

Gender Mainstreaming in the World Bank's Agriculture and Rural Development Projects

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Abstract

Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) projects constitute an important part of the World Bank, to help countries with development. The focus of the World Bank in the initial years was on modernization of infrastructure in ARD projects that was identified as being conducive to the project of economic growth and funded of specific inputs such as machinery, seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities etc. Over the years, gender has come to be integrated in projects in the field of agriculture and rural development. However, in targeting the basic needs of the poor, the Bank did not have any specific gender component in its projects. It has also been explored that the Bank selectively chose to focus on some partial concerns that either represented unenthusiastic effort or a very scheming and use of gender to gain legitimacy for its programmes. For instance, women even though they would labour in the fields never got recognized as farmers in the project designs. Similarly the moulding of a project targeting women keeping in mind the division of labour that takes place both within and outside the house. In this context, the present research paper will explore to what extent gender mainstreaming strategy has been implemented and how has gender mainstreaming in World Bank projects helped promote equity and empowerment.

(Gender Mainstreaming, Agriculture and Rural Development, World Bank, Poverty alleviation, Local Patriarchy, Empowerment)

Introduction

The Beijing Conference on Women, the fourth world conference held in 1995 where 40,000 participants from 189 countries attended, a new strategy for achieving gender equality, named gender mainstreaming was introduced (Ryan 2007:7). Gender Mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy/ dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects (UN Women 2013)

Gender mainstreaming strategy emphasized that focusing only on women is not going to resolve the larger issue like gender inequality rather there is need for abroad process of change, particularly at the level of policies and institutions. This paper attempts to focus specifically on the gradual evolution of gender sensitivities in World Bank projects, by addressing the strategies chosen in the context of Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) projects globally.

World Bank's Early Years and Gender inclusion in Agriculture and Rural Development Sector

The World Bank started direct lending to ARD¹ sector very slowly in its first fifteen years in the sense that scant attention was paid to the ARD sector. The Bank's initial thrust for the Bank to engage in agriculture was diplomatic – the Bank had been asked to specifically mediate in the Indus Basin River dispute between India and Pakistan.²The lack of attention may be gauged by the number of professional staff covering the World Bank's agriculture programme worldwide. In 1961, only twelve professionals manned the Bank's activities in this very important sector, with most of them being engaged in irrigation and drainage work (Patel 2008:2). This was not surprising because investment bankers and policy economists who were at the Bank during this period were not interested in agriculture and there was a cultural gap between professionals at the Bank and plant breeders, agro-economists, and other farming specialists who tended to staff foundation and bilateral agency agricultural operations. The Bank's main interest was at that time basically capital transfer and technical assistance. The chief development experts³ of the time mostly focused on industry as *the* source of development not agriculture (Kapur et.al 1997: 381). However in the 1960s when population growth and crops failures happened, there was heavy pressure on the Bank to invest on agriculture (Tenney and Salda 1991 :40). Gradually the Bank shifted its focus to Agriculture during the regime of the Bank President, George Woods.

In January 1964, George Woods, addressed the board where he said agriculture, which employed two thirds of the world's poorest people, accounted for only 8 percent of Bank's loans. He encouraged investments

¹The Bank Group's activities in the agricultural sector take various forms. The most obvious and easily measured is direct lending for agricultural projects. But a substantial proportion of the lending in other sectors-such as transportation, electric power, education and industry-also benefits agriculture indirectly. Analyses are made of the agricultural sectors of the economies of borrowing countries. Technical assistance is provided mainly, but not exclusively, through the preparation, appraisal, supervision and post-evaluation of projects. Finally, support is given for economic and agricultural research. The agricultural sector is among the most difficult of any to "manage." It is thus a sector in which aid donors, including the Bank, have particular difficulty in agreeing with governments on satisfactory project lending programs. Decision-making at the farm level is in the hands of a very large number of small operators. The political repercussions of agricultural policies are usually wide, particularly in the case of food prices. For more details see World Bank's Agriculture Sector Working Paper 1972:36

²The Indus Basin river dispute was created because of India-Pakistan partition after the British rule. The irrigation system of the Indus Basin created tense relationship between these countries. Eugene Black who has become the president of the Bank during mid-1949 was anxious to help both these countries through good office. As a result of which the Indus Water Treaty of 1960 came up and the Bank scored a good success in both India and Pakistan's eyes as it solved the irrigation system of Indus Basin for India and Pakistan. The Indus initiatives setup for a water management focus of the Bank. For more details see Kapur et. al 1997.

³ The chief development experts of the Bank at that time were: Arthur Lewis, Raul Prebisch, Ragnar Nurske, P.C. Mahalanobis, Albert Hirschman, Walt Rostow.

particularly in agricultural research, joining the initiatives driven by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations⁴ to develop 'green revolution' technology (Patel 2008:4). Woods's predecessor, Eugene Black was not so much interested in agriculture. But when he welcomed IDA into the Bank's group, it gave impetus for the agriculture. New soft credits to needy countries heavily dependent on agriculture such as those in Africa, soon became the hallmark of IDA. Woods shared Black's perception of the rising importance of the IDA within the Bank's portfolios and the major role of agriculture in countries that were eligible for IDA credits (Kapur et.al 1997: 383). In Agriculture while the Bank had previously supported large-scale investment projects in irrigation, flood control and land clearance, Woods thought that the Bank should be more involved in activities that had a direct impact on agricultural operations, such as land settlement, farm credit, livestock production, seed improvement, grain storage facilities, training and extension work. Woods established two permanent missions in Africa (Nairobi and Abidjan), composed of specialists in agriculture and transportation (World Bank 2013k). Woods was also interested in land reforms programme but the Bank was not much interested in this issue. The Bank was at ease supporting financing roads, infrastructure, irrigation, technical and financial support to agriculture as these were activities that were directly related to the modernization and growth project.

Some other factors also played a major role in the shift that the Bank made towards agriculture during Woods's presidency like the Bell Mission⁵ to India (Kapur et al 1997: 385). The Bell Mission

⁴Rockefeller Foundation was central to the development of technologies and social practices that enabled farmers of the third world countries to increase their yields. Norman E. Borlaug, one of the Rockefeller foundation scientist won the Nobel prize in the year 1971 for his work on breeding wheat varieties of the Green revolution later this foundation was very much criticized as new technologies damaged the environment, in India also Green Revolution was very much criticized as it created regional imbalance and resulted in regional migration and displacement and downgrading the status of women agriculturalists. The Ford Foundation was established on Jan. 15, 1936, with an initial gift of \$25,000 from Edsel Ford, whose father Henry, founded the Ford Motor Company. During its early years, the foundation operated in Michigan under the leadership of Ford family members. Since the founding charter stated that resources should be used "for scientific, educational and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare," the foundation made grants to many kinds of organizations. The foundation works on eight significant human welfare issues: Democratic and accountable government, economic fairness, educational opportunities, freedom of expression, human rights, sexuality and reproductive rights, metropolitan opportunities, sustainable development. For more details see Perkins 1990 and <http://www.fordfoundation.org/>.

⁵Bernard R. Bell first worked for the IBRD in 1962 when he was engaged as a consultant to serve as a transportation adviser on a mission to Colombia. At that time he was associated with a consulting firm, Surveys and Research Corporation, of Washington, D.C. In 1964 and 1965 he directed a major Bank study of the Indian economy, and in December 1965 he joined the regular staff of the Bank. Bell's 1964-1965 mission to India significantly influenced Bank policies toward Indian development. At that time, India was the main debtor of IBRD and was heavily indebted to other development agencies and governments throughout the world. Bank President George D. Woods named Andre de Lattre

reviewed economic policies in India and made recommendations responsible for major changes in India's agriculture strategy. The mission criticized Nehru's agriculture policies and argued for imports of fertilizers and pesticides for ensuring agriculture growth (Varshney 1998:71). The mission also severely criticized India's price policies and recommended various policy changes like including simplification of the elaborate controls system, the introduction of intensified agricultural production, and devaluation of the Indian currency. In return, the mission supported India's request for additional assistance, especially quick-disbursing assistance. Initially opposed to devaluation, Woods came to accept the recommendations of the Bell Report. In response to pressure from the Bank, the IMF, and the U.S. Treasury, India devalued its Rupee in 1966. Through a combination of factors (the devaluation was too small, and it coincided with two serious droughts which required massive food imports⁶ and induced a sharp recession), the predicted improvements in the Indian economy did not materialize. The Indian government was furious: they deeply resented the criticism of their performance and the pressure to reform. The need to devalue was seen as a price to pay for needed foreign assistance, and when this assistance failed to materialize the Indian government and press blamed the Bank and Woods personally. (World Bank 2015g).

Table 4.1: Agriculture and Rural Development Projects of the World Bank from 1948-63

Year	Country	Project Title
1963	Paraguay	Cattle Project
1963	Chile	Livestock Development Project
1963	Chile	Milk and Meat Processing Project
1963	Jordan	Agriculture Credit Corporation Project
1963	Jordan	Water Project
1963	Bangladesh	Dacca Water Supply and Sewerage Project
1963	Pakistan	Dacca Water and Sewerage
1963	Pakistan	Chittagong Water and Sewearge
1963	Bangladesh	Brahmaputra Flood Embankment Project
1963	Turkey	Seyan Irrigation Project

as his personal representative to the Indian government, and after Bell joined the Bank, Woods requested that he become de Lattre's economic adviser. Bell was responsible for the Bank's analysis of the Indian government's Fourth Five Year Plan, and his study was published in the 1967 Bank report entitled Indian Economic Policy and the Fourth Five Year Plan. For more details see World Bank's Achieve <https://archivesholdings.worldbank.org/bernard-r-bell-files>

⁶ Severe food crisis in the 1960s on account of drought caused India to buy food from USA under the PL480 scheme.

1963	Mexico	Irrigation Project
1963	Nicaragua	Irrigation Rivers Project
1962	India	Purna Irrigation Project
1962	Yugoslavia	Electric Power Project
1962	India	Sone Irrigation Project
1962	Pakistan	Khairpur Groundwater and Salinity Project
1961	Jordan	Amman Water Supply Development Board Project
1961	Kenya	Land Settlement Project
1961	India	Shetrunji Irrigation Project
1961	India	Salandi Irrigation Project
1961	India	Punjab Flood Protection and Drainage Project
1961	Mexican	Irrigation Project
1960	Pakistan	Indus Basin Multi-Purpose Project
1960	Sudan	Managil Irrigation Project
1960	Peru	Agriculture Credit Project (03)
1960	Kenya	African Agriculture Project
1960	Zimbabwe	Agricultural Development Project
1960	Congo	Agriculture Project
1959	Uruguay	Livestock Improvement Project
1957	Belgium	Waterway Improvement Project
1957	Japan	Aichi Water Project
1957	Peru	Agriculture Credit Project (02)
1956	Japan	Agriculture Project
1956	Australia	Agriculture and Industry
1955	Nicaragua	Agricultural Development Project
1955	Peru	Quiroz - Piurga Irrigation Project
1955	Australia	Agriculture; Industry; Power and Transport
1954	Colombia	Agricultural Machinery Project (02)
1954	Peru	Agricultural Credit Project
1954	Peru	Agricultural Machinery Project (02)
1954	Australia	Agriculture; Industry; Power and Transport
1953	Panama	Agricultural Machinery Project
1953	Iceland	Agricultural Development Project
1952	Iceland	Fertilizer Plant Project

1952	Peru	Agricultural Machinery Project
1952	Australia	Agriculture; Industry and Mining Power
1952	Pakistan	Agricultural Machinery Project
1951	Paraguay	Agriculture Project
1951	Iceland	Agriculture Project
1951	Nicaragua	Grain Storage Project
1951	Nicaragua	Agricultural Machinery Project
1950	Thailand	Irrigation Project
1950	Australia	Agriculture; Industry; Transport and Mining
1950	Iraq	WadiTharthar Flood Control Project
1949	Yugoslavia	Agriculture Timber Equipment Project
1949	Finland	Agriculture Timber Equipment Project
1949	India	Agricultural Machinery Project
1949	Colombia	Agricultural Machinery Project
1948	Chile	Agricultural Machinery Project
1948	Chile	Power and Irrigation Project

The World Bank gave its first loan for a power and irrigation project to Chile in the year 1948. Between 1948 and 1963 less than 9 percent of lending went to Agriculture. While although more than 400 projects were funded between this period, only 60 projects were allotted for agriculture. At that time there was not a single project in the ARD sector which focused on women or addressed gender concerns. Direct lending for agriculture thereafter accelerated rapidly. By June 30, 1971, it had reached a cumulative total of about US\$2,500 million. Until the early 1960s the importance of agriculture in overall economic development was not fully recognized. This tended to limit the scope for Bank operations in the sector. Thus, over the period FY1948-63, Bank's lending for agriculture amounted to only US\$628 million for 60 projects.

In 1963, the Bank decided to increase its support for agricultural development. The increase was facilitated by the fact that the International Development Association (IDA) had been established in 1960; with IDA, it became possible to expand activities in countries which were particularly poor and in which agricultural development was high priority. The efforts to increase support for agriculture was initially hampered by a shortage of well-prepared projects. The Bank began increasingly to provide assistance for the identification and preparation of projects. As a result, its direct lending for agricultural development over the five years, FY1964-68, amounted to almost as much as during the previous 16 years: about US\$600 million for 46 projects. The proportion of agriculture in the Bank's total lending rose to 12 percent (World Bank 1972: 37).

If one looks at the 1948-1963, most agriculture projects were centred around provision of irrigation, agriculture machinery, farm modernization etc. hardly any importance was given to issues like land reforms and distribution which constituted one of the major problems facing agriculture in developing countries. George Woods as President did try to get the Bank to take up the issue of land reforms, but failed due to the pressure from the IMF and World Bank officials. If one analyzes gender and women concerns in the ARD sector till 1972 there were only 2 projects that gave some importance to women in agriculture. Agriculture projects which that had this focus ironically gave importance to home economics, nutrition, or trained women as mid wives but did not train them as farmers (Murphy 1995: 63).

Table 4.2 – Gender Related Agriculture and Rural Development Projects of the World Bank (1948-1993)

	No. of Projects with Gender Related Action	Percentage of projects with Gender Related action
1948-72	2	1
1973	1	2
1974	4	8
1975	2	3
1976	5	8
1977	5	6
1978	9	10
1979	7	8
1980	10	12
1981	13	16
1982	15	22
1983	10	15
1984	5	9
1985	5	8
1986	4	8
1987	8	14
1988	9	17
1989	20	43
1990	23	47
1991	24	57
1992	30	59
1993	27	63

Source World Bank

McNamara's Years and Agriculture and Rural Development Sector

In his famous Nairobi speech in the year 1973, Robert McNamara the new president of World Bank expressed his concerns about the problem of poverty in developing countries. The basic problem of poverty and growth in the developing world he stated, was that growth was not equitably reaching the poor and the poor were not significantly contributing to growth. Despite a decade of unprecedented increase in the gross national product of the developing countries, the poorest segments of their population had received relatively little benefit. Nearly 800 million individuals – 40 percent out of a total of two billion – survived on incomes estimated (in U.S. purchasing power) at 30 percent per day in conditions of malnutrition, illiteracy, and squalor. They suffered from poverty in the absolute sense. Moreover, he also pointed out that the growth story of recent times had helped the rich people of the developing countries, which explained the interest that he had in reorienting the prevalent understanding of development at the Bank (World Bank 1973).

This effort at reorientation that was guided by a desire to develop a more needs centred notion of development, resulted in agriculture and rural development projects being identified as an important part of the organization's endeavor to help countries achieve the goals of development. The focus with respect to agriculture in the initial years was on modernization of infrastructure that was identified as being conducive to the project of economic growth. The focus was on funding of specific inputs such as machinery, seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities etc. By the 1970s, however, due to accentuated levels of poverty both within and across countries⁷, McNamara, the then president of World Bank sought to reorient the thrust of agriculture projects by merging the two sectors of Agriculture and Rural Development into one portfolio (Tzannatos 2006: 17). In the year 1970, McNamara proposed the creation of a Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research (CGIAR). McNamara focused on the problems faced by poor farmers like acceleration in the price of land, tenancy reform, better access to credit, assured availability of water, expanded extension facilities backed by intensified agricultural research, greater access to public services, and most critical of all new forms of rural institutions and organizations that would give as much attention to promoting the inherent potential and productivity of the poor as was generally given to protecting the power of the privileged (World Bank 1973).

⁷ At present 70 percent of the population of our developing member countries and an equivalent percentage of the poor live in the countryside and they depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Despite, there has been economic growth but not helped the poor farmers. That's why he merged agriculture and rural development to target the basic needs of the poor and poverty alleviation. For more details see McNamara's Nairobi speech 1973, [www.juerg-buergi.ch/resources/...zur.../McNamara Nairobi speech.pdf](http://www.juerg-buergi.ch/resources/...zur.../McNamara_Nairobi_speech.pdf)

McNamara emphasised on organizational changes in agriculture. According to him, it was not possible for governments to deal directly with over 100 million of small farm families. What was required was the organization of local farm groups, which will service millions of farmers at low cost, and the creation of intermediate institutions through which governments and commercial institutions can provide the necessary technical assistance and financial resources for them. Such institutions and organizations can take any number of forms: smallholder associations, county or district level cooperatives. He also emphasized the importance of land and tenancy reforms, reasonable land ceilings, just compensation, sensible tenancy security, and adequate incentives for land consolidation. What they required were sound policies, translated into strong laws which were neither enervated by exceptions nor riddled by loopholes. And most important of all, laws that incorporate effective sanctions, and are vigorously and impartially enforced. He also drew attention to the problems that small farmers faced regarding capital. No matter how knowledgeable or well motivated the farmers may be, without credit they would be unable to buy improved seeds, apply the necessary fertilizer and pesticides, rent equipment, or develop water resources. Small farmers, generally, spent less than 20 percent of what was required on such inputs because they simply did not have the resources. He also gave importance to water, for without it, seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides were useless. This meant continued research into the most productive use of water, as well as substantial investments in irrigation and increased attention to on-farm irrigation methods. Moreover, poor farmers needed all these -capital, land, water along with information. That's why the Bank needed to focus on research extension programmes (World Bank 1973).

McNamara's Years and Gender Questions in Agriculture and Rural Development

Although, the Nairobi speech of McNamara pushed the Bank to take up the cause of the rural poor, no similar enthusiasm was visible with regard to gender and issues related to women. While in his speech importance was given to poor farmers but this did not include the large number of women engaged in farming. The experience of men and women farmers are different because of cultural settings, but in his speech he did not distinguish between the two. This is despite the fact that from 1950s to 1970s the number of poor women engaged in farming registered an increase from 65 percent to 84 percent in developing countries (Prugl 2011 :64).

In 1977 as already mentioned in Chapter III, the Bank appointed its first WID advisor. McNamara's speech at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) on the problems of population growth and development saw him advocating the cause of raising social, economic and political conditions of women around the world (Murphy 1995:34).⁸ In 1978 in the Bank's *World Development Report*, there were mention of issues concerning

⁸Folder Title: Massachusetts Institute of Technology lecture, April 28,1977 - Correspondence 01 Folder ID: 1199557 ISAD(G) Reference Code: WB IBRD/IDA 03 EXC-10-4536S Series: Conferences, lectures and addresses Sub-Fonds: Records of President Robert S. McNamara Fonds: Records of the Office of the President. For more details see World Bank's Achieve.

women, dealing basically with matters concerning reproductive health of women rather than other areas of productive health. The WID advisor produced a series of papers on women issues in development and in 1979 the Bank published a review of World Bank's experience, "*Recognizing the Invisible Women in Development: The World Bank's Experience*." This document analyzed the social and economic barriers that women faced in participating in the developmental process. It had various sections like Education and Training, Urban Development, Population, Health and Nutrition (PHN), Employment and Income generating activities etc., besides a special section on Agriculture and Rural Development (Murphy 1997: 30).

In this section on the ARD, the emphasis was on giving consideration to the cultural background determining the division of labor between men and women across the world. In most of the developing world, women played an important role in agriculture in that they produced the family's food supply. They also made significant contributions on small and medium-sized farms, where they sowed, planted, harvested, and marketed crops and seeds for the next season. Women also had clearly defined tasks even on large plantations. These tasks, and their share in the decisions regarding them, varied from place to place. For instance, in Senegal, women had complete control over swamp rice, whereas in Sierra Leone, this activity was largely a male prerogative, and women had the responsibility for upland rice. Hence, if extension services for swamp rice were to be directed at men, they were not likely to be effective in Senegal.

It was also important to recognize the links between the tasks of each sex to ensure that the intervention was effective. For example, the introduction of mechanical plowing may have only a limited effect on the aim of expanding paddy land, if transplanting and weeding-tasks performed by women-are left to be done by traditional methods. Women are responsible for weeding on the small farms in most countries; bringing more land under cultivation, or irrigating it, demands more time for this task. The time spent on weeding cash crops would potentially reduce that devoted to subsistence crops for which women were responsible. Agricultural development was therefore prone to widening the discrepancies in productivity between men and women. New agricultural methods are usually taught to men. In many areas, too, agricultural research on food crops, and its application to the staples women grow, lag far behind that on cash crops typically grown by men. Men can use their cash incomes from those crops to improve their productivity, whereas women earn little or no cash from farming, since they produce primarily for family consumption.

In the forest zone of East Cameroon, food is mainly produced by women who farm by traditional methods, with little improvement in their planting stocks, and with low yields and high crop losses, both in the field and in storage (World Bank 1977:6). An integrated rural development project aimed at developing and introducing

improved cropping systems and husbandry methods, it was thought, would lower the burden on women and raise their productivity and cash incomes. An important feature of this project was the attempt to break down the traditional difference in the importance accorded to food crops and cash crops to men. In many areas too, agricultural research on food crops, and its application to the staples women grow, lagged behind that on cash crops typically grown by men (World Bank 1977: 7).

In 1980 in a meeting with the Status of Women Working Group⁹, the President acknowledged that the Bank had often discriminated against women in the development process though not intentionally but by neglect and insensitivity to the issue. However, he did not allow the Status of Women Working Group to write a sectoral paper on how the Bank addressed women and gender issues (Murphy 1995:34). The WDR 1980 no doubt did have many sections on women, but it was a very selective choice of issues. For example, educational training on family welfare was given to women because the Bank was concerned about population growth. In the ARD section (consisting of agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing) the Bank didn't say anything about women farmers referring to farmers as a homogenous category (World Bank 1980b:34).

The same year (1980) McNamara in the last speech he made to the Board of Governors, he pointed out that in most developing societies women simply did not have equitable access to education. Nearly two-thirds of the world's illiterates were women, and virtually everywhere men were given preference both for general education and vocational training. He gave importance to health (reproductive), education (family planning) etc. He also pointed out that in ARD basically in subsistence societies women generally did at least 50 percent of the work connected with agricultural production and processing, as well as took care of the children and housekeeping. In a sense, while he pointed to the work that women did both inside and outside the house, he did not question the gender division of labour assigned by patriarchy in subsistence societies (World Bank 1980b:25).

Through the 1970s, particularly in Africa, the Bank applied itself to building public institutions that could support farmers, through extension, credit and marketing. Paradoxically, it was precisely these marketing boards that the World Bank was to target and eradicate through the 1980s with its structural adjustment¹⁰

⁹Status of Women Working Group is a staff association within the Bank made a report on women and gender issues and in the year 1980 this group published a report on status of women employee working within the Bank with a anguish that there was no improvement on increasing the number of women employee within the Bank. For more details please see Status Women Working Group Report 1980.

¹⁰Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are economic policies for developing countries that have been promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the early 1980s by the provision of loans conditional on the adoption of such policies. Structural adjustment loans are loans made by the World Bank. They are designed to encourage the structural adjustment of an economy by, for example, removing "excess" government controls and

lending programme. The Bank now advocated reduction in government spending on agriculture that was in line with the Bank's own aversion to supporting agriculture. At the end of McNamara's tenure, Bank spending on agriculture was US\$5.4 billion (in constant 1992 dollars). By the beginning of the 1990s, the figure was nearer to US\$3.9 billion. Since spending priorities for governments were largely shaped by the Bank's own agenda, this fall mirrored in a widespread fall, across a range of developing countries, in the budget for government spending on agriculture, as compared with other government expenditure. The global levels of Official Development Assistance (ODA)¹¹ for agriculture have been falling steadily throughout the 1990s, from US\$ 6.7 billion in 1984 to US\$ 2.7 billion in 2002 (Patel 2007:9).

The structural adjustment lending which brought liberalization and market controlled economy also saw new technologies come into being for increasing the production of agricultural goods. However, because of the differential treatment of women female farmers, they were not given training and could not make use of the new technologies. As a result of which, they were losing out in terms of chemicals, fertilizers etc. Most meetings held by private companies for increasing sale or training, did not have women participants. Women had to send their sons to such meetings so that they could learn from their sons (Sweetman 1999 :46). The adjustment loans of the World Bank review found the ARD sector as having a 0 rating.¹²

promoting market competition as part of the neo-liberal agenda followed by the Bank. The Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility is an IMF financing mechanism to support of macroeconomic policies and SAPs in low-income countries through loans or low interest subsidies. SAPs policies reflect the neo-liberal ideology that drives globalization. They aim to achieve long-term or accelerated economic growth in poorer countries by restructuring the economy and reducing government intervention. SAPs policies include currency devaluation, managed balance of payments, reduction of government services through public spending cuts/budget deficit cuts, reducing tax on high earners, reducing inflation, wage suppression, privatization, lower tariffs on imports and tighter monetary policy, increased free trade, cuts in social spending, and business deregulation. Governments are also encouraged or forced to reduce their role in the economy by privatizing state-owned industries, including the health sector, and opening up their economies to foreign competition. For more details see <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story084/en/>

¹¹The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) has named the term Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to measure aid. The term is used by DAC in the year 1969. It is widely used as an international aid flow.

¹²A project is rated "0" if appraisal document included little or no mention of gender. "1" if it is included some gender analysis, and "2" if it is included a gender component and gender specific action. For more details see World Bank 2005.

Table 4.3 : Structural Adjustment Loan

Country Name	Fiscal Year	Loan Name	Sector	OED Rating
Bangladesh	1989	Energy Sector	Electric and Power	0
	1990	Financial Sector Credit	Finance	0
	1992	Public Resource Management	Multisector	1
	1993	Industrial sector Adjustment II	Multisector	0
	1994	Jute Sector Adjustment Credit	Industry	0
Cote d' Ivoire	1990	Agriculture Sector Adjustment	Agriculture	0
	1990	Energy Sector Loan	Energy, Electric power	0
	1990	Water Supply Sewerage Sector Adjustment	water Supply and sanitation	1
	1992	Financial Sector Adjustment	Finance	0
	1992	Regulatory Reforms	Multi sector	0
	1992	Human Resource Adjustment	Education	1
	1995	Economic Recovery Credit	Multisector	0
	1996	Agriculture Sector Adjustment	Agriculture	0
	1996	Private sector development	Public sector management	0
	1998	Debt and Debt service Reduction	Multisector	0
Ecuador	1988	Financial Sector Adjustment	Finance	0
	1995	Debt and Debt Service Reduction	Multisector	0
	1995	Structural Adjustment Loan	Multisector	0
	1998	Transport sector Adustment	Transport	0
Kyrgyz Republic	1993	Rehabilitation	Multisector	0
	1994	Private and Enterprise Sector Adjustment	Public Sector Management	0
	1995	Agricultural Privatization and Enterprise Adjustment	Agriculture	0
	1996	Financial Sector Adjustment	Finance	0
	1997	Public Sector Resource Management	Public Sector Management	0
	1999	Social Sector Adjustment	Public Sector Management	0
Philippines	1988	Reform Program for Government Corporations	Public Sector Management	0
	1989	Financial Sector Loan	Finance	0
	1990	Debt Management Loan	Multisector	0

	1991	Environment and Natural Resource Management	Agriculture	1
	1993	Economic Integration	Multisector	1
	1999	Banking System	Finance	0
Poland	1991	Financial Institutions Development	Finance	0
	1991	Structural Adjustment I	Multisector	0
	1993	Agriculture Sector Adjustment	Agriculture	0
	1993	Enterprise and Financial Sector Adjustment	Multisector	0
	1995	Debt and Debt Service Reduction	Multisector	0
	1999	Hard Coal Sector	Mining	0
Sri Lanka	1990	Economic Restructuring Credit	Economic Restructuring Credit	1
	1991	Public Manufacturing Enterprise Adjustment	Public Sector Management	1
Vietnam	1995	Structural Adjustment I	Multisector	0
	1998	Debt Reduction	Finance	0
Yemen	1996	Economic Recovery Credit	Multisector	0
	1998	Financial Sector Adjustment	Finance	0
	1999	Public Sector Management Adjustment	Public Sector Management	0
Zambia	1991	Recovery Credit	Multisector	1
	1992	Privatization/Industrial Reform	Industry	1
	1993	Privatization/Industrial Reform II	Finance	0
	1994	Economic and Social Adjustment	Multisector	1
	1996	Economic Recovery and Investment	Public Sector Management	0
	1997	Second Economic and Social Adjustment	Multisector	0
	1999	Third Economic and Social Adjustment	Multisector	0

Source: World Bank 2005

In most of the sectors, the OED had rated 0, which meant that in the project appraisal documents there were no or little mention of gender and in ARD sector basically all rating was 0 except environment and resource management of 1991 to Philippines which is rated 1, it means that there was some gender inclusion in the project appraisal document.

In the annual reports, also there was not so much importance given to women in agriculture. In the Annual Report 1988 however the Bank spoke about women farmers and food security in African countries like Bukina Faso, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia. (World Bank 1988: 45). Agriculture re-emerged in the last decade as a focus of World Bank Group lending, with the Bank claiming that without improving the productivity of agriculture, it would be difficult to eradicate poverty and hunger from the world. The share of lending to agriculture by the IDA and IBRD in the Bank's low-income and middle-income countries, declined from 3 percent to just 7 percent between 1980 and 2001. In 2009, the World Bank Group declared that it would increase its lending to agriculture and related sectors, including fishing and forestry, from an average level of US\$4.1 billion between 2006 and 2008 to \$6-8 billion by 2012. This represented an increase in percentage of agriculture lending from 12 percent between 2006 and 2008 to 17 percent by 2012 (Peck 2012).

In the year 2003, the Bank published "*Reaching the Rural Poor: A Renewed Strategy for Rural Development*"¹³ where it clearly mentioned that making broad-based economic growth was a primary objective. Improved agricultural productivity and growth were seen as central to the Bank's strategy of reducing poverty. While 23 percent of the projects addressed gender issues, but only 2.8 percent of the funds were allocated towards gender-responsive components (World Bank 2003:10). In the year 2008, World Bank published "*Agriculture for Development*" which posed three main questions like why use agriculture for development, how to use agriculture for development and how to formulate and implement tailored agriculture for development agendas. It outlined a number of key issues including environmental degradation, role of indigenous knowledge, and impact of market concentration (Powell 2008). The 2008 report also spoke promoting trade liberalization and linking small farmers into global supply chains. It argued that agribusiness could be an instrument to increase incomes in developing countries. Responding to the food crisis, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the World Bank's private sector arm, announced a plan to boost lending to agribusiness by 30 percent in the next three years starting with a record \$2 billion in the 2009 fiscal year. In June, an IFC official indicated that they wanted to double their investment in African agribusiness by 2011, bringing it to 10 – 15 percent of their entire portfolios (Whitworth 2009).

The World Bank Group's focus on investment in agribusiness that talks of integrating small farmers to the global markets to solve the problem of food crisis, has been controversial. The Agriculture Action Plan (AAP) of the World Bank that places emphasis on agribusiness through targeted investments in market places, roads,

¹³The rural poor include the landless, individuals and households with few assets, smallholders, pastoralists, rural women (especially women-headed households); ethnic minorities, and indigenous populations. The rural poor are not a homogeneous group. This is the Bank definition of rural poor. For more details see World Bank 2003.

telecommunications, electrification etc., is being seen by some as being largely beneficial for private companies than small farmers (Peck 2012). Agribusiness investments it is argued often fail to uphold women's rights by ignoring gender discriminatory hiring in this male-dominated sector or dispossessing small-scale farmers from agricultural land. In 2004, for example the US\$8.1 million 'Agribusiness and Marketing Project' for the Kyrgyz Republic does not even mention women or gender. Similarly in 2006 a US\$35 million 'Agricultural Markets and Agribusiness Development Programme for Senegal' did not assess the participation of women farmers' in and as beneficiaries in the project while drawing up the performance indicators. Again in 2010 US\$5 million 'Agribusiness Access to Finance Project for Cambodia' focusing on increasing sustainable flow of credit to the agribusinesses sector did not mention women or gender. Another project in 2010 US\$25 million 'Productive Partnerships in Agriculture Project' in Papua New Guinea (PNG) linking cocoa and coffee farmers to agribusiness noted that while 'women's groups' had been included in project consultations, and promises to promote 'gender balance' in activities; the Project's only indicator that mentions women (the number of women reporting increased access to and use of information on improved farming practices, processing and marketing) does not reflect the fact about women's agricultural output or income having actually increased. There is thus an urgent need for a more fruitful and sustainable pro-poor gender just agricultural policy that would increase investments in small-scale rural development, as opposed to investing primarily in private large-scale export agribusiness, which often benefits large corporations and least benefits and can even harm women farmers (Laturbach and Zuckerman 2013:35).

World Bank's Agriculture and Rural Development and Gender: An Analysis by Region and Sub-Sectors

The Bank's ARD lending to overall world in general and Asia in particular rose during the 1970s. In Asia Bank's lending registered an increase from 30 percent to 45 percent (Kapur et. al 1997: 417). But when looked for gender related projects in the ARD sector, for example between 1967 to 1976, there were none in the South Asian region. Gender concerns started figuring in much later. At present there are 119 projects in all which are gender related in the ARD sector in South Asia (World Bank 2015j). The Bank mostly invested in Africa in the ARD sector and from 1970 to 1980 there were 41 projects that were gender related. Africa at present has 163 projects in ARD which are gender related.

Table 4.4: Gender Related Projects Region and Year Wise

Year	Africa	East Asia and Pacific	Middle East and North Africa	Latin America and Caribbean	South Asia	Total
1973	2	0	0	1	0	4
1974	0	2	1	0	1	5
1975	5	0	1	0	1	9
1976	5	0	2	0	0	9
1977	3	3	1	0	2	11
1978	9	4	5	0	1	25
1979	7	5	5	0	3	25
1980	7	5	3	1	5	24
1981	12	1	7	1	3	28
1982	10	2	3	1	2	26
1983	12	0	5	1	4	24
1984	7	2	4	0	4	18
1985	4	0	3	1	6	15
1986	3	1	2	0	3	13
1987	9	0	4	1	1	17
1988	12	2	2	1	4	23
1989	24	6	5	1	5	43
1990	27	7	3		11	58
1991	34	12	8	3	15	80
1992	27	14	3	3	10	70
1993	27	12	8	5	13	79
Total	251	81	77	21	94	615

Source Murphy 1995

The ARD sector has various subsectors. Till 1952, the agriculture sector was not included in rural development. It was after 1973 McNamara's Nairobi speech that both these sectors were merged together to target the basic need of the rural poor. Till 1952, the agriculture and forestry sector had sub sectors like forestry, irrigation and flood control, land improvement, grain storage, timber production (World Bank 1952:9). At present agriculture and rural development sector includes sub sectors like agriculture credit, area development, fisheries, irrigation and drainage, livestock, agro-industry, research extension, forestry (Kapur et al 1997: 393). The Bank has been involved in agriculture since 1948. In its early years the Bank basically concentrated on agriculture machinery, irrigation (Pal 1985:81). For example, US\$23 million during FY1948-63, to US\$53 million in FY1964-68 and US \$140 million in FY1969-71 and 7% of World Bank lending has been for irrigation amounting to US \$31 billion in US dollars between 1950-1993. Overall, the Bank has supported 614 projects with irrigation components during this period, including 365 projects where more than half of the project expenditure went to irrigation. A sizeable number of projects formally classified as rural

credit, electrification, or area development have also supported irrigation (World Bank 2012e).

These figures reflect the priority that continues to be given to irrigation projects in those parts of the world such as East and South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. Through the 1950s the Bank's lending for irrigation was primarily concentrated on the construction of dams and main distributaries and canals (World Bank 1972:39). However, it was soon realized by the Bank that a single narrowly conceived project, by itself, was not enough. A variety of supporting investment was necessary to make full utilization of water resources created by the project. The Bank was primarily interested in economic growth through the increasing of production and that's why, it tried to make available water through investments in along with full utilization of pesticides and fertilizers. When irrigation lending was high, agricultural credit loans were also given importance (Pal 1985: 82). Asia received 69 percent of Bank's lending for irrigation development. More than half of all lending went towards funding areas in tropical Asia, where irrigation systems were used primarily to grow rice. India, with 26 percent of irrigation borrowing, was the largest client of the Bank in term of irrigation lending. The other 31 percent of Bank lending for irrigation was split between Africa, the Americas, and Europe. While investments in Africa were widely distributed, one finds them primarily in arid and semiarid North Africa and the Sahel, and in Madagascar. The average African project was relatively small and complex. Hence Africa accounted for 30 percent of the projects but only 12 percent of the lending. Massive Bank's lending to irrigation began in 1960s in response to the food crisis, high agricultural prices and during 1980s the Bank's investment in irrigation became smaller and that is because of the Bank's structural adjustment programme. Until the 1970s there was little uncertainty about whether projects were irrigation projects or not, but in 1973 the Bank began to fund many more projects described as "rural development" and containing an irrigation component (World Bank 2012e).

Women produce more than half of the food in developing countries and hence they play a very crucial role in water resource management. Women's lack of independent access to and control of, land and water threatens household food security (Bastidas 1999:1). The Bank's irrigation evaluation seldom mentions this aspect. A review of OED report shows that only 3.7 percent of the Bank's irrigation projects have a gender component. None of them ever mention a significant discussion on gender, or a proposal for action, or mention an action taken. From the FY 67-FY87, specific gender action was proposed in the appraisal documents of only least 14 percent of the 270 irrigation projects.

Forests play a crucial role in economic development. In addition to their important influence on the environment they provide numerous products of vital use to people. The ecological usefulness of forests is most readily observed in their beneficial effect on water catchment areas where they influence stream flows, protect soils from erosion and prevent silting of dams and canals. It has also many benefits to human and

livestock populations providing a habitat for wildlife, and attractive places for recreation. About 200 million people living in the transition zone between forestry and agriculture, many of whom are dependent on shifting cultivation in forest areas for their food, fuel and fiber needs, as well as millions of small farmers residing in the savannah zone of the tropics - tree farming combined with agriculture could significantly improve their quality of life and per capita income. Fuel wood which accounts for over 90 percent of rural energy consumption in the developing countries is becoming increasingly scarce in many of the poorer regions. Yet, historically, this whole area of forestry has received very little attention. The main resource flows to forestry in the past have been directed towards industrially oriented forest management project (World Bank 1977b: i).

According to World Bank, the World Bank first financed its forest operations in the year 1949 to Yugoslavia and Finland (World Bank 2004: 19). Up to 1978, about 95 percent of Bank forestry lending was for industrial projects--for example industrial plantations and sawmills. But in response to the Forestry Policy paper published in the year 1978, the Bank made a major effort to finance social or rural development and environmental forestry projects. These new-style projects put much more emphasis on the living standards of people in the project area and less on the extraction of raw materials for industry (World Bank 2012h). Earlier the Bank concentrated on industrial operations but now it gave importance to people centric, social forestry and agroforestry (World Bank 2004: 19).

The Bank in its earlier phase before the publication of forestry sector paper in 1978 basically focused on the forestry industry but after 1978 the focus shifted to social forestry where human beings were given importance. At that time in the Bank poverty alleviation programmes, the women in development approach was at its peak. As a result of which the Bank focused on gender component while lending to the forestry sub-sector (World Bank 1991:59). In the traditional gender division of labor, women have specific needs and interests in forestry that have often been ignored in planning forestry projects. In most rural areas women and children collect the household's fuel wood for cooking and heating, as well as a variety of food products, medicinal plants, raw materials. Women are repositories of knowledge that men may not have about forest products, plant attributes, and traditional methods of tree management. Bank-assisted social forestry projects need to recognize that in parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America women have often proved more interested than men in raising trees for fuel wood, fodder, and salable nonfood products. Although there has been some attention to women in Bank funded projects, a much more concerted effort is needed in the future. Forestry programs that do not consciously plan for women's needs can miss significant opportunities to increase returns on forestry investments and can worsen the situation of women and their families. If forestry projects are to successfully involve and benefit women, there is a need for more refined gender-based planning during the preparation phase. For example, women's tenure rights to land and newly planted trees must be strengthened, and women's groups should be assisted to undertake their own plantation or rehabilitation activities. Direct involvement of

women in management schemes can reduce the destruction of forests caused by fuel and fodder gathering. To increase incentives for women, their incomes must be substantially raised by assisting them to gain access to wider markets for forest products and by enabling them to undertake value-adding processing of primary forest products. Women's participation should be an integral part of project objectives and strategies, and progress on this front must be an integral part of supervision and evaluation. Within projects, there is a need for better technical forestry training for women. When Bank projects create awareness of how diminished collection time can increase women's productivity, the local propensity for producing fuel wood and cash-remunerative tree products increases (World Bank 1991:53).

In ARD sector, the Bank for the first time, invested in livestock in the year 1959 in Uruguay. Livestock production is often the prime source of disposable income and reliable capital assets amongst smallholder and pastoralist communities and provides essential non-cash benefits including draught power and manure. Dairying in particular offers a reliable and regular source of income, especially for poorer rural households, disadvantaged social classes and women. Till 1969, the Bank invested in 27 livestock projects totaling to US\$270 million dollars, in 21 countries (Fransen et al. 1969: 658). After a peak of US\$340 million per year over the period 1974–79, World Bank lending for livestock development declined to US\$240 million per year over the period 1980–85 and is now about US\$100 million per year (Smith 2013). The main component of livestock development project is basically beef production and where it is not, then sheep production and dairying (Fransen et al. 1969: 658).

Of the 600 million poor livestock keepers, two thirds are rural women in developing countries (Njuki and Sanginga 2013:1). In particular, activities related to small livestock production (poultry, sheep, goats), milking and processing of milk, are carried out mainly by women; however, their roles are significantly ignored. Women and men experience different challenges when accessing, managing and controlling livestock assets. Despite their important contribution and role in livestock management, women often face greater constraints than men in accessing natural resources, extension services, marketing opportunities and financial services as well as in exercising their decision-making powers. These constraints often prevent women from reaching their full potential within the agricultural sector, including livestock (FAO 2013:6). Basically the Bank started looking gender component to livestock sector in the 1980s for example in some projects like Mid-course Changes Benefit Rural Women: National Small Livestock Project in Togo, Fourth Livestock Project in Ethiopia, Improves Extension for Women Farmers: The Gambia WID Project, Non-traditional Livestock for Women in Songliao, China.

Concluding Remarks

Based on the above examination of the Bank's ARD projects, one can come to the conclusion that gender mainstreaming in this sector has been limited. For a long time, it was infrastructure in the ARD sector that was highlighted as being the most productive investment, for achieving the economic growth and development. The thrust was on financing technologies, irrigation projects etc. in ARD without really undertaking a close examination of how these investments actually impacted the people they were supposed to benefit. Secondly, there was even if reference was made to studying the social impact of such investments on people, it was a non-gendered, homogenous kind of analysis that was offered. Women and their concerns were more or less overshadowed in the larger discussion on development.

One can say that it was the contribution of the feminist movement that compelled the Bank to address issues concerning women. While the Bank was quick to become the first multilateral organization to have a Women in Development Unit; gender concerns continued elude project designs. The Bank as explored in the last chapter as well as in this chapter too selectively chose to focus on some partial concerns that either represented unenthusiastic effort or a very scheming and use of gender to gain legitimacy for its programmes. For instance, as discussed women even though they would labour in the fields never got recognized as farmers in the project designs. Similarly the moulding of a project targeting women keeping in mind the division of labour that takes place both within and outside the house. To conclude, one can state that the problem of World Bank ARD strategy while integrating gender component is that it never challenges the local patriarchy where the poor women farmers are working and that simply adding women into projects is not just problematic in the political sense but is also self-defeating for the very tasks of poverty alleviation and women's empowerment that the Bank espouses for in its programmes. The next chapter moves on to the examining the status of inclusion of gender concerns within the ARD sector in India.

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