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## Working at Living: The Social Relations of Precarity

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The Fetish of Development

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**Macroeconomic Remedies for Poverty**

World systems and dependency theory argued that underdevelopment was a historically-produced and persistent global phenomenon accompanied by debt-inducing wages, elimination of the safety net, criminalization of political dissent, and martial law in the era of a supposedly humanitarian development ethos. Strong state theory argued that poor peoples' expectations for a social safety net were too high and endorsed arming heads of state and militias which "disappeared" local opposition. [<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/14245/48/107823.pdf>] Penny McKenzie and Jacklyn Cock, *From Defence to Development (1999)* Development experts regularly caricatured political and economic battles as atavistic expressions of "tribal conflict" and "terrorism" which fit conveniently with notions about the white man's burden. The Green revolution promised to end hunger through mono-cropping export economies. This resulted in soil depletion, groundwater pollution, farmer suicides, introduction of toxic fertilizers banned in the Global North, massive loss of land, and higher prices on imported food.

*Stephanie Black, dir, Life and Debt (New York: New Yorker Films, 2001)*

*Raoul Peck, dir, Profit and Nothing But (New York: First Run/ Icarus, 2001)*

*Meera Dewan, dir, Amrit Beeja: The Eternal Seed (New York: Women Make Movies, 1996)*

*Robert Richter, dir. The Business of Hunger (Maryknoll: Maryknoll World Films, 1985)*

**The Fetish of Development**

Eileen Boris and Tiffany Willoughby-Herard<sup>1</sup>

January 2013

**Introduction**

In our push to measure contemporary forms of precarity under globalization—especially that attached to the symbolic value of female and feminized labor at the center of economic consolidation and wealth—we do a grave disservice to ignore the history of the economic and social transformation proposed by development policy makers during the era of decolonization. Decolonization presented global finance capital with a new set of challenges for management and domination of the global order especially since women had played such key roles in anti-colonial movements. Under the guise of development the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) promised to apply technological solutions and modernizing beliefs to fix poverty and to help women achieve their goals for economic

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independence. Development coupled extant ideologies about and aspirations for mobilizing women's reproductive capacities, unpaid labor, and women's management of resources and economies in order to render these capacities and social relations into worker identities and consciousness. Female-headed campaigns for wages in unions and producer associations were proclaimed in tokenizing gendered economic histories to be the singular ingredient that could disentangle governments, countries, and economic regions from debt relations and myriad forms of bondage. Deploying long-standing contradictions from the colonial feminism toolkit, development policy makers mobilized militant anti-colonial women and neo-liberalism oriented women who were unwilling to ally themselves solely with the false promises of neo-colonial nation building.<sup>1</sup> These twin processes of abridging the activities of women to work and worker identities and worker histories, on the one hand, and hijacking the revolutionary imaginary of feminist anti-colonial struggles against violence and bondage, on the other, actually foreclosed on the contending forces which racialized women had set in motion by defining gender as a political affiliation that can disrupt and destroy state, capital, empire, and relations of violence.<sup>2</sup> Whether actual women were denied the status of "true workers" or heaped with litanies of praise, women's consciousness as workers, work ethics, and ideologies about the nature of work, exchange, labor and money always exceed development ideologies and identities. This exceeding occurred because their location in racial hierarchies and as targets of carceral violence deemed such women as public property of the white commonwealth/common good—which alternately benefits from and finds pleasure in their significance as workers. Minimizing the level of state violence and

economic vulnerability that characterized the refinement of gender to merely a question of work points to the multiple forms of precarity women were shaped by.

Moreover, these new international financial institutions responded to the crises and new centers of power posed by decolonizing states and communities with new forms of racialized debt and formal reorganization of the world economy to mark the difference between the value and worth that would be accorded to the colonized and the colonizing. Indeed, scholarly obsessions with the quite recent post 1990s phenomena of expanded transnational capital flow, massive migration of populations and work forces, population control/manipulation, and the explosion of communications technology obscures important aspects of the context for understanding precarity and symbolic value.

Today privatization and structural adjustment has been dubbed neo-liberalism, to signal the withering of the state's role in social welfare and labor regulation, the expansion of the state's role in detention, militarism, tourism, and genomic science, and multicultural society. In addition to promoting weak governance and public accountability structures, precarity was built into the development ethos. A flood of foreign technical advisors exercised incredible influence over economic and social policies in poor countries. Both the international credit and lending organizations and the international non-profit sector flourished as a direct result of the persistent vulnerability of people in the formerly colonized world. Newer iterations of development continue to amplify the notion that macro-economic schemes can eradicate poverty and strengthen democracy. But such schemes have a long history. Indeed, as Silvia Federici suggests in *Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body and Primitive Accumulation*, violence of

dispossession of peoples from common lands and control over women's reproductive capacities characterized the emergence of capitalism on a world scale.<sup>3</sup>

Nations from the Global South become suspicious of “social contract” and global labor standards as some view these instruments as clubs by Northern trade unions and nations to maintain their advantage in the global marketplace through double standards of protection for their workers and products and by raising the cost of production elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Former colonial nations embraced development through the UN in an attempt to redirect the world economic order, abetted by Communist nations against Western European and U.S. hypocrisy. They argued for a more equitable distribution of capital, resources, and profits.

### **Development Isn't Just Over There**

In thinking about the concept of ‘development,’ we must recognize that it refers not only to the other, to the Third World or Global South, but also to the other within, to regions and peoples neglected by the uneven and unequal structures of capitalist accumulation through free as well as unfree forms of labor.

America was once a land of underdevelopment, or so it seemed to those whose conquest of the continent and removal of its inhabitants gained them the right to name historical processes after their own image. Three centuries before the rise of the development paradigm, British settlers failed to recognize the agricultural practices of native peoples as cultivation. Instead, they sought to remake a “Virgin Land” in the image of the very English countryside that these peasant farmers had fled. Later generations would push across the continent to fulfill Anglo America's “Manifest

Destiny” to inhabit the spaces of the West, again dismissing occupation of the land by native peoples as a misuse of nature’s resources. The Southwest would remain “underdeveloped” into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it was the South that long stood as the region most in need of enhancement through business acumen and technological expertise. The New South was much like the Old in coercing a labor force, marked by racial exploitation, to extract raw materials for Northern industry and the global market. The poverty of white as well as black sharecroppers and tenant farmers ran deeper than the very furrows of the mule-driven ploughs that seared soil exhausted from monocultivation of cotton or other cash crops. The people too appeared spent: in the evaluation of elites, they were shiftless and interbred, uneducated, and oversexed, debilitated, ill, and without initiative.

In the context of the South and the West as colonial economies, prized for untapped resources of labor, energy, and land, we can reconceptualize the New Deal as an engine of development. Railroads and irrigation had marked the Western landscape earlier in the century, but the Roosevelt years saw more massive infusion of reclamation, infrastructure, and reforestation projects that changed the landscape. Poor whites became objects of study as federal agencies sought uplift through eugenic and other scientific discourses that matched in their contempt and pity those that had framed the problem of immigration to cities, replaced by the Great Depression with regional migration, the wandering of the unproductive, whether workers or farmers, both the unemployed and the dispossessed. Some of the ur texts of the Great Depression—James Agee and Walker Evans’ *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* and Dorothea Lange’s “Migrant Mother”—represented the human waste of underdevelopment, appealing to action through the

miserable and stoic expressions of white faces. Learning to develop the nation, as through massive projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority, New Dealers forged techniques that government officials would export to the world through technical assistance and foreign aid in subsequent decades.

### *A Critique of Development*

Development was always more than the international organizations and agreements, the building projects, the credit extended to change and set regional macro-economic targets, and the empowerment projects to recognize human initiative and talent, it was also a set of beliefs, an ideology. These beliefs democratized a progress-oriented can-do spirit that promised to reward discipline, hard work, and optimism especially of the poor. These beliefs claimed to match the aspirations of the poor—especially in the newly independent countries and among people who had migrated to townships, ghettos, and urban centers—and the willingness to sacrifice oneself in order to create more opportunities for the next generation. The architects of development sought to affirm human dignity but they also sought to subordinate all kinds of life-worlds into Taylorized worker-units and statistics. They believed that poor peoples' lives could be vastly improved through being drawn into closer proximity to the world economy. Development proponents were eager to displace sectarian battles over what caused unequal access to the bounty of riches that came from eighteenth and nineteenth century industrialization and global trade. So whether poverty had been caused by exploitative greedy capitalists, colonial powers, the unpaid labor of women, centuries of racial animus, stubborn reliance on thrift and self-sufficiency, or some combination of these, development programs

sought to make individuals and communities aware that a few key decisions could guarantee them better lives. They discouraged adherents from considering how racialized and gendered systems of bloody violence and brute force (genocide, occupation, slavery, land theft, forced labor, imperialism, detention, sterilization, and colonization) had scrambled access to dignity, justice, an ethical society, and prosperity. Such considerations made for lofty ruminations on the nature of human freedom. But, these considerations and the cooperative action and mass political mobilization which they animated were

leverage through people had asserted their wealth which and the powers sometimes leaders. For all purposes, these

*For Further Reading:*

- Peter Abrahams, *Mine Boy*
- Sindiwe Magona, *To My Children's Children*
- Paule Marshall, *Chosen Place, Timeless People*
- Rigoberta Menchu, *I Rigoberta Menchu*
- *Zapatista Manifesto El Despertador Mexicano: Declaration of War, 1993*
- *Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, 1996*

also the main which poor historically claims upon the they produced which they had granted to their intents and progress-

oriented, data-driven, future-minded development experts suppressed the history and memory of the generations-long processes that had engendered inequality and turned most people on the planet into cheap labor if they were “lucky” and into those “unfit for labor” if they were unlucky. By speaking the language of human freedom and sometimes acknowledging the most superficial histories of movement struggles, development experts insinuated themselves in between people and their political organizations and representatives-- who could now offer updated slick proposals and plans for an end to



human misery and comfort themselves for being no match for the centuries of wealth accumulation and empire building that their peoples had endured.

Most of these inputs displaced sustainable forms of land cultivation and animal care, on the one hand, and complex forms of collective action, agenda-setting, and redistribution of resources and labor. The precarity of our present is haunted by this past.

**Development takes on even more complex meanings by the 1970s—The ILO, the United Nations, and Third World Women.**

The changing global economy pushed “development.” The movement of manufacturing away from unionized areas of the Global North accelerated when corporations and capital looks for cheaper labor, a move made possible through changes in communication and transport, trade liberalization and market deregulation, and accelerated flows of capital and labor. “Developing” countries, according to the World Bank, tripled their share of manufacturing exports from 1970 to 1990, while manufacturing made up about 2/3 of all exports. Accompanied this growth was a race to the bottom, in which nations and zones within them sought to

**Further Reading:**

Mark Schuller and Reneee Bergen, dirs., Tet Ansanm Productions, *Poto Mitan: Haitian Women, Pillars of the Global Economy* with Narration by Edwidge Danticat

Kate Bedford, *Developing Partnerships: Gender, Sexuality, and the Reformed World Bank*

Grace Chang, *Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy*

Grace Hong, *Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor*

Christopher Walker, dir., *Taxi to Timbuktu* (New York: First Run/Icarus Films, 1994).

compete on the basis of freedom from unions and state regulation. Manufacturing itself became more divided into fragmented production with flexibility the key goal. The rise of financial industry also pushed these processes. Precarious forms of labor—contract, part-time, informal sector, home-based—replaced standard work contracts.<sup>5</sup>

This shift in the international division of labor brought ‘women’ into development and redefined their activities as productive and income enhancing. Subsequent structural adjustment in the 1980s and 1990s forced people into the labor market, as into free trade zones as well as into migration to make ends meet. At the same time, the face of migration turned more female. Increasingly women constitute those who move: younger women to export oriented factories as the nimble fingers of multinational production and mothers to far-flung households, as reproductive labor for the family becomes insourced as urban, white collar, and professional women, especially in the Global North and the “Asian Tigers,” import nannies, elder care, and housekeepers in the face of inadequate social services to meet the double day of employment and family labor. The second UN decade for development and the UN conferences on women redefined development as a process both demanded by the non-aligned nations, or at least their elites, and as a goal of a new global feminism. What development meant on the ground was more ambiguous. Could grassroots groups use “development” to enhance autonomy and local power? Or would their liberatory goals become enmeshed in the obligations and rules of a developing world system?

The UN began focusing on development in the 1960s. In 1962, at the beginning of its First Development Decade, the General Assembly asked the Commission on the Status of Women “to prepare a report on the role of women in the social and economic

development plans of member governments.” Some feminists thought that this directive shifted attention away from women’s rights, “that development was not really a women’s issue.”<sup>6</sup> Within a few years the discussion shifted: it wasn’t just that conditions in “developing countries” expanded the issues taken up under women’s rights, but that the elite women from those nations sitting on the Commission took up the issue. Opening up development for women meant including women in existing projects and creating women-only initiatives. It also required training women for leadership positions in communities, trade unions, and national ministries. Success especially depended on convincing governments to cultivate and expand available “womanpower.”<sup>7</sup>

In 1963, the International Labor Organization (ILO), a specialized agency attached to the UN, already had begun considering the “the special problems of women workers in the developing countries” as part of its larger investigation into “the question of the employment of women in a changing world.” It stressed the need for improved education and training, labor legislation to advance women’s work, and, in Asia, “special measures” to improve “the status of women in rural areas,” encompassing “conditions of work.” It recognized the necessity of non-discrimination policies,

***Development Paradigms***

After WWII financiers from among the Allied Powers founded several new credit and lending organizations to build infrastructure and transmit ideas—power plants, water treatment facilities, dams, public utilities, highways and railroads, wells, technological innovation, modernity, urbanity, individualism, progress, efficiency, and an end to hunger and traditional beliefs and social relations— in the former colonized countries. The Bretton Woods Institutions (International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) orchestrated infusions of capital investment and technological know-how to promote a shift from economies based on labor-intensive industries to better educated, urban, consumer-oriented economies. As lenders, the Bretton Woods Institutions had strict—even predatory—financial requirements and macro-economic goals for countries that took their advice and money. Structural adjustment and privatization of government services are the most lasting and controversial of these macro-economic requirements.

including equal pay and of paying attention to the working conditions of the self-employed, petty trader, family or household member, and independent contractor.<sup>8</sup>

In such forums of nation states, governments from the Global South (Algeria, India, Iraq, Libya, Mexico, Nigeria, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Venezuela, for example), called upon their counterparts “to give special priority in their national plans to assisting women to integrate themselves into the national economic life.” Gender integration meant asking for full inclusion in social security programs and non-discrimination in employment, but assumed a sexual division of labor. The ILO’s own technical focus on income generation for rural women highlighted agricultural, cottage industries and marketing, the gendered segregated labors already performed by them. Its approach to reproductive labor foreshadowed later efforts to improve women’s unpaid family labor through better implements and some social supports like child care, but mostly through transforming necessity work into a source for income.<sup>9</sup>

At its 25<sup>th</sup> General Assembly, the United Nations proclaimed a Second Development Decade with the goal of promoting “sustained economic growth, particularly in the developing countries; ensure a higher standard of living, and facilitate the process of narrowing the gap between the developed and developing countries.” While responsibility for increased growth rested with developing countries, others were urged to change their policies to enhance this outcome.<sup>10</sup> Simultaneously, the ILO launched the World Employment Program, with a similar goal of ending poverty, improving the sustainability of rural workers, and relieving the unequal distribution of the world’s resources. The WEP situated employment in large socio-political contexts,

including macro-economic, employment, and sectoral policies.<sup>11</sup> Central to this effort was the concept of “basic needs,” defined as the provision of “certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, as well as certain household equipment and furniture” and “essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health, educational and cultural facilities.”<sup>12</sup> This emphasis made women—as “mothers, household managers, and very often also productive workers in the economy”—a targeted group for meeting such a goal. Their work created the sustenance for daily life, a recognition of the centrality of reproductive labor to development. In these formulations, development took on a human face, in which workers would benefit no less than banks.<sup>13</sup>

As part of this effort, population policies became crucial during the 1970s. Technical missions to Africa and Asia, for example, sought to turn local women organizations into disseminators of family planning; the World Food Programme and other UN initiatives offered family planning as part of development.<sup>14</sup> Rather than reduce fertility to curb unemployment, the ILO uniquely argued, gainful employment would reduce fertility.<sup>15</sup> Here we see the connection between controlling reproduction and privatizing production.

Battling development paradigms ran through the plan of action promulgated as part of the International Women’s Year, which culminated with the June 1975 UN conference in Mexico City. The Group of 77, the “non-aligned nations” from the Global South, used this occasion to assert their critique of the existing world order where unemployment, underemployment, and exclusion from social benefits resulted from

deliberate policy choices. Exploitation came to the Third World from its plunder by Western capitalism and the legacies of slavery and colonialism. Only redistribution of the world's wealth could lead to improved lives for women.

By the 1970s, inspired by the UN efforts, liberal and development-oriented women's groups had emerged to demand equality, opportunity, training, and anti-discrimination. This growing global women's movement served as an arena upon which dreams of development circulated and became contested. The first Decade for Women offered possibility, providing a forum for women from the Global South to demand not mere inclusion but action to combat structural and intersectional (taking account of class, race, and nation) inequality and discrimination. They would create a feminism that linked poverty to macro-economic legacies of colonialism, a feminism beyond the hegemonic strand in the West that emphasized individual agency and culture. Some recognized the centrality of reproductive labor.<sup>16</sup>

The tensions appeared during the First the newly formed UN for Women and Centre gathered a group of women to work “on the Needs of Women,” as a starting point. Many prestigious Western they brought local committed advocacy to development. Organizing the UN Centre, the development pioneer

Reflecting a time, the resulting Programme” criticized saw “the needs of women than essentially economic While women to their nations through labor as well as the

The study of the impact of poverty on women followed an arc that began with time surveys of women’s daily work, discouraging women’s reproduction as a mechanism of social welfare, moved on to empowerment of women as household decision makers, then shifted toward blaming women for deforestation and soil erosion. Initially, the women and development and women in development models anxiously reported that women spent nearly half of their waking hours securing clean water and cooking fuel. By the time these models picked up the well-worn arguments accusing women of having too many children and being the primary cause of national poverty, they had picked up eugenic claims that poverty. Development organizing that centered on women’s reproduction and population politics struggled to retain a shred of humane practice after endorsing millions of forced sterilizations worldwide and widespread state sponsored child theft. [DHS: *Give Us Back Our Children*, (Philadelphia: Every Mother is a Working Mother Network, 2010); D&N Productions, *Something Like a War* (New York: Women Make Movies, 1998); Skylight Films, *La Operacion* (New York: Cinema Guild, 1982)] However, as women won the ideological battle over the model of development for women with the women, culture, and development paradigm they insisted that their socially reproductive labor and the cultural relations through which women used local knowledge to survive and provide for themselves and their families was the essential measure of development. Finally development programs began to address the ways in which gender was produced by inequalities and systematic violence that compels labor, affect, and social meanings.

within global feminism Expert Group Meeting of Asian and Pacific Centre Development. The UN distinguished (and elite) formulate a program of Identification of the Basic taking the ILO’s concept were trained at institutions; nonetheless, knowledge and the project of women in the effort was the head of Australian femocrat and Elizabeth Reid.<sup>17</sup> feminist consensus at the “Guidelines for a Work existing planners who as social problems” rather and political issues. significantly “contribute” household and family production and marketing

of goods and services, they faced discrimination—and oppression. This clarion call for assessing development “from women’s perspectives” and through holistic rather than fragmented programs rejected the ILO “basic needs” as applicable to women. As the resulting report, “The Critical Needs of Women,” explained, “the rejection was not a denial of the pressing need to satisfy the material needs of women, to redistribute goods, services and income so that the majority of the population can benefit from them.” The approach remained inadequate “to effect lasting and self-determined change for women.” “Basic Needs” doctrine homogenized specific interests and challenges even among poor women on the basis of geography and access to land. Substituting the word ‘critical’ for that of ‘basic,’ the experts called for “provision of basic goods and services, conscientisation, attitudinal change, mobilization and structural change” as applicable to “all oppressed groups,” of which women were the largest.<sup>18</sup>

According to these experts, consciousness-raising was crucial. Otherwise, higher standards would lead to families imitating middle class mores of removing women from production and making them housebound. “Basic Needs” failed, then, because it left the sexual division of labor in tack. Its focus on “material objects” alone was dangerous; it “might still-birth the social revolution which women need—the change in community attitudes and the structural changes in power, economic, social and psychological relations—which would enable them the freedom of choice. It might thwart this social revolution which the upsurge of women’s movements is now facilitating.” To go beyond basic needs, then, the experts called for empowerment of women and their collective mobilization. Only then would control over “lives and bodies,” that is, choice, be feasible. Such a framework reflected the basic tenets of women’s liberation that provided



an ambiguous legacy. On the one hand, the new feminism understood individual lives as products of larger structures and historical legacies. But its emphasis on choice and individual freedom offered a template that neo-liberal planners would draw upon by ignoring the collective and social context of the mobilization that liberation required. In elevating paid over unpaid labor, production over social reproduction, the new feminism sought to bring women into employment without necessarily challenging the global structure of economic inequalities.<sup>19</sup>

**Real Talk<sup>20</sup>: The Racializing Logics of Privatization**

There are enduring **racial logics embedded in development theory**.<sup>21</sup> These enduring norms have impacted how policy makers conceive of poverty and precarity. Thus, debates about precarity often fail to consider James Ferguson’s questions “How do people conduct their affairs? How is legitimate authority exercised? How are rules made and enforced?” and instead prioritize how to aid, guide, and direct.<sup>22</sup> As more formerly middle-class people in the United States, now live much closer to the consequences of privatization, U.S. economic policy has moved closer to critiques of capitalism

In thinking about the concept of ‘development,’ we must recognize that it refers not only to the other, to the Third World or Global South, but also to the other within, to regions and peoples neglected by the uneven and unequal structures of capitalist accumulation through free as well as unfree forms of labor. America was once a land of underdevelopment, or so it seemed to those whose conquest of the continent and removal of its inhabitants gained them the right to name historical processes after their own image. Three centuries before the rise of the development paradigm, British settlers

dismissed native peoples occupation of the land as a misuse of nature's resources, seeking instead to remake a "Virgin Land" in the image of the English countryside prior to the Enclosure Laws. Later generations would push across the continent to fulfill Anglo America's "Manifest Destiny" and dub the Southwest "underdeveloped" into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but it was the South that long stood as the region most in need of enhancement through scientific management of racially exploited labor forces to extract raw materials for Northern industry and the global market. Global finance and local landowners denied the poverty of white as well as black sharecroppers and tenant farmers deeming them shiftless and interbred, uneducated, and oversexed, debilitated, ill, and without initiative. In the context of the South and the West as colonial economies, prized for untapped resources of labor, energy, and land, we can reconceptualize the New Deal as an engine of development. Railroads and irrigation had marked the Western landscape earlier in the century, but the Roosevelt years saw more massive infusion of reclamation, infrastructure, and reforestation projects that changed the landscape. Learning to develop the nation, through massive projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority, New Dealers forged techniques that government officials would export to the world through technical assistance and foreign aid in subsequent decades.

When the Bretton Woods Institutions were founded in the aftermath of World War II, the Allied forces were closing a chapter on the long transition from British Empire to the American Century. Where Britain might be said to have had a duty to peoples who would never truly be equipped for equality, the American imperial project was based on a duty to recognize and reflect back the individualistic craving for personal gain that animated not just royals and the industrial bourgeois but also the roving freed

people, workers and immigrants, and the displaced indigenous people that populated the twentieth century's obsession with mobility as the main means for escaping lynch law in its various phases around the world. And while both the British and American Empire trafficked in deploying black advocates of nineteenth and twentieth century globalism, (Black loyalty to empire, fraternite', and Pan-Africanism) their inventive strategems for praising the best of the political ideals of these societies could neither undercut the potency of white nationalisms economic power, militarism, or its fearsome reproach of its own history of being enslaved. Black vindicationism of human freedom, black longing to prove that the nature of human being was related to humane practice, and black peoples' refusal to forget the history of enslavement proved to be the supreme test for the question republican democracy. The lettered and triumphant will of white supremacy proved to be a most stubborn and unrepentant student. Tutoring via every learning style and medium imaginable, black hopes for a more perfect union and a more perfect beloved community could not get beyond the central myth that the black position in human ontology represented that which lacked capacity, insight, potency, vigor, beauty, aspiration, and productivity. Plastic and recurrent notions about black laziness and theft, irresponsibility, incapacity, narrowness and parochialism, lack of imagination, energy, backbone, failure to launch, lack of readiness for primetime, always bedeviled the best laid white plans for "improvement of the Negro". Enduring and persistent racist claims about black ungratefulness and corruption were consistently deployed at precisely the moment when forgiving white "friends of the Negro" seemed to be winning the debate against those white people embittered by black freedom dreams. It is into such a world of anti-black caricature that development programs hoped to unleash the innovative and

entrepreneurial character of black self-determination through privatization—and thereby diminish and poke fun at the hard fought successes of movements and mobilization. Taking away liveable salaries, public water and electricity and housing, schools, roads, hospitals, and means for dignified transit was done allegedly to provoke black innovation—to call forth the Booker T. Washington in all of us. That broken scoundrel who could care and survive despite the lashings, who could thank the human terrors that shaped him, and who could imagine that schools could be the last best refuge for making bricks and breaking Native American people, having been denied the harbor of home was presented again as a miscast model of self-determination. Barbarian virtues like these have to be bred into people after breaking them, soiling them, and repeating the process until life and death are indistinguishable.

This breeding-in process yielded its desired fruit, a harvest of people for whom it was impossible to distinguish between punishment and love, cruelty and kindness. It was such people that would stand up in public venues the world over and while impersonating sane people advance the notion that the broken could only show what they were made of through punishment. And the punished were lauded as achievement-oriented heroines of their own people instead of those in need of being held and rocked until reborn again as something closer to human beings.

Development was an alibi for punishment and brutality. It was a system to remake the world and admit in a few more of the elite among the decolonized societies while holding the human population prison for another three generations. Real talk about development is that it created precarity and has never been in the least good for the soul, the psyche, or the body. Development like other global systems for legitimating death by

a thousand cuts was and is a form of torture in which the interrogated witness must confess and himself become a torturer to prove that he has renounced everything related to that big of human nature that is still divine. In such an Orwellian grammar the impulse to exact development mystifies torture, prolonging human misery.

Alternative Visions

***DOROTHY NOMZANSI NYEMBE –FROM CATTLE DIPPING TO CATO MANOR*** <sup>23</sup>



Photo: Omar Badsha

*Dorothy Nomzansi Nyembe Returns (jailed 1969-1984) to KwaMashu township Durban, South Africa, 1984*

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/content/dorothy-nyembe-imprisoned-being-member-banned-aaancs-military-wing-umkhonto-we-sizwe-welcome>

The long history of cattle-dipping protests in rural South Africa has been commented on in numerous ways both scholarly and creative. These protests were led by women and by men as an immediate and direct action response to improvement projects that were said to initiate development. Militant activists like Dorothy Nomzansi Nyembe (1931-1988) provide a powerful window into the legacies of rural resistance that women brought with them to townships like Cato Manor in Durban, South Africa. Nyembe joined the African National Congress in 1952; participated in the 1952 Defiance Campaign in Durban, the founding of the ANC Women's League in Cato Manor in 1954, and was jailed and convicted for membership in Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress.

The Cato Manor activists resisted harassment by state officials, local landowners, colonial bureaucrats, and the criminalization of their literal existence in rural areas and also in urban areas. What eventually became the Cato Manor Protests saw their earliest incarnations in 1897 in rural Bloemfontein, South Africa. The sustained urban protests against passes, and to secure the right to live and work in the city in the period of apartheid and in the era of global apartheid that is known to us as "post-apartheid" could not have occurred without generations of women activists refusal in the face of development schemes.

However, like the myriad of laws and policies that entrapped, excluded, monitored, and criminalized black people after the passage of the Native Land Act of 1913, the introduction of dipping tanks in rural areas to prevent cattle diseases from spreading were most often not the result of government concern for improving black decision-making about resources, land, wealth, and social relations. The Native Land Act was a decisive turning point in the process of making black South Africans perpetual foreigners in their own land because it confined the majority population of the country to less than 10% of the land surface and gave away the land to the minority white population. But, this land theft was not merely a loss of the basis for sustaining the means of production, it was also a loss of the social glue that made relationships across family generations, clans, and across time and cosmology possible. Proletarianization both on the new plantations and farms as well as in the mining and industrial centers posed one set of ambiguous and catastrophic relationships to new forms of wealth and new identities. But, through such laws of dispossession white South Africa captured the knowledge and energy of families, social reproduction, and networks for survival that were transferred through relationships of meaning mediated through land and cattle. Development schemes like cattle-dipping were often imposed upon communities through the officious assignation of chiefs hand-selected for their willingness to agree to defraud their communities and or chiefs who could not stand up to the realistic threat of exile and jail time. Protests against cattle dipping rejected development schemes that limited decision making and rejected the imposed governance structure of chiefs and headman accountable only to the bureaucracy of the Native Affairs Department. Cattle-dipping was not a technically sophisticated solution for families that were re-located from places where they had traditionally had grazing rights to vastly over-crowded and destitute reserves. Indeed, cattle-dipping was part of a process of forced cattle culling, fencing communal grazing land, extracting more fines and taxes from households and yet another means by which to punish people by taking their cattle in exchange for non-payment. Bundy indicates that such cattle were often resold at 100x the cost of what they had been sold for to cover taxation liens. Infrastructure to benefit the global economy and or white settlers paid for by African workers and forced laborers was part and parcel of indirect rule. The long duration of cattle dipping protests and the huge geographic range of their occurrence in South Africa, indicate that the deep reservoir of rural protest against *land theft popularized as development* would be one of the major archives of struggle that would be carried forward when Africans were made into migrants to cities.

**Questions to Think About**

What role do you think the lives of everyday people ought to play in theories of development?

In the 1970s the ILO found women in the Third World eager to embrace development, especially opportunities that would enable them to support families and communities. However, the basic needs model of development ignored the persistence of racial, colonial, and gendered forms inequality. In what ways did feminist mobilization correct for the limitations of the basic needs model?

The Real Talk discussion about privatization reiterates a point made earlier about the ways in which development traffics in individually-negotiated arrangements and agreements for eradicating poverty and human misery. Why is political mobilization, consciousness-raising, active involvement in decision making, and access to a history of resistance so important for forming ethical principles about livelihood strategies?

What kinds of alternatives to the fetish of development exist and can be imagined?

## Consciousness-Raising: UN Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, December 1977

### A Note on The Methodology of Consciousness-raising Programmes Among Women: the Sri Lankan Experience

In Sri Lanka it has been found that the traditional methods of teaching used in schools and universities and the usual strategies employed in addressing mass meetings of workers and peasants are not adequate or relevant when approaching women.

Based on experience in teaching factory workers and also in addressing groups of women industrial, agricultural and plantation workers, it has become clear that one has to work out a technique for confronting groups of women and that as far as possible we should base it on the experience of persons who have been teaching, training and organising women at grass roots levels. There are no "experts" on this subject since all the expertise on continuing education programmes have been influenced by male-oriented methodologies.

The usual method of speaking of theories and ideologies and of not tackling concrete situations does not seem to work. Instead of starting with talk about imperialism, neo-colonialism, etc. one must begin with describing the lives of the people themselves (in this case, women) and building up the argument that these conditions may be ultimately due to exploitation, imperialism, etc.

#### Meetings

In Sri Lanka, one technique which evokes immediate response is the following.

- a. Start the meeting of women with the speaker saying "Have you heard this silly song?" - (a popular hit which says "Bring me jewellery, bring me clothes, so that I can look beautiful and you (the man) can be proud).

Ask a woman in the audience to sing it. (This is not difficult as women who are shy to make speeches, will often, if they have a good voice, be willing to stand up and sing.)

Since you have indicated it is a silly song, everyone - even the men in the audience - may suddenly see it as such and laugh.

- b. Explain why the song is harmful to women and state that it incorporates what is called "Brahmin myths" that women are only interested in jewels and clothes and looking beautiful. Explain how the modern mass media perpetuate these myths. Show them newspapers with advertisements, for "instant beauty" etc. Discuss and make fun of the prevailing trend of beauty competitions. Tell them who organises these competitions, who uses women in advertisements to sell their products, and who owns the newspapers.



c. Ridicule the other myths about women and tell them in no uncertain terms that these are lies: (All this interspersed with jokes.)

1) that women have less brains than men. (Refer to the proverbs that women are foolish, emotional and not to be trusted.)

2) that women have no roles except those of wife, mother and religious devotee. Tell them that today women must participate and in fact do participate in productive work, outside the home, in trade unions, and in politics.

d. Give a more serious explanation of how women are exploited in many ways.

1) as workers (exploited)

2) as women workers (doubly exploited)

3) as housewives (trebly exploited)

Show how unjust it is that women are paid less, do double work, are harassed, discriminated against and oppressed.

Ask the audience if this is true.

Ask them for other examples from their experience.

e. Show how all this exploitation and oppression is linked to the social structure and that women must participate in all types of activities which will help to change this structure.

#### Publications

This technique has been incorporated in simply written and illustrated publications. A booklet in Sinhala called "Women's Liberation" has been written which, apart from the material given above, also includes favourable sayings about women made by Buddha, Gandhi, Christ and Lenin as well as the Declaration of the United Nations on Women's Year.

Another book called Women, Society and Liberation in two volumes, has been aimed at women students, teachers and Sinhala-speaking intelligentsia consisting of readings on women in four sections with an introduction to each. It gives the Conservative view of women (Manu, Mahabharata, Confucius, Nietzsche, Hitler, etc.), the Liberal view (John Stuart Mill, Mary Woolstonecraft, Sojourner Truth, Emmeline Pankhurst, Ibsen), the Socialist view (Engels, Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Alexandra Kollantai, Clara Zetkin, Mao Tse Tung, etc.), and the recent writings of the women's liberation movement from all countries (Maria dela Costa, Maria Mies, Sheila Rowbotham, Kate Millet, Kathleen Gough, etc.). This is the first time that the non-English speaking women have had access to such writings.

### Propaganda

Since women of Sri Lanka are 70% literate and young women are about 90% literate we have an advantage in that written material can be widely circulated among women.

During the July 1977 elections in Sri Lanka a women's group issued a statement "How Should Women Vote?" which was an appeal to women voters. It included the following points.

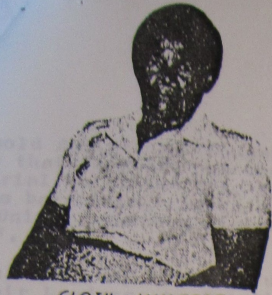
- 1) that women are half the electorate and have had the vote since 1931, and that there had been several general elections in the country since independence.
- 2) that all these governments paid scant attention to the problems faced by the women of the country.
- 3) that women faced several burning problems related to the cost of living, unemployment, unequal pay, the dowry system, among many others.
- 4) that women ask every candidate who came to canvass their vote, what they intended to do for women.
- 5) that women refuse to vote for candidates who showed no interest in the problems of women listed above.

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United Nations, Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, "Expert Group Meeting on the Identification of the Basic Needs of Women of Asia and the Pacific and On the Formulation of A Programme of Work," Tehran, Iran, 4 Devember-10 December, 1977, Appendix 5. UN 9-10-158/168-100-1 jacket 1 1/1977-12/1977, ILO Archives

Following the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, the United Nations established the Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, run by Australian Femocrat (feminist in government) Elizabeth Reid. This guideline for consciousness raising suggests the traveling of U.S. feminism transnationally, as feminist experts from the Global North spread their understandings of women's liberation abroad. The readings and exercises resemble those in early Women's Studies classes in the United States and the questions asked of women are similar to those discussed in small, CR, groups in places like Chicago (where author Boris participated around the same time.)

## The Global Kitchen: Recognizing Domestic Labor



CLOTIL WALCOTT  
(President)

### THE GLOBAL KITCHEN OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

Clotil Walcott  
Mt. Pleasant Road,  
Arima,  
Trinidad W. I.

15 February 1985

To: The Secretary  
National Commission on the Status of Women  
c/o Ministry of Labour, Social Security  
and Cooperatives  
Riverside Plaza  
Besson Street  
Port of Spain, Trinidad

**SUBJECT:** Your memo dated 1/12/85 , regarding the meeting with  
the National Commission on the Status of Women 27 February  
1985.

#### POSITION PAPER

As President General of the National Union of Domestic Employees (NUDE) I was sponsored to attend the End-of-Decade Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women to be held in Nairobi, Kenya in July 1985. My credentials in this regard are hereby presented.

(1) I am a middle-aged Black woman of African descent. A mother, grandmother and also a grassroots woman who gives all that I have to the struggle against poverty, victimisation, racism, injustices and a system that breeds haves and have-nots.

(2) I am employed at Canning's Poultry Processing Plant, Arima, one of the Neal and Massey Group of companies, and work full time on the assembly line. I am the President of the National Union of Domestic Employees and Chairperson for the Wages for Housework Campaign of Trinidad and Tobago.

(3) My work is particularly directed to working class women with a view of improving our economic, social and cultural conditions. To that end, I have been organising with women at the grassroots level through the two organisations named above.

(4) The International Wages for Housework Campaign, which I introduced here in Trinidad, projects the value of women's work as part of the Decade for Women, in which the United Nations has called on all countries to recognize women's unpaid labour and to include the value of housework in their Gross National Product (GNP).

(5) The National Union of Domestic Employees (NUDE) brings working-class women into an organising group to fight for our rights and to identify ourselves in a united body. We also demand that governments pay housewives for the many economic contributions they make to the society, which has been kept invisible, unrewarded and remains unpaid. The low status of women in the home contributes to the exploitation of women in the paid labour force.

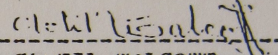
Household Assistants (Domestic Servants) are discriminated against to the extent that they are not considered to be workers for the purpose of the Industrial Relations Act, and the Minimum Wages Ordinance denied Domestic workers bargaining rights and freedom to be represented by a 'registered Trade Union', which violates the democratic principle of 'collective bargaining'.

Mr. Minister, why can't my union have the same rights as other Trade Unions and their Leaders, to function legally in representing the welfare and into rest of my members. Is it because I am a woman? Why should I be discriminated against? 'The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, all existing impediments to the achievement of women of equality with men should be removed'

In the light of the foregoing my union is <sup>seeking</sup> an urgent meeting with you to discuss the question on the New Wages Ordinance, and the updating of existing rates of pay and conditions.

Your earliest possible appointment will be highly appreciated.

In the service  
of the working class

  
CLOTIL WALCOTT

- .c. Dr. Zin Henry Adviser to the Minister of Labour
- .c. Dr. Ralph Henry Chairmen Minimum Wages Board.
- .c. Gloria Henry Minister of Community Development, Welfare and the Status of Women.

Trinidadian activist Clotil Walcott (1925-2007) became involved with the International Wages for Housework Campaign after meeting its representatives at a conference, recalled Selma James, the organizer and author. With the Italian feminist Marinosa Dalla Costa, James first theorized the demand for Wages for Housework in 1972. Women, she argued, had the potential to become a new revolutionary class, for their work as housewives was central to producing the labor power upon which capitalism depended. Wages for Housework was/is a demand and a provocation that was not an embrace of the work ethic but rather a call for a refusal of work.<sup>24</sup>

James credits Walcott for emphasizing “the connection between uncounted work of unwaged housewives and the low pay and gross exploitation of the millions of domestic workers working long hours in other people’s kitchens.”<sup>25</sup> Walcott was among the women from the Wages for Housework network who went to the UN’s Third Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya in 1985. Walcott and James argued for the counting of all of women’s labors as work and revaluing the unwaged as well as the low waged. James paid homage to Walcott by naming her own essay on counting women’s labor in GNP after this letter.

Walcott is addressing the National Ministry of Labor to demand that domestic workers gain recognition under the labor law, including minimum wage and collective bargaining. At about the same time, private household workers in the United States won coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, but home care workers became redefined as elder companions and were removed from labor protection.

## Popular Education: The SEWA Model

### The Five Day Training Camp of Women Beedi Labourers held at Municipality Community Hall, Indore

3 September 1986, Wednesday

12.00 - 2.00 p.m.

- : Inauguration
- 1) Opening of the camp by Ms. Manorama Joshi from SEWA, Indore;
  - 2) Lighting of the oil lamp by Anita Kelles-Viitanen, ILO, New Delhi;
  - 3) A prayer;
  - 4) A song;
  - 5) Introduction of SEWA, Indore;
  - 6) Introduction of SEWA and its aims by Renana Jhabwala;
  - 7) Short introduction of legal issues by Vasudha Dhagamwar;
  - 8) Introduction of SEWA's impact by a SEWA worker and beedi roller from Ahmedabad;
  - 9) Need for organising by SEWA worker from Indore;
  - 10) Short introduction on health issues by Mirai Chatterji;
  - 11) Introduction (need for solidarity and literacy) by Ms. Taraben Sanghavi;
  - 12) Introduction of ILO and its programme on home-based producers
  - 13) Accomplishments of SEWA in Ahmedabad by Bhanu Koshti;
  - 14) Accomplishments of SEWA in Ahmedabad by Laxmi Cota;
  - 15) Discussion;
  - 16) Song.

2.00 - 2.30 p.m.

: Lunch

2.30 - 4.00 p.m.

: Introduction of Women

4.00 p.m.

: Yoga exercise

4.15 - 5.00 p.m.

: Why camp? Renana Jhabwala

5.00 - 5.30 p.m.

: Song

4 September 1986, Thursday

11.30 a.m.

: Song and yoga exercises

11.30 - 2.00 p.m.

: Legal presentation by Dr. Vasudha Dhagamwar

2.00 - 2.30 p.m.

: Song and lunch

2.30 - 3.30 p.m.

: Health issues by Mirai Chatterji

3.30 - 4.30 p.m.

: Workers education programme by Ms. Lapallikar

4.30 - 5.30 p.m.

: Film show

5 September 1986, Friday

11.30 - 2.00 p.m.

- : 1) Song and yoga exercises;
- 2) Women's literacy - organising and leadership by Renana Jhabwala.

2.00 - 2.30 p.m.

: Lunch

2.30 - 3.30 p.m.

: Mr. Mayel, the Labour Commissioner on Minimum Wages Act

3.30 - 4.00 p.m.

: Mr. Dinesh P. Paliwala on provident fund

4.00 - 5.30 p.m.

: Film show and song

6. September 1986, Saturday

11.30 - 2.00 p.m.

: Professor Joshi on Leadership and Organising

2.00 - 2.30 p.m.

: Lunch

2.30 - 3.30 p.m.

: Problems of Labourers - Dr. Kapur, Labour Officer, Indore

3.30 - 5.30 p.m.

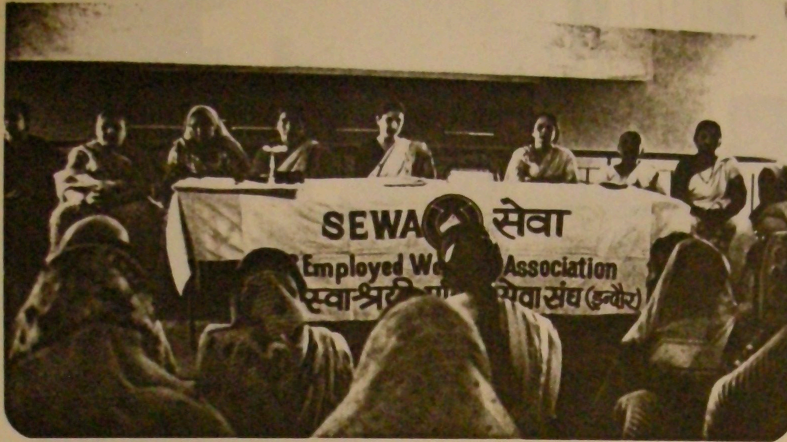
: Mr. Vidyut Joshi continues

7 September 1986, Sunday

11.30 - 1.00 p.m.

: Renana Jhabwala : The Strategy for Future Action

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1. Inauguration of the Camp



2. Participants of the Legal Camp





3. Explaining the posters to the women



4. Game

EMP 63-4-1-2, 1986, ILO Archives, Geneva.

“Legal Camp for Beedi Workers, Indore, Madhya, Pradesh, India,” 2-7 September 1986  
From Mission Report by Anita Kelles-Viitanen, ILO New Delhi.

The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) of Gujarat, India developed as a trade union of informal sector workers, many of them home-based like the bidi (small cigar) makers who participated in the legal education camp depicted in this document. By the early 1980s, donor nations, like Finland, major foundations and union federations began assisting the group, which used such monies to extend its service activities and develop local leadership. The ILO saw its efforts among rural women as a model to generate income and improve the living conditions of the world poor. SEWA parlayed such funding to become independent of the Textile Labor Union, from which it broke away from in 1985. While the TLU wanted to curtail SEWA to traditional labor organizing, SEWA sought to address the needs of working women in a more holistic manner.<sup>26</sup> It promoted collective organization, established cooperatives and a bank, empowering members through popular education, legal battles, and group action. Central to its philosophy was that women rural workers were the ones who “understand the problems of rural women.” Only collective action could correct these problems.<sup>27</sup>

SEWA struggled against the low wages and contingent work that stemmed from the independent contractor or self-employed designation, campaigning for inclusion in labor standards. It played a major role in mobilizing worker and feminist support for what became ILO convention #177 in 1996, which placed home-based workers under existing wages, hours, social security, maternity, and related legislation. It also challenged an unfettered reorganization of the global economy that relied upon contracting out, offshore

production, and flexibility, all hailed as the build-blocks of globalization, but which had led to a “return” of the sweatshop.

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This is only a bare bone list of citations. Fuller citations will come when this working paper is revised for another form of publication.

<sup>1</sup> Simon Lewis, Zine Magubane, Uma Narayan, Oyeronke Oyewumi, Frantz Fanon).

<sup>2</sup> Hyslop, Magubane, Morgan, DuToit, M., Carney, Atkins

<sup>3</sup> Silva Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body and Primitive Accumulation* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Naila Kabeer, “Globalization, Labor Standards, and Women’s Rights: Dilemmas of Collective (In)Action in an Interdependent World,” *Feminist Economics* 10(1), March 2004, 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> Kabeer, “Globalization, Labor Standards, and Women’s Rights,” 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Devaki Jain, *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-Year Quest For Equality and Justice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 35.

<sup>7</sup> ILO, Meeting of Consultants on Women Workers’ Problems, Geneva 20-28 September 1965, “Report,” 43-50, WN 2-1003-2, Jacket 1.

<sup>8</sup> Johnstone, “Mission Report: 18<sup>th</sup> Session of U.N. Commission on the Status of Women,” 3.

<sup>9</sup> 1964 *Record of Proceedings*, 470, 471, 752-753. For example, *Rural Development and Women in Africa*. A WEP Study. (Geneva: ILO, 1984). See also proposals of World Food Programme in the 1970s.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/United-Nations/Economic-and-Social-Development-SECOND-UN-DEVELOPMENT-DECADE.html#ixzz2IkObrP8Y>, accessed January 22, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> International Conference, *Record of Proceedings*, Fifth-third Session, Geneva, 1969 (Geneva: ILO, 1970), 476.

<sup>12</sup> “Programme of Action,” in International Labour Conference, 61<sup>st</sup> Session 1976 and Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour June 1976, *Australian Delegation Report* (Camberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977), 90.

<sup>13</sup> “Statement by the representative of the International Labour Organisation,” 3, Annex I, UN Seminar on Participation of Women in Political, Economic and Social Development, Nepal, 15-22 February 1977, in UN 9-10-102, Jacket 1.

<sup>14</sup> Letters from Beyer AID and State on Population, 1970s, in ILO Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Main Statement made on 21 June by Mr. N.N. Kaul, ILO Representative at the Seminar on the Status of Women and Family Planning, Jogjakarta, 20-30 June, 1973, in UN 9-10-102-1 jacket 1.

<sup>16</sup> Devaki Jain and Shubha Chacko, “Unfolding Women’s Engagement with Development and the UN: Pointers for the Future,” June 2008, *Forum for Development Studies* 1-2007.

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<sup>17</sup> UN, Asia and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, Expert Group Meeting on the Identification of the Basic Needs of Women of Asia and the Pacific and on the Formulation of a Programme of Work, see entire report in UN, 9-10-158/168-100-1, Jacket 1; see for example, Appendix 2, “List of Participants,” For example, <http://devakijain.com/life/cv.html>; <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/feminism/Jayawardena.html>; <http://www.sipa.columbia.edu/academics/directory/rj15-fac.html>, accessed 1/28/2011; [http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/people/personal/reide\\_grc.php](http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/people/personal/reide_grc.php), accessed 1/19/2011.

<sup>18</sup> Expert Group Meeting on the Identification of the Basic Needs of Women, “Research Priorities and Considerations, Report: Part I: The Critical Needs of Women,” Appendix 6, 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> “Report: Part I: The Critical Needs of Women,” 5-7.

<sup>20</sup> Echoing Caribbean storytellers’ “crick crack call and response” to quiet attention, and the Occupy Movement’s use of the human microphone when contemporary U.S. youth activists invoke “Real Talk” political spaces, they signal that lived contradictions are about to be identified, explored, and examined. If myths make certain systems of power possible and seemingly legitimate, then disentangling the logics used to advance them will enable us to remember and recall how power legitimates precarity in sites of contested power.

<sup>21</sup> Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2011); Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993); Jan Coetzee (ed) *Development is for People* (Alpharetta, GA: Southern Book Company, 1989); Manthia Diawara, dir. *Rough in Reverse*, Formation Films (San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> Theory Talks: Theory Talks #34, Interview with James Ferguson, *Modernity, Development, and Reading Foucault in Lesotho*. <http://www.theory-talks.org/2009/11/theory-talk-34.html> Accessed March 6, 2013.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/dorothy-nomzansi-nyembe>; Nomboniso Gasa, “Let Them Build More Gaols, in Nomboniso Gasa, (Ed) *Basus’imbokodo, bawel’imilambo/They remove boulders and cross rivers: Women in South African History*. Commissioned and Funded by the South African National Department of Arts and Culture, pp. 129-152 (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council Press, 2007); Colin Bundy, “‘We Don’t Want Your Rain, We Won’t Dip’: Popular Opposition, Collaboraiton and Social Control in the Anti-Dipping Movement, 1908-16,” *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890-1930* (London: James Currey, 1987) 191-221.

<sup>24</sup> Selma James, “The Global Kitchen (1985),” note 1, in *Sex, Race and Class: The Perspective of Winning* (San Francisco: PM Press, 2012), 161; Kathi Weeks, “The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 118-150.

<sup>25</sup> James, “The Global Kitchen (1985).”

<sup>26</sup> ILO, “Multilateral Programme of Technical Co-operation (Finland),”; Typescript of incomplete report by SEWA, 35-38, both in WED 31-0-33-3 Jacket 1.

<sup>27</sup> “ILO Study Tour: Evaluation Seminar Report,” 1989, 3-4, WED 31-0-33-3 Jacket 1.