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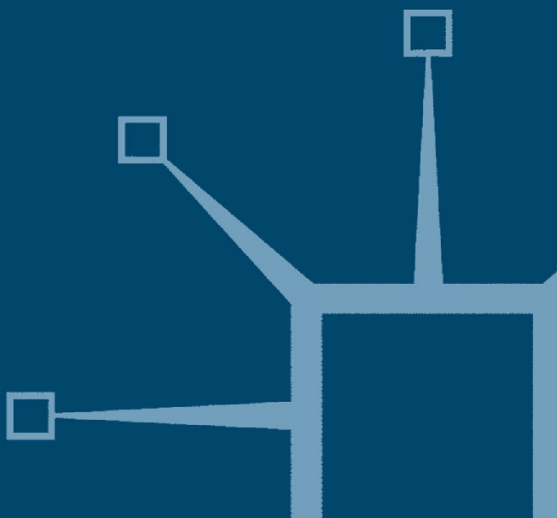
Gendering the World Bank

Neoliberalism and the Gendered Foundations of Global Governance

Penny Griffin



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Penny Griffin

Lecturer in Politics and International Relations, University of New South Wales, Australia

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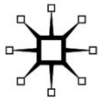

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This book is dedicated to my mother, Lesley Torry, who did not live to see its publication but whose role in supporting and encouraging the choices I have made is, and always will be, indescribably important to me.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFR	Africa Regional Network (World Bank)
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DA	Discourse Analysis
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
EAP	East Asia and the Pacific Regional Network (World Bank)
ECA	Europe and Central Asia Regional Network (World Bank)
ECOSOC	The United Nations Economic and Social Council
EDSR	Estimated Debt Service Report (World Bank)
ESSD	Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network (World Bank)
EU	European Union
FGR	First Generation Reform
FSE	Financial Sector Network (World Bank)
GAD	Gender and Development
GAO	General Accounting Office (US)
GDP*	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product

*Until 1992, GNP and GNI were used by the United States for national accounting purposes. GNP, GNI and GDP each indicate, in slightly different ways, the market value of the goods and services produced annually by a country. The key difference is that GNP includes net foreign income (the current account), adding net foreign investment income compared to GDP. GDP is also something of a 'regional' measurement: concerned with the market value of the yearly output produced in a nation, GDP focuses on where the output is produced rather than who produced it (i.e., GDP measures all output, regardless of a firm or corporation's 'nationality'). GNP and GNI, on the other hand, are measures of a 'nation's' output, focusing on who owns the production, regardless of where they are located.

GPE	Global Political Economy
HDI	Human Development Index (UN)
HDN	Human Development Network (World Bank)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank Group)
ICSID	International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (World Bank Group)
IDA	International Development Agency (World Bank Group)
IEG	Independent Evaluation Group (World Bank)
IFC	International Finance Corporation (World Bank Group)
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organization
IHEU	International Humanist and Ethical Union
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organisation
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relations
LCR	Latin America and the Caribbean Regional Network
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LICUS	Low Income Countries Under Stress (World Bank)
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (World Bank Group)
MNA	Middle East and North Africa Regional Network (World Bank)
MSMs	'Men Who Have Sex With Men'
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OED	Operations Evaluation Department (World Bank)
OPCS	Operations Policy and Country services Network (World Bank)
PREM	Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network (World Bank)
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (World Bank)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSD	Private Sector Development Network (World Bank)
PWC	Post-Washington Consensus

SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAR	South Asia Regional Network (World Bank)
SGR	Second Generation Reform
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS
USAIDS	United States Agency for International Development (US)
VPU	Vice-Presidential Unit (World Bank)
WAD	Women and Development
WDR	World Development Report (World Bank)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Based in large part on research conducted for my PhD, this book would not have come about without the guidance, support and inspiration of Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes, my PhD supervisors at the University of Bristol. Judith and Jutta selflessly devoted their time and offered suggestions, readings and guidance without which my research would have been much the poorer.

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I would also like to thank those staff at the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and International Monetary Fund who generously gave their time and thoughts during August and September 2005. Where I am critical in this book of international development policy-making and practice, it is in no part intended as criticism of the devotion and diligence that many in the development community display throughout their work. As I discovered, policy-making staff at all levels are open to and keen to engage in a wide variety of discussion and are well aware of the shortcomings of the institutional frameworks within which they work.

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Preface

I was once told that my work would be far more interesting, and reach a far wider audience, if I were to 'drop the gender'. The gender part of my research, so my interlocutor believed, was marginal to relations of global economic governance; an agenda that might be useful to women in developing countries, but that had little wider relevance. This belief I have found to be a persistent one, and one that probably means that my work will be taken less seriously by those who consider economics a neutral science peopled by functionally similar, individualised and rational actors. This book addresses two key assumptions made by those who consider gender's role in the global political economy either superficially valid or entirely insignificant; assumptions that have serious and detrimental implications for the kind of economic diagnoses and advice currently on offer from large sectors of the development community. First, I want to address the assumption that 'gender' corresponds simply and unproblematically to 'women' and only women. Secondly (and closely related to the imposed symbiosis of gender and women), I want to take issue with the assumption that gender is not one of the most basic, fundamental systems of identification through which we understand the world. My interlocutor was wrong, not only to equate gender with women alone, but to fail to see the power that gender brings to our everyday understandings, and especially to our understandings of economic common sense.

I use this book to interrogate the ways in which so-called 'economic' discourses reproduce certain gendered limits of possibility in the global political economy. I do so by examining the gendered underpinnings of neoliberal development strategy as embodied in a key development institution, the World Bank, the key modus operandi of which is a discourse we might feasibly term 'neoliberal'. Although global governance undoubtedly takes shape in a variety of forms and to different effects, the World Bank is worth examining in some detail: a prominent, but by no means uncomplicated, example of contemporary global governance, the World Bank embodies an association with the developing world riddled with narratives of imperialism and inequality, but also resistance, reconfiguration and the possibility of future change. The aim of this book is not to examine in a systematic and rather tedious way

the bureaucratic structure and functions of the World Bank, although there are times when some consideration of these are necessary. The Bank is simply a current and particular example of global governance 'in action': a constituent and founding part of the contemporary international system with sufficient duties and responsibilities to make it an important player in the politics of development.

It is, I believe, important to consider at all times the impacts and effects (positive, negative and indifferent) of certain policies and developmental interactions. Concerns about the loci, mechanisms and processes of delivery of development practice, policy and power may well make international development a more participatory and inclusive process. Understanding the contradictory and complex effects of global restructuring requires, however, challenging more than just cause and effect as conventionally conceived of in the global political economy. One of the abiding contradictions of 'Post-Washington Consensus' international development policy-making is its progression to an official discourse of 'empowerment', within an institutional and international context clearly hierarchical in form and effect. The World Bank takes pains to advertise itself as an 'agency', not a commander, of development, but how much room poor people have within the dictates of Bank-approved (but state-led) economic management programmes is certainly unclear. Empowering the poor, women included, such that they have control over their own life strategies, is certainly worth struggling for. A time when the 'poor' are so 'empowered' that they might reject the governance dictates of Western institutions will be a fascinating one to live through, not least for the responses of the institutions they reject.

I argue in this book that neoliberalism is and has always been a political project with a market agenda: there is nothing purely 'economic' about it, even though its advocates and practitioners may specifically deploy the assumptions and modelling techniques most often associated with the study and practices of 'Western' approaches to Economics (i.e., those approaches most commonly found in the US, the UK, northern Europe and Australasia). I contend that neoliberal discourses communicate (constructed) universal facts and knowledges on a global scale as simple 'common sense'. Predicated on economic 'development' through the social embedding of the market, neoliberalism constitutes part of a tradition of classical and neoclassical economic discourse and is deeply embedded in a history of economists searching for so-called 'economic' answers to problems of social organisation. Although scholars key to the formation of neoliberal discourses as they are experienced

today may often be identified primarily as economists (F. A. Von Hayek, Milton Friedman and Joseph Stiglitz, for example), their theorising is intrinsically socio-political, depending on a vision of society organised around a particular idea of economic action.

In terms of methodology, I employ in this book a poststructural discourse analysis to examine neoliberalism and the discourse of the World Bank. Bank discourse is gendered and sexually configured through diverse and historically specific rules and conventions. It makes sense of human relations and development by structuring the meanings we apply to types of endeavour, activity and modes of production. I thus seek to analyse how the language of neoliberalism constructs those practices, institutions and policies that constitute the global political economy. Through analysis of both neoliberalism, broadly defined, and the discourse of the Bank more specifically, my research aims to show, first, in what ways and through which discursive practices 'sex', 'gender' and 'sexual practice' are discursively constituted to render apparently 'ungendered' neoliberal discourses coherent and, secondly, how 'gender' is made intelligible in order to better serve neoliberal ideals of marketisation, privatisation, deregulation and flexibilisation.

Neoliberal discourses in contemporary world politics constitute such powerful models for human interaction and behaviour because they are based on the assumption that people everywhere adhere to the rule of the market. To do this, and to therefore hope and dream of success, wealth and 'development', people must universally embrace the rules dictated largely by Western neoliberal models of capitalism. They must identify themselves with certain cultural models of humanity and internalise the key principles of neoliberal economic doctrine. In so doing, they reproduce centuries of liberal ideology and rhetoric that have naturalised the essentiality of trade, the accumulation of capital and the centrality of economic growth through the liberal 'free market'. People thus tailor their identities, their sense of self and their ambitions to fit with the global mantra of more trade equals more capital equals good for everyone (this is the 'globalist' ideology that underscores the dominant globalisation thesis, which I argue is a thesis based on neoliberal assumptions and values).

The potential for Western models of economic activity to interact with, affect and reconfigure global and social hierarchies and distributions of power and resources is enormous, and yet official discourse continues to describe (neoliberal) globalisation primarily in positive and progressive terms. Whether viewed as the saviour of modernity or the nemesis of social development, however, a picture of globalisation has

dominated contemporary global politics and governance, depicting a subject 'North', bearer of capitalist doctrine, and an object 'South', a permanently malleable resource responsive to and dependent upon the workings of the North. The assumption that the market is and should be the key distributor of precious and fragile social resources remains, however, entirely uncontested in 'official' development discourse.

Part I

Neoliberalism, Gender and Global Governance

Introduction

The formation of human identity is crucial in and to understanding the study, practices and effects of contemporary global governance and political economy. Unlike many who see gender as a side issue in global politics, I ask in this book how it is that sex and gender are not merely incidental to the formation and perpetuation of the global political economy (GPE), but absolutely central to it. The GPE is, I argue, entirely gendered: meanings, behaviours and identities concerning, for example, economic growth and stability, financial transactions and rational human behaviour have not evolved nor are they perpetuated in a social vacuum, although they may well be presented as universal and neutral. Rather, discourses of gender are critical in understanding how the world is structured such that individuals are enabled (or not) to act in certain ways and to certain ends.

Gender matters to/in the GPE most obviously, at least to those who care to see it, because the global political economy is peopled by bodies, and bodies are important, diverse and everywhere. Throughout my research, gender matters most because its study concerns the analysis of norms and standards in the global political economy that many hold to be true, essential and universal, but a committed critique of which reveals as power-laden, regulatory and highly restrictive identity categories. A gender-sensitive approach to the GPE yields some powerful practical applications. Conventional approaches to International Political Economy (IPE)[1] and International Relations (IR) tend to avoid talking about bodies. They assign, instead, human features to abstract objects (money, weapons, state, corporation or institution) while studiously avoiding the possibility that these objects are socially produced

and context-specific. An *embodied* approach to global politics (one that engages actively and carefully with the messier politics of everyday human social reproduction), on the other hand, has a variety of useful applications, namely that this approach:

- Furnishes a more accurate and holistic approach (through, e.g., a more inclusive approach to the 'global' or the 'economic', or through the use of a variety of measurements, methodologies and analytical tools);
- Offers a non-abstract and practically applicable form of theorising;
- Constitutes a more realistic means of accounting for the interaction of various causal factors, implications and effects in global politics;
- Therefore provides more intuitively realistic understandings of global exchange and economic discourses, their key mechanisms and global (and more localised) effects.

The World Bank

Established in 1944, and with its headquarters in Washington, D.C., the World Bank commenced its operations in 1946. Covering a global area composed of middle- to low-income (creditworthy) countries, the Bank boasts a membership of 185 countries, 117 country offices, a staff of approximately 10,000 and a credit rating of AAA.

I write this book in an effort to illuminate the tensions and possibilities that complicate the politics of development, global governance and international relations. It is important to note that the World Bank is an international institution that is important to and powerful in contemporary global politics but which is neither omnipotent nor uncontested. The importance and significance of challenges to and contestations within the international system as it operates today cannot be underestimated: international organisations (IOs) such as the World Bank have changed in dramatic and crucial ways as a consequence of their encounters with myriad actors, groups, communities and other organisations.

We, as students, practitioners and participants in and of global politics, should be wary of assuming that the policies and practices of global governance are beyond the power and influence of everyday people. Each of us has a stake in understanding and engaging with the structures, practices and policies that govern us. To be sure, the structures and methods of global governance are frequently elitist, opaque and non-participatory. It is only through critical, extended and committed

engagement with these structures and methods, however, that histories of exclusion and marginalisation are made known, deleterious and dangerous practices made visible and viable alternatives forged and maintained. Global power and capitalist expansion are in the process of being and have been effectively resisted and reformulated through numerous and multifaceted struggles (over, e.g., democratisation, equality, morality). Globalisation, as Rupert and Solomon contend,

> [C]an no longer be credibly represented as an inevitable, apolitical, and universally beneficial process of market-based integration.
> (2006: 132)

Something of an afterthought to the International Monetary Fund at conception and inauguration (Peet 2003: 111), the Bank is more accurately described as a collection of 'specialised agencies', granting direct loans and setting policy conditions to recipient countries. Professing a concern for 'getting the fundamentals' of neoliberal economic development right, the Bank seeks to maintain for itself a stable position at the vanguard of international development, describing itself as 'bridging the divide' between rich and poor (i.e., as the crucial link between the economic affluence of the developed world and the poverty of the Global South). The Bank is also supremely confident of its ability to prescribe appropriate economic policy across the developing world. According to many Bank staff, developing countries, even those with less need for the Bank's lending, call on the particular 'expertise' of the Bank, borrowing money for no other reason than to consult with staff who, as one interviewee commented, 'are the best in the world' in the development field (IvWB2 2005). With the resources to lend over US$20billion a year, the World Bank is indeed 'a mighty institution' (Peet 2003: 111).

A powerful and pervasive discursive site of economic 'common sense', suitable economic behaviour and efficient development and trade practice, the World Bank plays a pivotal role in global politics, particularly with regard to its relationship with the world's least developed countries (LDCs). This role in large part depends on the Bank's ability to reproduce an economic and developmental common sense based on neoliberal discursive foundations, particularly those foundations that have, in recent years (at least since the mid to late 1990s), supported the 'neoliberal globalisation' thesis.

As an organisational entity, the Bank socialises and educates its staff, and the countries and people it engages with, within a particularly gendered and hierarchical framework of understanding: not because as an

institutional environment it is itself particularly sexist or discriminatory, but because the Bank reproduces gender at the very heart of its work through the discourse with which it medicates the developing world, a discourse predicated on the attainment of certain, entirely gendered, desirable behaviours, identifications and attributes.

In its own words, the Bank professes a mandate,

> [T]o help developing countries and their people reach their goals by working with our partners to alleviate poverty. To do that we concentrate on building the climate for investment, jobs and sustainable growth, so that economies will grow, and by investing in and empowering poor people to participate in development.
>
> (http://web.worldbank.org)

The Bank is, of course, not the only embodiment of contemporary neoliberalism, identifiable by its commitment to the market, to private capital, to flexible labour and to deregulated economies. Neoliberal discourses derive from and are located within a multitude of sources, some state-led, others less so: each source, be it an individual government, a transnational corporation or multilateral organisation, operates within the parameters of its own historical conditions, which is why the Bank's neoliberal discourse is not articulated in the same way, and with the same effects as that of, for example, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN) or individual national governments.[2] The Bank is pivotal in this research for its inextricable links to the field and politics of 'development', but it is not monolithic, nor does it enjoy unrivalled precedence in the cultures and politics of every so-called 'developing' and 'underdeveloped' economy. It does, however, enjoy something of a monopoly of economic wisdom in practices of development that cannot be disarticulated from the institution's neoliberal doctrine.

Neoliberalism, the World Bank and gender

My aim with this book is to show how the Bank constitutes and gains much authority from its position as a culturally dominating and intrinsically gendered structure of global power. To make sense of the world around it, Bank discourse deploys certain assumptions, meanings, tropes and practices (e.g. by issuing policy, selecting and describing relevant development 'issues'). These articulate, in tacit but important ways, the human identities, behaviours and meanings perceived as most suited to succeed in the global political economy. Such discursive practices

and articulations are predicated, prescribed and reproduced, I argue, according to a heteronormative discursive framework; one that regulates persons, and the identities best suited to govern and be governed in the global political economy, according to the privileging of compulsory heterosexuality.

The heteronormative reproduction of gender identities is crucial to and in contemporary neoliberalism because it allows for the maintenance of a particular vision of economic activity, one that is both highly masculinised and ethnocentric (i.e., based on a model of human activity derived from the privileging and experiences of White, Western and elite men). This model reproduces the constraints by which bodies may function through heterosexualised and essentialised discursive boundaries, 'natural facts' and gender/sex categories. The World Bank is one example of this, reproducing a discourse of economic viability through policy interventions that are predicated on an ideal of Western normative heterosexuality. Although articulated as value neutral, I argue that Bank discourse 'straightens' development by creating and sustaining policies and practices tacitly, but not explicitly, formulated according to gendered hierarchies of meaning, representation and identity.

My research examines neoliberal discourse as gendered (but also sexually configured) through diverse and historically specific rules and conventions, making sense of our relations by structuring the meanings we apply to types of endeavour, activity, modes of production. Through analysis of neoliberalism broadly defined but also located more specifically in the discourse of the World Bank, my research seeks to show, first, in what ways and through which discursive practices 'gender' and 'sex' are discursively constituted to render apparently ungendered neoliberal discourse coherent, and, secondly, how 'gender' is made intelligible in order to better serve neoliberal ideals of marketisation, privatisation, deregulation and flexibilisation. Neoliberal discourses, I argue, embody specific notions of economic success and financial viability that have become thoroughly embedded in idealised forms of Western (i.e., Anglo-American and Northern European) masculinities. By drawing from a regime of compulsory heterosexuality, neoliberalism establishes limits of intelligibility to the bodies over which it resides, concealing the extent to which its knowledges and truths have been historically and selectively produced and organised according to particular gender distinctions. Neoliberal discourses thus give particular meanings to human activity through the choices they provide, the regulatory ideals they impose and the identities they prescribe as most suitable.

The human (sexed) body assumes cultural meaning (gender) according to the structures, or discourses, that result from particular, historical and contingent relations of power. Neoliberalism is dominant precisely because it represents very much more than the 'economic' alone. The market logic at the heart of neoliberalism itself recognises no distinction between the economic, social and cultural: the project is and has always been one of marketising all aspects of social and political life.

So rarely is the gendered and sexual configuration of neoliberal discourse questioned, however, that the sexual imperatives that constitute suitably market-able people, practices and behaviours are seldom interrogated, and their deleterious effects too often ignored. Gender is not, as many would have it, marginal to relations of economic governance, but the belief that it is remains persistent, not least among those who believe economics, even politics, to be neutral sciences peopled by functionally similar, rational actors. Since individuals are believed to be essentially similar, and their individual 'tastes' exogenous to economic models, there is, in conventional analyses at least, little room for categories of analysis that do not easily fit the economic mould, that cannot be easily measured, numbered and quantified, that refuse simplification and cannot be instrumentalised.

Gender is thus easily trivialised in the minds of the mainstream (of Economics, IPE and IR), with the presumption long having been made that gender is *not* one of the most basic, fundamental systems of identification through which we understand the world. Such an assumption ignores the complex and different understandings that people hold about their environments, their abilities to survive and capacities to continue existing, how they organise themselves, their goals in life, and how they cope with their surroundings. The implications and effects of such ignorance are serious and highly detrimental for the kind of economic diagnoses and advice currently on offer from large sectors of the development community. My work instead refuses the all too frequent equation of gender with women, and argues that the repeated trivialisation of gender in economic analysis/es results from a failure to see the power that gender brings to our everyday understandings, and especially to our understandings of economic common sense.

The United Nations system and (neo)liberalism

The World Bank Group forms part of what is commonly referred to as the 'United Nations System' or global organisations. This includes not only the United Nations (UN) itself, which is composed of the General

Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the Trusteeship Council, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the International Court for Justice, and also its associated programmes, funds and operations. 'Specialised agencies' are also associated with the UN, which include the World Bank Group, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and so on (see http://www.un.org for a complete listing).

The World Bank Group is composed of five organisations: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA); the International Finance Corporation (IFC); the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA); and, the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Dispute (ICSID). Development institutions such as the World Bank (but also including other inter- and non-governmental organisations operating explicitly in reference to the so-called 'developing world') make for interesting analysis as prominent, but by no means uncomplicated, examples of the contested nature of global governance. The discourses of governance that they reproduce take shape in varying, and sometimes contradictory, forms.

The UN system ought not to be confused with the specific departments, commissions, courts, tribunals, conventions and so on of the United Nations as an organisation in its own right, although these undoubtedly contribute to the system as a whole. Taking its name from the members of the wartime alliance that were engaged in war against the Axis powers in the Second World War, the United Nations and its Charter have, of course, since been ratified by Japan, Germany and Italy. As such, our contemporary international system of organisations and institutions is very much the result of a particular historical effort to structure a post-Second World War 'world order' through the combination of a liberal political agenda with international capitalism. 'Liberalism' in this instance, however, should not be mistaken for the 'bleeding heart' liberal stereotype of US politics, but refers instead to a political philosophy that has dominated, and continues to do so, the practices and forms of government of many (if not most) state-based and international organisations.

In terms of the functions, structures, practices and processes of the liberal state, liberalism refers to a political philosophy based on:

- A belief in the fundamental autonomy of the individual and the concomitant inviolability of individual (human) rights;

- The desirability of democratic forms of government, based on the separation of public and private property;
- A certain faith in the sanctity of the 'free market' (economic liberalism and neoliberalism) and the Enlightenment belief in progress and technological transformation.

Practically and operationally, liberalism is embodied in structures of 'rational' governance, designated as such where they are based on the bureaucratic implementation of impersonal rules and procedures. The construction and perpetuation of bureaucratic hierarchy has been one of the most frequently used methods for reproducing such rules and procedures, such that the 'modern bureaucratic form' is common to most industrialised, capitalist societies. Bureaucracies distinguish themselves by the 'breaking down of problems into manageable and repetitive tasks that are the domain of a particular office' and which are then 'coordinated under a hierarchical command' (Barnett and Finnemore 2005: 164). To date, I can think of no Western, liberal bureaucracy that avoids hierarchy or repetitive task-making: thus has bureaucratic hierarchy found itself entrenched in the structures and working cultures of the institutions and organisations devised (largely by Western states) to steer international cooperation.

Those international organisations that resulted from the Second World War negotiations are important to reflect on since they can, and so often do, reproduce across time and locale the conventional 'expertise', 'wisdom' and 'common sense' of contemporary global politics: the United Nations (as a singular organisation) is, for example, considered the authority on international law and human rights; the International Monetary Fund is thought to exemplify micro- and/or macro-financial and fiscal expertise; the World Trade Organization (WTO), is widely accepted as a reliable and practised arbiter of free market proficiency; the World Bank (and development banking more generally) is deemed by many to be the embodiment of contemporary developmental wisdom.

Neoliberal development strategy in global governance

Contemporary neoliberalism gives particular meanings to human activity through the choices it provides, the regulatory ideals it imposes and the identities it prescribes as most suitable. In Western society, the sexed body assumes cultural meaning (gender) according to the structures, or discourses, that result from particular, historical and contingent relations of power. So rarely are the gendered foundations of neoliberal

discourses questioned, however, and so naturalised and 'unmarked' is heterosexuality therein, that the sexual imperatives that constitute suitable market-able people, practices and behaviours are seldom interrogated, and their deleterious effects are very often ignored. Gender and sex are not, as many would have it, marginal to relations of economic governance, but the belief that they are remains persistent. The economic sphere is only artificially separated from questions of human identity formation, behaviour and interest. Neoliberal discourses have dominated the GPE precisely because they represent much more than the 'economic' alone, recognising no distinction between the economic, social and cultural.

As a term in political analysis, 'global governance' achieved particular popularity post-Cold War as a means of referring to the processes by which international actors (mostly, in conventional analyses at least, states) could achieve their common aspirations and overcome conflict. Its prominence having risen within scholarly *and* policy-making circles, global governance has become 'one of the defining characteristics of the current international moment' (Barnett and Duvall 2005: 1). 'Governance' may be characterised as local, domestic, international or global in nature, and, much like national government, applies to the mechanisms and institutional (legal-juridical) structures by which people are governed. One difference is that the mechanisms and structures characterised as global in reach and origins are thought, in optimistic times, to bring out the best in the international community and to rescue it from its 'worst instincts' (ibid). The practices and processes of rule-making at the global level, however, rarely affect everyone or everywhere similarly, if at all.

As espoused by the leading development institutions, neoliberal development strategy is based on four central tenets:

1 A confidence in the market (*marketisation*) as the mechanism by which societies should be made to distribute their resources (although market imperfections may hamper distributive patterns, should we remove these the 'allocative efficiency' of the market is restored);
2 A commitment to the use of private finance (in place of public spending) in public projects (*privatisation*);
3 *Deregulation*, with the removal of tariff barriers and subsidies ensuring that the market is freed from the potential tyranny of nation-state intervention, thereby granting capital optimal mobility;
4 A commitment to *flexibilisation*, which refers the ways in which production is organised in mass consumption society (i.e., dynamically and flexibly).