiation between individuals and the State with frequent examples of individual rights being sacrificed to State goals through either the denial of family planning services or the enforced use of contraception or abortion. Women seldom have a direct voice in these negotiations.

While it is true that individuals need access to safer and more efficient methods of fertility control, technology alone will not provide this. The role of the State in promoting or inhibiting individual reproductive rights needs to be resolved. Accessible legal abortions might expand the freedoms of some women but coercive abortions can be used against the wishes of pregnant women by a State bent on fertility control. Sub-dermal contraceptive implants may provide safe and convenient birth control for some women and hence enhance their human rights, but the coercive promotion of this technology or withholding of information on side effects could just as easily violate their rights to reproductive control.

Back to basic rights and family planning

Looking back over 40 years it is clear that issues of human rights remain at the heart of family planning. This includes scholarly legal consideration of the milestones marking the decades of progress since the UN Declaration (Moskowitz 1958; Symonds and Carter 1973; Ramcharan 1979) and of the problems remaining with reproductive rights. Problems of birth control are still central to the definition and promotion of individual rights. In some cases, individuals and states have taken advantage of contradictions of specific interests to justify actions which defy internationally recognised principles. In other cases, rights which have been declared to clearly define individual freedoms are espoused as parts of arguments designed to ultimately restrict the freedom of individuals to control their fertility. Perhaps these conflicts are inevitable outcomes of social debates.

There are three main issues:

- Whose rights are involved in the use of specific methods of birth control?
- Whose rights are involved in decisions by individuals to bear children?
- Who decides on matters of conflicts between individuals, communities and the State in matters of reproductive rights?

On the one hand these are broad, perhaps unresolvable, philosophical questions. But, on the other hand, there is a large body of international discussion and decision making on the issue of population growth and family planning and nearly a century of accumulated decisions in the community on birth control which provide a firm basis for reaching conclusions about the basic tenets in the relation between human rights and family planning.

First, conventions, treaties and declarations have provided world community consensus that family planning - the control over fertility - is a basic right and that decisions related to the exercise of that right rest with individuals.

Second, society, through the government, has a responsibility to help individuals gain both the knowledge of that right and attain the power to exercise that right. The State also has a legitimate role in ensuring that one individual's exercise of the right does not interfere unduly with the rights of other individuals. This non interference principle is not interpreted under UN documents to give any individual rights to unborn individuals. As Article 1 declares, 'human beings are born free' with the implication that their rights are acquired at birth and not before. The help expected from the State takes many forms including access to acceptable means of birth control, provision of supplies and training and appropriate population and reproductive health education programmes to foster responsible decision making.

Third, due to global inequalities in development, education and purchasing power, the international community has recognized the need for better-off nations to help individuals and communities in poorer nations to meet their needs for information, materials and equipment to promote reproductive rights.

Fourth, it is recognised that a major part of promoting choice for women involves challenging entrenched social, economic and political obstacles to birth control. This is because of the huge proportions of unwanted and insupportable births which women bear against their preference. It also recognises the way in which men, outmoded institutions, and oppressive circumstances work against women's freedom to exercise their personal reproductive rights.

Fifth, in many countries there are significant problems of infertility which restrict women from achieving their desired fertility. Women may need help in achieving fertility or adjusting to the social and psychological circumstances of their infertility. This may involve reforming institutions and educating communities to treat infertile women with respect and provide them with the same social and economic protection available to mothers.

To date, many programmes have focused on the second item listed above and have been characterised by arguments over the threat of population growth to the living conditions and rights of communities and future generations. While there are very sound economic and environmental reasons for respecting this contention, it is dangerous to focus exclusively on such evidence. Targets set by states to reduce population growth rates are often implemented as quite serious violations of individuals' rights to choose appropriate means to limit or space childbearing.

The acknowledged excesses of officials in China, including strong pressures on women to be sterilized or to abort 'out of plan' children, are directly the result of rigid target-oriented administrative systems which have little to do with the provision of a quality family planning service to couples. Moreover, disincentives, including increasing the cost of health care and school fees for second or higher children, may have the perverse effect of promoting high fertility if parents are motivated to keep their children out of school and deny them health care. Ironically, such children can provide immediate economic benefit to parents who can put them to work, whereas the educated child is removed from the workforce for long periods and demands substantial supplementary support from parents and the community during the period of education. A government which places barriers to the education of high parity children may thus be both encouraging higher fertility today while creating a future generation of poorly educated workers who are themselves prone to potentially high fertility.

It is often argued that the majority of the world's women

who are not using contraception actually do not want any more children. If this is true, the 'unmet need' for family planning already presents a major challenge for government programmes. Furthermore, it seems that the perception of need, or the desire to control fertility, rises with educational levels and the use of contraception in a community. So provision of acceptable family planning services stimulates, rather than satisfies, the demand for contraceptive services through the development of community awareness and acceptance of birth control. Demand rises most rapidly as the quality of services improves and contraceptives become more affordable (Pariani et.al. 1991).

Where then should priorities for family planning programmes lie, if they are to show due concern for human rights?

The first priority is the establishment of principles which can guide family planning programme formulation and serve as a benchmark for monitoring implementation of a programme. From the human rights perspective, the overriding principle is voluntarism. This includes the offer of a variety of birth control methods, the provision of adequate counseling before and during contraceptive use, obtaining a genuinely informed consent of the client before administering any contraceptive drug, procedure or device, keeping reliable medical records to monitor individual cases, and making available and affordable any services needed to deal with cases of contraceptive side effects or failure.

From a practical viewpoint, the basic principle implied by voluntarism is quality of care. It would be a waste of resources, and would defeat the purpose, if people stopped using services through dissatisfaction or poor follow-up. Also, quality services produce satisfied users who educate and encourage others to participate in better exercising their reproductive rights.

While these two guiding principles accord with human rights objectives, they do not automatically produce clear indicators for monitoring programmes. Although many national governments have established family planning programmes, some of those programmes are not noted for either voluntarism or quality of services. Too often success is measured in simple notions of fertility decline or prevalence of use of contraception without considering the relation of these figures to the quality of contraceptives provided or the sustainability and completeness of services.

The acknowledgment of human rights issues related to family planning and the development of a strong commitment to deal with them directly, offers governments everywhere an opportunity to make a major contribution to human welfare and women's reproductive rights.

Another paper on reproductive rights by Terence H. Hill, *Competing rights: The mother, the foetus and the State*, is available upon request from the Australian Development Studies Network.

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International law of human rights

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The question, 'Is the right to development a human right?' presumes the existence of a 'broad consensus' concerning the nature and scope of 'international law'. Within this framework there is considerable debate over the international community's attempts to codify human rights, in particular in relation to the hierarchy of civil and political as opposed to economic, social and cultural rights, and collective versus individual rights, on what a 'right to development' involves, whether such a right exists, and if it does, who is responsible for ensuring its realisation.

Broadly speaking, by establishing what might be regarded as minimum or desirable standards of human rights (however defined), the International Bill of Rights, comprising the UN Declaration (1948) and two Covenants (1976) and other instruments on specific human rights issues, implicitly establish a right to progress or 'development'. The validity of this hypothesis is reflected in international law's metamorphosis from a passive, control-oriented law of coexistence to a law of positive cooperation and increasing acceptance that mankind, individually and collectively, is an appropriate subject (Rich 1983:290). Similarly, the existence of a 'complicated network of international undertakings and arrangements ... for the benefit of the less developed countries can be regarded as evidence of state practice that may be regarded as 'law' (Schachter 1976:1-2).

Unfortunately, during the late 1960s and 1970s, the notion of a 'right to development' became part of the rhetoric surrounding less developed countries calls for fundamental changes in the patterns and principles of international economic relations to achieve a fairer distribution of the world's resources.

In 1973 the General Assembly adopted Resolution 3171 on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources which was followed in 1974 by Resolutions 3201 and 3202 (Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the related 'Programme of Action'), and later that year by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (Resolution 3281). These resolutions sought to confirm the permanent sovereignty of states over their natural resources and related economic activity, rejecting colonial and racial domination and alien or foreign occupation. They affirmed recourse to nationalisation to regain and safeguard those resources as a sovereign right and asserted that it was the right of the expropriating state to determine appropriate compensation. Representing the pinnacle of developing country efforts to forge a new basis for economic relations between North and South, the 1974 resolutions were passed by consensus, reflecting the less

developed countries' natural majority in the General Assembly.

Unfortunately, the evolution of more progressive views in the developed world were set back by the 1973 oil embargo. The more developed countries argued that social and economic standards, however desirable, could not be internationally 'legislated' and were not truly 'human rights' (Cranston 1973). The more developed countries deeply resented the implication that they should accept the burden of responsibility to redress the injustices of centuries of largely European expansion, exploitation and industrialisation. As a result, the 1974 Declaration and Resolutions failed to receive the support of the majority of the industrialised (capital exporting) states thus compromising their status as expressions of customary law in relation to 'cooperation for development'.

The debate entered a new stage in 1976 with the establishment of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, when for the first time, a number of issues were incorporated into a legally binding instrument. However, a number of commentators remained sceptical of the effectiveness of the Covenant to ensure a right to development.

As a result of a 1979 study prepared for the UN Secretary-General stating that 'promotion of respect for human rights in general, including the human right to development' should be prominent among the objectives for the Third Development Decade - General Assembly Resolution 37/199 declared the right to development an 'inalienable human right'. However, it was not until 1986, as a result of work initiated by the Economic and Social Council and the Human Rights Commission some years previously, that the General Assembly Resolution 41/128 sought to redefine the 'right to development' in terms acceptable to developed and developing countries.

Despite its rather inauspicious beginnings (Barsh 1991:232), the Declaration on the Right to Development (DRD) led to 'global consultations' which batted the problem of implementation back into the court of the Human Rights Commission, then to the General Assembly and most importantly, to the UN's economic organisations and agencies. In this process, despite what Barsh describes as the DRD's 'artfully vague text', the scene was set for significant progress towards recognition of shared responsibility, direct linkage of human rights and development based on participation, and recognition of the importance of other than economic indicators (see the UNDP's Human Development Reports).

Arguments for and against its inclusion

In view of the foregoing, I would argue that a 'right to development' is already an element of international law, through the several specific instruments, state practice in support of international development, and the evolution of a body of procedural law on international development. These gains have provided for greater consultation in many international fora.

In these circumstances, the continued promotion of a 'right to development' which perpetuates the North-South polemic would be a retrograde step. Instead there appears to be an emerging consensus in favour of an 'integrated' approach along the lines of the DRD which recognises that 'development' underpins the full spectrum of human rights, individual and universally applicable, but at the same time, acknowledges that historic disparities in wealth and influence have resulted in a continuum of 'unequal negotiation'. This inequality only reinforced the political and economic predominance of the industrialised states and

the continued economic dependence, and in some cases, exploitation of the developing countries. What is needed, according to Schachter (1976), is 'a new conception of international entitlement to aid and preferences *based on need*' (emphasis added) and reconciliation of 'need as a basis of entitlement' with established principles of equality among states and continued commitment to comparative advantage and non discrimination as principles of international trade.

It is axiomatic that international relationships are constructed on the basis of a complex trade in relative costs and benefits, strengths and weaknesses, and that negotiation involves 'bargaining' or 'conditionality' in one form or another. By ensuring that 'conditionality' is applied in a way which is consistent with principles established to govern relations between states, the integrity of international efforts to subjugate nation-state and North-South prerogatives in support of genuine progress in the promotion and protection of basic human rights and the preservation of a 'common future' can be enhanced.

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Justice and development: An outline of ethical justifications

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In this brief essay I propose to identify and explore ethical questions that underpin the development debate. My purpose is to clarify what are the ethical justifications for action to promote global justice and reduce global poverty. I take it to be important that, if we are to sustain moral action, we need a coherent understanding of our ethical reasons and beliefs for that action.

I start with one major assumption. As human beings we have a responsibility to actively respect and care for others, especially those affected by our decisions. This responsibility refers not just to distant peoples, it also includes future generations and other life forms - indeed anything which is taken to have value. I claim that the moral community is inclusive and universal because all life is interconnected.

Now this is a huge claim which is philosophically contestable. It certainly poses challenges which are very difficult, if not impossible, to fulfil. However, when this assumption is accepted it may be further claimed that we are bound together in ways that make charity and social justice mandatory. This is not to deny special familial or national responsibilities but it is to suggest that they ought to be put in a wider moral perspective or range of responsiveness.

This is a claim supported by the philosopher Nigel Dower (1991:280), who writes that,

there are extensive interactions and transactions between people, interdependencies, shared institutions etc., not with the more stringent conditions of shared traditions, common authority or a widespread sense that one belongs to the same society. In the relevant sense there is already a global society: we need only look at world trade, global institutions and environmental interdependence. The world is therefore actually, and not just potentially, a moral community, even if the sense of it is poorly developed in most people. We are global citizens even if we have not yet acquired our global souls.

There are two matters consequent in this claim that moral responsibility derives from the interconnection of all life. The first is, how responsible are we? How much should we care? Is it a responsibility to put our own well-being at risk? Granted, there are those circumstances when the ethical demand may require that sacrifice, but normally the mutual aid principle is sufficient justification i.e. we ought

to care for others as much as we can, consistent with a reasonable concern for the quality of our own lives.

The second matter is a slight digression. In the light of this claim, that moral responsibility rests on the interconnectedness of all life, we may assess an alternative claim, often invoked in development discussions, that this responsibility rests on human rights. In my view, that is a less substantial, though relevant, claim. For instance, the human rights argument may beg questions because of conflicts between rights or the omission of the responsibilities associated with rights. Furthermore, it may founder on the subtleties of cross-cultural perspectives which conflict with anthropocentric, western perceptions of the good society. These are matters for fuller discussion elsewhere, but I pause to register my concern about resting the case for justice and development too strongly on the human rights view.

There is another starting point for this discussion which warrants declaration, though it is known and accepted by most readers I would assume. I refer to the facts of the matter: at least one-fifth of the world's human population live in absolute poverty which is life threatening; about one-fifth of the world's human population live in obvious affluence as they control and use 80 per cent of the world's resources; allied to this exploitation is the widespread threat to numerous non human species and the degradation of the biosphere itself.

I have no doubt that these facts constitute *the* major ethical challenge for humanity as we approach the third millennium B.C. Nonetheless, translating this challenge into the ethical question, 'what *ought* we do about it?' begins to raise even more questions such as:

- What can an individual person, or even a nation do about this situation? Should we jeopardise our own circumstances through our charity?
- Should we send aid? What kind of aid? How much aid? How should the aid be distributed? When does aid become paternalistic interference?
- Should we try to overthrow corrupt governments in poor parts of the world? Should we use force to achieve this?
- What of population control? Is it moral to coerce people to limit the size of their families?
- Ought the affluent modify their consumption and their

lifestyle? What if that action has no discernible, immediate effect?

- More basically: What is it to help in this situation? How much respect and caring is reasonable? What is development anyway? Should politicians be expected to risk their capacity to govern by adopting policies in favour of poorer societies?
- And finally: Who should decide what is just - those who control resources or those who need them? But how do we distinguish between needs and wants anyway?

Limitations of space prevent me from discussing these questions here. However, I take it that some care about examining those questions is part of our 'responsibility to actively respect and care for others' in matters of aid and development. Equally however, I would argue that a failure to answer those questions comprehensively should not prevent us from attempting to exercise that responsibility. The quest for an ethical system to provide guidelines for addressing these questions could be informed by the four principles well-known because of their adoption in health care ethics. Health care professionals are enjoined to weigh up ethical decisions according to (1) *beneficence* (do good), (2) *non-maleficence* (do no harm), (3) *autonomy* (respect for persons) and (4) *justice*. All are applicable to an ethic for development. It is to justice that I now turn.

A prior ethical question in the development debate is, what are the requirements of a just world order? The importance of this question is signalled by the slogan which overseas aid agencies have invoked, 'if you want development, then work for justice'.

The nature of justice and the just society has long been a core issue for political philosophers and ethicists, yet opinion is divided on the matter. There are those who believe this question has to be settled on utilitarian grounds. That is, the difficult question of resource redistribution should be determined, after a consideration of all the interests at stake, in terms of what will achieve the greatest good for the greatest number. Peter Singer provides a more enlightened version of utilitarianism and is a strong advocate of egalitarian development measures. His utilitarianism leads to interventionist conclusions taking seriously the utilitarian assumption that 'if it is in our power to prevent something bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, we ought, morally, to do it' (1972:24). But is a focus on the criterion of utility (usefulness) likely to lead to social justice?

Noting that the utilitarian approach can also lead to the crude lifeboat analogy associated with Garrett Hardin where the interests of the weak and disadvantaged are devalued, others have postulated a theory of justice focused more on a social contract which protects the rights of the individual.

A prominent example of this view was developed by John Rawls. It spells out a principled view of justice as fairness, and opens up the way for policies to advantage the weakest and most vulnerable in any society. Others see distinct problems with Rawls' approach because it has an inadequate analysis of power in society. It ends up supporting liberal, welfare strategies which in development terms support economic policies of the 'trickle-down' variety. In contrast, a socialist view of justice focuses on the need to transform socio-economic structures, and to remove economic control from ruling elites through struggle and conflict. The socialist justice perspective sharpens the issue of what constitutes 'help to alleviate poverty'. The Brazilian Archbishop Helder Camara once commented, 'When I help the poor I am called a saint, but when I ask why they are poor I am called a communist.' His remark raises the question of whether development aid must go beyond charitable and palliative responses, to include the search for the causes of injustice and then the removal of the structural bases of injustice. This is a view for which a socialist approach to justice would have great sympathy.

In an important work on the question of global justice the Australian philosopher, Janna Thompson (1992), adopts what she labels a cosmopolitan and communitarian view. She argues that this requires the following: promotion of individual liberty, respect for the communities valued by individuals, a distribution of resources which enables the maintenance of individual liberty and community life, together with peaceful relations among communities based on principles and procedures which all agree are fair.

Any adequate programme for global justice must not only acknowledge what is *desirable* but also what is *feasible*. When we take this point, we soon see that actions for justice are tinged with ambiguity: unintended bad outcomes may come from good intentions. As the questions itemised earlier suggest, justice is a complex, elusive goal.

The quest for the feasible suggests that our task is one involving political ethics or ethical politics. As such, it is not merely a matter of redistributing resources, but also of a realignment of power. The ethical response to the previous questions must be worked through in the conflict of interests which constitute international politics with all the economic, historical, social and cultural factors which constrain the *real politik*.

A comprehensively, responsible response requires that $\frac{3}{4}$ but not only that, for if we only focus on the *feasible* we may fail to change the situation at all. We are most likely to retreat complacently into self-interest. As the ancient prophet put it, 'Without vision, the people perish.' An ethic of responsibility also requires that we seek a better world by articulating the *desirable* alternatives: a global society free of hunger, poverty and economic exploitation. I see no need to abandon the quest for a universal understanding of justice. Utopian insights combined with practical action

give us the best chance of a critical, transformative ethical response which gives priority to the most disadvantaged. In my view, this *praxis* approach must take seriously the socialist analysis of justice and injustice while emphasising the need to work for justice from a communitarian base.

On this issue, more clearly than on others, we see how philosophical analysis without social action is the ultimate hypocrisy, that any ethic worthy of the name ought always be applied, that philosophers ought not merely analyse the world, but participate with others in its transformation.

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HIV, law and development: The Asian and African experience

Julie Hamblin

The profoundly tragic impact of the HIV epidemic in developing countries represents a challenge to health of extraordinary and overwhelming proportions. We are starting to hear more in Australia about the mounting levels of HIV infection, particularly in some parts of Asia, where they are now rivalling East Africa as the worst affected areas. Yet these statistics alone fail to convey the extent to which the HIV epidemic is transforming the lives and hopes of the millions of people in developing countries who have now been affected by HIV.

Programmes to address the impact of HIV in the developing world have had to acknowledge that HIV has pervaded every aspect of social, economic and political life in these countries. The role of the law in responding to HIV is critical in this regard. The legal framework within which HIV is experienced by communities is a powerful factor influencing social attitudes to people with HIV and efforts by communities to change the behaviours that place individuals at risk of infection. Laws that express support for people affected by the HIV epidemic and provide effective protection against HIV-related discrimination are a necessary backdrop to a strong, ethical policy response to HIV that embodies respect for, rather than denial of, human rights in the context of HIV.

In recognition of the importance of integrating a consideration of ethics and law into HIV policy in developing countries, the United Nations Development Programme has initiated two projects to establish networks on ethics, law and HIV - one in the Asia-Pacific region and the other in East and West Africa. The projects aim to strengthen the capacity of developing countries to address the ethical and legal dimensions of the HIV epidemic and, more particularly, to use the law constructively in the response to HIV so that it enhances efforts to change the values, attitudes and behaviours that place people at risk.

At the heart of these two projects on ethics, law and HIV is an acknowledgment of the human dimensions of what is happening in these countries as a result of HIV. Infection levels in some communities are approaching 30 per cent of the adult population. There are now millions of children in the world whose parents have died of AIDS. One hears many tragic stories, such as that of the elderly widow in Kenya who had lost all her sons and all her sons' wives to AIDS and was struggling to bring up 24 grandchildren on her own.

In countries where economic development is already severely retarded, there are now farms that cannot be used because

there is no one to work the fields, and industries that cannot function for lack of personnel. A bank in Zambia decided in 1992 that it would test all potential job applicants for HIV in order to avoid the cost and dislocation of employing people who would later become sick and die. On the first occasion this policy was implemented, 11 out of 13 job applicants tested positive. It soon became apparent that the policy could not remain in place if the bank was to maintain its workforce.

Even now, we do not know how societies will cope in 10 years time when perhaps half of the middle generation - those between 20 and 45 - will have died. The psychological trauma certainly cannot be quantified. But one can predict with some confidence that there will be massive social change - the destruction of family and community relationships, political destabilisation, and the decimation of economies or, at best, the reversal of what progress has been made towards economic development.

One of the features that has marked the impact of the HIV epidemic, particularly in the Third World, but also in some parts of the developed world, has been the way in which it has reflected vulnerabilities and inequalities within communities. Increasingly, the spread of infection is mirroring inequalities of gender, race and wealth. Poverty is today one of the most potent global risk factors for HIV, because people who are poor are not able to protect themselves from infection. They are isolated from prevention messages and often are driven by economic need to remain in sexual relationships or in jobs, such as prostitution, that expose them to HIV.

There is a growing recognition that women are acutely vulnerable to HIV infection, because their unequal position within communities across the world renders them powerless to protect themselves against the risk of HIV infection. They can compel neither monogamy nor condom use. It is a sad reality that for the majority of women in the world today, their only risk factor for HIV is having sex with their husbands.

As a result of the all-pervasive impact of HIV on these countries, there has had to be a rethinking of what is required for effective health promotion. Part of this rethinking has been a consideration of the role the law can play in health promotion. In Africa, many people are now saying that the best way of promoting women's health in the face of the HIV epidemic is not to provide them with condoms and information about HIV transmission, but rather to do something about their subordinate position within their

communities - to pass laws giving them the right to own property independently of their husbands or to ensure that they have access to education. Similarly, laws that protect affected communities from discrimination based on HIV infection can empower those communities to change the values and behaviours that place them at risk.

Of course addressing social issues of this magnitude is a tall order, and one has to be realistic about what can be achieved and how quickly. Nevertheless, raising awareness of the interaction between ethics, law and HIV is an important first step towards policies that will go beyond 'conventional' HIV prevention programmes, that have focused on HIV information and condom promotion, and to address the social and economic determinants of HIV infection.

The United Nations Development Programme Networks on Ethics, Law and HIV bring lawyers, doctors and HIV policymakers together with people living with HIV, their families and carers and community-based HIV support groups. Through this sharing of experience between people and groups who would otherwise often be isolated from each other, a new focus can be brought to bear on the impact of HIV on particular countries and communities and the kinds

of policies that will be effective in preventing the spread of HIV and meeting the needs of those affected. The importance of advocacy by and for people affected by the epidemic and their involvement in the formulation of HIV policy are fundamental principles underpinning the networks.

Equally important to the networks is the belief - so often borne out in the experience with the HIV epidemic to date - that universal themes exist which transcend national, cultural and legal boundaries. These are themes that emphasise the centrality of care and support for people affected by the epidemic and the importance of individual and communal self-esteem and empowerment in effective policies for responding to HIV. In this respect, many legal responses to HIV to date have been less than exemplary. Nonetheless, there is now an opportunity to learn from each other's mistakes through an open sharing of insights and experiences with ethics, law and HIV.

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The right to a healthy environment

Kevin Bray¹

Recent decades have witnessed an accelerated concern for environmental protection, demonstrated in domestic environmental protection law and in a wide range of regional and international conferences, resolutions, declarations, conventions and institutional arrangements. Beginning earlier, but roughly paralleling environmental protection developments, human rights have also been of considerable global, regional and national interest. This paper draws from these two strands in discussing the right to a healthy environment as a human right, analysing different approaches and asking whether the question matters.

The environment - natural or human?

Linking the environment and *human rights* involves an anthropocentric view. Although consistent with Christian concepts and *inter alia* the Stockholm Declaration, it is opposed by some as too narrow. As Handl (1992:138) notes, an anthropocentric view 'offers no guarantee against global environmental degradation' and protecting nature for its own sake 'has found express recognition in several international legal documents'. Although this 'deep ecology' view is not widely held, it may become more prevalent over time. For now, we note that its adherents would not accept the right to a healthy environment as a (solely) *human right*.

What is a human right?

Many writers have debated this question, but two broad areas emphasise different directions of approach. The first sees a human right as a normative, moral right based on 'natural law', arising either from a (God?) - given world order, or through human transcendence within natural evolution. From this basic position emerges, on the one hand, an ordered, hierarchical approach which identifies 'fundamental' human rights and questions whether 'second generation' rights are worthy to be called human rights; or on the other hand, a 'holistic' approach grounded in the 'common good', avoiding both 'abstract normative criteria' and 'anything goes relativities' by basing human rights in the 'historical experiences of real people struggling to overcome domination'. This plays down comparisons between different 'generations' of human rights and legalistic arguments about their status.

The other broad area adopts as human rights those which are accepted by states as legally binding. Bilder's (1969) well known dictum is an extreme example. Others like Vierdag (1978) also insist on effective legal remedies against violations if the right is to be recognised, and on this basis reject most rights contained in the International Covenant

on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

Collective or individual rights

An important element in the debate outlined above is the connection between individual human rights, those rights that are, at least potentially, enforceable by an individual against a state, and collective human rights. The right to a clean environment relates to global, regional and national *ecological systems* and thus to the impact of the environment on groups of people.

Development of the right to a healthy environment

Space limitations preclude a general analysis of possible sources of a right to a healthy² environment in customary international law. Suffice it to say that the international development of human rights law and environmental law has taken place through, or found its expression in, global and regional multilateral conventions. The examination of these for evidence of the right to a clean environment as a human right are discussed below.

Environmental instruments

The Stockholm Declaration concerns the human environment, and is silent on protecting nature for its own sake. It speaks of transforming the environment to 'bring to all peoples the benefits of development', and it seeks to strike a balance between development and environmental protection, with particular regard to the needs of developing countries. Although Alston (1984:610) suggests the declaration 'recognised' the right to a clean environment 'for the first time', it could more accurately be said to connect the environment and human rights by asserting that a clean environment is a necessary prerequisite to the 'enjoyment of basic human rights'. There is a difference; access to, say, shelter requires the resources to acquire shelter, but the right to shelter does not necessarily imply the right to the resources. Moreover, Alston notes the UN General Assembly 'has never specifically proclaimed the existence of a right to a clean environment, despite proposals that it do so'.

Twenty years later, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development proclaims a human right to 'a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature', speaks of the 'earth's ecosystem' (rather than the human environment), assigns particular roles (not rights) to women, youth and indigenous people in environmental management and development, and asserts that the environment and natural resources of 'people under oppression, domination and

occupation shall be protected'.

One difference between Stockholm and Rio is the latter's greater emphasis on the special needs of developing countries. Given the context - environment and development - the focus on the need to integrate environmental and developmental goals, and to create new levels of cooperation among states, while respecting states' sovereignty over resources is hardly surprising. Although most current environmental issues are touched upon, there is no specific claim to a right to a clean environment as a human right. Moreover, the associated action plan, *Agenda 21*, deals with a number of issues relevant to human social and economic rights in a programmatic, development context. Human rights *will* be affected, but the nexus is implicit. In Rio's aftermath, developmental priorities may override human rights. There is little in the declaration to suggest otherwise.

The concurrent UN Framework Convention on Climate Change makes no reference to human rights and reaffirms sovereignty over natural resources 'pursuant to their own environmental and developmental policies'. It also recognises that (environmental) 'standards applied by some countries may be inappropriate ... to other countries, particularly developing countries'.

Human rights instruments

The International Bill of Rights makes no explicit claim to a right to a clean environment and balances its implicit references to this right by claims of sovereignty over natural resources. Rights to property, and peaceful enjoyment of possessions, but not to development or a clean environment are found in the European Convention.

Nearly a decade after Stockholm, asserting rights to both development and a satisfactory environment, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981 reflects a distinct world view and the progressive development of human rights in parallel with decades of decolonisation and self-determination. Kiwanuka (1988:86) agrees, suggesting the Charter, despite some ambiguities, shows 'a conceptual difference between collective (peoples) rights and individual (human) rights'. The Charter has thus contributed significantly to the *development* of the right of *all peoples* to a clean environment.

Collective human rights are central to indigenous peoples' rights. The Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957 does not explicitly affirm development or environmental rights, but its successors³ do. While the status of these instruments as declaratory of international law is doubtful, principally because of lack of binding recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples as separate and distinct peoples within larger groups, they represent a further example of the development of international environmental rights.

The Declaration on the Right to Development contains no reference to the environment, despite its catalogue of threats to development which, however, omits environmental degradation. The recent Bangkok Declaration by Asian states explicitly affirms the *need to develop* the right to a clean environment, unqualified by reference to special 'Asian' circumstances. Their concept of 'double standards' may in this instance be used to reiterate their determination to blame western states for global environmental damage and to argue for lower environmental protection standards in their region as well as for funds for cleanup work.

Analysis of the right to a clean environment

To the extent that the right to a clean environment may be a 'third generation' human right, its protagonists and detractors could analyse it in familiar terms. For example, whether violation of the right to a healthy environment could be held to be a 'grave affront to justice' (Cranston 1973:68) may be debatable. No doubt peoples in the South Pacific threatened by the possibility of total inundation from global climate change would see this as a violation of their basic right to survival. For them, if the effects of global warming should be as large as some predict, climate change may amount to cultural, if not physical, genocide. However, the issue remains whether states' acceptance of the right to a clean environment would provide any more assurance to these peoples than do present specific environmental instruments, such as the Climate Change Convention.

In discussing their alleged non enforceability, van Hoof (1984) suggests that, rather than discrediting them, one should seek to reinforce the exercise of the rights by elaborating more detailed rules. For environmental rights, however, the position is perhaps reversed. International environmental 'law' is already rapidly developing new 'elaborations' in particular areas and the value of an overarching generic environmental right may be difficult to establish and of doubtful utility.

Some would disagree. Alston (1979), in an analysis of the right to development which would seem equally applicable to an emerging right to a clean environment, acknowledges the criticisms but concludes that *debate itself*, for example in the Commission on Human Rights, contributes to norm-creating processes by which new international human rights are established. He also suggests that although a new right may seem an unnecessary synthesis of existing rights, its emergence may be psychologically significant internationally and highlight dimensions of the right which might otherwise be overlooked, as well as promote it (in our case the environment) as one which involves human rights, particularly for Third World countries.

Conclusion

There is general consensus that the right to a clean environment is not currently a human right binding at

international law, and that despite the undoubted *development towards* this right, its effective implementation is highly problematic. That has not discouraged a number of writers promoting it in the expectation that it will eventually be recognised on the same footing as other 'third generation' human rights. Some, indeed, see it as the human right *sine qua non*.

From a practical point of view, the question is whether a right to a clean environment would make a significant additional improvement to international human rights and

environmental protection and implementation. Given the intense focus on environmental issues at all levels, and the diversity of specific challenges requiring specific responses, the lack of a generic right to a clean environment is unlikely to seriously impair progress. Even so, those convinced that the generic right does offer further and new advantages ought not to be discouraged from continuing their efforts. An outcome which provides a framework convention on the right to a clean environment, and in due course a family of protocols, funding mechanisms and a UN 'Commission on Environmental Rights', would be a small price to pay.

Footnotes and references

- ¹ This is an edited version of an essay written in partial fulfilment of course requirements for a graduate degree in International Law at the Australian National University in 1993. The author may be contacted through the Australian Development Studies Network.
- ² Having confined this paper to the human environment, I will not make any distinction between a 'clean' environment and a 'healthy' environment, but use the terms interchangeably.
- ³ ILO Draft Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, No 169, Geneva, 1989; UN Draft Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 1989; and Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, July 1992.

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Energy technologies, environment and development

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Energy is not so much a single product as a mix of products and services, a mix upon which the welfare of individuals, the sustainable development of nations and the life-supporting capabilities of the global eco-system depend. In the past, the mix has been allowed to flow together haphazardly, the proportions dictated by short-term pressures on and short-term goals of governments, institutions and companies. Energy is too important for its development to continue in such a random manner. A safe, environmentally sound and economically viable energy pathway that will sustain human progress into the distant future is clearly imperative. It is also possible. But it will require new dimensions of political will and institutional co-operation to achieve it (WCED 1987).

Energy supply is a vital input to development and has ethical implications. Many industrial nations are now paying a heavy price for having made planning decisions for energy supply on the basis of short-term economic considerations. More importantly, the whole world is also paying a heavy price for those choices. For a sustainable future we must make economic decisions which are ecologically rational, as the Brundtland Report reminded all nations (WCED 1987). A range of renewable electricity supply technologies are now available and economically competitive with the established technologies of fossil-fuel thermal generation or nuclear power when the opportunity cost of capital is considered. Adding in the long-term environmental costs increases the appeal of renewable energy technologies. Countries in the Asia-Pacific region have the opportunity to select from the best modern technology, avoiding the problems inherent in the primitive technologies used by industrialised nations for most of their energy supplies.

A new approach of efficient end-use technologies combined with a mix of small-scale local supply systems, matched to the task in that area, offers the real prospect of meeting development goals without environmental devastation. Indeed, only such an approach offers that possibility. The old technologies cannot meet the needs of the region. They are too expensive, have unacceptable environmental consequences, require impossible levels of capital and skilled people, and do not match the social needs of the region. They are not a viable solution. A totally different approach is shown on general grounds to be preferable. Specific case studies confirm the validity of the approach (Reddy and Goldemberg 1990).

The needs of developing countries

It is impossible to generalise about the energy needs of developing nations. There is a broad spectrum of diverse levels of industrialisation and energy use (Pertz 1989). Also, the needs of the community are not for energy as an intrinsic entity. Different industries require in different proportions such energy services as low temperature heat (at or below the boiling point of water, as for washing), high temperature process heat, motive power, transport and direct electrical energy (as in electrolysis of alumina). A thorough analysis of the energy needs of one industrial task requires an examination of the energy services involved. For each such service, there will be various technical options: for low temperature heat, for example, these range from direct use of solar energy to the wasteful degradation of electricity. In similar terms, there are various options for the supply of high temperature process heat or electricity, whether used directly or as a source of motive power. A rational approach begins with the tasks to be performed, then examines the range of technological options in terms of economics, environmental factors, social impacts and political questions.

Trends in energy use

The last 20 years has seen fundamental changes in the way energy is used. Savings due to improved productivity of energy use in member countries of the International Energy Agency amount to about one billion tonnes of oil equivalent per year (Odell 1987). There is now widespread recognition that energy conservation is more economically effective than new supply technology. Conservation investments are typically small-scale, more flexible and provide much more rapid returns on invested capital. Industrial energy use in developing countries typically accounts for 20 to 40 per cent of total energy demand. Thus it is important not to allow the industrial tail to wag the energy dog. Industry needs energy, but so does the domestic sector.

Current energy supply

The developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region include a wide diversity of levels of energy supply and use. China has a large installed electrical capacity and total use, while the energy use of a nation such as Bhutan is very small in both overall and per capita terms. Table 1 summarises total electricity use for various countries in 1986 (Pertz 1989).

Energy planning

Historically, it has been assumed that there is a simple linear

relation between the level of economic development and energy use. Thus many planners have assumed that a given rate of economic growth implies an equivalent level of growth in energy use. The recent experience of OECD countries has shown that this assumption has no general validity. Energy use will only grow at the same rate as industrial production if that production has a constant level of energy use per unit of output. This is a function of two factors: the type of industrial product (silicon chips or iron ingots, cars or computers) and the efficiency of the technology used. Since it is demonstrably possible for a given nation to change either the emphasis of its industrial output or the energy efficiency of the technology used, the relation between future production and future energy needs is much more complex than the simple link which has often been assumed (Ross and Steinmeyer 1990).

Table 1: Electricity use, 1986 [billion kWh]

China	445
India	202
Republic of Korea	70
People's Democratic Republic of Korea	50
Indonesia	29
Thailand	26
Pakistan	26
Philippines	22
Hong Kong	20
Malaysia	16
Singapore	11

A rational planning approach for a particular nation would begin with the proposed pattern of industrial development. It would examine the real energy needs of that pattern in terms of low temperature heat, high temperature process heat, motive power, lighting, transport and so on. There will always be a range of technical solutions to the problem of meeting a given pattern of energy demand. Studies should encompass the full range of implications of different choices: environmental, micro-economic, macro-economic, political and social. Different time frames should be scanned to ensure that policies do not inadvertently produce long-term problems as a consequence of meeting the short-term goals. In the past, policies have often been determined predominantly on the basis of analysis only of short-term micro-economic factors, leaving other issues unexplored.

Is nuclear an option?

The choice for developing nations is essentially between nuclear power and a range of renewable energy technologies. The big advantage of nuclear power over many of the new technologies is that it is not dependent on wind or weather, so it is often seen as being a more reliable energy source than most forms of renewable energy. There are however, a range of problems in seeing nuclear power as the energy source. The first is that nuclear power stations only appear economic even on charitable assumptions if they are large;

this is one case where there actually are economies of scale. Very few developing countries have an electricity system sufficiently large for 1000 Megawatt power stations to make sense. A related problem is that the economics of nuclear power in many countries now appears to be beyond the reach of all but the most creative accounting. Recent American data published by the Worldwatch Institute show nuclear to be more expensive than a range of renewable energy technologies for the generation of electricity: wind power, geothermal energy and solar thermal with gas back-up. Photovoltaic power is still more expensive than nuclear but its cost is falling fast. By contrast, the cost of nuclear is steadily rising as such costs as the decommissioning of large reactors and the long-term storage of wastes are factored in.

A further advantage of renewable energy systems is the more modest technical support needed. The technical skills needed to keep a wind turbine going are no more demanding than required to keep cars on the road. Photovoltaic cells have no moving parts at all, and so are ideally suited to remote regions or areas where there is little prospect of technical back-up. For all these reasons, nuclear power is unlikely to be seen as the energy saviour of the region. The future is much more likely to be built around small-scale flexible technologies, adapted to local needs, than dinosaur technologies of the past (Flavin and Lenssen 1990).

Renewable energy technologies

Renewable energy technologies offer, by definition, reduced environmental impacts by comparison with either nuclear power or the burning of fossil fuels. This does not mean that they have no negative environmental effects; some have quite serious impacts. On the whole however, the impacts are preferable to either global climate change or the increased production of nuclear waste. Global warming will have effects for centuries, while high level waste will be a problem for millennia. The impacts of renewable energy are, by comparison, of relatively short time scales (Flavin 1989).

While it is frequently asserted that there is an economic cost to be borne for using renewable energy technologies, the data show that these technologies actually provide economic benefits as well as environmental improvements. When the opportunity cost of capital and avoidance of the need to train highly skilled people are factored in, it is clear that the economic benefits arising from an emphasis on renewables and improved efficiency are massive.

The small-scale of typical renewable energy technologies allows the energy to be produced near the point of use. Huge losses are incurred in grid systems which distribute electricity from point sources of production to a wide range of geographically disparate users. A system in which appropriate renewable forms of energy are used near the point source will be much more efficient. It should also be noted that most developing countries are currently producing

relatively small amounts of fuel carbon per head of population. Indeed, deforestation appears to be a much more serious source of carbon emissions in many countries of the region than the burning of fossil fuels.

Table 2: Costs of electricity supply [US c/kWh]

Technology	Generating cost
Wind power	6.4
Geothermal	5.8
Wood power	6.3
Steam injected gas turbine	4.8-6.3
Solar thermal (gas back-up)	7.9
Nuclear power	12.5
Combined cycle coal	5.4
Photovoltaics	28.4

Funds for renewable energy systems

Many countries have a problem finding the capital required either for energy efficient end-use technologies or for renewable energy systems. Of course, those countries would have even greater difficulty gathering the capital required for an energy development plan based on conventional lines (Goldemberg et. al. 1988), but that is not the point at issue here. What needs to be recognised is that the real cost of wasteful use of carbon-based fuels should be borne by the users. If this were done, it would provide both incentives visible to even the most myopic politician and funds capable of allowing a massive new development programme. Users of fossil fuels do not bear the cost either of resource depletion or the range of impacts their actions have on the natural environment. They also do not bear the wider political costs of their actions. For example, the amount spent by the US on the Gulf War was about five times the total global expenditure over all time on renewables research and development.

Another possible source of funds is the proposed carbon tax, now being seriously discussed in international gatherings. One level which has been canvassed is US\$50 per tonne of emitted carbon. The great advantage of a carbon tax is that it provides visible financial incentives to profligate

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users at the individual level, the corporate level and the national level. Such a scale of tax could hardly be considered punitive, as it is much less than the taxes currently imposed on oil in most OECD countries, ranging from US\$120 per tonne of carbon in the US to a massive US\$1400 in Italy! While a carbon tax of US\$50 per tonne would hardly be noticed as an increment to existing fuel taxes in some countries, it would raise a massive US\$300 billion annually. One obvious use for the proceeds of a carbon tax would be to allow developing countries to acquire energy technologies which do not emit carbon. It would thus be, quite properly, largely a tax on the industrialised nations which are predominantly responsible for the problem. It would also be quite proper for the proceeds to predominantly benefit the nations whose development aspirations are threatened by the environmental implications of the profligate fuel use of the industrial nations.

Conclusions

This analysis points to a clear set of ethical duties for those involved in the choice of energy supply and use technologies in developing countries. They must understand the respective costs and benefits of the various alternatives available. They must also be aware of the social and environmental consequences of the possible choices. Finally, they must strive to develop those 'new dimensions of political will and institutional cooperation' that will be required to achieve a sustainable pattern of development.

The environmental challenge of energy systems for the future needs of developing nations is indeed a massive one. Just as the supply and conversion technologies used by the industrial countries are not sustainable in the long-term (Lowe 1989), they are also clearly not appropriate to meeting legitimate development aspirations. They are too costly, too inefficient and too damaging to the global ecosystem. The only credible approach involves use of energy efficient end-use technology and a mix of small-scale local supply technologies, matched to the diverse demand tasks (Lowe 1990). Such an approach offers the possibility of meeting development goals in a way which is economically efficient, socially productive and environmentally beneficial. We are running out of time to abandon the failed strategies of the past.

Militarisation and development: The need for a consistent ethical foreign policy

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The underlying motivations for the provision of aid and promotion of development fall into two basic categories: moral principles and economic pragmatism. Many people support development assistance because they feel morally bound to help those less fortunate. However, the moral position includes the notion of a common human community for which we are responsible, as well as the international human rights law concept of a 'right to development', which reinforces the moral obligation for effective international action to promote development. Pragmatic arguments for development assistance centre on the long-term benefits of redistributing the world's resources to promote economic equity. In the short-term, aid donor countries benefit economically from projects which use their goods and services.

There are two basic critiques of development assistance. The right wing critique centres on the economic rationalist arguments that the market rules supreme and that political intervention to promote the common good is unnecessary and in fact undesirable as it disturbs the effective functioning of self-interest to promote social and economic equity. On the left are those who argue that development efforts are palliatives that postpone the inevitable socialist revolution and transformation of the imperialist system. Neither of these critiques support a morally justifiable position; while we wait for the mythical perfect free market or the socialist revolution, people are dying and the gap between rich and poor grows ever wider.

The ethical approach therefore, is to acknowledge the innovative power of market forces alongside the negative consequences of structural violence; to reinforce the goodwill and basic humanitarian commitment that can be tapped to reform the worst inequities of the international system. There is much evidence of human generosity in times of humanitarian crises such as droughts, earthquakes, war and famine. The challenge is to sustain this level of commitment in the face of the ongoing silent emergency of one billion people living and dying in absolute poverty - to counter resignation, and galvanise the public and political will - to act decisively to alleviate such unnecessary human suffering.

In terms of ethical judgement, the important thing is to get the ends right and sort out the right means later. The only morally defensible end is a world that is just and equitable, where fairness is as important as market opportunity and where political institutions are used to establish the basic conditions to achieve that end. This approach challenges

the propensity for governments to favour self-interest over ethical considerations in their foreign policies. And yet, these two priorities are not necessarily incompatible. Enlightened self-interest with a long-term view could approximate the end results of an altruistic foreign policy, even if genuine altruism proved impossible to achieve.

If the right to development is regarded as a positive right, then it can be argued that there is an infringement of rights if appropriate aid and development assistance is not forthcoming. In other words, if a government is unwilling or unable to create conditions that satisfy the basic human needs of its people then other countries and people are morally bound to assist if they have the capacity to do so. Not to act in response to need is to abandon international responsibility for the common good.

What unethical political and economic practices need to be changed to support an ethically consistent approach to foreign policy and development assistance? The most glaring obstacle to creating a fair and just world is the current international economic system which serves to perpetuate global economic inequities. Aid and development efforts are undermined by the flow of resources out of developing countries in the form of interest and debt repayments. The international trade system discriminates against Third World countries in their efforts to earn export income and minimise import costs. The international financial institutions (IFIs), including the World Bank, IMF and regional development banks, encourage economic policies which generally do not assist the poor to become self-sufficient. To be practically worthwhile and ethically sound, governments and international organisations must supplement their direct provision of development assistance with efforts to reform the economic and trade systems so as to ensure that equitable economic development is achievable.

Another major obstacle to development is the process of militarisation which both directly and indirectly contributes to poverty and denial of human rights. In 1990 worldwide expenditures on weapons amounted to over US\$600 billion, while total economic aid given was only US\$56 billion and arms exports totalled US\$36 billion. The developed countries spend as much on military power in a year as the poorest two billion people on earth earn in total income. In relation to income, military expenditure is more than three times greater in developing than in developed countries, and nearly one-fifth of developing countries spend more on their militaries than on education and health programmes combined. According to the Stockholm

International Peace Research Institute, the peace dividend following the end of the Cold War could have been worth A\$125 billion from the North alone. This amount dwarfs the A\$3 billion needed annually to significantly prevent child mortality and malnutrition for 50 million children, or the A\$6 billion per year required to ensure that every child has access to primary education by the year 2000. At a cost of less than half their military expenditures, the developing countries could have a package of basic health services and clinical care that would save 10 million lives each year (Table 1).

This massive diversion of resources away from social priority areas such as health and education is not only directly retarding development but is also contributing to human suffering and abuse of human rights. It is fuelling wars and causing environmental destruction and creating refugees, all of which counteract development efforts.

Some efforts are already being made to reverse this trend. The World Bank and IMF and some donor countries are taking into account military spending in the provision of loans to developing countries. Developing countries resist

this link as an infringement of their sovereign right to determine their own budgetting priorities, but the IFIs maintain that it is their legitimate concern if recipient governments jeopardise economic development by excessive military spending. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in its *1992 Human Development Report*, also recommended that developed countries reduce their own military spending; strengthen national legislation and international agreements to control arms exports; convert military assistance to development assistance; and encourage the conversion of defence industries (in both developed and developing countries) to civilian purposes - perhaps by providing subsidies to assist arms producers to switch to more peacefully-oriented production.

It is morally desirable that arms exporting countries assume more responsibility for their part in sustaining the global arms trade. There are a number of international arms control and disarmament initiatives which Australia supports, including the UN Register of Conventional Arms, yet at the same time Australia, like a number of other countries, is seeking to support a local defence industry by increasing arms exports. These policies are not only contradictory, but reflect an outdated notion of security which places a disproportionate emphasis on the military, compared with

efforts to address long-term security concerns including health and education, the environment, and non military forms of conflict resolution.

Although the Australian government has fairly stringent procedures for arms export approvals, it still allows the sale of weapons to developing countries. As part of the current inquiry into the implications of Australian defence exports, many submissions were received criticising Australia's involvement in the international arms trade and querying the effectiveness of our defence export guidelines. Several instances were cited where Australian equipment has been used by governments in internal or border conflicts, including the helicopters provided to Papua New Guinea in 1989 which have reportedly been used to strafe villagers on Bougainville. How morally defensible or ethically consistent was it for Australia to provide aid on the one hand while providing military assistance and exports with the other to such military regimes as Indonesia, Burma and the Philippines? Arms transfers can thus be misused as well as contributing to increased regional instability and tensions. While not technically defined

Table 1: Comparative Resource Investments 1990

	Developed Countries	Developing Countries	Total World
Human Resources (thousands)			
Population	1,166,424	4,098,053	5,264,477
Armed Forces	9,951	16,811	26,762
Teachers	11,617	27,367	38,984
Physicians	3,298	2,495	5,793
GNP (million US\$87)	14,941,008	3,059,463	18,000,471
Public Expenditures			
Military			
million US\$	557,212	119,091	676,303
% of GNP	3.7	3.9	3.8
Education			
million US\$	778,354	115,753	894,107
% of GNP	5.2	3.9	5.0
Health			
million US\$	785,159	48,521	833,680
% of GNP	5.2	1.6	4.6
Trade and Aid			
Economic Aid Given (million US\$)	49,928	5,715	55,643
Arms Exports (million US\$)	31,761	2,130	33,891

Source: Sivard 1993

as an arms race, the recent and continuing upsurge in arms procurements in the Asia-Pacific region has been given a certain amount of legitimacy which ensures that this pattern of expenditure will continue at the expense of social welfare and development in countries that confront expanding social deficits.

An example of the devastating impact of weapons on development prospects is the problem of landmines in Cambodia. The international community has spent US\$2 billion and provided 23,000 personnel to support the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. This investment in the election process and rebuilding of civil infrastructure is being undermined by the existence of eight to ten million landmines throughout the country which are killing or severely injuring more than 300 Cambodians each month. Such a threat to Cambodia's growth and prosperity must be addressed by the international community by providing sufficient manpower and resources to support large-scale removal programmes. A consistent ethical foreign policy would ensure that foreign governments made the requisite commitment to long-term development assistance as well as working towards preventing the production and export of landmines.

As propounded by Gareth Evans in his book *Cooperating for Peace*, greater resources need to be directed to preventive diplomacy. Both pre- and post-conflict peace building would help to avoid the huge costs of war and of subsequent peacekeeping. This is not only morally preferable in the interests of peace and development, but also as an investment in the future. For example, it is estimated that in 1993 UN peacekeeping operations cost US\$3.6 billion while US\$0.92 billion was spent on UNDP work, compared with 1991 figures of US\$0.5 and US\$1.5 billion respectively. The ratio of spending on emergency and long-term development assistance needs to be reversed.

The United Nations can play a crucial role in this reversal. The end of the Cold War provides an unprecedented opportunity for the UN to reclaim its original social and economic mandate and take a more proactive and effective

role in promoting social justice and equitable economic progress for all as envisaged under Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. Attention and resources should be concentrated on solving the international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems which are the root causes of instability and insecurity. Some suggestions for UN reform in this area include the establishment of an Economic Security Council with the power to discuss and make binding decisions on major development issues; a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council; and creation of a UN International Development Council to provide overall guidance on development policy and coordination of development efforts by the specialised agencies. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's promised *Agenda for Development* and the upcoming World Summit for Social Development will provide valuable focus points for discussions and decisions and the creation of the political will to implement these reforms.

Such discussions underpin the vitally important ability to see economic, social, political and military security as a whole. There will be no stable peace as long as nations, and peoples within nations, suffer economic, social and political insecurity. The establishment of security through narrow military means has now been fairly widely discredited. Similarly, it is recognised that pursuing economic growth while denying citizens basic political rights generates discontent and alienation. The right to development therefore, like the right to security, must be integral parts of peace building processes which are aimed at satisfying basic needs for shelter, food, literacy, health, and an affirmation of cultural identity. These things can only be achieved in a context of social and economic development which respects and protects the rights of individual human beings and flows out of consistent ethical policies and programmes on the part of governments and international organisations. This entails the provision of aid and development assistance, of increased spending on social priority areas, and a concomitant restructuring of the international financial system, the eradication of the cultures of militarisation and violence, and the development of regimes to ensure progress on these issues through time.

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The ethics of development for women

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What women want is so simple and so just. How can anything so sensible take so long to accomplish? (Anderson 1991)

This paper looks at the ingredients necessary for an ethical approach to development for women. These ingredients include the empowerment of women, the need to address strategic concerns and gender analysis in project design.

Is development ethical for women? If development involves increasing the daily workload of women and girls, reinforcing sex role stereotypes, undermining women's access to productive resources, neglecting to acknowledge women's household labour, avoiding issues related to the status of women and the participation of women in decision making roles within the community - then no, development certainly could not be considered ethical for women. Many development projects do one or more of the above.

Mainstream development has largely bypassed the needs of women. It has often been stated that women have not been integrated into the process of development. However, Mwau (1991:284) points out that they are over-integrated and asks why they are not recognised. Women have been invisible in regional, national and international statistics which neglect to look at the informal sectors of the economy and workforce where women's work figures highly. These statistics also ignore unpaid labour and focus on the public rather than the private spheres of activity. Waring (1988) documents this process of women 'counting for nothing' and calls for a re-evaluation of the worth of work and for new indicators of development.

Bhasin (1993:11), Indian feminist development worker, describes the 'Profit God' principles of mainstream development ethics. She states:

In this development, higher values like ethics, morality, justice, have been forgotten or relegated to the area of the personal or religious life.

She believes development is influenced by the notion of modern science which relies on man as the supreme being over nature. This paradigm is based on concepts of centralisation, hierarchy and exploitation. This process has marginalised and disempowered women. Women often form the centre of production for the family within sustainable lifestyles. Bhasin considers that commercialisation and industrialisation have led to women's skills being discarded as 'traditional, therefore unscientific and redundant' (1992:12). Losing control over production led to the gradual

loss of control over decision making by women within communities.

Plewes and Stuart (1992:1) explain how this perspective of mainstream development has impacted on women's community relationships:

...not only were development projects not benefiting women, they were in many cases undermining traditional power relations between women and men to the detriment of the former.

Although these trends are noticeable within the pattern of commercialisation of Third World country lifestyles and economies, this paper does not consider that non industrial and sustainable lifestyles are necessarily benefiting all women's needs and concerns within communities. There is a tendency by some to idealise traditional lifestyles as matriarchal or woman-centred. There is also a widespread notion that traditional lifestyles are sacred, pure and ethical. This is a romanticised view of the past for women. Culture and tradition need to be critically reviewed as they can be gender blind to the needs of women in development. This point will be taken up again at the end of the paper, however, it is necessary firstly to establish the ethics of Women In Development (WID) as a field of development studies.

How much of what is covered by this label of WID is really ethical in terms of women's needs and concerns? There are many notions of WID with some being more ethical than others. Buvinic (1983) and Moser (1989) have identified five policy approaches to WID: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment.

- Welfare WID considers women as the recipients of aid or charity rather than as active participants in the process of development (Mosse 1993:5). This was a popular approach in the 1960s and still remains popular in many project approaches today. An example of such a project would be the provision of food aid to women.
- Efficiency is the policy approach which equates with the economic rationalist line of argument, i.e. if more money is invested in women they will become more productive. This perceives women as an under utilised 'resource' within the economic productivity of the country (Goetz 1991:139). Increasing women's role in the formal economy through employment programmes would be an example of an efficiency WID project.
- The anti-poverty approach states that women are the

poorest of the poor with gender inequity perpetuating this poverty. This line of reasoning considers women's poverty as linked to the ownership of land and resources and discrimination in the labour market (Price 1993:6). Small-scale credit programmes and micro-enterprise development for women would be an example of an anti-poverty approach to WID.

- The equity approach adopts a similar argument to the anti-poverty approach, however it goes beyond economic equity, incorporating issues of political, social, cultural and legal nature. Legal literacy training for women would be an example of an equity WID project.
- The final approach to WID is empowerment. This approach is considered by many scholars, feminists and development activists as the most progressive and ethical approach to development for women. Empowerment recognises the need for development to be self-initiated by local women to ensure it is appropriate in a socio-cultural, historical and political sense. Longwe (1989:2) states:

...the central issue of women's development is women's empowerment, to enable women to take an equal place with men, and to participate equally in the development process in order to achieve control over the factors of production on an equal basis with men.

Empowerment means more than just equality. Women gaining access to the power of poor peasant men in isolated rural villages still gives women little to be empowered about. The empowerment approach to WID encapsulates women gaining power over their lives through changing unjust practices which work to oppress women in a structural sense. An example of such an empowerment WID project could involve donor funding to a women's lobby group.

Mosse (1993:161) claims that empowerment:

...places much less emphasis on legislating for equality between men and women than on empowering women themselves to work to change and transform structures that have been so inimicable to them: such as labour codes, men's control over women's bodies and reproductive rights, civil codes and property rights.

Caroline Moser looks at the strategic needs of women as well as their practical needs. Many development projects meet the practical or basic needs of women's daily lives. These practical needs include access to clean water, food, housing etc. These projects benefit women as the passive recipients of goods. To consider the strategic needs of women, long-term issues of women's status need to be addressed. Strategic interests include increased access to decision making processes, eradicating violence against

women, increasing access to land ownership etc.

An example of a project which meets the practical needs of women would be a maternal and child health programme providing basic health care. For the strategic needs of women to be met, this project could incorporate a training programme for women to be health care workers and advocates, thus enabling the project to address long-term health provision and the status of women.

Practical needs may be the first part of a development project, as increasing the status of women cannot be done before women have adequate food, shelter and health care. However, if a project stops at this stage it has done very little to really address the source of women's inequality. This paper considers that the strategic interests of women need to be addressed for WID to be ethical. Otherwise WID is merely making survival easier while the symptoms of oppression are not being attacked.

The equity and empowerment approaches to WID are the only approaches which consider women's strategic needs. The limitations of the equity approach lie in its assumption that development helps all people and that women want to be integrated into the mainstream of western designed development (Anderson 1992:175).

The empowerment approach to WID tackles the strategic needs of women and challenges precepts of mainstream development. DAWN (Development Alternatives for Women of a New Era) have forged a great deal of work in developing new paradigms for southern women's development. DAWN envisions a form of development for women

...that draws its ethical basis from women's daily lives, that rejects the effort to catch up with the competitive, aggressive spirit of the dominant system, and that seeks to 'convert men and the system to the sense of responsibility, nurturance, openness, and rejection of hierarchy' essential to the feminist vision (in Tinker 1989:70).

Addressing men and 'the system', is an important aspect of a holistic approach to development. Neglecting to look at the role of men in development while concentrating on the role of women would be futile, as the interaction between men and women is what creates the gender roles which determine aspects of development for women.

Gender and Development (GAD) is being used more frequently as a term in development circles to identify an approach to development which investigates the construction of gender roles for men and women within communities. Gender roles are socially, culturally, politically and historically created.

Gender roles delineate the division of labour within a

community and will influence the productive, reproductive and community service roles which women occupy. This is what Moser refers to as the 'triple role of women' which is common to most societies. As time is one of the scarcest resources for Third World women it is important to undertake gender analysis within development projects to study time use. This will depict the details of the productive, reproductive and community service roles for women. The best WID project in the world can fail if it neglects to analyse the time component available for its implementation.

The aim of gender planning is 'the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment' (Moser 1993:1). Gender planning is a complex task as women are not a homogenous group. GAD would be incredibly easy if we could develop a culturally relevant checklist transferable from country to country across historical, religious, economic, political and ethnic determinants. The challenge for GAD is that it is region-specific and will vary for women of different needs, i.e. the needs of middle class, working class, peasant, tribal, disabled, elderly and young women will vary. This is precisely why simply adding more women to the development equation does not equal more ethical development for all women.

This paper advocates the need for gender analysis to address the strategic needs of women and to empower their work in this field. This perspective is perceived by some development workers and bureaucrats as unethical in itself. When GAD or WID are discussed there is hesitancy on the part of some to be seen as telling other cultures 'how to treat their women'. This includes those who consider the roles of women and men as immutable, traditional and pure, as well as those who believe that WID/GAD is another form of western cultural neo-imperialism, only this time it is the

white middle class women (academics, development workers and bureaucrats) pushing their feminist ideas onto poor women from the South.

Contemporary GAD workers are not analogous with the moralised British legislators of the past who suppressed widow burning, female infanticide and child marriage. Although these practices are opposed by WID/GAD workers, the aim of their eradication is not a part of a mission to 'improve the inferior Third World' (de Groot in Afshar 1991:113). GAD workers operate from a framework which advocates local women acting for themselves by protesting, lobbying or legislating for change on issues within their own culture which they find oppressive.

Development workers should not go into countries condemning cultural practices, but they should be seen to support women who are willing to oppose cultural/traditional practices which are discriminatory and oppressive to them. This establishes gender sensitive, ethical and equitable development for women.

WID/GAD is not easy, but an ethical approach to life has never been an easy task. It provides a challenge to us to really listen to women's voices to understand their needs and assist them in an appropriate way - to provide them with the power for their own development. Ela Bhatt, founder of the Self Employed Women's Association, India states:

We not only want a piece of the pie, we also want to choose the flavour, and know how to make it ourselves.

The views expressed in this paper are not necessarily those of ACFOA.

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Educational development cooperation, ethics and the role of the consultant

Christine Fox, Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong

As always when considering the ethics of a situation, there are many questions to ask. In the first instance, is it ethical to interfere in another country's educational development? Is it ethical for consultants from Australia to earn more money than their counterparts in Third World countries? Is it ethical to set up computer-based learning if only one per cent of the population has access to computers? Who decides what is ethical?

These, and many other questions, constantly confront educationists. The answers will vary, of course. Alasdair MacIntyre talks about rival justices, and competing rationalities (MacIntyre 1988). He notes for example that there is the justice of human rights, but also the justice of utility.

This paper discusses three examples of some thorny ethical issues: the ethical dilemmas of unequal power; of educational 'good'; and the language of project assistance in action. These issues are discussed in a context where there is evidence that the old colonial, and ethically untenable, attitudes are gradually changing. It seems that far greater attention is beginning to be given to a more consultative process. The ethics of consultation are of particular concern in education, where the goods we are exchanging concern cultural values and ideas.

Educational development projects: ethical dilemmas of unequal power

Until very recently, educators in the Third World 'recipient' country had no say in project design for educational development assistance, and no say as to which consultants or which consortia would be acceptable. It was only after several unfortunate experiences that some Third World governments have insisted on having a say.

The consultants, or their managing agent, control many of the sources of power, including control over financial resources. As trainers, they also hold expert power; that is, they believe that they control much of the knowledge. The capacity for the consultants to act and to get things done (the essence of power) is often far greater than that of the recipients. And yet the action can only be effective when it is done by the people who must carry the consequences for those actions, the participants themselves.

One of the more sensitive issues in an intercultural context relates to the problem of control over day-to-day expenses during an educational training project. A typical situation

is where the consultants are receiving a daily fee of about A\$1000 for their services, while the local participants, sometimes high level educators, are receiving perhaps A\$20 to A\$50 a day, if that. The inequities of the system are not lost on the participants. The sense of powerlessness, and an unwillingness to negotiate freely with consultants, is clear.

Is there a just solution to these problems? A consultant fee may be a necessary price for expertise, but is it necessary for all consultants to be based outside the region?

It is essential that the power carried by a consultant is combined with the trust that the work is for the good of the recipients and their situation. Trust implies that the consultants and recipients openly discuss their intended goals for training and development, so that they share their sources of expert knowledge. On many occasions, this trust is missing. Strategic planning takes place as if the recipients have no earlier experience to build on. An example to illustrate this is taken from some field notes of a research project I undertook (Fox 1992). The person being interviewed was the leader of an educational project, who was explaining his method of 'consultative' planning:

Australian team leader A:

One of the rules for an entrepreneur is a person who takes initiatives and gets things done... Now that's part of my philosophy - I've got a goal and a vision. I *do* analyse what the factors are in the situation that can stop me. And I make plans and implement plans to avoid those obstacles... With the planning team of 15, we said, 'What's the current situation? What's the situation that you'd like it to be? What barriers exist in getting us from A to B? What will we do to overcome those barriers and so get us there?' I used my own planning model with them.

Interviewer:

And how did that come across?

Australian team leader A:

I don't think they'd ever experienced a structured problem-solving process like that before... (Fox 1992:314).

When I interviewed the local trainers soon after this interview was recorded, several indicated a sense of betrayal, because the outcomes of their deliberations had not been relayed back to them, and the whole strategy had been

worked out back in Australia. They felt their views had been manipulated.

The questionable ethics of strategic planning, while withholding information, came up again in another context, in a different country, where I also carried out some research. The following interview took place in Australia with the manager of that project. Here, the team leader is discussing how he saw meetings with the local educators as being a key to project implementation.

Australian team leader B:

The (local) participants are in the process of being introduced to the necessity for an agenda, for having a clear conception of what it is that should occur between the start of a meeting and the end of a meeting. This is a very Western notion of efficient use of time, of 'we haven't got all day'. Because we haven't got all day, the time we've got really must cover the essential reasons for which we have called the meeting... (Fox 1992:362).

The educators who attended those meetings informed me that they were very disillusioned with the team leader's actions. They felt that he was manipulating the situation. They believed that the agreements for action which were reached during meetings had been previously strategically planned. This was in fact the case, as I confirmed afterwards.

These examples merely illustrate one level at which the manipulation of power can be examined. What is at issue is the ethics of power, and the potential misuse of the control over resources.

Educational rightness

The second issue relates to the question of educational virtue: is good education good for everyone in every culture, and who should decide what is best? Many educational projects are based on current educational thinking in Australia, or other western English-speaking countries. Great emphasis is placed on the individual. Yet one of the greatest dilemmas facing Western education is the place of the individual and individualism in society, and hence in education. This concern often clashes with the more collective, socially responsible values emphasised in many non western societies.

Taylor (1991) claims that the worry of individualism, and the potential loss of meaning through individualism, is one of the greatest malaise of modernity. He talks about the dark side of individualism, (which) is a centring on the self, which both flattens and narrows our lives, makes them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society' (Taylor 1991:4).

The question of individualism affects the whole of educational planning and curriculum development. It determines ways of teaching. It gives direction to

educational policies and provision. Do western educators have the right to infuse curricula in Third World countries with the goals of promoting individualistic ways of life? At what point should consultants have a say in writing curriculum materials?

For decades, consultants have been exporting western curricula and a competitive, hierarchical educational system to the Third World. At what point will they bow out of the debate and assist their Third World counterparts to develop curricula appropriate to the educational and social context? The same question applies to planning. These are ethical concerns. They cannot be judged solely on the rationality of a kind of strategic economic planning. But they must also be judged with a view to the future.

Many assumptions made by consultants about what is right and good derive from a personal sense of morality, of personal worth and value. They often assume that their counterparts share these values. Nevertheless, if there seems to be a discrepancy in value positions, mistrust begins to show up. Consultants sometimes refer to their Third World counterparts as unreliable, untrustworthy, incomprehensible or unpredictable. Such feelings are often mutual. Similar words were used about women when they first competed for managerial positions in corporations (Kanter 1977)!

The feminist philosopher Grimshaw (1986) has described the very real dangers of expecting ethical principles to be universal. She notes that the strict observance of many so-called universal ethical principles has sometimes led to inhumane treatment and unnecessary human suffering. Taylor sees the self as having a 'plurality of visions' and is critical of the idea of 'radical choice', that is to say, that our values are self-chosen and are not grounded in any reasons. He says, surely we are making choices *between* reasoned evaluations, not a radical choice *of* evaluations (Taylor 1985:26-31)?

There is a danger of being determined by cultural relativity. My objection to the idea of being locked into one position or another is reflected in some of Spivak's writings where she objects to being positioned as a 'Third World person', or 'a woman', or a 'post-colonial' (1990:114)..

...we who are from the other side of the globe very much fight against the labelling of all of us under that one rubric (Third World), which follows from the logic of neo-colonialism.

Said (1978:95) has described one kind of projected vision as 'Orientalism' which he sees as 'a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient'. In a later work, Said shows that the distortions of elite interpretations of history are part of a network of power which, through criticism, may be revealed (Said 1983:184). In the same way, there is a need to critique and re-interpret educational history and educational planning in Third World countries.

The language of project assistance in action

The third issue in this discussion on the ethics of educational development cooperation is that of the way that people actually talk to one another when an educational project is in the process of implementation. Let me give an example of one workshop experience which I video recorded during my research (Fox 1992).

The language in this workshop scenario was non verbal. I recorded a training session where the Australian team leader was presenting. He stood at a distance from the training group, indeed as far back as it was possible to be. Behind him was a blackboard wall, and the team leader used a long wooden pointer, about four feet long, to point to the words on the board. Leaning against the wall, with one ankle crossed over the other and using his free hand to prop himself up, he waved his long stick about. When not being used to prop him up, his free hand was placed akimbo, as though signifying exasperation. This is a typical 'territorial and ownership' body language described by Allan Pease (1987).

One of the biggest problems is evidence of insincerity. The following excerpt from a training workshop illustrates such an occasion. Using pre-printed sheets with suggestions about how to be a 'good teacher', the team leader invited the workshop participants to make comments on the sheets. The consultants had actually brought boxes of these sheets, with no intention of reprinting them. The people attending the session recorded below were not told this.

Australian team leader A:

Just wandering around the groups, ladies and gentlemen. A lot of very good ideas were coming through, about the strengths and weaknesses of that sheet. We wouldn't like to lose all the good wisdom as we'd like to make this sheet even better next time it's used. We're going to put a copy up

on the front wall with a notice: 'put suggestions and improvements in'. If you have some bright ideas in your group ..., you are welcome to come and scribble them in there at any stage during the course...(Fox 1992:326).

Some of the senior trainers again suggested to me after this episode that they were being manipulated by the team leader. In later discussion with the Australian consultants that evening, the team leader commented that the trainers needed to be given a 'sense' of participation. This comment tended to confirm my doubt concerning the sincerity of the exercise. Such strategic discourse paints a picture of manifestly unjust and unethical relationships.

Conclusion

Differences are often indicators of a more general distortion of the language of communication between two groups of people. Notwithstanding these differences, it is not the *recognition* of these so-called 'problems' which requires critical analysis so much as the need to work *with* these richly varied and often exciting differences in order to arrive at shared understandings.

The basic question remains as to whether successful inter cultural communication can indeed be achieved, and whether in so doing, educational improvement can occur. There are various theories that point to the potential of success, given that there is trust, sincerity and an open desire to act cooperatively. Some of the post-colonial literature, which is informed by post-structuralism, requires a close reading as to the barriers inherent in making any such assumptions (Foucault 1977; Spivak 1990; Niranjana 1992). Yet there is a greater human need to consider the terrible consequences for human survival if all attempts to work towards successful inter cultural cooperation were thrown away. The task ahead is the pursuit of ethical development cooperation.

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A distorted view: Myths and images of developing countries

Nóra Godwin, Division of Information, UNICEF

The evidence is not difficult to find; it is everywhere. Ask around casually. What percentage of the world's children are starving? What percentage of the world's children enter full-time primary education? How many countries in the developing world have falling rates of population growth? How much of people's income in developing countries depends on foreign aid?

The answers are quickly forthcoming. A picture of the world will emerge where more than half of all children are starving, only one or two in ten under ten years of age get anywhere near a school, where the population rates of the poorer countries are rising at a headlong, planet threatening way, and where most of these populations survive on the compassion and generosity of the richer countries.

The reality however, is guaranteed to surprise. Less than two per cent of the world's children are starving in the sense people have come to recognise from pictures taken in famine-ridden communities. Nearly 90 per cent of the world's children start primary school and 70 per cent of them remain there for at least four years. The rate of population growth is decreasing in every region of the developing world, including Africa. Finally, it is reckoned that, excluding emergency situations, about one per cent of people's incomes in developing countries come from foreign aid - and less than 10 per cent of government spending (UNICEF 1993).

Continue your research. What is your opinion about the situation in developing countries today?

The following answer is a conglomerate of opinions based on research which has been carried out in Europe.

From what I can see in developing countries, people don't seem to be able to cope with their problems. They are always weak, hungry, fighting among themselves and seem particularly prone to natural disasters. They are constantly asking for help from other countries - food, money and, of course, the expertise which has made our countries so successful. I don't see why their own governments don't do something about it, but they all seem corrupt and don't have the same attitudes towards supporting the people as our governments do. Despite our generosity as individuals - and that of our governments - nothing seems to be changing that much. They just don't seem to be able to get their act together. Giving money to Third World causes is like throwing it into a black hole (INRA 1992).

Accepting that this statement is a crass oversimplification, research does show, however, that there is little recognition, or knowledge, of the achievements of people and countries in the developing world, and little awareness of differences between regions or within them (most people still think of Africa as a large uniform country). Also, the amount of overseas aid given by rich governments is perceived to be at a much higher level.¹ Above all, there is an unshaken conviction that the development process in the poorest countries depends almost entirely on the individual generosity of people in the richer countries, with little understanding of the devastating and corrosive effect that such factors as debt repayments and fluctuating prices on world commodities markets have on this process.

Where is this coming from - this image of disasters held by one part of the world about the other (the latter with 75 per cent of the world's population)?

Two major sources can be identified as providing the bases of this image: news reporting, especially on TV, and the fund-raising methods of aid agencies. Let us look at these in greater detail.

TV reporting, in essence, tends towards the sensational, the dramatic and the negative. Recent emergencies in the developing world have provided this in plenty. Images of sick, hungry people waiting for (possible) food at distribution centres in Somalia; flooded, devastated landscapes in Bangladesh; war raging in the bush of Angola. The people on the ground who are interviewed tend to be foreign aid workers, often from the country of the visiting TV crew. Stories about the famine, war or other disaster frequently are about the accompanying aid operation and seldom attempt to put the situation or incident in a wider and/or causal context. Little reference is made to communities in the country in question which are not part of the disaster, but which are frequently part of the process of alleviation of its effects. Seldom are there subsequent progress reports when the 'newsworthy' phase of the disaster is over.

Much of this is due to the nature of the medium. Stories about people's 'normal' lives simply don't make news, our journalist colleagues tell us. Nor, it seems, does something positive have the same attraction as something tragic and disaster-ridden.

The same can be said for news emanating from our own countries. Road accidents, crime, scandals, all make it to the front page, whereas community achievements, changes for the better, evidence of goodwill are all relegated to second place. One might guess, however, that a comparative

analysis over a period of time of news stories coming from different regions of the world would show a balance skewed towards the disaster side of the spectrum in the case of stories from developing countries. The fact remains however, that with regard to one's own part of the world and other industrialised countries, the public has access to a wider range of background information. We know that a riot in a city does not mean that the whole city, or the whole country, is rioting; we *know* that a road accident, crime or scandal is a separate, unusual incident. This 'ballast' of background information is simply not there for most of the public when it comes to stories from developing countries.

The second main source of stereotype images from developing countries is the world of aid agencies: the methods and rhetoric used to raise funds for development projects. The dilemma here is a simple one: does the need to urgently raise funds for a cause justify the use of misleading, one-sided information?

A number of 'short cut' strategies designed to raise funds can be identified:

- shock tactics: using the emotional response elicited by a shocking picture (a dying baby, a starving child) to raise funds;
- exaggerate the importance of aid, particularly aid donated from the agency in question, in solving the problems of developing countries;
- simplify the solution. Reduce the solution to a problem to a level of simplicity that will make the donor feel that, single handedly, he or she is a prime actor in solving the problem. 'One dollar will give Maria clean water/shelter/ an education, for the rest of her life';
- guilt tactics. Compare what money paid for a luxury in the donor's life such as a meal at a restaurant, a vacation, or a child's toy, could have achieved as a donation to a development project. 'The amount you spent on your last meal out could save 600 children from going blind,' and
- emphasise the indebtedness of recipients. 'You have put the smile back on this child's face. Every day he thanks you for it.'

It must be said that an increasing number of aid agencies are becoming aware of the ethical questions to which these tactics give rise. Even within the same organisation, ambiguities frequently exist where, on the one hand, those working at fund-raising and, on the other, those working at public information and education, tend to be pulling in opposite directions.

The overall effect of a uniformly negative image, whether this be one of pitifulness or incompetence of people from the developing world, has serious ramifications. The most obvious is that of 'compassion fatigue' - where people's capacity for compassion becomes drained and where funds raised concomitantly decrease. This is in evidence everywhere, both in private sector fund-raising and in the percentages of government budgets allocated to overseas

development assistance. Less obvious is the fact that racist and ethnocentric attitudes tend to be reinforced. Constant emphasis on pitiful aspects results in the subject of such emphasis being seen as inferior, incompetent and less 'human'. These are serious barriers to global development. A country or region perceived in this way is less likely to be considered worth investing in, or taken seriously as a participant in international fora.

What can be done to develop a more balanced perspective of the developing world?

A global debate needs to get underway, one that is ongoing and that involves all the relevant sectors - the media makers and their consumers, the fund-raisers and their publics, the peoples and communities of countries in the developing world, particularly their communicators and educators. The debate must be about how people can come together, not in the sentimental 'hands-across-the-world' sense, but professionally, economically, culturally, humanly, rather than be artificially set apart from each other whatever the short-term motive for such separateness might be.

The debate has already started. Development agencies worldwide are liaising with each other, drawing up possible 'standards' - not unlike those which apply to advertising - for the language and imagery of fund-raising for development. Public media, particularly their 'gatekeepers', that is the TV producers and newspaper editors, are increasingly being engaged in encounters on this topic.

In the end, however, much of the onus rests with the public. It is the public which gives, or doesn't give, the donation, and which views, or switches off, TV news stories about developing countries. Therefore, an important part of the way forward on this issue is education, the education of the consumer of the image. A public which is more informed about, and aware of, the wider implications of development issues and which recognises the essential, common humanity of all people is less likely to confuse the exceptional, such as a famine, armed conflict or natural disaster with the normal, such as people's every day lives and concerns and is more likely to see a society as made up of many diverse social, economic or even cultural groups, than one of uniform attitudes.

Like many other development agencies, UNICEF recognises the vital importance of education programmes which provide people - especially young people - with the knowledge, skills and sensitivities to understand the complexity of global development issues. Its own programme in this area - Education for Development - explores ways in which young people can become more informed and aware of development issues and, beyond that, be equipped with the skills and willingness to become involved in action for change.

An important part of this programme² requires the learner to become sensitive to stereotyping and its potentially lethal

effects. To learn to 'read' the images presented to them in a wider context, to balance the seemingly endless series of disasters they hear about on TV newscasts with other information about these same countries. Most of all they learn to see the individual or group behind the presented image as people with humanity equal to their own, with common feelings, concerns, needs and rights.

The need to redress the popular image of people in developing countries as victims is not part of today's trend towards political correctness, nor, is it in any way an attempt to undermine the goodwill and generosity of the countless

donors to development agencies. Rather, it is a long overdue recognition that to deprive a large sector of the world's population of their human dignity in this way, and to overlook what they have achieved is not only a breach of a very fundamental right but has erected a barrier to world development. We must all be part of the process which breaks down this barrier.

The author recognises her indebtedness to her colleagues on UNICEF's Working Group on Images, particularly that of Anne Winter, Information Officer, UNICEF, Geneva.

Footnotes and references

¹ A UNICEF poll showed that people in the US believe that 16 per cent of the federal government's budget goes to help people in poor countries. In reality the figure is 0.2 per cent.

² *Education for development*, a manual for teachers on special strategies for teaching for 'global citizenship' is to be published in November 1994 in conjunction with Hodder and Stoughton, London.

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Australian cultural aid abroad: An ethical responsibility

Barrie Reynolds, Faculty of Arts, James Cook University

In 1993, I attended a seminar, hosted by AIDAB, on its development programmes and contract opportunities. Apart from the mass of useful information, four particular points struck me at the meeting: the sheer size of the overall budget for development projects; the understandably strong interest of the audience in such contracts; the complexity of the infrastructure and procedures involved in the award of contracts; and the total absence of any contract opportunities in the cultural field. It is with this last point that this paper is concerned. I would add that I view it from my own particular perspective of museums and material culture.

Development aid programmes obviously have a humanitarian base, seeking to improve the quality of life in the country concerned. We see ourselves as having an ethical responsibility to assist others to achieve a higher standard of living. Clean water, reliable food supplies, health, sanitation, roads, literacy and so on, are all areas within which aid projects can well be justified on humanitarian grounds alone. Apart from any immediate economic rewards to the contractors, there are long-term social, economic and political benefits as a result of the links developed between the two countries. In my opinion, these are the most important benefits for the donor country.

There is an increasing acceptance of the need to consider the social and cultural dimensions of projects. What is surprising though, is that little attention has been given to the potential of the cultural field itself for development aid. After all, though we seek to help improve the standard of living in another country, we recognise its individuality and, from a sense of ethical responsibility, do not seek to produce a clone of Australia. Why then do we not take the next step and provide significant assistance in the strengthening of that individuality, the distinctive nature of that culture which we so often admire and which attracts visits by Australians and others keen to enjoy it?

We must also recognise that this distinctive quality of life in a country has a cultural as well as an economic tourism dimension. The distinctiveness of a culture is not merely a tourist issue but one of cultural pride, of ethnic identity, of heritage awareness. For these reasons alone, apart from tourism, support in the cultural field is merited. Again, we should recognise that we have a moral responsibility to assist. After all, this is a key area in which the dominant influences of our industrial western society that threatens to engulf other cultures, can be successfully resisted.

One of the reasons suggested to me, apart from that of a perceived relative unimportance of culture (!), for the low level of development activity in the cultural field is a

hesitation to interfere in what is seen as essentially local, in other words a negative ethical responsibility. This is perhaps understandable. It would be foolish to attempt to reshape the culture of another society. This would certainly be unethical and would properly be resented, just as Australians would resent foreign attempts to reshape their own culture.

However, the point of cultural aid is not to interfere with cultures but to provide expertise and training in the management of various aspects of culture. The question of unethical interference does not arise. There are three broad areas of interest:

- the recording of cultures and of cultural heritage;
- the preservation of elements of the cultural heritage; and
- the public presentation of cultures and cultural heritage.

Cultures consist of a complex of ideas, of behaviour and of material elements. At the same time, cultures are dynamic, not static. They are constantly changing as a result of both internal and external pressures. In Australia, where recent history has belatedly captured the support of our governments only in the last 15 years or so, there is now considerable activity in researching, recording, collecting for our museums, and making available to the public information on this period of our history. I suggest we have an ethical responsibility to make these skills available to other countries, just as we do our educational, engineering and medical skills.

Many countries of the Asia-Pacific region are increasingly aware of the importance of their cultural heritage. Historical research, archaeological excavation, the upgrading of archives and museums and the strengthening of their collections are widely evident. However, there is a considerable need in many Asian and Pacific countries for training and direct specialist assistance in this field, one to which Australia could well contribute. To give but one example, in one Asian country alone there are 13 ethnographic museums, of which none of the curatorial staff has appropriate qualifications or formal training.

In all these cultural aspects, recording, preservation and presentation, as well as in ancillary ones such as public relations and marketing of museums etc., the need is primarily for expertise and training, though project funding for a museum, exhibition or educational project would also be needed. Alongside this is the responsibility to help countries establish their own ongoing training programmes to ensure continuity of quality and increasing local involvement and control of training.

There is another dimension to our international responsibilities in the cultural field. It is easy to see the urgency of projects for the preservation of large structural complexes, for example Borobudur or Angkor Wat. These are seen as part of the world heritage. But the rapid yet less obvious erosion of traditional cultures, craft skills and cultural individuality are just as important to our world heritage as are static monuments to past cultural individuality and skills. At this world international level Australia has a moral responsibility to assist.

I have argued that cultural development aid is both merited and feasible and that it can contribute significantly to the overall aims of an overseas development programme. It is also ethically sound. But what is actually occurring? In recent years I have been engaged in cultural development activities, focused on museums in South-East Asia, particularly Malaysia and Indonesia. On visits to these countries I have been very conscious, from discussions with colleagues there, of the cultural aid activities of a number of countries including the US, Australia, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands and the UK. Most of these activities are on a limited scale and in the nature of short finite projects. In addition, UNDP, UNESCO and the Ford Foundation are actively engaged in the region. No doubt there are others.

The Australian Government cultural aid programmes with which I am familiar are administered either directly by the International Cultural Relations Branch of Foreign Affairs and Trade or indirectly through its Australian South Pacific Cultures Fund (funded by AIDAB) or the Public Affairs Sections of Embassies and High Commissions. Also, there is the Australian National Commission for UNESCO. Country-specific are such bodies as the Australia-China Council, the Australia-Indonesia Institute and now the Australia-Korea Foundation and the Australia-India Council. Separately of course, there is the programme of AIDAB sponsored John Crawford Scholarship Scheme (now ADCOS), and other scholarships designed for students coming to Australian universities, but these are open to the full range of disciplines, not just those in the cultural field. Recently, Australia Council has redirected 50 per cent of its International Arts Promotion Program funding to the

Asia-Pacific region but again this is not intended for arts development as such in the region. The focus of the Council is on the development of Australian arts.

No doubt there are other sources of Commonwealth funding for cultural development activities but the significant points are that no one source is large and that each covers a very wide spectrum of the cultural field, from theatre and dance to museums and art exhibitions. By contrast with the overall official development aid budgets, that for cultural development is minuscule. I am aware of one project, well-supported by all those involved, that has for budgetary reasons taken over two years to bring to reality; the cost of this project is less than A\$5000. This sum is out of all proportion to the time and expense involved in negotiating it.

Australia accepts that it has an ethical responsibility to assist its neighbours across a wide range of disciplines and activities. Surely this range should include cultural development? When one appreciates how little cultural projects really cost, by comparison with those in other areas of development, one can but wonder at the apparent lack of a single, systematic, reasonably funded programme at Commonwealth level and indeed of a clear cultural development policy. Hopefully, there will be provision in the proposed Commonwealth Cultural Policy now being formulated, for such a cultural development policy.

With this policy as the basis, it would be possible to identify, in concert with key people from the countries targeted, the priorities for development aid as they perceive them. With these priorities identified and a realistic yet responsible level of funding, it would be feasible to develop, and replenish continually, a cadre of skilled and appropriate people on short contracts to undertake development projects. Given such a systematic approach, an effective overall programme of cultural development could be developed, one that would, for a relatively small outlay, provide Australia with a greatly enhanced reputation in the region. It would certainly contribute significantly to the overall aim of building links and encouraging mutual respect.

Development Bulletin Interview: The right to development

Stuart Harris, Department of International Relations, Australian National University

Professor Harris is a member of the UN group of independent experts on the Right to Development (RTD). He spoke to Liaqat Adeel¹ about the scope and limits of the RTD.

Q: The right to development has long been discussed in international fora, and in 1986 the UN adopted a declaration on it. What exactly does it mean?

A: There is still a lot of work that needs to be done to define it precisely. In a sense it means trying to articulate more fully the rights which are already in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For example, people have the right to economic progress; and also things that go with it, like social conditions, the range of participation in decision making, and the benefits of not just material well-being but also non material well-being, like a healthy environment, the material benefits that come from a developing society. The question is, how do you make this right operational and move beyond a mere slogan? An important point has been made by one of the NGOs. Noting that the simple provision by a government of any form of material well-being, such as shelter, is not enough to meet the criterion of a right to shelter. It is imperative to establish it first as a right and then move the process forward, and I guess that is what we are trying to do with the RTD.

Q: Is it a conditional or unconditional right?

A: Basically, as a fundamental human right it is unconditional. It is a right of an individual, but that individual may be part of a society or a community. So in the end it is the right of a community as well.

Q: How practicable is it? How will you implement it?

A: Well, that is the task that we are facing on this committee: how to make it practical? The process is slow and the fact is that it is very intangible at the moment. But it can be done, particularly to make people think of the right to development in their endeavours. For example, commonly when people talk of health, they only talk about a particular problem - not seeing it as a component of a right to development. It might well be that there are other solutions - outside the health arena - which can lead to greater improvements in health status than addressing the health issues alone. Similarly, people, especially in aid

organisations, need to put individual issues in the wider context of the right to development. The governmental and other agencies need to consider specific social and economic issues in a broader developmental context - NGOs dealing with human rights issues need to work closer with development NGOs coming to the issues in a more holistic fashion. Our efforts are not just for enshrining the RTD but recognition of all human rights.

Q: So far it is just a convention, an abstract idea. How do you think it can become a legal covenant?

A: That is obviously the way a lot of people would like to see it go, so that there is a legal obligation. I think that would take some time. Partly, because there is a need to be clear about its definition, its limits and its scope. And it needs to be articulated in a way that governments can themselves respond to it. It is a more difficult right in some ways than other existing rights to make into a legal concept which is meaningful for all governments. Another difficulty, of course, in the beginning was that it was caught up in the ideologies of East and West, North and South. So it carried with it an enormous amount of intellectual baggage. And now what we are trying to do is to cut away some of that intellectual baggage.

Q: I believe it was disputed by some Western countries, notably the US. What exactly was their objection?

A: The United States felt that it was imprecise on the one hand, and ideologically loaded on the other. They thought that it could be used by the Eastern bloc in the North-South debate. There was initially the confusion whether it was an individual right or the right of a country. It was eventually accepted by the United States and other western countries that development not only applies to minorities and other disadvantaged groups, but to all.

Q: At the Vienna Conference on human rights there was a consensus on the issue of RTD. Whose consensus was it and what was the response of the developing world?

A: The developing countries have always been very supportive of the RTD although often in a somewhat extreme North-South form. It was only some of the developed countries, especially the US, which were unsympathetic.

In fact, it was not always the US as such, but particularly the US of the Reagan Administration. It was taking a very hard line on a lot of things. I can't think of any developing country that was opposed to it. The debate has also been made easier by the fact that there has been a change in the thinking of the Eastern bloc. Initially Eastern European countries considered it as a right the developed countries of the West had to provide to the South, but which had nothing to do with them.

Q: It has been felt that in most cases the human rights issue has been used by the developed world, especially the super powers as a political stunt, rather than treating it as a real human issue. Will the RTD not suffer from the same snag?

A: There is no doubt that the human rights issue has been misused, especially linking it with trade relations. And there is no doubt that to a certain degree more pressure was put on some countries than others. But as far as the basic issue of human rights is concerned, there has been a general acceptance of it as a broad human issue. There have however, been many differences about how to advance the process effectively.

Q: Is there any mechanism for extending the RTD to a state or an individual? For instance, what will be the response of the committee towards countries that are ruled by autocrats and military dictators?

A: The committee would like to put in place, first, an

effective reporting process that puts the issue on the domestic political agenda and thereby encourages improvements, just as the GATT trade policy reviews do, and which work irrespective of the nature of the government. We are interested in looking for markers for the RTD such as the measurement of the human development index. It is a very difficult process because it is like adding apples and oranges and coming up with an overall measure.

Q: How do you think the RTD will contribute to the human rights situation? As you have said in your paper on RTD, some development projects are counter-productive. Will you elaborate on it?

A: First, there is, in particular, a need to be more conscious of the interrelationship between what have traditionally been seen as human rights and development issues so that the situation of those currently marginalised economically can be improved. That specific development activities do not unduly affect particular groups adversely, as may happen with irrigation or land development schemes, but that many human rights problems may be ameliorated only with improved economic conditions.

Second, the RTD is seen as putting some balance into the process of advancing human rights overall for individuals. It is generally accepted that human rights are indivisible and that advances have to include both political and economic rights. Nevertheless, there is a widely held view that emphasis to date has been more specifically on political rights. Progress in the RTD arena should help in both contexts.

Footnote

¹ Liaqat Adeel is a Pakistani journalist currently enrolled in the Master of Communications programme at the University of Canberra.

Ethics and development: The cutting edge of tomorrow's agenda?

November Conference

Joe Remenyi, Centre for Applied Social Research, Deakin University

Ethics is concerned with human values and conduct. In the context of development, ethics is necessarily relativist, yet it is also absolutist in that it concerns the sort of life each of us should be able to live, irrespective of the culture in which we find ourselves, and the things that have abiding value. The ethics of development is, therefore, a topic that embraces more than the clash of cultures and human rights. It is, moreover, a decidedly 'adult' subject, the importance of which can be expected to receive increasing prominence with the ageing of Third World citizens.

It would be foolhardy to attempt a taxonomy of the issues that fall under the ethics and development gambit. Human rights is clearly there and is a topic that is receiving particular attention in development and international relations circles at this time. Similarly, the cultural imperialism that can come with tourism, global electronic super-highways, television, movies, foreign trade contacts, missionary work or official international discourse and exchange can have ethical implications of which we are typically reasonably cognisant. However, there remain issues that are not so populist or obvious that a discussion of 'ethics and development' cannot ignore. For example, does culture have primacy or are there circumstances when culture violates the universal rights of citizenship in the family of humanity? How are practices that threaten such violence to be identified and dealt with? Are there lessons here from the past? Feet binding, cruel and unusual punishment and female circumcision are only three examples that bear on the choices of the sort of life individuals are able to choose. Less obvious are the shackles that come with inherited debt, bonded labour or other forms of modern slavery, and the ethics of different occupational health and safety standards between sovereign nations. Should the loosening of these be a goal of official development assistance?

Ethics also causes us to consider topics to which we may not otherwise give sufficient notice. For example, the nature of public life raises moral hazard, accountability and conflict of interest problems that are apparently assessed against different standards as between wealthy and poor economies? Why should this be so? Does it matter? Ethics also forces us to acknowledge the existence of 'non persons' in the society. In China, an important class of these non persons is the so-called 'floating population' of unregistered and displaced individuals who are illegally resident in the slums

and fringes of the urban centres. Their number is likely to equal the official numbers in chronic poverty in China, around 100 million persons, yet the government-to-government nature of bilateral aid precludes any poverty targeted bilateral aid from reaching them. It is as though they, despite their numbers, do not exist, just as the victims of infanticide, unofficial refugee groups, gangs of street children, and the most desperate of beggars are also 'non persons'. Treated as a blot on the societies they inhabit, they are not afforded the common rights of citizenship or even acknowledged as deserving of a separate existence. Are we at a time in history when we can no longer turn a blind eye?

The ethics of particular activities and practices is a hoary perennial. The ethics of the arms trade, the ethical standards by which multinationals ought to abide, the morality of the voyeurism that must accompany development tourism, and the male chauvinism of many traditional cultures ought to be stock in trade to ethicists. Yet, there is less written by ethics 'experts' on these topics than there ought to be. In the decades ahead the world will see a global community that is ageing and maturing. With this maturity will come greater concern for these issues, both inside and outside the Third World. What are the implications for our foreign policies, our overseas development assistance commitments, or multilateral involvements, and our bilateral relations with near neighbours?

On 28-29 November 1994, the Australian Development Studies Network (ADSN) will join with Deakin University's Centre for Applied Social Research and several other non government agencies to co-host a national conference on 'ethics and development'. Negotiations are proceeding to involve prominent activists and thinkers in the area, including Geoffrey Robertson of Hypotheticals fame and more recently a prominent human rights lawyer; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who is reported to be keen to use his considerable talents as a peace and democracy advocate to offer leadership in the ethical renewal of African politics; David Beckman, formerly adviser to the President of the World Bank and now a leader on the American NGO scene; John Clarke, formerly of Oxfam and now part of the new breed at the World Bank committed to improving the ability of the Bank to help the poor; Fr Mark Raper, SJ, now at the Vatican Refugee Office but formerly with Asia Bureau Australia; and David Korten, long an activist for grassroots

action as the basis of sustainable strategies for the poor to 'seize the moment'. We are also, however, keen to involve members of ADSN and others in Academe, government or the private sector interested in and working on topics relevant to 'ethics and development'.

If you would like to present a paper or run a workshop at the conference please send an expression of interest by 1 June 1994 to:

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Aid update

Advisory Council on Aid Policy

The Advisory Council on Aid Policy was established in 1993 to provide advice on development and aid policy issues to the Minister for Development Cooperation and Pacific Island Affairs, Mr Gordon Bilney. The Council, chaired by Mr Bilney, meets twice yearly. Meetings were held in July and November 1993 and the next is planned for May 1994.

The objectives of the Council are to:

- provide the Minister with views and advice on the overall objectives and directions for the aid programme;
- provide views on the composition and focus of the aid programme and levels of total aid programme funding;
- provide advice on specific programmes and activities; and
- enhance communication between the community, the Minister and AIDAB.

The work of the Council is set both by reference from the Minister and by consensus of the Council. The two meetings of the Council held to date have addressed a range of issues including:

- the South Pacific - a priority area for Australia's aid programme;
- Papua New Guinea - new directions in Australia's aid;
- engagement with Asia - the role of the aid programme; and
- commercial focus of the aid programme.

The Council is relatively small, with 12 members drawn from a broad range of community groups representing a wide variety of interests and experience. The Director of the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) is invited to attend those meetings which address topics relevant to the interests of ACIAR.

Members, listed below, are appointed by the Minister for a three year term on a purely individual basis and not as representatives of specific organisations or interests. AIDAB provides administrative and secretarial support to the Council.

Members of the Council

Chair, The Hon Gordon Bilney MP, Minister for Development Cooperation and Pacific Island Affairs

Professor Michael Birt AO CBE, former Chair of Australian Science and Technology Council and former Vice-Chancellor of University of New South Wales

Mr Rowan Callick, *Australian Financial Review*

Professor Adrienne Clarke AO, Chair of CSIRO and Professor of Botany, University of Melbourne

Mr Michael Costello, Secretary of Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (ex-officio)

Mr Philip Flood AO, Director General AIDAB (ex-officio)

Mr Russell Fynmore, Chair, Gas and Fuel Corporation, Victoria

Mr John Gillett, Executive Director, International Division, Kinhill Engineers Pty Ltd

Mr James Ingram AO, consultant, former Executive Director, World Food Programme

Professor Richard Jackson, Professor of Geography, James Cook University, and former Director of Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, Papua New Guinea

Ms Penny Kane, President of Family Planning Australia, member of Central Council of International Planned Parenthood Federation

The Hon Ian Macphee AO, Corrs, Chambers and Westgarth

Sister Patricia Pak Poy RSM, Sisters of Mercy

Mr Russell Rollason, Executive Director, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

Dr Brian W Scott AO, Chair, W D Scott International Development Consultants Pty Ltd.

Objectives of Australia's development cooperation in HIV/AIDS

In the past decade, the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on individuals, families, communities and economies in the developing world has become increasingly apparent. It is now regarded as one of the most important threats to global social and economic development. WHO estimates that globally, 14 million men, women and children were infected with HIV by mid 1993.

The objectives of Australia's development cooperation in the area of HIV/AIDS are to:

- Prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS;
- Minimise the impact of HIV/AIDS on the individual and on society;
- Address the needs created by the impact of HIV/AIDS on social and economic development.

Guiding principles

A series of guiding principles relating to the development of HIV/AIDS activities within AIDAB's programmes have been developed. These principles draw on Australia's successful experience in limiting the HIV/AIDS pandemic domestically, and on the lessons learnt from international experience over the last 10 years. In particular, they are consistent with the Australian National HIV/AIDS Strategy 1993-94 to 1995-96 and embody the principles set out in WHO's 1992 update of the Global Strategy on AIDS.

General principles

i) HIV/AIDS is not only a health problem, but also a social, economic and development issue. Therefore a prevention and care programme needs to adopt a multi-disciplinary and multi-sectoral approach. An effective response to the pandemic is based on high levels of political will and partnership between governments, medical and scientific bodies, the non government sector, religious groups, the media and the broader community. Australia's development cooperation initiatives need to examine existing structures and seek to foster a partnership approach in recipient countries. Those affected by the pandemic should be involved in this dialogue.

ii) Activities should take into account the overall framework of recipient national and local health structures and be compatible with recipients' National Action Plans for the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS. Australia should contribute to mechanisms for international coordination, in particular by supporting efforts to improve cooperation at country level through formal and informal mechanisms, including indigenous non government organisation networks and bilateral and multilateral donors.

iii) Priorities for Australian development cooperation include activities which assist partner countries develop policy and legal frameworks. A supportive environment based on public health principles is vital to the success of programmes to prevent transmission of HIV. This means an environment in which there are no legal or other barriers to the dissemination of frank and informative messages about effective ways to prevent transmission, and which supports individuals, families and communities as they move towards the adoption of low risk behaviours.

iv) The human rights of people with HIV/AIDS must be respected, and a person's HIV status must remain confidential. This is also one of the best means of safeguarding the health of all people. Discriminatory measures such as mandatory testing, quarantine, restrictions on movements and social ostracism create unnecessary hardship for those already suffering from a life threatening disease. They also undermine public health efforts to control the disease, because stigmatisation can drive those who would benefit from counselling and medical care underground, thus depriving them of help and depriving

the community of credible bearers of HIV/AIDS prevention messages.

v) Programmes need to examine the broader social and economic structure of a community and be based on an understanding of the way HIV/AIDS affects personal, social and economic development. This requires comprehensive social and economic analysis before and during project design. Activities need to be sensitive to cultural, social, peer group and religious values which actually influence individual behaviour and provide a supportive environment that will facilitate community and individual behaviour change.

vi) People are more open to discussing a nominally taboo subject when they understand its importance for their health. Therefore programmes which encourage safer sexual practices need to be forthright and clear. Information and education campaigns should be closely coordinated with initiatives in primary health care (including sexually transmitted diseases - STDs) and family planning. Information and education must assist individuals to recognise risk behaviours and to accept personal responsibility for protecting themselves from HIV/AIDS and for not endangering others.

vii) Programmes should take account of the special needs of women who generally have less status, economic independence and power than men. Consequently they have less control than men over their sexuality and are more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection. Because it is mainly women who are the care givers, the number of women affected by the pandemic is far greater than the number of women actually infected. Women's roles as care givers and possibly financial supporters for other family members with HIV/AIDS related illnesses must be recognised and addressed.

viii) Appropriate assistance would enable women to gain greater economic independence, so they have realistic options available if they are in situations where risk of infection exists. Successful strategies will address cultural attitudes and values about sexuality and public discussion about sex and will promote greater community and peer support to help women negotiate with their partners. It is vital that men be included in these activities to ensure that AIDS is not seen as a woman's problem and that men take responsibility for their actions.

ix) Community-based, self-help initiatives potentially offer the most cost effective approach to HIV/AIDS prevention and care. Non government and community-based organisations (NGOs and CBOs) have a unique role to play in the prevention and control of the virus, because of their experiences at community level - including work with those affected by the disease - and their ability to deliver effective peer education. Australian initiatives should seek to complement and strengthen existing community initiatives and to mobilise affected communities. Their

strengths and skills should be drawn on to complement government programmes.

x) Given the scarcity and/or fledgling nature of many indigenous NGOs and CBOs working with HIV/AIDS, emphasis may need to be placed on enabling these organisations to improve their managerial and technical capability in the areas of prevention, care and advocacy. Seed funding for institutional development for NGOs and NGO support networks is recognised as an important area of need in HIV/AIDS programmes and can be considered under Australia's development cooperation programme.

xi) Australian activities should be consistent with the Global AIDS Strategy established by the WHO Global Programme on AIDS; the principles established by the WHO/UNDP Alliance to Combat AIDS; and the guiding principles of the Australian National HIV/AIDS Strategy 1993-94 to 1995-96.

HIV/AIDS policy guidelines for Australia's Development Cooperation Program is available free from:

AIDAB
PO Box 887
Canberra, ACT 2601

WID update

The United Nations Fourth World Conference

The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women and the parallel women's NGO Forum 95 will be held in Beijing in 1995. The conference and the forum will focus international attention on the situation of women, their achievements, concerns, needs, demands and strategies for action. The specific objectives of the conference are to review and appraise the advancement of women since the last World Conference in 1985; to mobilise women and men both at the policy making and grassroots levels to achieve these objectives; to adopt a platform of action concentrating on some of the key issues identified as representing fundamental obstacles to the advancement of the majority of women in the world; and to determine priorities to be followed in the years 1996-2001 for implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (FLS) within the UN system.

Background information

The first International Women's Year was commemorated in Mexico City in 1975. The themes considered by the conference delegates were equality, development and peace.

Mid-way through the 1975-85 decade government representatives from all over the world met to assess the progress made since the First World Conference on women. The sub-themes of education, employment and health were added to the agenda at the Mid-decade World Conference on Women held in Copenhagen in 1980.

In 1981, a major document called the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women was ratified by 20 nations and adopted by the United Nation's General Assembly as an international treaty. The culmination of the women's decade was another world conference on women, this time in Nairobi in 1985. The 2000 delegates representing 157 nations reviewed the decade and its themes, and agreed to the FLS for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000. Under the themes of equality, development and peace, the FLS defined and reviewed the progress, and continued oppression, of women in social, economic, political and cultural areas. The FLS proposed comprehensive strategies to overcome obstacles to women's equality and development and defined a range of measures to be taken to implement the strategies.

The first parallel women's NGO Forum was held in Mexico City. Approximately 6,000 women discussed a multitude of problems, ideas and approaches to overcoming oppression. The second women's NGO Forum was held concurrently with the mid-decade UN conference in Copenhagen. The Forum's themes were the same as those of the Conference but discussions also included female sexual slavery, wages for housework, appropriate technology and women's studies.

In July 1985, some 15,000 women came together at the Nairobi University, Kenya, for Forum 85. There were 1000 formal workshops and several hundred informal ones. The issues addressed were much wider than the concurrent UN conference and included women, law and development, lesbian rights, research issues, and women in arts and music.

Preparations for the Fourth World Conference and Forum 95

The UN's Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) is the preparatory body for the Conference. CSW, with the assistance of UN agencies, inter governmental and national women's units, is preparing the draft 'Platform for Action' to be considered and endorsed by the conference.

The current draft 'Platform for Action' identifies the following critical areas of concern:

- . inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision making at all levels;
- . insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women;
- . lack of awareness of, and commitment to, internationally and nationally recognised women's human rights;

- . the persistent and growing burden of poverty on women;
- . inequality in women's access to and participation in the definition of economic structures and policies and the productive process itself;
- . equality in access to education, health and related services, and other means of maximising the use of women's capacities;
- . violence against women;
- . effects of armed and other kinds of conflicts on women;
- . insufficient use of mass media to promote women's positive contributions to society; and
- . lack of adequate recognition and support for women's contributions to managing natural resources and safeguarding the environment.

The UN Commission met in March 1994 for its 38th session which acted as PrepCom I for the Beijing conference. PrepCom II is scheduled for early March 1995 in New York.

The Bangkok-based UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) is the coordinating body for input into the World Conference from the Asia-Pacific region. The ESCAP secretariat is planning a survey of regional and associate members and is undertaking studies on a range of relevant issues, including household distribution of income by gender, resources and welfare, women in development planning and women's role in the informal sector.

Preparations in Australia

In Australia, active preparations are underway for the two events both at the governmental and non governmental levels. The Australian Council for Women was established by the Commonwealth Government in December 1993. The Council's role is to disseminate information; consult with NGOs, academia, the private sector, the media and general public; provide feedback regarding government plans; coordinate and provide advice on key concerns; and identify strategies which address the major persisting obstacles to advancing the status of women. The Council has established three working groups to concentrate on particular areas of the National Agenda for Women. These are women in decision making; women in the economy; and women and families.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), a coalition of Australian non governmental aid agencies, has developed a Beijing sub-committee into facilitate input to regional preparations. The committee is mostly made up of NGOs and individuals involved in international aid and the development field, but is open to all.

More information on the Australian Council for Women can be obtained by contacting:

Suzette Mitchell
ACFOA Women in Development Adviser
Private Bag 3
Deakin, ACT 2600

Australian Council for Women

The Review of Government Policy Advice Mechanisms on the Status of Women was reported to the Prime Minister in October 1993. This document put forward 20 recommendations covering various aspects of policy advice mechanisms, the Office of the Status of Women, international obligations, consultation strategies and communication on women's policy issues. Within the section on international obligations the Review states:

Recommendation 12: The Office of the Status of Women (is) to retain primary responsibility for Australia's participation in international status of women activities. Such activities (are) to be maintained and strengthened in the lead up to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing in 1995.

For this to be implemented, the Review put forward a consultation strategy which recommends the following:

Recommendation 13: A new, broad-ranging approach to consultation with women employing a range of strategies and based on targeted consultation on priority issues (be determined) and a move towards task-oriented rather than standing committees and regular consultation opportunities for women's organisations (be determined) to raise issues of concern directly with Government.

Recommendation 14: Appointment of an Australian Council for the Fourth World Conference on Women which would:

- be comprised of twelve members, including representatives of national women's organisations, and a convenor; and
- be appointed until the end of 1995 with the specific role of acting as a focal point for planning and coordination of Australia's activities relating to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

The Australian Council for Women was established in November 1993 by Senator Rosemary Crowley at the Coalition of Participating Organisations of Women national conference in Canberra. The Council consists of 12 community representatives. The Chair is Sandra Yates, former publisher of Time magazine with Kaye Loder holding the position of deputy chair. Kaye was the convenor of the Fourth National Women's Consultative Council. The other members of the Council are: Hilary Charlesworth, Catherine Cole, Melissa Del Borrello, Ingrid Fitzgerald, Noela L'Estrange, Suzette Mitchell, Elizabeth Parsons, Lydia Philippou, Annette Shun Wah and Esmerelda Saunders. These members come from various backgrounds with involvement in national women's groups and networks, media, academia, business, unions as well as community groups. The Council will act as an advisory body to the Government, providing practical, focused and strategic advice addressing major and persistent obstacles to

advancing the status of women.

The Council has a mandate to consult with the community and liaise with NGOs. At its inaugural meeting on 16 December 1993, the Council identified three working groups: women in decision making, women and families, and women and the economy. These are themes on which the Council will seek wide consultation through an NGO survey which was distributed in early March 1994.

The Council met during February 1994 to feed into processes for the 38th session of the CSW. This session of the CSW was held in New York from 7-18 March 1994 and acted as a Prep Com for the 1995 conference. There was also an international meeting of NGOs in New York from 3-4 March to plan the Beijing NGO 95 Forum. A report from the next session of the Australian Council for Women will be included in the next issue of *Development Bulletin*.

Further information on the Australian Council for Women can be obtained by writing to:

The Chair, ACW
Office of the Status of Women
Prime Minister and Cabinet
3-5 National Circuit
Barton, ACT 2600

Report by Suzette Mitchell, ACFOA WID Adviser

Information Kit Available

The International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) has prepared an Information Kit on the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women for the Office of the Status of Women. The kit is designed for use by women's organisations in Australia to encourage them to participate in the 1995 Conference and Forum. In preparing the kit, IWDA consulted with many groups to provide information that would be useful to a diverse range of Australian women: Aboriginal and Torres Islander women, non Aboriginal women and women from non English speaking backgrounds. The kit gives ideas, resources and contacts and information on how to get involved in the preparations for Beijing and/or go to Forum 95.

The information kit is available free from:

The Office of the Status of Women
3-5 National Circuit
Barton, ACT 2600
or
DAS Distribution
PO Box 655
Fyshwick ACT 2609
Fax (06) 2025696
Tel (06) 2025628

From the Press

Population control that really works

When delegates gather in New York this week for final negotiations before the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, they will be armed with a pretty clear understanding of what works and what doesn't in slowing population growth. The knowledge, gleaned from research and real experience, is clear enough, and promising enough, to disarm - at long last - the passionate but fruitless ideological debates that have sidetracked previous summits.

Dozens of social and economic factors have been studied for their connection to lowered fertility. Of them all, education of women has proved the most consistent. The effect shows up with just a year or two of primary school, becomes much larger with complete primary education and jumps again with secondary schooling.

What some are now calling the Tamil Nadu 'miracle' corroborates the research findings in an unforgettable way. In the 1970s, the chief executive of this state in South India launched a free midday meal programme for children in primary schools. The purpose was political populism - the result entirely unexpected.

The number of schools and teachers had to grow - as vehicles for delivering the meals. The free meals also changed families' economic calculus. A little girl became more valuable to the family by going to school and getting a nutritious meal (especially if she brought some home to share) than staying home taking care of younger siblings. The number of girls in school went way up. Tamil Nadu also had a minister with an obsession for family planning. He insisted that every bus and auto-rickshaw be covered with family planning slogans. Movie theatres and billboards carried the message. Clinics made the means available. The midday meal girls began to marry in 1985. In the next six years the birthrate - which had declined slightly in the previous decade - dropped by more than 25 per cent.

On a much grander scale, population trends in Bangladesh prove that even without female education or any of the other factors economists and demographers have believed to be essential for slowing birthrates, a determined, sensitively designed, voluntary government programme can be astonishingly effective.

One of the poorest countries in the world, Bangladesh, seems to have every strike against success. It is a strict, patriarchal Muslim society in which fewer than one woman in four is literate and only one in ten can go shopping unaccompanied. Nearly half the population lives in poverty and infant and child mortality are very high. Between 1975 and 1990 economic output per capita rose by a slow 1.6 per cent annually.

Every one of these characteristics has been called incompatible with fertility decline. Yet in these 15 years,

Bangladesh's total fertility rate (the number of lifetime births per woman) dropped from 7 to 4.5. On this unassailable evidence, the debate over which is more important, economic development or family planning, can finally be laid to rest. The slogan 'Development is the best contraceptive' stands exposed as the mindless rallying cry of people whose real agenda is opposition to family planning. Without doubt, economic development accelerates fertility decline. Equally obviously, rapid population growth can overwhelm even strong economic growth. Bangladesh proves that countries need not wait - indeed, how can they? - for the magic of economic success before trying to slow the growth of their populations. Strictly voluntary programmes can work in very poor societies, and not just in Asia. The 20 per cent drop in Kenya's total fertility rate since 1989, for example, is one of the steepest ever observed.

Recent research provides the means to dispose of yet another red herring. Past abuses in family planning programmes have made many women's groups extremely leery of population targets. The more radical groups find any discussion of fertility offensive on the grounds that it is a form of blaming women. The fear that environmental concerns would give a boost to national targets was a major reason why the Rio summit utterly failed to address how many people the planet can reasonably support.

Demographer Steven Sinding has looked closely at the growing body of evidence of 'unmet need', the number of women who say they want to limit or space their children but do not have access to contraceptives. He found 12 developing countries that have both a national demographic target and a recent estimate of unmet need. In 10 of the 12, meeting all the unmet need would actually exceed the national target.

Sinding's finding means that there need be no conflict between individual rights and population goals. National programmes can be designed and implemented in a way that puts individuals and families first.

For all these reasons, this year's UN conference could be a significant event. Two donors, the United States and Japan, have made notable, recent commitments on funding. Japan has pledged US\$3 billion through the end of the century for family planning and AIDS, a tenfold increase over its previous spending. This indicator of a new Japanese engagement on global issues has received far too little recognition.

The only dark cloud is the Vatican's apparent intention - signalled when the Pope convened his nuncios recently - to make a major effort to undo the growing consensus. If he is successful, it could be at the cost of the most promising opportunity yet to build international momentum on an endeavour vital to human hope and individual fulfillment.

Guardian Weekly, 10 April 1994, p. 17

Aid backlash feared

Mr James Ingram, former United Nations under-secretary and director of the World Food Programme has warned of a backlash in countries where human rights and democracy are linked to foreign aid. He recently told a conference that it was naive and ideological for donors to use aid as a means of imposing Western values. Religious fundamentalism in some Islamic countries, for example, appeared to be a reaction against rapid modernisation that included Western ideas and values. Mr Ingram said that 'Imposition from abroad is to invite an eventual counter-reaction.' He added, 'If history teaches anything surely it is that the only way in which fundamental changes can be expected to take deep root and to endure is when they emerge through a process of consensus consistent with the history and culture of the affected country.'

Mr Ingram warned that the way in which rich and poor countries dealt with development was a key issue that would determine Australia's long-term future. He said that it was important that the next generation of Australians understand the complexity of poverty in low-income countries. 'The way of life that has become so agreeable to many of us in the West, especially in our so far blessed country, would be unsustainable if replicated on a global scale,' he said.

In the past, the main purpose of aid programmes was to serve the political and commercial interests of aid donors. Mr Ingram said that if donors were serious about alleviating poverty and promoting development, they would have opened their markets to developing countries long ago. 'To the extent that overseas aid is intended seriously to promote development and eradicate poverty, it is a poor substitute for removal of trade barriers,' he said. Mr Ingram attacked the setting of conditions on the granting of aid, saying that it was a shocking and dangerous trend. He said that the donors should not decide the area in which the money was spent. An example of this would be a donor insisting on AIDS prevention spending when a higher priority should be given to eradicating malaria. Mr Ingram said developing countries usually knew best what needed to be done in their own countries.

The Western Australian, 25 November 1993, p. 50

13 million HIV positive women by 2000

New figures released by WHO show that by the year 2000, over 13 million women will have been infected by HIV. WHO estimates that almost half of all the newly infected adults are women. As infections in women rise, so do infections in infants born to them. To date, these total about one million, of whom half a million have already developed AIDS. On average, worldwide, about one-third of babies born to HIV infected mothers are themselves infected.

Dr Michael Merson, Executive Director of WHO Global Programme on AIDS, outlined three main reasons why HIV infections in women are growing:

- women are biologically more vulnerable, as women have larger mucosal surface exposed during sexual intercourse; moreover, semen contains a far higher concentration of HIV than vaginal fluid;
- women are epidemiologically vulnerable. Women tend to marry or have sex with older men, who may have had more sexual partners. Women are also epidemiologically vulnerable to HIV transmission through blood transfusion during pregnancy or child birth; and
- women are socially vulnerable to HIV. In some cultures, men expect sex with any women receiving their economic support. The result is sexual subordination, and this creates a highly unfavourable atmosphere for AIDS prevention.

Dr Merson also highlighted a number of suggestions that can be undertaken to reduce the vulnerability of women to HIV infection. Among them are

- biomedical scientists should give top priority to developing a vaginal virucide or microbicide active against HIV and other STDs;
- national AIDS programmes should implement effective interventions aimed at men, such as needle exchange programmes and vigorous condom programmes;
- young girls who are especially vulnerable should be taught how to protect themselves from HIV infection;
- women should be encouraged to seek and should receive good STD care; and
- men everywhere can help put an end to social traditions which lead to women's subordination.

Dr Merson concluded that 'it will take an alliance of women and men working in a spirit of mutual respect to protect women and their children from HIV infection.'

Global Child Health News and Reviews 1(2) 1993

Poverty on the rise

A new ESCAP report, *The State of Urbanisation in Asia and the Pacific* released in November 1993 shows that poverty is rampant and increasing in urban Asia, even in the high income countries. Between half and three-quarters

of the people in the region's largest cities live in slum and squatter settlements and have incomes below the poverty line. In high income Seoul, substandard housing remained at 17 per cent through two decades of high economic growth, and people are still found making a living scavenging refuse dumps. Here as elsewhere, absolute poverty increased even as overall wealth (measured by national production and per capita GNP) expanded. Unless urgent measures are taken, by the year 2000, 60 per cent of Asia's urbanites will be slum dwellers and squatters, most of the increase coming from China (550 million), India (118 million), Indonesia (95 million), Pakistan (93 million) and Bangladesh (65 million).

Te Amokura 6(1) 1994

Fight against non communicable diseases

A three year national plan for the prevention and control of non communicable diseases (NCDs) in Fiji has been developed to fight the alarming increase in deaths from these diseases. According to the Ministry of Health there are over 1500 deaths and more than 500 hospital admissions per year due to coronary heart disease, stroke, hypertensive heart disease and diabetes. It is estimated that at least half of the 700 to 800 deaths per year are linked to cigarette smoking and a diet high in animal and/or dairy fat.

The plan's overall target is to reduce the death rate from the above diseases by two per cent every year. The plan gives priority to efforts aimed at prevention of the diseases. The main objectives of the plan are:

- to prevent the development of NCDs by reducing the prevalence of known risk factors;
- to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the acute care and rehabilitation services for NCDs; and
- to re-orient the health related services and organisations both in the public and private sector.

Fiji Food & Nutrition Newsletter 18(4) 1993

Compensation for who?

Compensation is a strong institution in Papua New Guinea. It arises when members of a family feel that they have cause to be 'compensated' for the death of a family member when there is an accident or murder. But now there is a new twist...

Five men raped a woman who was dying from AIDS in the province of Enga. Two weeks later the woman died. When the rapists learned that they might have been infected with

HIV, they turned up to claim compensation from the woman's family. Student Counsellor Rai Kila told *Pacific AIDS Alert Bulletin* that this story was heard by those who attended a seminar in Port Moresby on the social and economic consequences of AIDS.

According to another source, not only is this story true, but a similar incident happened in the Eastern Highlands Province when three men turned up to claim compensation after finding out that the woman they had raped was infected with HIV at the time.

Pacific AIDS Alert Bulletin 8 1994

Friendship Bridge opened

The 'Friendship Bridge' was officially opened on 8 April 1994. The \$42 million bridge, funded through AIDAB, will bring the epic road journey between Singapore and Beijing closer to reality and will give land-locked Laos direct road access to Thailand and the port of Bangkok. Far-reaching implications for foreign trade and investment on a regional scale are expected.

Focus, March 1994

Taking a bead on the World Bank

For 20 years Susan George has fought to expose what she sees as a folly of international financial institutions who, in the name of developing the world's poorer countries, have instead contributed to the downward spiral of poverty and Third World indebtedness.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), known as Bretton Woods institutions after the town in New Hampshire, US, where they were formed, celebrated their 50th anniversary this year. To Dr George it is cause for no celebration. She says the issue of Third World debt and environmental degradation are more pressing than ever, yet the operations of these international institutions which have contributed heavily to the parlous state of affairs are poorly scrutinised, barely accountable and their failures seldom officially criticised.

The World Bank has a US\$1.4 billion (A\$1.96 billion) annual administrative budget, a staff of 8000 and dozens of the best economic brains in the world. They invariably get it wrong, George says. Their standard neoclassical brand of economics and faith in the power of the market to deliver the best of all possible outcomes, says nothing much about the real world. They know the price of everything, but 'when it comes to human and ecological costs, economists can tell you little,' though some are trying to change, she acknowledges.

With the IMF, the World Bank imposes on its client governments the obligation to practice market economics. That means the current imperatives, in line with conventional economic thinking throughout the industrialised world, cutting budget deficits, reducing social costs and scaling back welfare provisions. The conventional wisdom says not only is the private more efficient but the state has reached the limits of what it can afford to do.

'The market can only set prices. It cannot provide jobs for all the people who need them. The market is about making profits not jobs. It cannot provide health care and education for most of us. Imposing the market as a solution to every problem is tantamount to the World Bank admitting it has no plans for two-thirds of humanity, beyond its new commitment to 'sustainable poverty reduction'.'

Dr George says the World Bank in tandem with the IMF, works with client governments on budgets, privatising and down-sizing, imposing export-oriented development policies. The debt takes over. Governments are in over their heads, more and more subsidies and supports have to be cut and austerity programmes introduced. The sheer size of the debt inevitably means no more money coming from any other source.

Here the economists' judgements proved completely out. The theory of borrow to grow and watch the private money follow did not work out in practice. Private investment did not flow in, but right up to the late 1980s, according to Dr George, the World Bank's fleet of experts were still claiming the debt crisis was a mere problem of liquidity. Only later were they forced to admit it constitutes a far more serious structural problem.

In 1991, the president of the World Bank asked for a report on how things had gone, the first serious overall evaluation in 50 years, Dr George says. The study found one-third of the bank's development projects were failing, and when it came to water projects the failure rate was 40 per cent. The rate has been rising since the early 1980s. It found more and more governments failing to comply with their loan obligations. 'And this evaluation only looked at the economic return. There was no consideration of environmental impact, human displacement or pollution effects.'

'Now the bank's overriding objective is 'sustainable poverty reduction'. Yet it has spent a decade creating vastly larger numbers of poor people through its austerity programmes and market orientation. The question is, can it surmount this fundamental contradiction?'

It is a sad irony that the demand for tough cutbacks by the international financial institutions is, in effect, made at the dictate of the rich G10 countries, whose representatives dominate the international financial institutions. These conditions impoverish Third World people by insisting on

more exports-led development, tight budgets and less spent on social programmes.

Dr George advocates diversifying the economies of the poor countries to satisfy the needs of the people, not world markets. She believes it should be axiomatic that funds provided to Third World countries should contribute to their development, not compound their poverty.

The Canberra Times, 8 April 1994, p.11

Slowing population growth

Slowing population growth from high current levels, especially in poor, agrarian societies facing pressure on land and resources, is advantageous to economic development, health, food availability, housing, poverty, the environment, and possibly education. In several of these areas, for example poverty, we do not know the size of the effect. And in some sectors where we do have estimates of individual outcomes, the impacts are relatively small. These small effects, however, are likely to be synergistic and cumulative. While other economic and social policies may affect one or a few of these outcomes more directly, few, if any, are likely to have the breadth of impact of family planning, where the direct costs are relatively modest.

Independent Inquiry Report into Population and Development: Summary, April 1994, p. 5

Aid decline beggars our image

The gulf between rhetoric and reality in government has rarely been so obvious and embarrassing as it was during Paul Keating's visit to Indochina. While the Prime Minister was busy opening Australian-sponsored friendship bridges, announcing more aid to Vietnam and spreading the gospel that Australia was thrilled to provide overseas aid to help our Asian friends, a very different story was unfolding in Canberra.

The Cabinet's Expenditure Review Committee (ERC) rejected pleas from the Minister for Development Cooperation, Gordon Bilney and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans for a \$160 million increase in Australia's overseas aid budget for the next financial year. The bid was aimed at partly restoring a decade-long decline in Australia's overseas aid programme - a decline they believe is inconsistent with Labor's internationalist foreign and trade policies. Despite an improving economy, the ERC

is understood to have decided on a virtually flat \$1.4 billion overseas aid budget for 1994-95. Barring a last minute turn around, overseas aid as proportion of gross domestic product - the best measure for international comparison - will sink to its lowest level in Australia's history.

The Australian, 15 April 1994, p. 13

PM asked for aid increase

Australia's top 15 non government aid organisations have written to Prime Minister Paul Keating urging him to overturn a government decision to reduce the foreign aid budget.

It is understood that Cabinet's Expenditure Review Committee last week rejected a proposal put forward by the Minister for Development Cooperation, Gordon Bilney, to boost the aid budget by \$160 million this year, to 0.37 per cent of gross national product.

The economic ministers, led by Treasurer Ralph Willis and Finance Minister Kim Beazley, refused Mr Bilney's submission. They reportedly told him that the aid budget would receive only a marginal increase in dollar terms and no rise in real terms.

Australian non government organisations have been outraged by the decision, which they say contradicts the ALP policy calling for 0.4 per cent of GNP to be devoted to aid by 1995. In a letter to Mr Keating the NGOs encourage the Prime Minister to act to put his Government's aid commitment back on track and to keep the budget moving towards the United Nations target for wealthy countries of 0.7 per cent of GNP devoted to aid.

The letter signed by the heads of 15 church and other aid groups representing two million Australians, stated that poverty was prevalent in Asia where 70 per cent of the world's poor lived. 'Cutting the aid level will seriously undermine Australia's capacity to assist the reduction of poverty and to forge closer links with countries in Asia,' the letter said.

The executive director of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Russell Rollason, said that the Prime Minister had seen, at first-hand, the benefits of Australia's aid programme on his recent visit to Indochina. 'The defence budget is reported to have been underspent by \$500 million,' he said. 'Surely the savings can go towards boosting the aid budget.'

The Canberra Times, 20 April 1994, p. 20

Conferences

Conference reports

Joining forces to further shared visions

Washington DC, 19-24 October 1993

'Joining forces to further shared visions' was the title of the sixth international Association for Women in Development conference. Over 1200 Women in Development (WID) policy makers, practitioners and academics from more than 80 countries around the world joined forces at this event. Over 170 presentations covered issues ranging from the impact on women of religious fundamentalism, rampant ethnic strife, food and security, rural poverty, reproductive health, AIDS, violence against women and girls, illiteracy, barriers to democracy, market economies, declining world employment opportunities and environmental degradation.

The overriding feeling from this group of women was one of despondency at the dominant approach to WID. 'Add women and stir' was the term repeatedly used to describe the way that governments and NGOs had integrated WID into mainstream development. 'We not only want a piece of the pie, we also want to choose the flavour, and know how to make it ourselves' were the words of Ela Bhatt, founder of the Self Employed Women's Association, India. As the first speaker at the conference, Ela's words inspired attendees to focus on issues of women's self-reliance in determining their own parameters for development.

Gender and Development (GAD) was used in place of WID by many of the conference presenters and participants. GAD encompasses looking at women's concerns within the context of the construction of their gender roles which are influenced by regional, cultural and religious identities. Using GAD, as opposed to WID, considers the interrelationships between men and women within communities.

Carolyn Moser, noted WID/GAD theorist currently working in the Urban Policy Unit of the World Bank, gave an excellent presentation on the need to operationalise and institutionalise GAD. She stressed the need for institutions, agencies and individuals to distinguish between WID policy, GAD policy and gendering mainstream policy. Moser opts for an interactive approach to GAD combining the gender sensitising of mainstream development while maintaining GAD units and officers.

Pamela Sparr, from Alternative Women in Development in New York, pointed to the need for links to be made by US women working in national women's movements and US women working in the field of WID. She felt that these groups of women rarely met to share experiences, knowledge and resources. The implications of this lack of

communication are the exclusion of information from southern women into national policy documents as well as the omission of national women's issues feeding into international WID work. Sparr feels that as long as this dichotomy of issues remains, the national women's movement will be unrepresentative of Latin and African-American women. The mainstream approach to WID has been developed since the 1950s by white middle class academics and bureaucrats. Sparr calls for these women to rethink their models of development, to move from a perspective of charity to one of solidarity. She also calls for national women's organisations to increase their international connections.

Miria Matembe, National Resistance Council Representative and Uganda Member of Parliament, stressed the global difference between men and women's priorities. Within women's priorities she pointed to the gulf between women of the North and South. Matembe stated that while women in the North called for the right to abortion (more specifically choice), women of the South were calling for increased access to health care to prevent infertility and miscarriages. Women in the North were calling for representation in more decision making positions, while women in Uganda were calling for access to education and literacy. Matembe still considers that women globally face similar forms of discrimination, however these types of discrimination differ in degree due to economic, political and cultural histories.

Anne Marie Goetz, from the University of Sussex presented a fascinating insight into the gender implications of micro-enterprise development programmes. Goetz has studied the impact of credit banks on women in rural development agencies in Bangladesh and found a positive correlation between the participation of women in credit schemes and the occurrence of domestic violence in the home. As women have been found to be more reliable in making loan repayments they have become the 'target' for many credit schemes. Problems arise when women do not have control of the money within the household. When these women have to account for the money, they challenge their husbands who in many cases have spent the loan money. This confrontation often results in increased domestic violence.

Gender analysis training was an area which received a lot of attention by participants. Niloufar Pourzand, from UNICEF in Tehran described the process of developing the first gender training session in Iran. The Women's Bureau in the President's Office had a coordinating and consultative role in the development of this course which focused on information and experiences within government departments. The initial stages of the planning for the course involved the translation of gender analysis literature which was then applied to the Iranian context. The UNICEF gender analysis framework was outlined with emphasis on 'bottom up' development strategies which identify gender specific data. Case studies were then provided to utilise the

information learned in a practical application of procedures in the education/services area.

Sonia de Avelar summarised issues at the conclusion of the conference. She considered that there was conceptual agreement that the whole development system must be changed if all women, not just a token few are to gain real power. The 'add women and stir' approach to development was not acceptable in a world where there are 550 million women in poverty with the International Fund for Agricultural Development anticipating this figure to rise to 700 million by the year 2000 unless steps are taken to prevent this deterioration. There is no longer any excuse for overlooking gender equity in development. We need to move beyond the rhetoric of equality and put it into action. de Avelar encouraged women to identify their visions and build coalitions to work effectively for change.

A full report of this conference and associated WID meetings held in Washington and New York is available upon request from the ACFOA office on (06) 285 1816.

Suzette Mitchell, WID Adviser, Australian Council For Overseas Aid

Asian and Pacific symposium on women and development

Manila, 16-20 November 1993

This Symposium was the first regional preparatory event for the forthcoming UN Conference on Women scheduled to be held in Beijing in September 1995. It was organised by the Asian and Pacific (but largely South-East Asian) NGO Working Group, convened in November 1993 under the auspices of ESCAP.

It is now nearly ten years since the last big UN women's conference, the World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985. The Forward Looking Strategies, the policy document which came out of that conference, will be subject to review at the Beijing Conference. Like the 1985 Nairobi conference, it will be in reality two conferences, one for governments and one for non governmental organisations, and regional preparations are now in full swing.

Around 700 women, 36 of them Australian, and about 20 men attended the Symposium, during which a draft Plan of Action was formulated with which to lobby governments in the region when the Ministers responsible for women's affairs meet in Jakarta in June. The organisation of the Symposium was somewhat chaotic, as it had grown from what was initially envisaged as a small gathering of 30 people which was eventually thrown open as a result of pressure from women's NGOs in Asia.

For most of the Australian women who made the journey to Manila it was a voyage of discovery, and one which challenged our notions of Australian identity to varying extents as well as challenging our concepts of feminism, Asian and Pacific feminism being not particularly well known or understood by the Australian women's movement.

According to ESCAP terminology, Australia is part of the South Pacific sub-region and the Australians found themselves in a grouping with women from New Zealand (Aotearoa), Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu and other small island states. To some Australians this was a bit of a shock, likewise for the Pacific Islanders.

However, once the discussions started on a sub-regional programme of action it became clear that we indeed have a great deal in common with the Pacific Island and Aotearoan women. High on the list of priorities for all were issues such as isolation, lack of information for women's groups, violence against women, women's rights as human rights, threats to the environment posed by the nuclear industry, and threats to women's economic well-being posed by the spreading of free market economic ideology.

Australian and Pacific Islanders felt equally left out of the preparations for the Symposium. Planning was initially in the hands of the Thai branch of the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asian Women's Association. They had been joined by a very dynamic group of younger feminist activists mainly from Malaysian, Singaporean and Philippine NGOs many of which had come together for the successful lobbying of their governments in the lead up to the UN Conference on Human Rights last year in Vienna. The highlights of the Symposium were a comprehensive series of seminars on issues such as women's health, education, portrayal of women in the media, economic empowerment, political empowerment, environment, structural adjustment, violence against women, population and women's reproductive rights, labour rights, and the role of religion in women's advancement.

In relation to some of the topics of the workshops it was felt that the Forward Looking Strategies were already looking a bit out of date and bypassed by other recent international conferences, in particular the Vienna Conference on Human Rights held last year. It was also clear from the vantage point of 1993 that not enough attention had been paid to violence against women and strategies to minimise it. Many felt that far more attention needed to be paid to education for women as a strategy for their advancement in a number of areas, and that formal, narrow definitions of education had often held them back. There was also considerable discussion in all workshops about the effects of structural adjustment on women. Almost no one had a good word to say for either structural adjustment or privatisation. There was considerable concern at the way in which women's rights to intellectual property, particularly indigenous knowledge, may be threatened by multinational corporations and powerful governments.

The concurrence of the Symposium with the APEC leaders in Seattle was not lost on delegates and we were able to watch the APEC meeting in great detail on cable TV. While discussing issues such as the feminisation of poverty and structural adjustment, the need for a new paradigm of development, trafficking in women, the need to halt the arms race and put more government spending into health, education and housing, the point was often made that the 'boys' in Seattle were probably not concerning themselves with any of these issues, nor even with the impact of the GATT agreement, on women's economic situation.

Population was inevitably a major topic in several workshops and the sophistication in the debate was a stark contrast to the superficial debate which had raged in Australia when Senator Harridine had caused a cut in Australian assistance for aid projects labelled under the heading of 'population'. Many Asian women's NGOs have done a huge amount of work on this under the heading of 'women's health' and 'women's reproductive rights' and some were critical of the projects which had been funded and were pleased to see them stopped. Many made the point that increasing women's access to education is more effective in lowering fertility rates than any other single measure. Some were critical of donor governments which fund family planning, often without properly explaining the side effects to women or giving them a choice of methods, but would not fund other areas of women's health. The draft Plan of Action section on health makes the point that 'the manner in which the population lobby has appropriated the language of women's demands and concerns in order to give a more acceptable face to what continues to be basically narrowly conceived fertility control measures is of concern. Reproductive health services, rather than health services for women, has been the response to women's demands for reproductive rights.'

The notion of sustainable development was also a major topic in several of the workshops. During a workshop on the need for a new paradigm of development facilitated by a member of the ENGENDER group there was great criticism of some uses of the concept of sustainability. The workshop report says 'we declare that 'sustainable development' should not be understood as sustained profits for private and public sector interests, at the expense of the people (especially women, the poor and indigenous communities). We declare that 'sustainable development' should be understood as the sustainable livelihoods of people embedded in an environment able to renew itself.'

A major development since the Nairobi Conference seems to be that women are no longer content to be restricted to so-called 'women's issues'. Lessons have been learnt both from the Rio Conference on the Environment in 1992 and the Vienna Conference on Human Rights in 1993 that women cannot afford to let themselves be marginalised. In planning, not only for the Beijing Conference but also this year's UN Conferences on Population and Sustainable Development and on Social Development, Asian and Pacific

feminists are determined to make their mark on international politics. The Cold War has largely been replaced by the politics of identity, and hopes are high that at the Beijing Conference feminism will make more of a contribution to the thinking of the international community on a great range of issues.

*Helen Hill, Department of Social and Cultural Studies,
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ACFOA affirmative action seminar: How to get plans into action

Sydney, 1 December 1993

This seminar was held for all ACFOA member agencies who have not yet developed affirmative action plans. Suzette Mitchell, ACFOA's WID Adviser, presented information on processes for developing affirmative action audits, policies and plans for small and large aid agencies. Simon Wright, Industry Adviser, Affirmative Action Agency, discussed job recruitment processes for affirmative action plans including job advertising and interview techniques.

The following is a compilation of barriers and constraints identified by seminar participants for developing an affirmative action programme for their organisation:

Barriers to women in employment practices in aid agencies

Training: It is important that women receive training in management skills, as well as management staff receiving training in affirmative action practices.

Management styles: Several participants commented on male, hierarchical models of management within aid agencies. Others commented on the decentralised modus operandi which is operating, or would be an effective strategy within agencies.

Overseas travel: Stereotypes remain that women are less able to travel overseas in their work roles. This is not the case for women. Women may have family commitments which make overseas travel difficult, as could men. Strategies to limit this barrier to women's employment in senior executive positions need to be developed.

Attitudes: There are still stereotyped attitudes within the wider community and aid agencies which depict women and men in traditional roles. Changing attitudes is a very long process and we cannot expect immediate results.

Language: There is a need for more inclusive language in advertising and personnel policies.

Part-time work: Women are employed in more part-time positions than men with these positions usually occupying a lower status. Women sometimes prefer part-time work due to family commitments, however this should not impinge on their career opportunities.

Constraints in the development of affirmative action programmes

Committee structures: Due to the time which lapses between meetings, it is often a slow process having policy developed and acted upon. This has implications for the implementation of affirmative action programmes.

Time: Scarce time resources within aid organisations makes it difficult for agencies to commit themselves to extra work in the development of affirmative action plans.

Volunteer issues: Within the volunteer base of many agencies it is difficult to transfer standards and conditions for paid workers to people who are voluntarily contributing their time. There are many issues which arise from voluntarism which are not addressed within the Affirmative Action Act which need to be incorporated into programmes for aid agencies.

Resourcing/Prioritising: For affirmative action to succeed in its aims, there need to be resources allocated. The objectives of affirmative action need to be prioritised within management strategies if they are to be successful.

Suzette Mitchell, WID Adviser, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

20th Waigani seminar on environment and development

Port Moresby, 22-27 August 1993

The six day seminar entitled 'From Rio to Rai - Environment and Development in PNG up to year 2000 and beyond' was part of the process of Papua New Guinea producing its own *Agenda 21*. The seminar involved both government departments, students, politicians and local communities as well as national and international academics.

The seminar was officially opened by Governor General Wiwa Korowe who was also the patron of the 20th Waigani seminar. The National Sustainable Development Strategy was introduced the following morning. A number of sub-themes were chosen for discussion at the seminar. These included: revitalising growth with sustainability, biotechnology, biodiversity and agriculture, mining and petroleum, managing chemicals and waste, health and sustainable living, forestry and fisheries, water, energy and eco-tourism, essential means - information and capacity

building, human settlements and people, participation and responsibilities.

Mr Siba Kumar Das, Resident Representative of the UNDP speaking about the United Nations response to the UNCED challenge said that the UN has been extremely active in taking concrete action to help fulfil the expectations raised at Rio. The United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development was established in New York towards the end of 1992. The mandate of the Commission was to review progress in the implementation of *Agenda 21* at national, regional and global levels, and to facilitate improved intergovernmental decision making and policy formulation on environment and development issues. Closely associated with this Commission is the Earth Council, which acts as an independent global ombudsman, reviewing and reporting on the performance of governments, intergovernmental organisations and others in implementing the Rio decisions. In addition the newly established Inter-agency Committee on Sustainable Development has met and launched a process of intensive review of the activities of the organisations of the UN system with a view of enhancing inter-agency coordination and developing an effective response to *Agenda 21*.

Mr Das added that within UNDP, major efforts have been taken to ensure that the concerns of Rio are kept in the forefront. Four-fifths of UNDP country programmes in 124 developing countries focus on sustainable development issues as recommended in *Agenda 21*. Mr Das also briefly touched upon the Global Environment Facility and Global Biodiversity Forum. The former is a major new facility, representing a partnership between UNDP, the World Bank and the United Nations Environment Programme aimed at attacking four global environmental problems: the worldwide loss of biodiversity, global warming, pollution of international waters, and the depletion of the ozone layer. The Global Biodiversity Forum has been set up to provide for an independent open process fostering analysis and dialogue on the ecological, economic, institutional and social issues related to biodiversity.

A set of recommendations based on the seminar sub-themes were presented at the concluding session of the seminar. Some of these recommendations are:

Revitalising growth with sustainability

- National government establish a Environmental and Natural Resource Data Unit;
- Environmental Impact Assessment and Social Impact Assessment be given equal consideration;
- independent consultancy firms (preferably national firms) be assigned to undertake Environmental Impact Assessment/Social Impact Assessment studies;
- the national government through its Education Ministry include Environmentalism as one of the core themes in school curriculum.

Biotechnology, biodiversity and agriculture

- Training people to determine sustainability requirements in each village;
- improving two-way communication, particularly between landowners from degraded areas to prospective development landowners;
- need to incorporate traditional methods and practices in all aspects of sustainable development;
- establish local manufacturing and maintenance of sustainable technologies.

Managing chemicals and waste

- Legislation and regulation controlling the import, manufacture, transport, storage, use and disposal of chemicals and wastes;
- education and training of chemical users, waste producers, and the general community about the risks associated with chemicals and waste.

Sustainable health and living

- Training and orientation of the health workforce including doctors towards providing rural health services;
- awareness and motivation regarding management and prevention of chronic degenerative diseases through adoption of more healthy life styles.

Water, energy and eco-tourism

- The government should reduce the energy demand by promoting greater efficiency;
- reduction in dependence on pollutive and non renewable energy sources;
- reduction of water pollution;
- establishment of registered laboratories for analysis of water samples in all provincial centres.

Social dimensions of development: Changing Australian perspectives

Edith Cowan University, Perth, 23 November 1993

This one-day inaugural conference, hosted by Edith Cowan University (ECU) Perth, was organised by the recently established *WA Inter-University Consortium of Development Studies*. The conference was convened jointly by Emeritus Professor Laksiri Jayasuriya, University of Western Australia (UWA), who is also Senior Fellow in Development Studies at ECU, and Professor Michael Taylor of the Department of Geography, UWA. It brought together a range of academics and researchers working in the field of development studies in Western Australia with a special

interest in issues of 'social development'. As an inaugural conference, it was designed primarily as a forum for an exchange of ideas between academics, NGOs and policy makers; and also to highlight the extensive resources - academic and community-based - available in Western Australia to assist in determining the future directions of Australian programmes of development assistance and cooperation.

In light of the Australian Government's recent Ministerial Policy, *Changing aid for a changing world*, one of the main aims of the conference was to draw attention to the growing significance of the human dimensions of development and, more generally, of 'social development' in developing countries. These relate to questions such as gender issues, health, rapid urbanisation, environment and technology. The consortium, as well as the conference has a strong focus on the Asia-Pacific region, in particular, South and South-East Asia.

A conference background paper entitled *Doing justice by doing good: A perspective for development assistance*, prepared by Professor Jayasuriya, elaborates on the two underlying themes of the conference - the thematic focus on issues of 'social development', particularly in the context of the United Nations World Summit on Social Development; and also, from a development perspective, the complex and changing nature of the Asia-Pacific region. This paper is available, along with the conference proceedings.

The conference was opened by Professor Peter Boyce, Vice-Chancellor of Murdoch University and followed by a keynote address entitled *Aid and development: An Australian perspective*, by Mr James Ingram, formerly Director General, AIDAB and Director, UN World Food Program. The opening session was also addressed by Mr Edward Van Roy, Chief of Social Development Division, ESCAP, and Professor Stewart MacPherson of the Asia-Pacific Research Centre for Social Development, Hong Kong.

There were three conference sessions on the themes of 'Development policy and planning - for whom and to what purpose?', 'Cities, environment and technology', and 'Health, education and employment'.

The conference proceedings are to be published shortly by Paradigm Press, Curtin University on behalf of the WA Consortium and will be available from One World Centre, 99 Hay Street, Subiaco, WA 6008, Tel 300 2508.

Professor Laksiri Jayasuriya, Edith Cowan University

Conference paper

Development theory in crisis

*Richard Peet, Graduate School of Geography,
Clark University*

It has often been argued that development theory presents a uni-linear concept of human progress in which societies pass through stages similar in character, if uneven in duration and varying in time of appearance, on the road from barbarism to civilisation. It is further argued that this position originated in the Enlightenment claim for the supreme authority of reason in human life. Considering humans to be 'infinitely perfectible' and all people capable of being guided solely by the light of reason, the Enlightenment, in Cassirer's words, thought that 'reason is the same for all thinking subjects, all nations, all epochs, and all cultures' (Cassirer 1951:5, 13-14). However, reason develops unevenly in space. Development theories explain this in different ways.

In Darwinist environmental theories, climate stimulates mental 'capacities' making innovative peoples who, through their inherent drive to create, lead humanity's forward march while others can only follow. Structural functionalism adds the notion that society consists of a system of functionally-based institutions, which follow evolutionary tendencies differentiating, specialising and becoming more efficient over time. Based in functionalism, modernisation theory claims that an efficient system of social institutions controlled by rational actors emerged first in early capitalist western Europe, and that subsequent developmental history has consisted in the spatial diffusion of an already proven modern model. Marxism attributes variation to differing social relational systems coexisting in global space, each with the potential to direct the development of the productive forces along differing paths at different speeds.

This group of theories of development, founded in a systematic belief in progress, grounded in the Enlightenment notion of the liberative potential of human reason, has recently been criticised. Scepticism about development theory does not come from purely theoretical re-evaluation. The experiences of Third World peoples, their record of underdevelopment while First World countries developed is one profound source. The impossibility of continuing the existing form of development in terms of environmental destruction is another.

Thus in an article provocatively titled 'The irrelevance of development studies', Michael Edwards (1989) compares the immense outpouring of information and advice about development (80,000 expatriates work in advising the

countries of Sub-Saharan Africa) with demonstrably meagre developmental effects (the continuing deterioration of conditions in Sub-Saharan countries). But while his article intimates great criticism of the currently hegemonic forms of developmental understanding, Edwards does not sustain an elaborate critique. This instead has come from two related, but distinguishable, literatures: an extension of dependency in the direction of what might be called 'intellectual dependency theory'; and what can only be described as an avalanche of articles and books connecting post-modern social theory with critical development studies.

Intellectual dependency theory

Recently it has been argued that, since the colonial encounter, the economic hegemony of the West has been paralleled by academic dependence in which Third World intellectuals, trained in western knowledge, speak the colonial language, and stress the history of the coloniser over that of the colonised. Especially since the early 1970s (Alatas 1981) arguments have been made about the captive minds of Third World scholars, minds which are uncritical and imitative of concepts coming from the West.

In response some Third World scholars call for the indigenisation of social science, indeed of academic discourse as a whole. Social scientific indigenisation goes beyond modifying western concepts and methods to make them more suitable for non western problems. It refers instead to the derivation of scientific theories, concepts and methodologies from the histories, cultures and consciousness of non western civilisations. For Alatas (1993:310-11) the aim would be to develop bodies of social scientific knowledge in which theories are derived from culturally and historically specific circumstances.

Post-developmentalism

The second critique is founded in the intellectual and cultural crisis of confidence signalled by post-modernity, and increasing questioning and scepticism about the whole project of modernity, progress and development initiated by the Enlightenment. Many of the arguments relating post-modern scepticism to development draw their critical strength from Foucault's re-conceptualisation of power. Foucault (1980; DuBois 1991) argued that an obsession with power's negativity, power as a force which limits and controls, conceals its omnipresent productivity. For Foucault power is immanent in economic, sexual and family relationships. At a given historical juncture some micro-relations weave together into strategies of power which are the conditions of more general or global forms of domination, macro-structures which in turn modify or influence micro-relations. For Foucault, power and knowledge imply each other.

The recent literature using Foucauldian concepts of power to re-examine development efforts as 'uniquely efficient colonisers on behalf of central strategies of power' (DuBois

1991:19) might be seen as an elaboration of this intended geopolitics. Here the pioneering work has been done by Arturo Escobar (1984-5; 1988; 1992). He argues that among the new types of power and knowledge permeating and appropriating the socio-cultural and political systems of the Third World is the discourse on development, a discourse constructed by Western scholars and practised by developmental organisations from the World Bank to local planning agencies. Such highly critical notions about development have intersected with the profound sense of disillusionment about developmental practice signalled by Edwards' irrelevancy argument to produce a crisis of confidence in developmental studies, indeed perhaps a crisis in progressive thought in general.

Counter-critique

What might we make of sweeping condemnations which seek to undermine the knowledge bases of all established notions about development, destabilise every statement made about it, deconstruct each optimistic expression of human reason's intervention on behalf of the oppressed? Is reason to be rejected or re-reasoned and fought over? Is development outmoded or misdirected? The new discourse on the discourse of development raises such questions anew. They will resound through development theory for a considerable time to come. It is therefore important that the post-modern critique itself be criticised. In what follows certain themes of post-modern theory are turned against the post-developmental discourse essentially from a position which maintains the validity of a reconstituted historical materialism.

Respecting difference

First, post-modernism favours fragmentation and difference except in its own treatment of modern development theory which it portrays in terms of a monolithic hegemony. Recent critics have often gathered under the rubric of post-modern development theory, notions regarded by their proponents as separate, different, even antagonistic. A typical statement lists, as essentially one contemporary discourse, neoclassical development economics, political economy, and social modernisation theory. While it may be granted that these criteria describe an apparent similarity between forms of Enlightenment thinking, the deeper question is whether the notion of an homogeneous developmental discourse creates an homogeneous myth which destroys differences between and within theories which are crucial to their contents, visions and intentions.

Development as positive power

Second, there is a critical, sceptical post-modern attitude towards science, democratic ideals and projects of human emancipation. Here my problem with post-developmentalism lies in its totalising criticism, which too readily assumes that democracy, science, emancipation are exclusively western, which fails to realise the positive aspects

of those aspects of the western experience that do, actually, realise (pale versions of) such principles, which denies the Third World what the First World already has - that is productivity, consumption above the most basic of needs, a measure of safety from existential threat. Indeed an unkind critic might see post-developmentalism as an attempt to deny, from a position of privilege, what many Third World people want - that is development in the form of the satisfaction of basic needs.

Universalism, politics and space

Third, there are critical differences between political economy and post-modernism; differences between a view which retains aspects of universalism and one which rejects all universals (except the universal that there are no universals); one which delights in generalisation and one which revels in the particular; differences which are expressed in the macro-politics of class, gender and interregional political alliances on the one side and the micro-politics of local social movements on the other. These differences are nowhere better expressed than in political economic and post-modern conceptions of space.

Learning from post-modernism

We find ourselves, then, with two positions on the left; post-modernism in the critical form of post-developmentalism; and historical materialism in the form here of the political economy of development. Despite areas of overlap and partial agreement, these are distinct, even oppositional positions. They should remain that way. There should be no rush to synthesise (even were this possible) because conflict is a source of intellectual and political energy. Political economy can emerge from an encounter with post-developmentalism strengthened by greater awareness of its historical position and geographical origins, of its weaknesses, biases, centrisms, etc. This critical encounter should be welcomed and fully participated in, for it will profoundly shape developmental thought and practice for a long time to come.

This is an adapted version of a seminar paper presented by Richard Peet in the Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, February 1994.

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Conference calendar

Teaching for development: An international review of Australian formal and non formal education in Asia and the Pacific

Canberra, 23-24 September 1994

This symposium will bring together those involved in teaching both formal and non formal courses, those who provide support services, and those who provide on-the-job training, both in Australia and in-country. It will review teaching development studies to Australian students and bring together some of those who have been educated in Australia or been involved in Australian training on-the-job.

The symposium will provide the opportunity for a frank exchange of information on an important aspect of development assistance - teaching for development. The symposium is expected to provide guidelines for ensuring high quality teaching for development and long-term benefits to Australia and the Asia-Pacific region.

For more information contact:
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Ethics and development conference

Deakin University, 28-29 November 1994

This conference is a collaborative effort of Deakin University's Centre for

Applied Social Research, the Australian Development Studies Network and several non government agencies. Negotiations are proceeding to involve prominent activists and thinkers in the area.

For more information contact:
Dr Joe Remenyi
Convener
Ethics and Development
Conference
Centre for Applied Social Research
Deakin University
Geelong, VIC 3217
Tel (05) 2272516
Fax (05) 2272155

Australian tropical health and nutrition conference

Adelaide, 24-28 September 1994

The annual conference will be conducted as a number of workshops (instead of a separate conference) to be held in conjunction with the 1994 Public Health Association of Australia conference. Topics for continuing education workshops include: Learning Epi-Info; qualitative data analysis; how to conduct a community survey.

For more information contact:
Mary Beers
Department of Community
Medicine
University of Adelaide
GPO Box 498
Adelaide, SA 5001
Australia
Tel (08) 2284637
Fax (08) 22302076

5th ASEAN food conference

Kuala Lumpur, 26-29 July 1994

The conference will be held in conjunction with the 2nd Asian Food Technology Exhibition. The theme is 'Food Agenda 21st Century', and the

conference objectives include: to highlight advances and new findings in food science and technology; to discuss the impact of development of food industries on environment, health and nutrition; to enhance harmonisation of food standards and regulations in cognisance with the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement.

For more information contact:
Secretariat
5th ASEAN Food Conference
Food Technology Research Centre
MARDI, GPO Box 12301
50774 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Tel (03) 9486401
Fax (03) 9422906

Asian Studies Association of Australia biennial conference

Perth, 13-16 July 1994

The theme of this biennial conference is 'Environment, state and society in Asia - The legacy of the 20th century'. There will be a wide range of panels extending across all disciplines and areas involved in Asian studies. Panels include Japan, South Asia, South-East Asia, West Asia, law, science, teacher education, language and linguistics, interregional and other themes.

For more information contact:
Pam Sayers
Asia Research Centre
Murdoch University
Murdoch, WA 6150
Australia
Tel (09) 3602973
Fax (09) 3104944

Global change and the British Commonwealth

Hong Kong, 1-3 December 1994

This is a silver jubilee symposium of the Commonwealth Geographical Bureau. The symposium will be held in collaboration with the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies and the Department of Geography, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. There will be

four sub-themes: physical change; technological change; economic change; and socio-cultural change, to enable a wide range of countries and geographers to participate.

For more information contact:
Professor Yeu-man Yeung
Department of Geography
The Chinese University of Hong
Kong
Shatin, NT
Hong Kong

International symposium on environmental agriculture towards 2000

Surfers Paradise, 5-8 June 1994

The conference is being jointly organised by Griffith University, World Sustainable Agriculture Association, Greening Australia and Queensland Department of Primary Industries. The purpose of the conference is to identify the major practical, technological and social challenges facing environmental agriculture now, and in the future. It aims at facilitating interchange between knowledgeable sustainable farmers and other delegates, and reach an accord that supports the coexistence of sustainable agriculture with responsible environmental management and protection.

For more information contact:
ISEAT Symposium Secretariat
National Australia Travel Ltd
PO Box 9909
Brisbane, Queensland 4000
Australia

Vanishing borders? Global change and regional alignments: The geography of the new international order in the 21st century

Kuala Lumpur, August 1995

The workshop will focus on contemporary international economic, political, religious and other such

realignments which in the post-Cold War era are creating new regional groupings at the same time that the freeing of international markets, and of capital and labour flows, opens the prospects of a world with 'no borders'.

The workshop seeks to provide a forum for geographers to discuss these developments and to examine their many implications to the new world order which is emerging, an order that will have profound implications for the better, and perhaps worse, for the 21st century.

For more information contact:
Professor Tengku Shamsul Bahrin
Attn: Kuala Lumpur CGB
Workshop Organising Committee
Department of Geography
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Malaya
59100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Fax (603) 7563454

1994 Pacific networking conference

Vancouver Island, 6-8 May 1994

The theme of this conference is 'Sovereignty and sustainable land use issues in the 1990s'.

For more information contact:
South Pacific Peoples Foundation
of Canada
415-620 View Street
Victoria, BC V8W 1J6
Canada
Tel (604) 3814131
Fax (606) 3885258

International conference on women in agriculture

Melbourne, 1-3 July 1994

The 1994 international conference is the first world summit for women on the land and is a timely recognition of the vital role of women in agriculture worldwide. The summit theme is 'Farming for our future'. The summit

programme has been developed by extensive consultation to cover all areas of agriculture interest and women's involvement in them; from economics and production through to the environment and sustainable development.

For more information contact:
Network Coordinator (International Conference)
Department of Agriculture
117 Johnson Street
Maffra, VIC 3860
Australia
Tel (051) 471533
Fax (051) 473078

Seventh national conference of the Australian Population Association

Canberra, 21-23 September 1994

The theme for the three day conference is Australia's population towards the 21st century. Plenary session themes include family issues, Australian population and development issues in an international context, ageing, environmental issues, and Aboriginal population issues. A wide range of concurrent sessions will also be held.

For more information contact:
David Ward
APA Conference 1994
PO Box 879
Belconnen, ACT 2616
Australia
Tel (06) 2643965
Fax (06) 2643780

Women, power and cultural difference in South Asia: Negotiating gender

Melbourne, 30-31 July 1994

This conference is being organised by the South Asian Women's Study and Support Group, of the National Centre for South Asian Studies, and is sponsored by the South Asia Study Group, Deakin University and the Institute of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Deakin University. It is timed

to follow the Asian Studies Association of Australia Conference in Perth and the International Feminist Book Festival in Melbourne.

For more information contact:
Dr Renuka Sharma
C/- The National Centre for South Asian Studies
20 Queens Street (4th Floor)
Melbourne, VIC 3001
Australia
Tel (03) 8836152
Fax (03) 8892161 or
Dr Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase
School of Social Inquiry
Deakin University
Geelong, VIC 3217
Australia
Tel (052) 271335
Fax (052) 272018

International networking: Education, training and change

Perth, 20-23 September 1994

This conference aims to increase awareness of, and commitment to, global concepts of networking in relation to education and training into the 21st century. Participants will have the opportunity to re-examine the role and function of universities and other institutes of higher learning, and re-evaluate the purpose and nature of higher education. The conference will highlight the relevance, to the Asia-Pacific region, of the rapid developments that have taken place around the world in the production, storage, retrieval and dissemination of knowledge. In particular, the importance of networking in gaining optimum benefit from the region's vast human, physical and intellectual resources will be given prominence.

For more information contact:
Ms Judy Spyvee
Uni Access
Edith Cowan University
Goldsworthy Road
Claremont, WA 6010
Australia
Tel (09) 3830419
Fax (09) 3831786

Australia's role in public health in Asia and the Pacific region: Building partnerships

Adelaide, 25-28 September 1994

This conference will focus, in particular, on Australians and Australian institutions working collaboratively with the governments and peoples of Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the island nations of the Pacific, the Indian subcontinent, and the countries of Indochina. The conference aims to

- promote vigorous and informed debate on what Australia should be doing to promote public health in our region;
- develop new international partnerships and strengthen existing links; and
- seek significant representation of public health workers and officials from Asia and the Pacific.

For more information contact:
PHA Conference Secretariat
GPO Box 2204
Canberra, ACT 2601
Australia
Tel (06) 2852573
Fax (06) 2825438

International organic agriculture conference

Christchurch, 11-16 December 1994

This worldwide conference is being organised for the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movement. It is an opportunity for scientists, processors, marketers, and producers to reposition the place of organic agriculture in world production systems. The Conference will cover a very wide diversity of themes under the general headings of People, Ecology and Agriculture.

For more information contact:
Don Crabb
IFOAM Conference Secretariat
Centre for Continuing Education
PO Box 84, Lincoln University
Christchurch, New Zealand
Tel (643) 3253819
Fax (643) 3253840
e-mail crabb@lincoln.ac.nz

Global forum '94

Manchester, 25 June - 3 July 1994

The theme of this conference is 'Cities and sustainable development: Strategies for a sustainable future'. A plenary conference involving about 1500 delegates from cities around the world will take place. A women's pavilion has also been organised to involve women with an interest in topics such as human settlements and health, population, fresh water, and toxic and hazardous wastes.

For more information contact:
Global forum '94
PO Box 532, Town Hall
Manchester, UK M60 2LA
Tel (44-61) 2343741
Fax (44 61) 2343743

International conference on future groundwater resources at risk

Helsinki, 13 June 1994

This conference will deal with the specific needs of developing countries: risks for groundwater monitoring, physical and chemical processes, rehabilitation of polluted aquifers, regulatory issues and case studies.

For more information contact:
Ms Tuulikki Soukko
FGR 94
National Board of Waters and the Environment
PO Box 250
Helsinki SF 00101
Finland
Tel 358 0 4048 258

A profit in our own country

Canberra, 17 May 1994

This year's Crawford Fund seminar will highlight the benefits Australia receives from its investments in international agricultural research. The seminar will bring together the views of government, farmers, scientists, industry and international agricultural research centres. The gains accruing to Australia's agriculture, trade and natural environment will be discussed.

For more information contact:
Cathy Reade
Coordinator, Public Awareness
Campaign
The Crawford Fund for
International Agricultural Research
GPO Box 309
Canberra, ACT 2601
Australia
Tel (06) 2957013
Fax (06) 2486016

Women, information and the future: Collecting and sharing resources worldwide

Cambridge, 17-21 July 1994

For more information contact
Dr Patricia M. King
Director,
The Schlesinger Library of History
of Women in America
10 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
USA
Tel (617) 4958647
Fax (617) 4968340

Linking our histories: Asian and Pacific women as migrants

Melbourne, 30 September - 2 October 1994

The Gender Relations Project of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU and the Gender Studies Unit of the University of Melbourne are conjointly sponsoring a conference on the experiences of Asian and Pacific women as migrants. The aim of this conference is to draw together

knowledge about Asian and Pacific women as migrants to Australia with knowledge of women's rural to urban migration within nations and international migration within and beyond the regions. The organisers hope to bring together academic researchers with migrant women, community organisations, writers and film makers.

For more information contact:
Annegret Schemberg or
Margaret Jolly
Gender Relations Project
RSPAS
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 2493146
(06) 2493150
Fax (06) 2571893

Ideas of freedom in Asia

Canberra, 4-6 July 1994

For more information contact:
Centre Administrator
Humanities Research Centre
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2492700
Fax (06) 2480054

Feminism in transit

Clayton, 15-16 July 1994

For more information contact:
Valerie Hazel
Women's Studies
Monash University
Clayton, VIC 3168
Australia
Fax (03) 9052948

Book reviews

Arguing with the Crocodile: Gender and class in Bangladesh

Sarah C. White 1992, Zed books, London, 186pp. £29.95 hardback; £10.95 paperback

Quoting from a Bengali proverb, 'When you live in water, you don't argue with the crocodiles', Sarah White proceeds to do a great deal of arguing, mainly with fellow researchers in development studies. An interesting and informative book, *Arguing with the Crocodile* is well written with imaginative chapter headings from Bengali sayings. Inevitably it will arouse debate and controversy within development and feminist circles, and hopefully it will become the first of many sympathetic and objective surveys of women's lives in Bangladesh.

White's book is based on her field work in Bangladesh village, called, possibly with tongue in cheek, Kumirpur (Crocodile village) in Rajshahi district during 1985 and 1986. She chose a village where the population comprised more Hindu families than the norm and a mixture of native Muslims and others who had migrated from West Bengal during partition. There are also a few tribal (households) on the periphery. Her aim in part was to redress a balance by focusing on women in an academic area heavily male-oriented in terms of development theory and policy but which claims to be 'gender-neutral'. The more precise focus was to question the contradictory images of the Bangladeshi women prevalent in the West - that of destitution, of submissiveness, or of clench-fisted militancy. Her method included both formal investigation and informal interviews where she had to use intuition and her own gendered perceptions.

White's concern in the development area was 'to assess the impact of agricultural development on village women taking small-scale irrigation as an index of technological change', and the thrust of her book is to bridge the gulf between development studies and women's studies. She criticises what she describes as the model of 'separate spheres' for these two academic disciplines - with development studies focusing upon the public spheres of politics and primary economic activity connected with plans and progress - and women's studies if recognised at all, as limited to the private sphere of domestic and 'secondary activity'. She prefers to connect women's lives with that of their male relations within the households which is the forum of gendered roles for men and women and the genesis of power distribution and the construction of dominance/subordination.

She provides a wealth of examples from Kumirpur's developmental changes to indicate how gender-loaded most

plans and policies are, giving revealing details of the siting of hand tube-wells. Had these been sited near the homestead they would have provided water for drinking - the collection of which is one of the most arduous tasks for village women - and for the vegetable patch grown by women near the home. When placed in the field they merely serve the interests of the (male) farmers. The conflicting views of villagers and development workers over this one issue illustrates the impossibility of making development research gender-free any more than class-free.

The other major aspect of developmental change in Kumirpur that White discussed from a gender perspective is the impact of mechanised rice husking in the mills being set up throughout Bangladesh and aided by technology. While she is quite aware of the loss of employment for poorer women who have traditionally used the *dhenki* (a wooden apparatus used for husking and pounding paddy) and analyses the spread of rice mills and mechanised irrigation as the burgeoning of capitalism in the Bangla countryside, she argues that this kind of technical change provides a few women with what she describes as a new enterprise culture. She defines this culture as 'the skillful management by women of scarce resources in a restrictive cultural environment, working in and with the rules and turning them to their own use'.

One could point out that small ventures do not last long against the force of big business; one could concentrate on the growing impoverishment of the peasantry and the inability of most to raise the capital needed for the first steps on the road to success. However, for White the significant aspect of the change lies in the way in which some women have recognised the possibilities of using the new opportunities provided by technology to enlarge their household income. Buying rice, having it processed and then reselling it enables Parboti, a Hindu woman married to an agricultural labourer, to augment the family's resources.

Though deprived of the land which they should have inherited, because of the machinations of the male relations, and forced to get married with dowries, some Kumirpur women have used their carefully saved *taka* to try out their entrepreneurial skills. From growing crops like turmeric and chillies for sale in the village market (*haat*), they negotiate with other women, crossing religious and caste boundaries, to have a share in the raising of poultry, the tending of goats and the rearing of kids. They even make loans to one another and to men. Some of this activity is known in part to their husbands and other members of the household, but sometimes secrecy and stratagems are necessary. Whether or not such individualistic enterprise is beneficial in a wider social context where the bulk of women cannot undertake such profitable activities and must seek domestic service in some well-to-do household in the village, the point White makes relates to women's changing perception of themselves and their lives. Though the extra

income is for the household and not used to enable them to leave the village and seek their freedom, women engaged in enterprise culture in Kumirpur have made inroads into the purdah culture, though on a relatively minor scale as compared to other Muslim countries.

Arguing with the Crocodile, anxious to bridge the gap between the prevailing pattern of studying the separate sphere's of men's lives and women's, presents the household as the pivot of class and gender relations. The book contains many details of the lives of rural men and women in marriage, sexual relations, violence and unequal access to power. Where it could have provided more data is in the field of the wider world of Bangladesh. The politics of Kumirpur life go beyond village faction and alignments. There is very little of this macro-political framework for understanding gender beyond the general statement of the retreat from Sheikh Mujib's vision of a secular and democratic society where men and women would be citizens of a free nation.

White's book is nonetheless an important exploration of new territory in South Asian gender and development. May there be many others to bring us the voices of Bengali women from the villages and towns of Bangladesh as they change.

Ranjana Sidhanta Ash, Centre for Research in Asian Migration, University of Warwick, Reprinted from European Network of Bangladeshi Studies, November 1993.

The changing family in Asia: Bangladesh, India, Japan, Philippines and Thailand

UNESCO 1992, Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, 394pp. (Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific. RUSHAP Series on Monographs and Occasional Papers, 35)

With 1994 designated as the International Year of the Family, this 1992 UNESCO publication seems timely. Individual country case studies on Bangladesh, India, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand are accompanied by a substantial introductory chapter by Yogesh Atal. Bibliographies and numerous tables are also provided.

The 'exordial' overview begins with a section entitled 'Family: a sociological perspective', which relies heavily on publications and research sponsored by UNESCO but largely fails to provide the promised sociological perspective. It explains that the 'country status reports' presented in the volume, also prepared under the auspices of UNESCO, were designed to distil 'a dependable profile of the family' from extensive recent literature on the family in the Asian region. In addition to presenting a comprehensive bibliography of publications over the previous '5 to 10 years', each country report was expected to cover: growth points and trends in

family studies; a portrayal of the changing family; the implications of research findings for policy; and suggestions for future work on the family (p. 4).

Noting the difficulty of portraying the complexity of families even within a single country, Yogesh Atal spends several pages reviewing the anthropological and sociological concepts of family, kin and lineage. This discussion, which is too technical for the general reader and too general for the technical reader, typifies one of the main problems of the monograph as a whole - the lack of a clearly defined target audience. The coverage of the theoretical literature and the approach to citations sometimes fall short of the requirements of an academic audience, while the often disjointed and data-oriented descriptions may frustrate policy makers and the general reader. An index and more careful editing would also have produced a more readable volume and would have made better use of some potentially important and interesting material.

Many readers might find the bibliographies appended to each chapter of greatest value, although these also vary greatly in coverage. That on Bangladesh, for example, is four pages long, and focuses mainly on the literature of the 1960s and 1970s, while more substantial bibliographies on India (44 pages) and the Philippines (26 pages) include a larger number of more recent publications. The Thai country study provides a useful annotated bibliography of roughly 45 items.

Of the individual country case studies, that on Japan by Fumie Kumagai is perhaps the most interesting. In addition to an historical analysis of the development of research on the family in Japan, Kumagai also offers a more sophisticated analysis than most contributors of the impact of demographic change, particularly declining fertility, rising age at marriage and increasing female labour force participation, on the composition of Japanese families.

Neither the overview nor the individual country studies explicitly consider the complex relationship between development and the family. As a result, attempts to identify and discuss policy implications or research priorities are not well grounded in either theoretical analysis or the demographic description. For example, the introduction and the chapters on Bangladesh, India, the Philippines and Thailand highlight the influence of migration on the functioning of the family as a research and policy issue. However, they do not justify or explore this in relation to the broader impact of development on the family or the role of migration in development. The chapter on Thailand touches on important aspects of the development-family nexus in a brief discussion of the impact of commercialisation, urbanisation, and the changing role of women on families, the decline of kin ties and the development of patron-client relationships. Unfortunately, these critical issues do not emerge from the analysis but tend to appear as afterthoughts. While students of the Asian

family will find some useful materials and references in this monograph, it does not offer a definitive analysis, or even a 'dependable profile' of the changing family in Asia.

Lorraine Corner, Demography Programme, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

Adat and Dinas: Balinese communities in the Indonesian state

Carol Warren 1993, South-East Asian Social Science Monographs, Oxford University Press, 400pp.

This is one of the few books on Bali which relates anthropological findings to issues of community development. *Adat and Dinas* is written by an anthropologist but is designed primarily for use by those actively engaged or interested in development projects in rural Bali. It provides valuable background information on village institutions, in particular the *banjar* or civic community which forms the focus of the study.

The book is backed by a long period of field research spread over 10 years, a length of time which enabled the author to provide a diachronic account of the evolution of government-sponsored development projects on village communities, and assess their long-term impact after the initial period of infatuation. *Adat and Dinas* is about the relationship between traditional Balinese institutions (*adat*) and the Indonesian administrative structure (*dinas*). The civic community of the *banjar* - a sub-division of the Balinese village - straddles these two domains. In South Bali where the author conducted her research, the *banjar* constitutes the major frame of social, political and ritual reference of any individual. More so than the customary village or *desa adat* whose role is - in South Bali at least - primarily ritual, the *banjar* is the village institution most profoundly affected by intervention on the part of the Indonesian state. Warren's choice of the *banjar* as her unit of study is thus not arbitrary; it is governed by the realisation that the strongest, most binding social and political ties for any one Balinese are the *banjar*'s. Her concern throughout the book is to unravel, through an in-depth analysis of the village of Tarian complemented by a comparative study of two other villages (*Desa Sanur* and *Desa Siang*), the factors which give the *banjar* its cohesion and resilience in the face of increasing intrusion on the part of the Indonesian state. As befits the anthropological perspective, Carol Warren studies these relationships 'from below', focusing on the local practices, beliefs and values which give the civic community its peculiar capacity to integrate change without affecting its ideological base.

The book is structured into three sections. In Part One, Warren outlines the principles of Balinese village organisation through a critical analysis of previous

anthropological writings in the perspective of her own findings. This is the most theoretical part, perhaps less accessible to readers outside the anthropological discipline, yet essential in order to appreciate the complexity of the traditional Balinese village-based institutions. Part Two is devoted to the survey of the *banjar*-based networks of ritual obligations, mutual help and corporate projects which constitute the *banjar*'s reason d'être. This section ends with the case study of Sanur, a South Bali village remarkable for the *banjar*'s involvement in the development of tourist-related industries. In Part Three, Warren shifts the focus from the internal structure of the *banjar* to the relationship between Balinese villages and the Indonesian state. This section includes an assessment of the success of the Repelita I, II and III projects in the perspective of the collective needs of the *banjar*; it ends with a sketch of the changing parameters of the Balinese village in response to the demands of modernity.

Altogether the book makes an important point in favour of interdisciplinary approaches to development. It argues for the need to acquire an in-depth understanding of the functioning of cultural institutions before implementing any community development project. In Bali these institutions are intimately linked to local perceptions of well-being which in turn determine what is perceived as taking priority in the minds of the Balinese. This is a fact that cannot be ignored by those involved in development projects, as the Balinese continue to subordinate individual needs to collective well-being. As such *Adat and Dinas* represents a valuable and timely contribution to community development.

Arlette Ottino, Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

The state of the world's children 1994

UNICEF 1994, Oxford University Press, 87pp.

The state of the world's children is an annual publication of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) which focuses on the major issues in child survival with a particular emphasis on the developing world. This year's report is laid out in three major sections. Part One summarises the progress being made against the major specific threats to the health and nutrition of children in the developing countries primarily through immunisations and promotion and use of ORT (oral rehydration therapy) against diarrhoeal diseases. It also highlights progress in the knowledge and use of modern contraceptives leading to a substantial overall reduction in fertility. The report then outlines the potential for further significant advances in the years immediately ahead. These include amongst others a one-third reduction in under-five mortality rates; achievement of 90 per cent immunisation coverage; eradication of polio; primary education for at least 80 per cent of children and a 50 per

cent reduction in maternal mortality rates.

Part Two sets this progress and potential in the context of the interrelationship of absolute poverty, rapid population growth, and environmental degradation under the term 'PPE problem'. According to the report the 'PPE problems constitute a vicious cycle by which poverty helps to maintain high rates of population growth and increased environmental stress, both of which contribute in their turn to the perpetuation of poverty'. The report highlights the consequences of the 'PPE problem' to the 'greenhouse' effect and the rapid and accelerated loss of biological diversity. It also points out that the industrialised countries can no longer afford to maintain the current pattern of consumption and pollution without serious damage to the environment.

Part Three of the report unites the themes of progress for today's children with the longer-term PPE problem. It looks at the positive synergistic relationship between female education, health and nutrition and family planning as a way of progress against the PPE problem. It's central argument is that pursuing today's low cost opportunities to protect the health, nutrition, and education of the women and children in the developing world is one of the most immediately available and affordable ways of weakening the grip of poverty, population growth and environmental deterioration. Using Sub-Saharan Africa as a case study it effectively reiterates the links between poverty, health, environmental degradation and economic issues; and provides some viable solutions to these problems. The last section outlines the threats and challenges to democracy in the post Cold War period.

The appendix provides a very useful summary of statistical tables on country ranking's on health, nutrition, education, demographic and economic indices along with a table on rate of progress.

As a regular reader and user of *The state of the world's children*, it is encouraging to see UNICEF making a move towards reporting on health issues in a more holistic manner acknowledging and incorporating the association between health and socio-economic factors. The added emphasis on social, political and environmental issues in addition to child health combined with an attractive layout makes for some very interesting reading.

Rafat Hussain, Australian National University

Development projects as policy experiments and adaptive approach to development administration

Dennis A Rondinelli 1993, Routledge, London

This second edition of Rondinelli's book has updated his highly regarded analysis of development administration. The second edition has been reformulated and further tested

with new examples and an extended coverage.

Rondinelli divides development assistance into four historical periods from the 1940s to 1990s. In each period he describes the theories and strategies which characterised development assistance. He then forcefully identifies the period's failure to achieve development outcomes. He identifies the critical role development administration played in that failure and particularly focuses on what he calls rationalistic techniques of planning and management. These have evolved through the four periods from national economic planning, with complex economic modelling, to project management techniques such as cost-benefit analysis and project cycle planning, to structural adjustment policies. He identifies a tendency to increasing abstraction, rationalisation, standardisation, control and compliance which has inflicted hardship on the intended beneficiaries and made project and programme implementation inflexible. This inflexibility of paper administration, the inability to respond to the complex reality of project implementation, was the major cause of development assistance failures.

Rondinelli identifies the major failings of rationalistic analysis as its cost, ineffectiveness, delays, control by outside experts, limited beneficiary involvement, managerial inflexibility, and an absence of learning from mistakes. He recognises the many problems faced by development administration. These include imprecise goals, poor data, ignorance of social and cultural conditions, weak incentives and controls and limited administrative capacity.

Rondinelli does not oppose the use of rationalistic analysis. However he strongly opposes its overemphasis on comprehensive preparatory planning at the expense of analysis during implementation. He sees development projects as policy experiments which must be planned incrementally and adaptively by joining learning with action. Projects should be planned and implemented through four stages: experimental, pilot, demonstration and replication. These are described with many interesting examples. This four phase framework is recommended as an aid to decision makers seeking to place problems in a manageable form, to ground actions in experience and to be responsive to the needs and conditions of specific places and groups of people.

Adaptive administration requires fundamental changes to the perceptions of bureaucrats and politicians to social problem solving. This must be based on autonomy, experimentation, and diversity. These are neglected by the bureaucracy and cannot be achieved by simply transferring the North's development administration, 'tool-oriented approach' to the South.

He has some good suggestions for how development administration can be re-oriented. He seeks a development administration which incorporates political dynamics,

bureaucratic responsiveness, a learning approach, appropriate forms of administration, decentralising authority, effective service delivery, strategic planning, simple procedures, error correction, and innovation incentives. Unfortunately he does not have a grail which will easily produce these improvements.

This stimulating book should be read by all those involved in providing development assistance and indeed by all those involved in managing Australian Government programmes.

Greg Barrett, Faculty of Management, University of Canberra

The East Asian miracle: Economic growth and public policy

World Bank 1993, Oxford University Press, 389pp.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature on the role of government in facilitating economic growth. It examines the development record and policies of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. These are designated the eight high performing East Asian economies (HPAEs).

These countries have an admirable development record with all eight in the top 20 countries for GDP growth per capita between 1960 and 1985. There are other rapidly growing countries such as Botswana, Malta, Lesotho, Egypt, Cyprus, Gabon, Greece, Brazil and Syria. However the distinctive element of the HPAEs development record is their achievement of equitably sharing the fruits of this rapid economic growth. HPAEs are the only countries which have combined high rates of income growth with declining inequality. Rapid shared growth has improved human welfare as evidenced by rising life expectancy and falling proportions of people in absolute poverty.

The mechanisms for achieving shared growth are identified as universal basic education, land reform, support for small and medium-sized enterprises, and public housing. These are believed to be more effective than direct income or subsidy transfers because they incorporate a degree of wealth creation with wealth redistribution. These mechanisms are supported by public institutions such as fora for business input to government policy and a competent bureaucracy.

The causes of the HPAEs rapid growth are quantified as two-thirds from rapid accumulation of capital (both physical and human) and one-third from productivity growth (both changing industry structure and technological catch up). This rapid accumulation and productivity growth has been facilitated by flexible and targeted government policy.

Accumulation of human capital has been achieved by allocating a high proportion of the education budget to

primary education. This achieves affordable universal basic coverage and provides cheaper unit productivity gains than tertiary education.

Rapid accumulation of private physical capital has been achieved through high savings levels (encouraged by expanded access to savings institutions), establishing development banks, subsidised credit, retained business earnings, and subsidised capital good prices.

Productivity growth has been achieved through government policies which encourage expansion of more productive industries and businesses. This has been enhanced by using clear performance criteria to guide government support. The principal criteria used has been export performance. This has been supported by governments' willingness to withdraw policies which became excessively expensive.

The book focuses heavily on the supply side of development and largely ignores the role of demand markets. In fact it explicitly endorses an assumption of infinitely elastic demand for exports. If this were true, life would be much easier for all developing countries. However market access is clearly a major constraint on development. It is a constraint which is largely geographically driven. East Asia has benefited greatly from access to the huge American and Japanese markets. In addition here was an important demand stimulus from the Korean and Vietnamese wars.

The book is well presented in the typical World Bank style with good use of tables, graphs and text boxes which illustrate the main points with real examples. Presentation is marred by some poor editing with incorrect labeling of graphs and the absence of an index.

The book's methodology is to use country comparisons to draw conclusions about the reasons for the HPAEs rapid growth. This method depends on the analyst's selection of comparisons. It is too easy to select comparisons which support the conclusion promoted by the analyst and ignore other comparisons. Readers should carefully consider which countries have been left out of each comparison.

This interesting and well written book will be useful to all those interested in economic development including teachers, students and the public.

Greg Barrett, Faculty of Management, University of Canberra.

New books

The evolution of Australia's aid program

Frank Jarrett 1994, Australian Development Studies Network, ISBN 0 7315 1925 6

Beginning with an assessment of the history and present position of Australia's aid, this book analyses its changing focus by identifying important elements such as aid to education, food aid, and aid, trade and the environment. This book is a timely examination of the crucial role of aid policy in establishing Australia in the region and world economy.

Retrospective on Australian aid

Australian Development Studies Network 1994, ISBN 0 7315 1709 1, A\$25.00

This book provides an 'inside' review of the people, policies and politics that over the last 20 years have influenced the size, shape and focus of both Australian aid and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau. In this book, key civil servants, academics and politicians involved in the aid programme discuss with the public their experiences and opinions, and debate new directions for future development assistance.

Beginning population studies

David Lucas and Paul Meyers (eds) 1994, National Centre for Development Studies, ISBN 0 7315 1695 8, A\$25.00

Beginning population studies is an introduction to demography with a distinct emphasis on developing countries. It provides a comprehensive overview of the non mathematical aspects of demography. The authors, all of whom have been associated with the Graduate Studies in Demography at the Australian National University, have drawn on their research experiences to include examples from Asia, the Pacific and Africa, as well as from Australia, North America and Europe. Other contributors are Ann Coles, Ian Diamond, Peter McDonald, Audrey VandenHeuval, Christabel Young and Elspeth Young.

The topics of the second and expanded edition include: world population growth; population theories, mortality; fertility, marriage and divorce; internal and international migration; family life cycles; population and resources; population policies; and demographic change and research issues in the 1980s and 1990s.

Orders can be placed with:
Reply Paid 440
Bibliotech, ANUTECH Pty Ltd
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Fax (06) 2575088

The mystic economist

Clive Hamilton 1994, Willow Park Press, ISBN 0 646 16955 6, 203pp., A\$16.50

The book argues that economics, far from being the study of how to make us better off, reflects and promotes the very attitudes and behaviours that prevent us from living fulfilling and contented lives, and that unless we begin to struggle against both the economic thinking that dominates the outer world and the 'economist within' we cannot turn from the path of ecological suicide.

The greening of world trade issues

Kym Anderson and Richard Blackhurst 1992, GATT Secretariat, Economic Research and Analysis, ISBN 0 7450 1175 6, 304pp., A\$36.95

The questions about the interrelationships between international trade and the environment are the subjects of analysis in this book. The chapters have been revised through a number of workshops at the GATT. The book begins with an analysis of the economics of environmental policies at both national and global levels, and examines the appropriateness of trade policy instruments for achieving environmental objectives. By drawing upon these insights, it goes on to address a wide range of issues of concern to environmentalists. The final section draws upon modern political economy theory to evaluate the risk that protectionists will manipulate environmental concerns to reduce competition from imports, and to examine options minimising such outcomes.

Population, labour force and employment: Concepts, trends and policy issues

Ghazi M. Farooq and Yaw Ofosu (eds) 1992, Geneva, International Labour Office, 112pp.

This monograph covers a subject of increasing importance experienced by most developing countries during the 1980s - high rates of unemployment and under-employment. It argues that it is necessary to consider the two sides of the employment problem - the supply and the demand perspectives simultaneously. The main supply side factors are rapid population growth and migration. Numerous factors that have contributed to the low demand in the

developing countries are described and those factors that have a potential for solution are identified. The authors advocate and detail an integrated approach to the employment problem.

The politics of Australian immigration

James Jupp and Marie Kabala (eds) 1993, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 302pp.

This volume focuses on the major forces and players that have shaped immigration policies in Australia. It begins with a broad picture of the immigration policy making scene, with a panorama of interacting issues, stake-holders and interests. It then sets Australian conditions in the international context and examines the role of international considerations in formulating immigration policies. Other parts of the book are concerned with the political dimensions of immigration.

Methodology for population studies and development

Kuttan Mahadevan and Parameswara Krishnan (eds) 1993, New Dehli, Sage Publications, 469pp.

This book explores various aspects of research methodology related to assessing the interaction between development and population behaviour with all its social ramifications. Five themes are covered: theory and research design; interdisciplinary methods; Third World development models for data analysis; projection and old age survivorship; and action research.

This book is designed to meet the needs of academics, applied research institutions, administrators, consultants and decision makers.

Development that works! lessons from Asia-Pacific

A. Crosbie Walsh (ed) 1993, Amokura Publications, Massey University Development Studies, Palmerston North, NZ, ISSN 0114 8834

This volume presents papers given at a development studies conference held in Palmerston North in 1992. The theme of the conference was a critical though constructive look at development initiatives which have succeeded to an extent, rather than a negative view of development disasters often presented in the media or in many academic meetings. The result was a gathering of scientists, academics, politicians, aid workers, students and government officials all with some interest and/or experience in development issues. It was clear that not all shared the same philosophies of development, aid and the like but there were interesting

panel sessions and overviews, some of which are included.

The volume includes over fifty papers covering a wide selection of Asia-Pacific issues and specific case studies, including case studies on Fiji pine, eco-tourism, women in development, community forestry, NGO involvement, poverty in Thailand, technology transfer and participatory projects.

Our time but not our place - voices of expatriate women in Papua New Guinea

Bourke, M.J., S. Holzknecht, K. Kituai, and L. Roach (eds) 1993, ISBN 0 522 84563 0, Melbourne University Press, 175pp.

This recently published book contains real-life stories in which 31 women tell their experiences of Papua New Guinea. Their voices are as diverse as the encounters they describe; their stories span the years between 1930 and 1990; together their responses challenge commonly held views of the expatriate condition.

Issues on Australia's doorstep

K. Townsend 1993, The One World Centre, A\$28.00

This book is ideal for teachers of Geography, Social Studies, English, Economics, Development Studies, History, Health, Human Biology, Food and Nutrition and Ethics. This book can also be used in informal, group learning situations.

The Asia-Pacific economies: A challenge to South Asia

S. P. Gupta and Somsak Tambunlertchai (eds) 1993, 734pp., US\$20.00

This book brings out the key elements that contribute to faster growth in the Asia-Pacific and the growth of economies in South Asia. In this context the role of human resources, as well as infrastructure development, regional cooperation, liberal economic and political institutions and the presence of free markets have been dealt with. The uncertainty of the changing international environment and the problems of late-comers in the liberalisation act have also been dealt with.

In general the book argues that there is no alternative for the countries of South Asia but to become increasingly efficient and competitive and to open up their economies in order to accelerate growth, reduce poverty and become part of the globalisation process in the Asia-Pacific region.

Development planning in Asia

Somsak Tambunlertchai and S.P. Gupta (eds) 1993, 284pp., US\$10.00

This book contains papers on development planning in Asian countries. They are China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Nepal, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. In each chapter the institutional structure of development planning at both formulation and implementation stages is discussed; the planning process and methodologies including identification of problems, data collection, quantitative framework used, the coordination amongst various sectors and components, and the methods, evaluation and adjustment of the development plan in each country is described. The policy evolution in different periods is also analysed which provides the reader with some insight as to how each country responds to changing domestic as well as international politics.

Evolution of Asia-Pacific economies: International trade and direct investment

Ippei Yamazawa and Fu-Chen Lo (eds) 1993, 350pp., US\$11.00

Most countries in East Asia have adopted an outward looking development strategy where international trade and investment have played important roles in the economies. Over the years there has been a spread of industrialisation from Japan to the newly industrialising economies (NIEs) in Asia and then to the ASEAN countries. Increased international trade and investment have facilitated the division of labour and allowed countries at different stages of economic development to climb up the comparative advantage ladder. This book contains studies on international trade and investment in Japan, the NIEs, ASEAN, and analyses the increased interdependence among these East Asian economies throughout the 1980s.

The World Bank and the environment: Fiscal 1993

World Bank 1993, Washington DC, ISBN 0 8213 2581 7, 208pp.

This fourth annual report examines how the World Bank's environmental policies have worked during fiscal year 1993. It presents an action agenda to help countries manage their environment better and link environmental protection with sustainable development. The agenda calls for more World Bank participation in the Global Environment Facility (GEF) to deal with such issues such as biodiversity and climate changes.

It describes ways to improve environmental impact studies of bank-financed projects. The bank's role in implementing GEF policies and the Montreal Protocol is also reviewed.

Women's education in developing countries

Elizabeth M. King and Ann M. Hill (eds) 1993, Johns Hopkins University Press, ISBN 0 8018 4534 3, 352pp.

This anthology examines the educational decisions that deprive women of an equal education. It assembles the most up-to-date data, organised by region. Each paper links the data with other measures of economic and social development. This approach helps explain the effects that different levels of education have on women's fertility, mortality rates, life expectancy and income.

Also described are the effects of women's education on family welfare. The authors look at family size and women's labour status and earnings. They examine child and maternal health, as well as investments in children's education. Current strategies used to improve schooling of girls and women are examined in detail. The authors suggest an ambitious agenda for educating women.

Local level institutional development for sustainable land use, and Land tenure and sustainable land use

Reint J. Bakema (ed) 1994, Bulletin 331, Royal Tropical Institute, ISBN 90 6832 814 X, 63pp. and Bulletin 332, Royal Tropical Institute, ISBN 9 6832 815 8, 47pp.

These are the first two in a sequence of Bulletins on environmental management issues in developing countries. A third Bulletin in this sequence, specifically oriented to local organisations, will be published soon. These publications are intended to make information available regarding field projects and experiences aimed at enhancing the sustainable use of the natural resource base in rural areas. The purpose of these manuscripts is to provide a place for publication of the experiences of field projects and programmes working toward sustainable use of the natural resource base in rural areas. Examples from Africa are included in these first two Bulletins.

Information and subscriptions:
Royal Tropical Institute
KIT Press
Mauritskade 63
1092 AD Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel (020) 568827
Fax (020) 5688286
Telex 15080 KIT NL

Newsletters and journals

The University of the South Pacific Bulletin

The *Bulletin* contains news of activities and current affairs concerning the University of the South Pacific and other institutions in the Pacific. Current issues, past and upcoming events are reported on.

For more information contact:
USP Bulletin
PO Box 1168
Suva
Fiji

Pacific News from Manoa

This is a newsletter of the Centre for Pacific Island Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa. The newsletter provides information for members of the University as well as those who are interested in events such as conferences, symposiums and other similar activities that are taking place in and around the Pacific. It also provides information about new publications, museums, and projects that are currently underway.

For more information contact:
Editors, Pacific News from Manoa
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Centre for Pacific Islands Studies
1890 East-West Road, Moore Hall 215
Honolulu, HI 96822
USA

Journal of the Polynesian Society

The society promotes scholarly work on past and present New Zealand Maori and other Pacific Island peoples and cultures. The journal contains articles on these issues and also reviews of current publications, correspondence and publications received.

For more information contact:
Hon Secretary
The Polynesian Society
C/- Department of Anthropology
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland
New Zealand

Pacific Studies Basin Review

The news bulletin is published periodically by the Asian/Pacific Basin Studies Programme at the Queensland

University of Technology. The programme's approach is generally focused on the themes of capital, labour, educational and ecological, socio-cultural changes in the Asia-Pacific region.

For more information contact:
Asian/Pacific Basin Studies Programme
QUT, Carseldine Campus
Brisbane, QLD 4034
Australia

For more information contact:
UNIFEM Advocacy Programme
304 East 45th Street
6th Floor
New York, NY 10017
USA

Link-In for Commonwealth Women

This newsletter updates the status of women throughout the Commonwealth region.

For more information contact:
Women and Development Programme
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
Pall Mall
London SW 1Y 5HX
UK

Pacific AIDS Alert Bulletin

Published by the South Pacific Commission, this publication focuses on the issue of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases in the Pacific. It contains details of the programmes that are being carried out throughout the Pacific and also has articles on related issues.

For more information contact:
Pacific AIDS/STD Alert (PASA)
SPC, BP D5
Noumea, Cedex
New Caledonia

IMPACT

This is an occasional newsletter of the Asian Network of Women in Communication (ANWIC) which aims to change the negative portrayals of women in the media, build and strengthen alternative media for women and raise women's self-consciousness.

For more information contact:
Asian Network of Women in Communication
14, Jangpura-B
Mathura Road
New Dehli 110014
India

Australian Third World Health Group Newsletter

This publication keeps readers up-to-date with conferences, workshops and other events relevant to Third World health.

For more information contact:
Australian Third World Health Group
6 Russel Street
Woollahra, NSW 2025
Australia

Financial Flows and the Developing Countries

This new quarterly publication of the World Bank provides analyses of developing country debt and international financial flows. Each issue examines the latest events and trends affecting developing countries' access to international capital. A statistical appendix provides invaluable time series data on external debt, foreign direct investment, commercial bank claims on developing countries, secondary market price of developing country debt, funds and loans raised on international capital markets, and other statistical information.

Commodity Markets and the Developing Countries

This new World Bank quarterly publication discusses recent developments in 34 primary commodity markets and their likely impact on prices. World Bank trade analysts look at production, consumption and trade patterns to pinpoint why some commodities should thrive, while others may falter. Each issue provides succinct and substantive assessments

INSTRAW News

This newsletter provides information on the work of the United Nations International Triangle Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW). Available in three languages (English, French and Spanish), each issue focuses on a special topic, e.g. women and renewable energy, women and management and women in Africa.

For more information contact:
INSTRAW
PO Box 21747
Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic

UNIFEM News

This is a quarterly report on the activities of the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM), which provides support for women's projects and promotes the inclusion of women in decision making processes of mainstream development programmes.

of current market trends' climate for foods, agricultural raw materials, metal and minerals, and energy and fertiliser.

For more information contact:
The World Bank
PO Box 7247-7956
Philadelphia, PA 19170-7956
USA

Taim Lain: A Journal of Contemporary Melanesian Studies

The National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea is publishing this new journal which will focus on social issues in Papua New Guinea and neighbouring Melanesian countries. Each issue will have a theme. The first issue looks at law and order and social change in Papua New Guinea. The articles are in English and written for university-level reading.

For more information contact:
Publications Sales Coordinator
NRI, PO Box 5354
Boroko, NCD
Papua New Guinea

New Internationalist

For twenty years, this journal has been reporting and campaigning on Third World social justice, development and environmental issues. Each month a subject of vital interest is explored. Articles from around the world are commissioned which bring together a stimulating variety of views and analyses.

For more information contact:
New Internationalist
7 Hutt Street
Adelaide, SA 5000
Australia

Banaba / Ocean Island Newsletter

The newsletter aims at preserving and disseminating the unique history and culture of the remote Central Pacific Island - Ocean Island - today known as Banaba. The newsletter accesses information and brings people together from diverse cultural backgrounds and various walks of life in returning the precious history to its rightful owners - The Banabans.

For more information contact:
Stacey M. King
Banaba/Ocean Island Newsletter
PO Box 536
Mudgeerba, Qld 4213
Australia

Working papers

Murdoch University

Asia Research Centre Working Papers

No. 21 J.J. Chu, *The political economy of post-1980s Taiwanese foreign investment*, 1993

No. 22 Kevin Hewison and Andrew Brown, *Labour and unions in an industrialising Thailand: A brief history*, 1993

No. 23 James Parsonage, *Singapore's growth triangle: What future the state?*, 1993

No. 24 Carlos Lo, *Environment management by-laws in China*, 1993

No. 25 Rob Lambert, *Authoritarian state unionism in new order Indonesia*, 1993

No. 26 David S. G. Goodman, *The political economy of regionalism*, 1993

No. 27 David S. G. Goodman, *Guangdong: Greater Hong Kong and new regionalism*, 1993

No. 28 David S. G. Goodman, *China as number one*, 1993

No. 29 J.J. Chu, *A sociological analysis of the new rich in Taiwan*, 1993

Papers available for A\$3.00 each from:
Elissa D'Alton
Asia Research Centre
Murdoch University
Murdoch, WA 6150
Tel (09) 3104944
Fax (09) 3602846

Monash University

Monash Asia Institute

No. 76 Shannon L. Smith, *The politics of Indonesian rainforests*, 1992

No. 78 E.C. Paul, *Obstacles to democratisation in Singapore*, 1992

No. 83 Anders Uhlin, *Indonesian democracy discourse in a global context*, 1993

No. 84 Janet Penny, *Indonesians in Australia 1947-1986*, 1993

No. 85 Benedict R. Tria Kerkvliet, *State - Village relations in Vietnam: Contested co-operatives and collectivisation*, 1993

Papers available for A\$7.00 each from:
Wendy Miller
Centre of South-East Asian Studies
Monash University
Clayton, VIC 3168
Tel (03) 9054991
Fax (03) 9055370

Australian National University

Economics Division Working Papers, Research School of Asian and Pacific Studies

South Pacific (SP)

No. 94/1 Habtemariam Tesfaghiorghis, *The implications of population growth for Tuvalu*, 1994

No. 93/9 T.K. Jayaraman, *Saving behaviour in Vanuatu: 1983-1990*, 1993

No. 93/8 John Asafu-Adjaye, *An analysis of Papua New Guinea's medium-term strategy for sustainable growth*, 1993

No. 93/7 Neal Forster, *The fiscal response of Papua New Guinea to foreign aid: 1970-88*, 1993

No. 93/6 John Gibson, *Rice self-sufficiency and the terms of trade: Why rice is a good thing to import*, 1993

No. 93/5 John Zeitch, John Fallon and Andrew Welsh, *Estimating the benefits from certain structural reforms in the Papua New Guinean economy*, 1993

Development Issues (DI)

No. 93/6 Hom Moorti Pant, *Endogenous behaviour of tariff rates in the general equilibrium of a political economy*, 1993

No. 93/5 Lorraine Corner, *Human resource development co-ordination*, 1993

No. 93/4 E.S. Leung, *Exchange rate regimes and outward looking growth*, 1993

East Asia (EA)

No. 93/6 Zhang Xiaoguang, *Reforming a centrally planned trade system: The Chinese experience*, 1993

No. 93/5 Bob Gregory and Xin Meng, *Expanding the scope of human capital theory: Explaining wages in the Chinese rural industrial sector*, 1993

No. 93/4 Helen Hughes, *Is there an East Asian model?*, 1993

No. 93/3 Yiping Huang, *Production interactions in China's semi-marketised farming sector*, 1993

No. 93/2 Cao Yong, *Taxation and industrial financing of China's state-owned enterprises*, 1993

No. 93/1 Meng Xin, *Determination and discrimination: Female wages in China's rural TVP industries*, 1993

South-East Asia (SEA)

No. 93/6 Frances Perkins, *Costs and benefits of water supply technologies in rural Indonesia: Evidence from Nusa Tenggara Barat*, 1993

No. 93/5 Lorraine Corner and Yulfitia Rahardjo, *Indonesian health policy into the twenty-first century: The role of demand*, 1993

No. 93/4 Hal Hill, *South-East Asian economic development: An analytic survey*, 1993

Papers available for A\$8.00 each from:
Ann Commins
Bibliotech
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2495662
Fax (06) 2575088

UNICEF

UNICEF Staff Working Paper No. 12, David Parker and Eva Jespersen, *20/20: Mobilizing resources for children in the 1990s*, 1994

The state of Pacific children 1993

Crisis in paradise: The state of Papua New Guinea's children

Papers available from:
UNICEF
Publications Section
125 York Street
Sydney, NSW 2000
Tel (02) 2831344
Fax (02) 2831347

Monographs and reports

Independent inquiry report into population and development: Summary

Commissioned by the Australian Government, this report represents the views of an independent inquiry team. This Inquiry examines the nature and significance of the links between population growth and the economic development and well-being of developing countries - in particular, the effects on education, health, food, housing, poverty and the environment. In addition, the report examines the impacts of family planning on fertility, and the human rights implications of family planning programmes.

For more information contact:
Richard Moore
Office of the Minister for Development Cooperation
Parliament House
Canberra 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 2777660
Fax (06) 2734150

Family trends and structure in Australia

Peter McDonald 1993, *Australia Family Briefings No. 3*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, A\$5.00

Peter McDonald provides the latest figures and expert commentary on changing family trends. He discusses all the important issues: whether children are growing up in couple families, one-parent families or step families; when young people leave home and when they start to form relationships; whether or not the divorce rate is climbing and what the chances are of re-partnering after divorce.

When roles overlap: Workers with family responsibilities

Audrey VandenHeuval 1993, *AIFS Monograph No. 14*, A\$ 21.95

The book draws on national data on how women and men handle the conflicting needs of family and work. Based on a study of more than 2600 employed men and women in single-parent and dual-income families, the book brings to light some surprising findings about how much time employees take off to deal with family issues such as caring for their children, parents or spouse.

Making motherhood safe

World Bank Discussion Paper 202, 1993, ISBN 0 8213 2468 3, 161pp.

This paper describes ways to reduce the risk of pregnancy and child birth to women in developing countries. Most women in the developing countries lack access to modern methods of contraception and adequate prenatal care. Even in countries with relatively well developed health systems, preventable maternal illness and death persists because of inappropriate management of the complications of pregnancy.

The paper draws on the experience and research in both developing and industrialised countries. Evidence shows that community-based approaches such as local family planning and the training and deployment of midwives helps to reduce maternal mortality in high mortality settings. Prenatal care and more childbirth services are identified as among the most cost-effective of government interventions for improving child health.

The authors recommend improving the quality and availability of such services and educating the public about them. Programmes succeed best, the authors say, when they are presented as a package of services that includes help with family planning, health and nutrition.

COURSES

The University of Melbourne

Postgraduate work in Women's Studies

Women's Studies at the University of Melbourne offers a range of interdisciplinary postgraduate courses in the Faculties of Arts, Law, Economics, Science, Medicine and Education which are designed to meet the needs of both established professionals and others seeking further studies in the area of gender relations. Women's Studies is administered within the History Department.

For more information contact:
Graduate Diploma in Women's Studies
Ms Vera Mackie/Dr Joy Damousi or
Research Secretary
History Department

MA in Women's Studies
PhD in Women's Studies
Dr Maila Stevens
History Department or Research Secretary
3rd Floor, John Medley Building
The University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC 3052
Australia
Tel (06) 3445959
Fax (06) 3447894

The University of Queensland

Tropical Health Programme

The Tropical Health Programme of the University of Queensland in collaboration with the Queensland AIDS Council is offering a three-week short course on research skills and intervention strategies in HIV/AIDS. The course entitled 'Social Research and Community Interventions in HIV/AIDS' will be offered twice in 1994, first from 11-29 April and again from 29 August - 16 September 1994. The course is designed for those interested in gaining social research skills to design, implement, and evaluate HIV/AIDS programmes. The course emphasises issues relevant to service providers and managers in Asia, the Pacific and Africa. However, health professionals and community organisers in Australia will find the content applicable to their own work.

For more information contact:
Ms Gail Cohen or Dr Ann Larson
Tropical Health Programme
The University of Queensland Medical School
Herston Road
Herston, QLD 4006
Australia
Tel (07) 3655377
Fax (07) 3655599

The Australian National University

Department of Political Science

The International Relations programme in the Department of Political Science at ANU is offering a new elective year 2/3 unit course titled 'Gender and International Politics'. The course which is cross-listed as a core unit in Women's Studies at ANU is the first feminist International Relations unit in Australia. 'Gender and International Politics' seeks both to 'gender' international politics and to interrogate the international aspects of gender relations. It does so around three broad questions:

- Where are women in international political relations and processes?
- What are the gender relations of international politics?
- What have feminist analyses to contribute to our understanding of international politics?

For more information contact:
Jan Jindy Pettman
Department of Political Science
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2493882
Fax (06) 2495054

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

Short Course in Reproductive Health Research

The Centre for Population Studies and the Department of Epidemiology and Population Sciences are offering a six-week short course in 'Reproductive Health Research' from 27 June - 29 July 1994. The purpose of the course is to introduce participants to the principles and methods of effective social and demographic research in this field. Much of the course would be devoted to the design of policy-oriented research, and to methods of evaluating the impact of programmes.

For more information contact:
The Short Course Officer
London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
Keppel Street
London WC1E 7HT
UK
Tel (44-71) 9272074
Fax (44-71) 3230638

Harvard School of Public Health

The Harvard School of Public Health is offering its third annual nine-week course on 'Managing Health Programmes in Developing Countries', from 20 June to 12 August 1994.

The curriculum will focus upon the development of practical managerial skills. The course is designed for managers and health professionals in government as well as non governmental organisations, including hospitals, health centres and public health programmes, at the national, provincial and district government levels.

For more information contact:
Anne Mathew, PhD
Programme Coordinator
International Health Management Programme
Harvard School of Public Health
677 Huntington Avenue, Kresge 431
Boston, MA 02115
USA

The Australian National University

Women and Environmental Management

The National Centre for Development Studies and Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies are offering a six-week short course on gender-balanced environmental management called 'Women and Environmental Management' from 7 November - 9 December 1994.

The course gives insights into the roles and contributions of women and men at different stages of their lives and different levels of resource use in the practice and policy of environmental management through:

- . environmental assessment;
- . environmental management;
- . conflict management and resolution; and
- . sustainable development.

The course will be particularly valuable for resource planners and environmental managers from government and non government sectors who need to extend or upgrade their skills in gender-balanced resource and environmental management.

For more information contact:
Mr George Collett or Dr Ken Shepherd
ANUTECH Pty Ltd
Canberra ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2495671/ 2490617
Fax (06) 2495875/ 2571433

The Australian National University

Master of Business Administration Programme - Managing Business in Asia

This new programme has been established by the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The course has been designed to bring together middle and senior level executives

from private and public sector organisations in Australia and from around the region in a highly focused programme about doing business in Asia. The MBA is unique in Australia and the region consisting of a combination of coursework, language training and an industrial work placement. The coursework consists of three semesters full-time and intensive study in 24 units. At the end of the third semester participants can elect to undertake an intensive language training course prior to spending a fourth semester working in an Australian or foreign organisation.

For more information contact:
Bruce Stening
Programme Director
Master of Business Administration Programme
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2494975
Fax (06) 2494895

RESOURCES

Organisations

Pacific Manuscripts Bureau

There have been some major changes on the administration of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PMB) involving a closer working relationship between the National Library of Australia and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University (ANU).

The PMB was established within the ANU in 1968. Since then it has produced over 1600 reels of microfilm of official, business, religious and personal records and rare printed documents located throughout the Pacific, some of which were at great risk for climatic or other reasons. It has also archived material of Pacific interest held in other parts of the world such as mission archives in Rome and whaling logs in Nantucket. Sets of the film have been deposited in six member libraries in Australia, New Zealand and the United States, while copies of reels have also been sold to a variety of other interested libraries and individuals. In addition to filming unique or rare material, the PMB has described and listed the records filmed and publicised their existence through a newsletter and a variety of published catalogues and indexes.

In 1993 a three year strategic plan was finalised. This helped to clarify and make explicit the objectives and primary focus of the Bureau. Member libraries, however, raised some doubts as to whether the funding basis of the Bureau is sufficient to enable the plan to be properly implemented, especially with regard to the Bureau's travel requirements. With the resignation of the Executive Officer, the precarious financial position of the PMB was thrown into sharp relief. In order to attract a new Executive Officer with the appropriate subject and language expertise and administrative and negotiating skills, a much higher salary and greater degree of job security than is currently feasible was deemed necessary.

It has therefore been agreed to defer the appointment of a permanent Executive Officer for one year, during which time efforts will be made to gain access to increased funding. The National Library offered to make one of its staff available on secondment to act as part-time Executive Officer during this period. This offer was accepted and Adrian Cunningham, of the National Library's Manuscript Section, has now commenced working for the Bureau three days a week. His twofold task will be to complete a number of filming projects which are currently to process and to investigate and pursue possible sources of additional funding, principally by persuading other libraries to become members of the Bureau.

Mr Cunningham will report to an Interim Management

Committee chaired by Dr Brij Lal of the ANU Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. If it succeeds in strengthening the funding base of the Bureau, it will then consider the appointment of a full-time Executive Officer and finalise a programme of surveying and filming Pacific records in the years 1995-97.

Filming projects to be completed and made available during 1994 include: the records of the Methodist Church Overseas Mission held by the Mitchell Library, Sydney (62 reels); approximately 60 reels of material filmed in the Cook Islands including records from the Archives of the Catholic Church in the eastern Pacific and manuscripts from the Cook Islands Library and Museum Society; approximately 85 reels of manuscripts from the Pacific Theological College, Suva; Harry Maude's papers on Gilbertese oral tradition; notes and drafts by the German linguist Otto Dempwolff; and Tupou Posei Fanua's papers on Tongan culture and traditions.

Enquiries to:
Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
Room 7004, Coombs Building
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Tel (06) 2492521
Fax (06) 2490198
e-mail a.cunningham@coombs.anu.edu.au

Asian and African Networks on Ethics, Law and HIV

This is part of a United Nations Development Programme which brings lawyers, doctors and HIV policymakers together with people living with HIV, their families and carers and community-based HIV support groups. Through this sharing of experience between people and groups who would otherwise often be isolated from each other, a new focus can be brought to bear on the impact of HIV on particular countries and communities and the kinds of policies the kind of policies that will be effective in preventing the spread of HIV and meeting the needs of those affected. The importance of advocacy by and for people affected by the epidemic and the involvement in their formulation of HIV policy are fundamental principles underpinning the networks.

For more information contact:
Julie Hamblin
Ebsworth & Ebsworth
135 King Street
Sydney NSW 2000
Australia
Tel (02) 2342366
Fax (02) 2353606

Monash Asia Institute

Monash University's Monash Asia Institute, founded in 1992, is a multidisciplinary organisation promoting postgraduate and staff research in the region. The Institute comprises several subsidiary Centres. Of these the Centre of South-East Asian Studies and the Centre of Development Studies have so far established publishing programmes, while the Institute itself publishes a series of works under its own imprint. The Centre of South-East Asian Studies publications programme, consists of the Monograph series, the Working Papers series and the Annual Indonesian Lecture series.

In addition to this, the Monash Asia Institute is responsible for distributing publications for the Dutch firm KITLV and is the Australian distributor for Lontar publications.

Those wishing manuscripts to be considered for publication in the Working Paper, and Papers on South-East Asia topics should address enquiries to the Research Director, Centre of South-East Asian Studies. Those wishing to publish with the Monash Asia Institute or with the Centre of Development Studies should contact the respective Directors.

For more information, or to be included on the Institute's mailing list contact:
Winnie Koh (Publications Officer)
MAI/CSEAS, Monash University
Clayton, VIC 3168
Australia
Tel (613) 5654991
Fax (613) 5652210

Woman, Ink.

Women, Ink. markets and distributes development-oriented resource materials worldwide to individuals and groups engaged in women and development activities. A particular emphasis and concern is to increase the availability of development materials published by groups in the South. Such groups are welcome to submit their resource materials for market consideration. Women, Ink. is a project of the International Tribune Centre and is supported through publication sales and financial assistance from the United Nations Development Fund for Women.

For more information contact:
Woman, Ink.
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel (212) 6878633
Fax (212) 6612704

Global Fund for Women

The Global Fund for Women grants money for projects which are designed to improve the prospects of women worldwide. It supports projects in three general categories - female human rights, communication and media, and economic independence. The Fund has helped programmes in over 80 countries, and grants average about US\$5,000.

The organisation's stated mission is to 'provide funds to seed, strengthen, and link groups that are committed to women's well-being and that work for their full participation in society; encourage increased support for women's programmes globally, and provide leadership in promoting a greater understanding of the importance of supporting women's full participation internationally'.

The fund encourages requests for grants. It has an international network of advisers who assess applicants and their proposals.

For more information contact:
Global Fund for Women
2480 Sand Hill Road
Suite 100
Menlo Park, CA 94025-6941
USA

The National Child Bureau

This registered non profit organisation has been set up to deal with child abuse in Papua New Guinea. It offers counselling, legal services, and other help to children who have been victims of physical or sexual abuse, neglect, or exploitation for prostitution or pornography. It hopes to develop shelters for abused children.

The idea grew out of meetings between government welfare, police and court officials; church groups, and UNICEF. They were concerned about the inability of a single government department to take quick, effective action to help child abuse victims.

The National Child Bureau is a non government organisation, under the wing of the Foundation for Law, Order, and Justice. It is based on Boroko, NCD, but expansion to other provinces is planned.

For more information contact:
The National Child Bureau
PO Box 4205
Boroko, NCD
Papua New Guinea
Tel 253 910

AIDS Society of Asia and the Pacific (ASAP)

ASAP is an international non government organisation dedicated to assisting in minimising the spread of HIV in Asia and the Pacific, encouraging the development of education programmes which are culturally appropriate and designed to minimise dangerous behaviour while helping to prevent discrimination against those infected. In addition, ASAP stimulates research into all aspects of AIDS epidemic and promotes the best care and support for those infected with HIV.

For more information contact:
ASAP
c/- Division of Medicine
Prince of Wales Hospital
High St
Randwick, NSW 2031
Australia

Centre for Asian Studies

The Centre for Asian Studies coordinates UWA's BPhis (Asian Studies) degree programme as well as acting as a focus for teaching and research on Asia across the Campus.

For more information contact:
Director, Centre for Asian Studies
The University of Western Australia
Nedlands
Perth, WA 6009
Australia
Tel (09) 3802080
Fax (09) 3801167

Materials

Global Education Centre

What is a family?

This educational kit was designed by the Development Education Centre of Birmingham for use with secondary students. It may be used in many areas across the curriculum and even with community groups. It aims to raise issues about the nature of family life, and to draw on and value people's direct experiences of family. An enclosed booklet describes ways of using the 24 black and white photographs and the related eight activities. These range from 30-80 minutes in length and need little preparation. The kit

designers encourage discussion of the following topics: stereotyping by race, gender or disability; family structures (marriage, divorce, childless families); roles (gender roles, children's roles); relationships (expectations, emotions). There are hints on conducting lessons, and resources relating to family life are listed.

Changing Times - Australia and Asia in the '90s

This six section discussion series consists of a video, booklet and a facilitator's guide. They are produced by Community Aid Abroad and challenge the individual and government response to Australia's relationship with Asia.

Some of the issues raised in each topic include:

Images

- how did our stereotyped views of Asians originate?
- discussion of harassment faced by Asian migrants

Aid

- what is the DIFF programme?
- what is the impact of huge aid projects on local communities?
- are the goals of humanitarian concern, foreign policy and commercial interests contradictory in an aid programme?
- should human rights be linked to aid programmes?

Environment

- the North's role in creating poverty and environmental destruction in the Third World through debt and trade

Asian Affairs

- what influences shaped the Australian foreign policy with respect to Asian countries?

- should Australia have a military aid programme?
- do we have the right to criticise the human rights record of other countries?

Trade

- the problem of commodity dependence
- protectionism vs. free trade
- industrialisation-for-export model

These materials are available from::

Global Education Centre
First Floor
155 Pirie Street
Adelaide, SA 5000
Australia
Tel (08) 2235795

DEVINSA - Development Abstracts

The Development Information Network for South Asia (DEVINSA) is a multi-disciplinary, computerised database of bibliographic information on socio-economic development in South Asia. The monthly journal is a unique reference for policy and decision makers, development researchers and international aid agencies. The information relates to six countries in South Asia - Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

For more information contact:

Chief Librarian
Marga Institute
PO Box 601
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel (941) 585186
Fax (941) 580585

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Style

Quotation marks should be double; single within double.
Spelling: English (OED with '-ise' endings).

Notes

- (a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, eg. (Yung 1989).
- (b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author's surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is not identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the text and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author's surname, forename and or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:

- Flynn, P., 'Brazil and inflation: A threat to democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 11(3), pp.50-70.
Hamilton, C. 1986a, *Capitalist industrialisation in Korea*, Westview Press, Boulder.
Hill, H.M. 1986, 'The Jackson Committee and women' in Eldridge, P., Forbes, D., and Porter, D. (eds), *Australian overseas aid: Future directions*, Croom Helm, Sydney.

Publication/resource listings

An important task of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.

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