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**Development Theory and Gendered Approach to Development:
Some Theoretical Issues in the Third World's Perspective.**

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[Abstract: Several gendered approaches to development—like the variants (equity, ‘anti-poverty’ and ‘efficiency’ approaches) of WID (Women in Development), GAD (General and Development), DAWN (Development Alternatives’ for a New Era)—influenced, mainly, by liberal and social feminists have emerged, in part as critiques of the major theoretical approaches to development—modernization theory, underdevelopment and dependency theory and neo-liberalism—in the Third World countries since the 1950s and linked them to policy prescription. A major Policy Prescription that comes out from this analysis is the predominance of ‘efficiency approach’ of WID—development plans and projects are made more efficient and effective through women’s economic contribution—with active involvement of women in development policies and projects. Although parts of the feminists agenda have been incorporated into development plans and projects, the new directions have wider, impact for gender equity and efficiency in all development policy and planning in these countries in future.]

Although the term ‘gender’ has been widely used over the past few decades, much of the interest of gender relations is due to feminism (Waylen, 1996:6). Feminists of all descriptions have characterized gender relations as relations of inequality and subordination. Against this unequal gender relations, feminist academics have been trying to make sure that gendered analysis are incorporated into all areas and into all approaches to development theory. This paper is an attempt in this direction in the context of Third World Countries. Many alternative strategies and policy options have been implemented to achieve development in the Third World countries. Out of three main sets of strategies of development—capitalist, socialist and mixed—the majority of the Third World states have followed variants of capitalist development. Most policy debates have centered on the merits of different strategies within a capitalist framework, with differing emphasis on the role of state and varying types of industrialization, like EOI (export orientated industrialization) and ISI (Import substituting industrialization). In addition to the widespread debate of these strategies of development, three major theoretical approaches to development have dominated development

thinking in the Third World countries from the 1950s. Modernization theory dominated in the 1950s and 1960s. Underdevelopment and dependency theory became the alternative during the late 1960s and 1970s. Neo-liberalism, which while not strictly a variant of development theory has had a strong and wide impact on both analysis and policy, most marked during the 1980s. Although none of these perspectives deal explicitly with gender issues, they are all gendered. In contrast, several gendered approaches to development influenced, mainly, by liberal and social feminists¹ have emerged, in part as critiques of these development frameworks in the Third World countries. While they are often overlapping and difficult to disentangle, in particular, they concentrate on the development of WID, GAD and other gendered approaches and link them to the policy prescriptions that emerge from them.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. Section II discusses in brief the Feminist Movement in the West and The Third World Countries. Section III deals with a brief historical background of some of the International Development Agencies determining development policies and programmes in The Third World Countries. It also discusses how women get associated with these agencies and development programmes, and the ‘caucus’ known as WID (Women in Development) comes into being. Gender issues in Modernization Theory, Underdevelopment Theory and Neo-liberalization have been come to light in sections IV, V and VI respectively. Gender Analysis by new set of Feminist Academics and Implications of Efficiency Approach of WID in the Third World Countries appear in section VII and VIII respectively. Concluding comments based on the analysis of this paper are made in section IX.

II

FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Feminist movements in the West and in the Third World societies have been responsive to different issues facing women. Economic and Social issues have been of primary concern to feminists in the Third World societies. Adverse working conditions, economic security, freedom from starvation, female infanticide, bride burning, violence against women, *sati* system and consequence of environmental degradation are some of the issues claiming the alteration of feminists mainly from the late 60s of the twentieth. century in the Third World countries.

In the West, the sweep of the development that brought the Western feminist movement to the present position starting from the first-wave feminists during the first two decades of the twentieth century was largely the result of white middle class educated women. On the crest of the first wave the suffragists won the vote for white women in most Western countries, although the first-wave feminists were not unaware of the woman of colour. It created a new status for the white women above the coloured people (Hooks, 1981 : 153). As a result white women and women of colour were necessarily at odds with one another (ibid: 154). With long inactive troughs in between two waves, the second wave, postwar feminism, reputedly erupted in the late 1960s with some major concerns - the double standard and the sexual libertarianism for women as well as men and the right to paid work and equal rewards for it as an escape form household drudgery (Bulbeck, 1988 : 5). ‘Women’s ‘ biological materialism’² allows the double standard in marriage and divorce, and the base of violence against women-rape, sexual harassment, the traffic in women, religious practices such as *sati* and female circumcision or the customs of dowry and child marriage. What began as a demand to erase the double standard became an acceptance of sexual difference. Similarly demand for equal access to careers and jobs for woman required a negotiation of women’s role in childbearing and raising. The equal employment opportunity required maternity leave, childcare facilities and the sharing of child raising obligations by father. To achieve the same their social and biological positions of women had to be proclaimed and negotiated.

Not only the concept of feminism but also its practice has changed over the last four decades (Therfall, 1996). In the 1960s and 1970s, in the women's movement in the West, the term feminism came to symbolize the efforts to forge a collective identity of women supposedly sharing similar experiences of oppression. Simultaneously academicians were observed engaged in unearthing the cause of universal subordination of women. Since 1980s, there is a talk of a third wave of feminism, which is given the name of postfeminism. The postmodern theory, which includes the elements of poststructuralism, postmodern and feminist cultural studies, heralds the misogynous nature of the male-stream theory. This new feminism is more sensitive to local and diverse voices of feminism and rejects a universalistic perspective on a single feminist standpoint. By this time political differences about conceptualization of the roots and agents of oppression became apparent and developed as Liberal, Socialist, Marxist and Radical feminist theories. Nevertheless the belief that women suffer injustice because of their gender remained the basic underlying assumption in all their interpretations (Mehrotra, 2002 : 58-59). Thus in the West, where twentieth century feminism began with women's difference from men and culminated in the struggle for equality with men over the vote, postwar feminism began with demands for equality and is now entering a phase of demanding autonomy : a space where women write, read and think as women (Gross, 1986 : 204). While autonomy does not necessarily mean separation, it does imply that in some respects at least women will 'go it alone'. Whatever women choose politically with their autonomous space, the identification of specifically female oppression of woman by men marks postwar western feminism apart from earlier contemporary political positions (Allen 1987 : 84). However western feminism's preoccupation with oppression poses two dilemmas for non-western women. *First*, it asserts that the oppression of women cannot be eradicated by other political struggles; this oppression must be attacked on its own grounds by a women's movement. It places women first, and while not placing men necessarily in opposition to women, places their interests and demands outside the space of its own activity. *Second*, although analysis of sexuality and

oppression have sought to explain workplace sex - segmentation, unequal access to education and other material goods, its recent focus has been on issues like the representation of the body in pornography and films, the phallogocentric nature of western knowledge, the violence to and invasion of women's bodies in the family, in workplace and on the street, control of women bodies by the medical, scientific and legal profession. These two strands of western feminist analysis – it focus on women to the exclusion of man and its recent reorientation away firm economic welfare to physical and psychic welfare – troubles the feminist analysis in the Third World societies. However, differences in issues have not weakened this movement in the Third World communities. Several gendered approaches influenced mainly by social and liberal feminists have emerged in part as critiques of major theoretical approaches to development in the Third World countries and linked them to the policy prescriptions that have come out from this analysis Feminist academics have also been trying to make sure that gendered analysis are incorporated into all areas and into all approaches to development theory.

III SOME UN AGENCIES, WID AND THE THIRD WORLD

A number of UN agencies, bilateral and multilateral agencies which have emerged during post second world-war period are dictating and determining the development policies and programmes directly or indirectly in the Third World Countries along with the execution of development programmes and policies specially for women in the Third World. It seems to be relevant to give a brief historical background of some important development agencies of UN – like World Bank Group, International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Labour Organization (ILO) in this perspective. As a specialized agency of the United Nations, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), known informally as World Bank, emerged during post-war period (after second world war) to make loans for economic rehabilitation or development of different countries of the world, which were particularly affected by the second world war. The

Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 to promote the growth of the world and higher standard of living by making loans when private capital is not available created the Bank. Although the chief sources of Bank's fund are capital subscription from member nations and sales of its own bonds to private investors, one-fourth of the initial capital of the Bank was subscribed by the United States. To expand the Bank's lending policies, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) was created in 1956 to invest in private enterprise and in 1960, the International Development Association (IDA) was created as an affiliate of Bank to offer long-term loans. The IBRD, the IFC and the IDA, collectively know as World Bank Group, has made 3,383 loans amounting to a total of approximately \$85 billion, with IBRD's share amounting to about \$60 billion by 1981. The World Bank Group has progressively increasing their lending activities during 80's to developing member countries along with concessional terms to poorest nations. In a single year during mid 80's the World Bank Group lent more than \$12 billion to developing member countries, with \$4 billion lent on concessional terms to the poorest nation (Plano and Greenberg, 1985). However, although almost all countries of the world are now members of the Bank, which has progressively increased the pace of its lending activities, the ability of the Bank to help developing states meet their capital needs is limited.

International monetary Fund (IMF) also emerges as a specialized agency of the United Nations established by the Bretton Woods Monetary and Financial Conference of 1944 to promote international monetary cooperation with three major objectives – promotional of exchange stability, establishment of a worldwide multilateral payments system, provision of monetary reserves to help member nations overcome short-run disequilibria in their balance of payments. Although most of the countries of the world are members of IMF, voting power in the IMF is determined by the size of a member's contribution with the United States casting about one-fourth of the total. More importantly, the industrial nations function as a caucus (Group of 30) to reach decisions in the IMF to defend currency values and to promote international liquidity. While creation of IMF was aimed

at preventing a return to the anarchic financial conditions of the 1930s decade, with its widely fluctuating exchange rates and competitive devaluation, exchange stability has been greatly weakened in recent years. The main problems facing the fund have been persistent deficit in the balance of payment of most Third World Countries. The situation is critical because many countries especially the Third World Countries usually borrow the money from the IMF to make their annual payments to private and public banks and loan agencies on the principal and interest owed on outstanding loans.

As a specialized agency of the United Nations that seeks through research and recommendation to improve working conditions throughout the world, International Labour Organization (ILO), established in 1919, is concerned with problems of full employment, labour standards, migration of workers, collective bargaining, social security and worker's health. In recent years, much ILO activity has been directed towards the underdeveloped areas of the developing countries of the world for improving working and living condition for millions of workers and competitive disadvantage as far as labour costs are concerned. Hundreds of ILO experts have provided technical assistance to countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

Out of all these bodies of UN, the World Bank Group in particular have been paying increasing attention to gender issues in their work plan of regions, WID (Women in Development) being included among areas of special emphasis in the Third World Countries. Within the various bodies of the UN, Women in Development sought to make 'women' visible as a category in development research and policy. Different social actors have been evolved in the making of the WID perspective in development. Tinker (1990b) identified three categories of social actors – scholars, advocates, practitioners – in the framing of Women in Development perspective in development. All these groups shape the nature of their contributions to the interpretation of WID issues from different concerns. The advent of Women in Development in the international arena represented an infusion of new ideas aimed at influencing prevailing development policy. It needs to

be mentioned that the 'welfare' approach was the earliest (Pre- Women in Development) approach to be concerned with women in developing countries during the 1950s and 1960s. This approach, mainly, focused on the 'reproductive' role of women and thus sought to meet the practical gender needs through food aid, supplementary nutrition and family planning etc. Even today, this approach is the most popular one in the Third World Countries, though theoretically it is claimed that they have moved from 'welfare' to 'development' to 'empowerment'. Poor women in the Third World had become the main beneficiaries of welfare programs begun by national and international relief agencies. Such welfare programs were designed to relieve poor women's needs exclusively in terms of their roles as mothers and housewives (Buvinic, 1983:24).

In the broader context of development theory and understanding of basic concepts on women in development (WID) and gender issues help place the evolution of thoughts and actions within the World Bank. "Women in development" and 'gender' are not interchangeable. The former was applied to actions designed to ensure that women benefited, or at least did not suffer, from development efforts; on the other hand, gender-related development activities take a broader view of the differences in behaviour expected of women and men, seeking their causes and their consequences for economic and human resource development. Through direct intervention on immediate constraints, or through strategic changes in the legal and regulatory framework of the country, gender-related actions can prevent deleterious consequences and maximize the potential contributions specific to women or men. To this end, a shift from a WID to gender approach has profound implications for the World Bank. Starting in the early 1970s, pressure from some staff and managers and events outside the Bank would place what became known as "Women in Development" on the Bank's agenda. In line with early sector papers on education and on population, few projects incorporated activities targeted for girls or women, but these did not represent more than 5 percent of investment lending until fiscal year 1978. A small number of staff and managers of World Bank started to discuss informally the new topic of women in development.

The first working group of the Bank's Staff Association, formed in 1972, focused on the status of women in the Bank. To discuss the concerns of female staff, the group met periodically. Some members of the working group started a separate informal group to discuss emerging WID issues. Members of the informal WID lunch group were attempting to include some attention to gender issues in their own work, and to promote the topic with management. Soon, their efforts were enforced by events outside Bank.

During the second half of the 1980s, the Bank formally increased its resources and attention devoted to gender-related issues. Basic themes already established (like mainstreaming, efficiency, poverty alleviation, equity choice of key sectors, and education's link to fertility) by a central WID division and the regions, with explicit and sustained support from senior management and the Board became integrated into a comprehensive program of joint action. The relevance of gender issues for development was validated by the research work. The focus on WID began to give way to a broader definition of gender issues. As a result of it, country-level assessment of these issues and investment in projects with gender-related action increased sharply. Recent developments on participatory approaches to development and on the use of social assessments are also relevant for gender issues. Innovations that are made recently include the promotion of participatory approaches to involve women as well as men in project design and implementation, in poverty assessments, and in proposed social assessments. There is increased attention to gender in the financial services, natural resource management, water and sanitation, and urban sectors.

IV

MODERNIZATION THEORY AND FEMINIST AGENDA

The first theoretical approach to development— modernization theory - discuss very little about women. It recognized that in the transition from 'tradition' to 'modern' societies, some of the traditional values deemed necessary to modern society, were maintained by women in the family (such as affectivity). It was also believed that modernization would be emancipatory for women as

industrialization, technology and modern values would undermine the patriarchy of traditional society giving women increased access to economic resources (Jaquette, 1982). In general, modernization theory emphasizes and approves of the trend towards Western capitalist modernity. It is argued that if modernization theory were followed in the Third World, Third World societies would catch up with the West.

Modernization theory was subject to criticism from many quarters by the late 1960s. Women issues of development theory were also criticized from different quarters. Although since the start of 1960s, the UN has marked each official 'decade of development' with a declaration summarizing the lessons learnt from past experience and its priorities for the coming ten years. The declaration that announced the First Development Decade (1961-1970) was devoid of any specific reference to women (Kabeer, 1996:1) Between the 1960s and 1970s, the feminist movements gained momentum and the research done by women scholars clearly pointed out that the so called modernization theory of development promoted by the development agencies had not benefited the women and in some cases had adverse effect on the women in the Third World. Women had not been given access to new productive opportunities; technology had not liberated them domestic drudgery; gender-neutral outcomes had not been led by market forces; in spite of the forces of modernization, prejudice and preconceptions about women persisted in society (Kabeer, 1996:19).

About the impact of modernization of women by this time in the Third World, more generally, there was a growing perception of the failure of development. This perception was combined with the unhappiness of the first world women, and was influenced by the second wave of feminism. These factors culminated in the emergence of the women in development movement which was inspired by liberal feminism (Waylen, 1996 : 37) Remaining largely with the paradigm of liberal feminism, WID was in part a response to the inadequacies of the modernization approach. It was argued that the process of economic modernization marginalized women economically and socially and increased their dependence on men (Boserep,1970)³. Women were not benefited from

modernization and development because of a lack of proper access to a process, which was fundamentally a beneficial one. Development Project largely benefited men, often at the expense of women, displacing women from their traditional productive functions and diminishing the power, status and income they had previously enjoyed (Moser, 1993). Development planners ignored women's productive activities partly because national accounting ignored much of women's work within the household and subsistence economy, assuming them to be housewives, credit and other forms of assistance to men (Rogers, 1980).

The development projects where women were included was on sex specific terms as housewives, mothers and 'at risk producers (Kabeer 1996: 5), Buvinic (1983) characterized development projects as welfare approach to women and development, which identified women as a vulnerable group, needing help particularly in the reproductive role. These projects, which did cater for women often, concentrate on improving women's domestic skill such as childcare and nutrition (Rogers 1980). Where projects addressed women's need to generate income were through schemes, which fitted in with dominant perception of women's role such as production of women's traditional handicrafts catering to insecure market, often for tourists or export. Women's development projects were often ghettoized leaving the majority to cater for men (Waylen, 1996:38).

The failure of modernization to benefit women was attributed to a variety of factors reflecting this different cultural context. In female farming systems in the Third World, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, women had been deprived of access to training, land rights, education and technology by colonial and post-colonial administrators whose biased perceptions led them to favor male farmers. While women's own prejudices and preferences inhibited them from seeking employment in the modern sector in the market economics of the Third World, employers demonstrated a preference for men, creating a sex-stereotyped job hierarchy. By the modernization model, the modern economy being promoted by development planners had brought new resources and opportunities to men, but left women on the margin of development with the result that the

productivity, attitude and outlook of men and women begin to diverge – men become familiar with modern equipment and learn to adapt themselves to modern ways of life, while women continue in the old ways (Boserup, 1970). The concept that ‘man is the bread winner and women is the home maker’ is regarded as a Victorian/Colonial concept and did not apply to the women in Third World Countries, where women played a crucial ‘productive’ role in the subsistence economy and contributed significantly to GNP. It was Easter Boserup’s study, which has been described as the fundamental text for the “UN Decade for the Women”, with facts and figures pointed out the economic contribution of women. This led to the ‘equity’ approach of WID, demanding equality for women in social, economic and political spheres.

Some policy proposals emerged from the WID critics. The solution to equality was observed as widening access to factors such as tools, technology and education. Women had to be integrated into development more effectively and not allow it to pass them by. This has been characterized as an ‘equity approach’. Starting from the assumption that economic development strategies had often had a negative effect on women, the ‘*equity approach*’ acknowledged women’s productive as well as reproductive role (Buvinic, 1983). It argued that women had to be brought into the development process through access to employment and the market place. Very importantly, this approach placed great emphasis on the wider question of equity and on the need to reduce inequality between men and women. However, the WID group worked to influence USAID (United States Agency for International Development) policy and as a result of their lobbying a congressional amendment mandated US assistance to ‘move woman into their national economies’ in 1973. WID approach was influential in determining the priorities for the UN Decade for women (1975-85). In spite of its essentially liberal feminist and reformist bent’, *the equity approach*’ aroused hostility among development agencies and the Third World governments (Moser, 1993).

This is mainly because The Decade rhetoric of equity would have proved difficult to translate into policy, as it required a redistribution of resources throughout the development process.

‘Focusing on all women, rather than a poor women only, calls for equity at all levels, both among program beneficiaries and among program implementers’ (Buvinic, 1983, cited in Kabeer, 1996:7). Defining women’s problems in terms of the family’s basic needs rather than unequal access to resources made a WID policy more acceptable within male-dominated agencies. However the new focus on women was adapted with the official agencies of development by linking it to the emerging concern with ‘poverty alleviation and basic needs’. The poverty alleviation and basic need strategy was important for women, particularly, in the Third World Countries for two issues; firstly, it retained a reassuring continuity with earlier welfare approaches, in that it focused on women’s responsibility for family and child welfare by casting women in the role of managers of low-income households and providers of family basic needs. Secondly, it also incorporated the WID concern with women’s productive roles with the recognition that these responsibilities had an economic component and therefore required income-enhancing measures.

V

GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN UNDERDEVELOPMENT THEORY

Dependency model, a key element of underdevelopment theory arose from a growing disillusionment with economic strategies of development, especially as they had been applied in Latin America. Underdevelopment theory was developed, in part as a direct challenge to modernization theory. Underdevelopment theory arose as much as reaction to classical Marxism as from deeply held objections to modernization theory⁴. Dependency theorists like Frank (1969), Harrison (1988), Emmanuel (1972) argue that development and underdevelopment are the aspects of the same system, the world capitalist system. Indeed, both development and underdevelopment are regarded as part of the world process of accumulation, a process that commenced in the mercantile period, carried through into industrial capital and culminated in imperialism. The colonies, the semi-colonies and the neo-colonies existed primarily for the benefit of capitalist metropolis throughout this process and, as a direct result, became underdeveloped. It is only by breaking these links that

genuine development can occur. It also concurred with increasing disillusionment with the belief that the benefits of economic growth under modernization theory would trickle down to the poor which provided the spur both to the IDO (International Development Organization) to shift its emphasis, to employment, focusing on the working poor and the potential of the informal sector, and to the agencies such as the world Bank to redirect their efforts towards the eradication of poverty and redistribution with growth (Waylen, 1996: 39).

As a mark of this, towards the end of 1970s an ‘anti-poverty’ emphasis emerged as the second WID approach. In part , it was a toning down of the equity approach ‘which had required agencies to interfere in the relations between men and women (Buvinic, 1983). An important part of this reorientation was the ‘basic need strategy’. The new focus on women could be accommodated within the development agencies by linking women to poverty alleviation and basic needs (Kabeer 1996: 7). Low-income women could be identified as a part of this new emphasis, as one important group to be singled out for particular attention. This was mainly, because the existing projects had ignored their needs and women generally played the important role in fulfilling basic needs within the household. This *anti-poverty approach* stressed income generating projects for poor women often ignoring their reproductive roles and their interconnection with productive roles and without the emphasis on increasing women’s autonomy which was implied in the ‘equity approach’ (Waylen, 1996).

But critiques from feminist academics writing from a dependency theory differed fundamentally with the WID critics of liberal feminists on a number of important points. *First*, they argued that the process of modernization and the spread of capitalism was not an inherently beneficial one; rather, on the contrary, it involved widespread exploitation and the exploitation of women, within this, took on particular forms. *Second*, the individual focus of the liberal perspective lacked a consistent theoretical explanation of the bases of women’s subordination, depending on

irrational prejudice and sex role stereotypes, reducing the accuracy of their analysis and the effectiveness of their policy prescriptions (Beneria and Sen, 1981).

Social feminists made their analysis within this framework influenced by structural perspectives including Marxist analysis of capitalism and imperialism. These analyses tended to place gender emphasis on the wider global processes of accumulation involved in the spread of capitalist social relation along with their impact of gender relation as well as their looking at the impact of particular policies and projects (Young et al. 1981). Studies within this framework performed some important tasks. These studies incorporated a much needed gender perspective to the analysis of dependency, under development and the new international division of labor. Often utilizing ideas developed by social feminists for the analysis of gender relations in the first world these studies also developed a much more complex and sophisticated theoretical framework. Rather than simply concentrating on women, the emphasis of analysis shifted towards the study of gender relations. A more detailed examination of the roots of women's subordination was done through the analysis of the global working of capitalism in combination with patriarchy. Processes linking different parts of the global economy like migration and tourism were examined in gendered terms (Mies, 1986). Analysis at different levels were used requiring an examination of the role played by the sexual division of labor and the links between the spheres of production and reproduction in the subordinate of women (Edholm et al, 1977). In the Third World context, concept of reproduction and domestic labor were observed to take on particular meaning : household is often a productive as well as reproductive unit and peasant households and poor households in urban areas are often producing for subsistence and the market. Greater emphasis was placed on the household, the role of gender relations within it and the link between the household as an economic unit and the global economy. This approach has become known as gender and development (GAD). It has been influential within academic development discourse and a number of important studies have come to light within this framework (Deere, 1977; Beneria, 1982; Jockes, 1987; Park, 1993; Mitter, 1986). While WID

concentrates more on women's economic activities, GAD tackles the question of inequalities in power and looks to empowerment of all fields.

Studies relating to the impact of the spread of capitalist social relations have been analyzed focusing on production and reproduction and the links between them in both agricultural and industrial spheres from the colonial period onwards. These studies have traced the changes in class and gender relations and the household in agricultural production (Deere 1977; Beneria, 1982). The green revolution in India made an example of the way in which the introduction of new techniques such as high yielding seeds and fertilizers altered the class position of different peasant households and the amount of productive labor undertaken by different groups of women both as unpaid labor within the household and as paid labor outside of it (Agarwal, 1986a). The gendered nature of much industrial production in the Third World has also been highlighted in some studies. In developing countries, women's participation in the industrial labor force has risen faster than men's, increasing from 21 per cent in 1960 to 26.5 per cent in 1980 while the overall share of women in the labor force remained constant at around 32 per cent (Jockes, 1987 : 80). In some developing countries – for example, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand– more than 40 per cent labor force are women. Women's participation was crucial to the success of manufacturing industry, the 'engine' of such Korea's economic development (Park, 1993; 132); these 'female-manufacturing industries' accounted for 70 per cent of total national export in 1975. Utilizing existing gender relations to their advantage, MNCs employ female labor, capitalizing on particular notions of skill with the payment of lower wages to women as well as transforming systems of outworking and household production (Elson and Pearson, 1981). But the employment of female labor by MNCs are often located in free trade zones in developing countries and most marked in the electronics and textile industries (Mitter, 1986). However under the theoretical framework of GAD, the gendered nature of much industrial production in the Third World countries has been highlighted by these

studies where women's labor has played a crucial role in the new international division of labor and the global accumulation of capital.

VI

NEO-LIBERALISM AND THE *EFFICIENCY APPROACH* OF WID

The third theoretical framework to development – Neo-liberalism- and the policy prescriptions which accompany it, while not strictly a corpus of development theory, has eclipsed both modernization and underdevelopment theory and dominated development thinking since the early 1980s for widespread implementation of free market policies and the nature of much industrial production in the Third World countries. Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek who emphasize the unfettered working of the free market to promote economic growth provided the theoretical basis for many of these ideas. While appearing gender neutral, the theories have implicit within them an assumption of certain gender relations and particular roles for women (Waylen, 1986;). Despite talking of gender free individuals as the basic unit of analysis, the assumption is that women are subsumed within the household providing important reproductive services, leaving men to be the individuals and head of households who enter the free market and the public sphere. The major policy prescription following from this kind of analysis is the implementation of free market policies and structural adjustment and these have been widely promoted by the international institutions such as the World Bank and IMF. Structural adjustment programs have particular implications for different groups of women in the Third World countries, because, among others, privatization of state enterprises and the reduction in the size of state bureaucracies often make a reduction in employment opportunities for many middle class professional women who often form a large portion of teachers, social workers and nurses; the introduction of measures such as the removal of food subsidies has made, particularly, women in poor households to adopt survival strategies which need greater income generation for large section of poor women (Afshar and Dennis, 1992).

The widespread implementation of SAP by the Third World governments at the command of international institutions has coincided with the predominance of the third variant of WID, the '*efficiency approach*' (Moser, 1991; 103). Attention has shifted towards development, ensuring that development plans are made more efficient and effective through women's economic contribution. It is argued that there is now a new equation: *Women + Production = efficiency* (Kabeer, 1996)

The efficiency argument has clearly spelt out by Rogers (1980) who stressed the advance impact of women's exclusion on development. In view of growing economic crisis in the Third World, she suggested that continued neglect of women's productivity was a costly mistake that planners could no longer afford to make. Gender-specific occupational segregation with concentration of men in higher-level jobs and women in lower ones is regarded as a stable and rigid phenomenon that exists in traditional as well as modern societies. Various studies underline the persistence of gender-segregated labour markets globally, as being independent of level of industrial development or occupational diversification (Terrell, 1992; Kingdon, 1998; Anker, 1997). Even within the same occupation, women are paid lower wages relative to men and male-female earnings are not well explained by gender differences in human capital endowments with the result that gender discrimination could be the possible explanation (Coppin, 1995; Hotchkiss and Moore, 1996; Olsen and Coppin, 2001). Ankur (1997) argues that human capital approaches are becoming weak, as more empirical evidence is taken into account. Many working women have a continuous working career in developing countries, and more and more industrialized countries too, and yet the working experience has not proved to improve women's occupational performance. Lower returns to education lead to inequalities of wages and job mobility (Kingdon, 1998).

'The issue was not so much that women needed development, but that development needed women' (Kabeer, 1996:25). This kind of argument was most persuasive among the development agencies, for it appeared to feed directly into their concern with the efficient allocation of resources.

It has helped to impart the efficiency approach its current prominence in WID policy at national and international levels.

But the new policy equation has been constructed on an equality impoverished view of women's lives; it has defined women's economic agency as equivalent to that of men, ignoring their greater embeddedness in familial and domestic responsibilities. Here welfare is seen as complementary, rather than in opposition to efficiency. It suggests that the opposition posited in WID advocacy between welfare and efficiency needs to be rethought. Although WID advocacy shifted the grounds for investing development resources in women from welfare to efficiency, or from need to merit, Boserup (1970) spoke directly to a market conception of merit claims (Kabeer, 1996: 25). But market-led efficiency with the WID emphasis on women as economic agents served to underscore the 'gender grip' for women within the market solution. If the market is to be the primary mechanism for allocating resources, then, women, who generally have less purchasing power, will be unable to buy the support services they need to reduce their domestic labour overheads; on the other, if they are unable to buy these labour-replacing services, they will also be unable to carry on the range of activities that would help them to increase their purchasing power. In its broader meaning, development can carry both negative as well as positive connotations – enriching a few, impoverishing the many.

If the satisfaction of human need rather than the exercise of market rationally is taken as the criterion of production, then clearly a much more holistic view of development becomes necessary. Development should not be measured by the volume of marketed goods or services alone but by the extent to which human well being is assured. However instead of market-led efficiency of WID advocacy between welfare and efficiency in the new policy equation (women+productivity = efficiency) market would take their place as simply one of a variety of institutional mechanism through which human needs can be met, rather than as a sole arbiter of 'value'. Such an approach would promote both class and gender equity: women particularly poor women, would take their

place as key actors in the development process for their contribution to human survival and well-being among those who have been most disenfranchised by growth-dominated development strategies (Ibid: 82-85).

After a long claim against development theory by feminist academics, it was suggested that development plans and projects would not succeed unless women's potential and actual productive roles were recognized. But part of the feminist agenda was incorporated into development thinking. Primarily, this agenda was executed in an instrumental manner— the improvement of women's life was seen as a mechanism to achieve other development goals, such as population control rather than as a valuable end in it. Subsequently feminist agenda has emerged as an independent action plan of International Development Organization, World Bank, and Developed and Developing Countries.

VII

GENERED ANALYSIS BY A NEW SET OF FEMINIST ACADEMICS

The emergence of a new set of feminist critiques of much of the existing literature and policies and projects was also observed in the 1980s. While they are often overlapping and intersecting, three different bodies can be identified. The *first critique* derives from the work of Third World feminists such as DAWN (Development Alternatives for a New Era), a network of activities, researchers and policymakers formed in India in 1984 (Sen and Grown, 1987). There is now a growing feeling that there is need to develop a Third World focus to understand the gender problem, like gender subordination, value of women's work, empowerment, feminist ideology, identity of women and others. Although considerable dependence is noticeable on western ideas, models, methodologies, scholarships, there is now a growing feeling of women's perspective on development in the Third World Countries with locally relevant Concepts and theories taking into consideration the specification of different regions. By the NGO'85 conference at Nairobi in July 1985, about 22 activists, researchers and policy-makers prepared a document enunciating a Third World women's perspective on development, described as DAWN i.e. Development Alternatives

with Women For a New Era. DAWN suggested that the problem of development were not unique to the Third World. As DAWN pointed out, even within the first world there had always been those who had been marginalized in the process of market-led growth and whose dissonant voices had not been heard in the mainstream of the western feminist movement. The priorities for poor women from racially and nationally disadvantaged group were frequently food, housing, jobs, services and the struggle against racism rather than equality with men. DAWN was of the view that equality with men who themselves suffered unemployment, poor work conditions, low wages and racism within the existing socio-economic structures did not seem an adequate or worthy goal (Kabeer, 1996:32). The notion of global sisterhood was also challenged by Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), a network of African researchers. They rejected the analysis and strategies of western women 'who insisted on prioritizing problems of equality between the sexes as the fundamental issue facing all women and argued that the interests of men and women were opposed and mutually exclusive (AAWORD, 1982). Asian Women Research and Action Network (AWRAN) initiated a debate on the relevance of feminism in Asia and special features of Asian feminism. The DAWN report suggests that they go beyond the discussion of empowerment as good for women to the discussion of empowerment as critical for building accountability into the functioning of the public realm – both and the state the institutions of civil society – thereby the possibility of their transformation along with the transformation of gender relations (DAWN, 1991).

The *second* one has been labeled a postmodern feminist critique of women and development theory and practice. Postmodern feminist theory rejects universal constructs of truth, objectivity and neutrality. It replaces unitary notion of women and feminine gender identity with plural and complexity constructed conception of social identity, treating gender as one of the relevant strands among others, attending also to class race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation (Fraser and Nicholson, 1988; 390-391). While some women share common interests and face some common enemies such commonalities are by no means universal. They are interlaced with differences, even

with conflict. This practice is made up of overlapping alliances (ibid :391). This new feminism is more sensitive to local and diverse voices of feminism and rejects a universalistic perspective on a single feminist standpoint. Whereas earlier feminism was concerned with understanding and recording commonality-experienced oppression of women everywhere, the contemporary feminist practice emphasizes diversity of women's interrelationships. However postmodern feminist draws much of its inspiration from the Work of DAWN (Parpart, 1993; Waylen, 1996) The *third feminist critique* consists of mainly First World feminist academics that worked to improve development analysis and policy of the Third World countries. However, out of these three new set of critiques the most important is the DAWN, which have laid out their gendered analysis in a wider process of development and social change for the third world societies (Sen and Grown, 1987). All these groups have criticized much of the WID and early GAD literature on several grounds. (Waylen, 1996 : 43) *First*, they homogenize women, treating them as a single unitary category ignoring difference. *Second*, Third World women are seen as the passive objects of policy, not agents of change in their own right (Mohanty, 1988). *Third*, as a corollary of the second, many of the policy prescriptions and projects are seen as primarily top-down ones imposed from above.

Moreover, in the purely capitalist model of development and its doctrine of free-market economy and liberalization, privatization and globalization, women have become victims of development and non 'planners' or 'policy makers' in the development process. Hence most of these approaches have failed to achieve their objective of meeting the strategic gender needs. This is reflected in the increasing incidents of violence against women, dowry deaths, rape, sexual abuse, prostitution in the name of tourism promotion and the declining sex ratio. The policy of Government to privatize health and education sectors may have very adverse effects on fulfilling even women's practical gender needs.

However criticizing much of WID and early GAD literature on several grounds, these new set of critiques, the most important being DAWN, emphasize that development plans and project

would be more efficient and effective through women's economic contribution - '*efficiency approach*' of WID: but there must be the 'bottom-up' development approach through active participation and leadership of women in a rejection of the top-down imposition of development schemes.

VIII

IMPLICAITON OF '*EFFICIENCY APPROACH*' OF WID

That women's economic contribution brings about higher economic growth and productivity in the country has been acknowledged in the progress report of various countries of the world. Raising women's education increases their efficiency as producers, by increasing their adoption of new technologies and their efficiency in using resources. It also shows the benefits of increasing women farmers' access to agricultural extension, credit services and other productive inputs. (Saito et al., 1994; Quisumbing, 1994). Giving women farmers the same education and inputs as men increases yields by as much as 22 per cent in Kenya (Quisumbing, 1994). The analysis of household panel data for Barkina Faso suggests that farm output could be increased by 6-20 per cent through a more equitable allocation of productive resources between men and women farmers (Urdu, 1996). More equitable distribution of opportunities and resources between men and women leads more directly to higher economic growth and productivity (World Development Bank, 2000: 199).

A progress report on the World Bank's initiative for WID, which started during 1980s, focuses on increasing women productivity and income, because this is considered the best way to help women help themselves and contribute to economic performance, poverty reduction, slower population growth and environmental sustainability (World Bank, 1990 : 61) Progress in Bank lending has been most apparent in sectors (education, population, health and nutrition, and agriculture) that affect women's productivity the most. About two fifths of Bank operation in fiscal 1989 included WID recommendation, as did almost all population, health and nutrition - PHN - Projects (ibid : 61). About 40 per cent of Bank operation approved in fiscal year 1991 included

specific recommendations for action to integrate women into the development process (World Bank, 1991 : 55). A review of some projects approved in 1980s highlighted the need for more effective planning of WID action during project preparation and more effective supervision once project implementation had begun. A primary component of Bank's WID initiative had been the preparation of country specific WID assessment and action plans. These assessments outlined specific programs of action to assist women that could be implemented with the assistance of the Bank. About four – fifths of these action plans recommended raising the productivity and incomes of women farmers by improving access to extension and other agricultural support activities (ibid : 62), A new operation Policy directive, issued in April 1994, states that it is Bank's intention to reduce gender disparities and enhance women's participation in economic development by integrating gender issues into country specific strategies (World Bank, 1994 : 37). It reflects an implementation of 'efficiency approach of WID' in all action plans of World Bank's initiative for WID recommendations that were extended to various countries in the world.

More direct efforts to ensure women's access to productive resources include recent land tilling programs to grant land rights to women. Statutory law in several Latin American countries required that the beneficiaries of earlier land reform programs be head of households. It was difficult for women to benefit from such programs since custom dictated that men were the head of the household. However, during 1980s and 1990s reform measures changed and the more progressive agrarian codes of the 1990s gave special attention to this problem. Top priorities to redistributing land to households headed by women and to woman who lacked protection or had been displaced by war (including single and children women) were given to the 1994. Colombian Agrarian Law. (Deere and Leon, 1999).There have been success stories to several other Latin American Countries : a study based on gender disaggregated data for six countries (Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico and Peru) reveals that women receive large share of beneficiaries under current land tilling programs than under past agrarian reforms.

A study of the effect of networking schemes, such as group-based micro credit, suggests that these schemes have enormous potentials for reducing poverty and empowerment of women. The interest reached a new peak with a micro credit summit held in February 1997, in Washington, D.C. which was considered the first step a decade long campaign that seeks to ensure delivery of micro credit for self employment along with other financial and business service by 2005 to 100 million of the world's poorest families especially the women of those families. (Micro credit summit 1997, Draft Declaration and plan of Action). In many developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, a significant movement has been gathering momentum over the recent years, influenced mainly by WID policy work. To this end, the global movements of micro credit programmers by different government and non-government agencies have focused mostly on women through economic route with the 'bottom up' approach of women's active involvement in the program. Some of these credit programmes such as Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) are targeted more to women than to men and credit has more productive for poor households in Bangladesh when women are the program participants (Pitt and Sahidur, 1998). In southern Africa, for the networking schemes of credit and saving facilities women own an impressive share of small, informal sector business: 67 per cent in Zimbabwe, 23 per cent in Lesotho, 84 per cent in Swaziland, although training in entrepreneurial skills for women, who are typically cut off from the normal paths for acquiring, such skills, are critical. Group-based micro credit schemes have helped women acquire nonland assets and have also been associated with positive effect on girls' schooling (ibid: 1996; World Development Bank 2000). As to women's empowerment effect of the micro credit programme, generally the effects of the programs are largely positive (Rahman, 1986; Pitt and Khandker, 1995; Amin and Pebly, 1994).

The relationship between gender and environment is complex because of the underlying historical inequalities in gender and caste/class relations, which determine women's multifarious roles as producer, conserver, consumer and distributor of natural resources. Women are seen as

being closer to nature for their natural procreative function (Ortner, 1974 : 71); women are more dependent on nature by the virtue of sexual division of labor. It is said that women are primarily responsible for the gathering of fuel, fodder and wild foods and the growing of subsistence crops for survival, whereas men are seen as mainly responsible for the growing of cash crops and profits (Leach and Green, 1995: 7); women are seen as being the most appropriate participants in environmental conservation as the main victims of environmental degradation and degradation of natural resources destroys the material basis on which women's indigenous knowledge of resources and processes is found and kept alive (Fernandes and Menon, 1987; Shiva, 1988; Kelkar and Nathan, 1991; Chen 1991).

Integrating WID initiative in the environmental area, WED (Women Environment and Development) put forward two arguments behind its theoretical explanation. First, improving the status of women will assist the solution of environmental problem; *Second*, within environmental projects, women's sole participation will lead to improve project efficiency (Sarker and Das, 2002: 4407) The Rio Declaration (The UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio 1992) at the Earth Summit also acknowledges that women have a vital role to play in environment management and development from which they have been historically excluded (Sharma, 2000). Women's active participation and women's leadership have been stated in the area of Natural Resource Management (NRM) Programmes in the developing country like India for protecting environmental degradation, sustainable development and efficient management of natural resources. Some of the NRM programmes have led to greater awareness among the rural poor including women are Joint Forest Management, Wasteland Development, Watershed Development and Water Resource Development. Although in Africa Community Participation has helped restore forest resources in Gambia and led to broader participation in rural development in Zimbabwe (World Development Bank 2000: 92), the progress report of JFM in India suggests some success stories relating to the involvement and active participation of women in the JFMP. Chipko movement in

India, hailed from women's activism, began independently of global environmental consciousness. Environmental campaigns in India have been successful in negotiating some changes in government policies. In the last two decades, conflict over the alternative uses of local resources - waterland, commons, river waters, marine resources and minor forest products - have given rise to a variety of community initiatives. The watershed 1988 National Forest Policy in India asserted that one of the basic objectives was 'creating a massive people's involvement with the involvement of women' (Ministry of Environment and Forest - MOEF - 1988). Making a sharp departure from the past, JFM is a direct outcome of 1988 National Forest Policy, which acknowledges the dependence of the rural poor on forest resources for survival. This management is currently being tried in 16 Indian States for local forest and watershed management. Despite the ideological diversity of community initiatives and proliferation of NGOs working in the area of environmental action, poor peasant women are motivated for group action as they regard these organizations as one of the only protection against their vulnerabilities as individuals at home, at work and in society. The progress report of JFM in India suggests that the forest management groups in Andhra Pradesh successfully involved women (World Bank, 2000; Agarwal, 1997), West Bengal have also made some active initiatives in this regard. Understanding that women are being deprived of their equal constitutional right to benefit accruing from the forest, effort have been made very recently by the Forest Department, Government of West Bengal to establish a new management system of female FPC in West Bengal. To this end, 17 female FPC (Forest Protection Committee) have been only established, primarily, in Bankura district in West Bengal. It has been extended to all the three forest divisions of the district (Sarkar and Das, 2002). In an another action project plan in Bankura district of West Bengal, women have mobilized around wasteland development. Once the district had thick mixed forests, but santhal tribal lost their forestland to traders, contractors and cultivators. They started migrating for work to Burdwan and Hooghly districts. The migration was harsh and women clamored for work in their villages. The project has evolved from women's group activity in

reclaiming. Wasteland and converting it into tassar plantation (Sharma, 2000 : 159-160). One of the Samiti members emphasized : ‘We have learnt that actually it is the land that owns people. We have worked hard to give it a green cover and in return it has clothed us with authority. We are advancing together. The journey has just begun’ (Sharma, 2000: 160).

WID approach has also broadened women’s legal rights in many countries by increasing their political representation in local and national assemblies. Efforts are under way in at least 32 countries to increase women’s political representation by reserving seats for them in local and national assemblies (World Development Bank 2000:119-120) That local self-governments like Panchayet and Zilla Parishad are providing one third reservation for women has been guaranteed in India by the seventy third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments. By reserving a third of local council seat for women, these two constitutional amendments give rise to a new class of women (some 600,000 strong) with political influence; similar reservation is under consideration for higher political levels (ibid: 120).

IX CONCLUSION

Feminist academics have been trying to make sure that gendered analyses are incorporated into all areas and in all development plans and projects. However, new directions have emerged in both analysis and policy of development plans and projects, particularly, by the Third World government with the predominance of the ‘efficiency approach’ of WID through active involvement of Women’s into development plans and projects. New areas and forms of analysis are being explored. The ‘bottom-up’ development schemes have entailed a vibrant civil society created through grassroots collective organization. Acknowledging difference between women, these grassroots collective organizations have also necessitated greater consideration of the construction of identities and interests and have highlighted the need for alliances between different groups of women. Government of the Third World countries have taken up legislative and reformative

measures for success and smooth functioning of gender sensitive planning in various fields. A number of NGO's have become the torchbearers of this movement even in remote areas in the Third World countries. Although parts of the feminists' agenda have been incorporated into development plans and projects of the Third World countries, the new directions have wider impact for gender equity and efficiency in all development policy and planning in these countries in future.

NOTES

1. Much of the work on gender in the Third World countries has been influenced by social and liberal feminism, the major two analytical camps dominant in 1970s. Unlike Marxist feminists, Social feminists go beyond the simple socialist solution maintaining that the abolition of private property will not automatically result in women's liberation, (Panday, 1987 : 117). Social feminist believe that societies are fundamentally structured around profound inequalities in gender relations and patriarchy system of male domination (Waylen, 1996 : 6-7). Social feminists not only attack on the economic class structure but also direct attack, led by women, on all forms of male oppression. But Hartmann (1981) argues that Social feminists are primarily concentrated on class difference which makes them 'sex-blind' and therefore unable to provide an adequate analysis of women subordination.

Liberal feminist is the most diverse strand. It is less concerned with finding structural explanation for women's subordination than socialist feminists. Instead, they find the socialization of men and women into different roles reinforced by discrimination, prejudice and irrationality, as responsible for women's unequal position in society. The solutions to inequality are changes which will give women a better deal in the existing system, such as, legal changes and the promotion of equal opportunities allowing women access to things on the same terms as men. Liberal feminism has been criticized for its overly individualistic approach and its lack of a coherent analysis of women's oppression.

2. According to Morgan (1984), the major cause for women's oppression is 'biological materialism' – the identification of women with reproduction and male sexual pleasure. Without the choice not to be defined and rewarded primarily as 'reproducers', and reproducers for particular husbands, women have little chance of escaping these practices.

3. Boserup (1970), based on a comparative empirical analysis of women's economic role in the developing world using data primarily from Africa, observed that new technology in farming actually lowered women's status by reducing their access to productive work. As cash crop production and wage jobs were only made available to men, women were increasingly relegated to the subsistence economy during colonial period and afterwards.

4. For the Classical Marxist, Third World remains 'underdeveloped' until they are developed by capitalism, whereas for the underdevelopment theorists it is precisely because such societies (Third World

societies) have been incorporated into world capitalism that their development has been blocked, even reversed and they have become underdeveloped.

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