

ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES TO THE MAINSTREAM DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: EMERGENCE AND PROGRESS OF WOMEN-GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Beginning in the 1970s, neoliberal policies have been implemented to resolve the economic crisis due to the stage of capital reaches in all over the world. These policies associated with liberating market and reducing government expenditures. The policies designed by international institutions aimed to create development through economic growth.

The socio-economic effect of this transformation process on the societies in developing countries has been a popular research subject in the development literature. However recent research has revealed that the development process does not have the same effect on women`s and men`s economic and social position in developing countries. Regarding to this fact, today women-gender and development approach is the most functional theoretical tool by researching women`s experiences in development process. In this context, the main aim of this paper is to highlight the importance of women-gender and development approach by scrutinizing its emergence and progress within development literature.

Keywords: Development, Women in Development, Women and Development, Gender and Development

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ANA AKIM KALKINMA LİTERATÜRÜNE ALTERNATİF BİR BAKIŞ AÇISI: KADIN-TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE KALKINMA YAKLAŞIMININ ORTAYA ÇIKIŞ VE GELİŞİMİ

ÖZ

1970'lerden itibaren sermayenin tüm dünyada ulaştığı aşamada ortaya çıkan krizi çözmek için pazarın serbestleşmesi ve devlet harcamaların azaltılması gibi neoliberal politikalar uygulamaya konulmuştur. Uluslararası kuruluşlar tarafından tasarlanan bu politikalar ekonomik büyüme yoluyla kalkınmayı amaçlamaktadır. Söz konusu dönüşüm sürecinin kalkınmakta olan ülkeler üzerindeki sosyo-ekonomik etkisi kalkınma literatüründe önemli araştırma alanlarından biri olmuştur. Diğer yandan daha yakın zamanlı araştırmalar kalkınma sürecinin söz konusu ülkelerde yaşayan kadınlar ve erkekler üzerinde farklı etkileri olduğunu ortaya çıkartmıştır. Günümüzde Kadın – Toplumsal cinsiyet ve Kalkınma Yaklaşımı kalkınma sürecinde kadınların deneyimlerini araştırmada en işlevsel teorik perspektif olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda bu makalede Kadın – Toplumsal cinsiyet ve Kalkınma yaklaşımının kalkınma literatüründe ortaya çıkış ve gelişim aşamaları incelenecek ve farklılıkları ortaya konulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kalkınma, Kalkınmada Kadın, Kalkınma ve Kadın, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a survey paper on the emergence of women-gender and development approach. There have been two main classifications in the literature (Rathgeber, 1990; Tiano, 1987). This paper combines all these systematizations basically from a historical order. The author intends to discuss this literature by evaluating the intervention measures of approaches through focusing their direction; namely, top down or grassroots.

In this context first two approaches (Women in Development and Women and Development) discussed below are mainly related top-down development policies. This paper firstly elaborates Women in Development approach within the boundaries of its main assertion of "integration of women into Development process" by linking its roots with modernization theory. It will continue with the critics of WID by problematizing integration issue.

Secondly, Women and Development (WAD) approach with its theoretical roots from Dependency Theory will be scrutinized. The critics on WAD's disregard of women's specific experiences in the reproductive sphere will be amplified.

The following part scrutinized Gender and Development (GAD) approach as the alternative to the WID's focus and WAD's limitations. In this section GAD's distinguishing concentration on women's empowerment will be evaluated in a more detailed manner by linking its grass root dimension. The concepts of "patriarchy" and "empowerment" will be examined in a more detailed manner in this section. Lastly, this literature will be evaluated by remarks on the type of intended empowerment and requirement for consideration of unique patriarchal experiences of women in developing world.

CLASSIFICATION OF GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES

The process of development in the developing countries has, by and large, marginalized women and deprived them of the control over resources and authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their “traditional duties” (Afshar, 1991:15). There has been a growing research on this subject. Currently, this issue has become an integral part of development perspectives and policies. Intensification of debates on gender and development has been also closely related the UN system’s handling of the issue. Owing to feminist critics on development theories; women have become first visible as a sociological category, and later their experience and its socio economic implications have dealt with seriously in development literature. Through these alternative development discourses a new path breaking theoretical ground has emerged in which social construction of sexual division of labor and close relationship of production and reproduction mechanisms to unequal development and international asymmetries has been explored.

Until the 1970’s in the development literature there was no specific attention on different experiences of women and men. The first serious discussion and analysis of women in development emerged during the 1970s with an alternative perspective of Women in Development (WID) assuming that development should seek to integrate women and continued with Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches arguing that the full participation of women is required for development.

In the development literature women-gender and development studies are classified mainly according to Rathgeber’s (1990) model as WID, WAD and GAD approaches and Tiano’s (1987) model as integration, marginalization and exploitation approaches. Additionally, Gündüz- Hoşgör (2001) suggests a slightly different third model following Tiano’s model as modernization approaches and conflict theories.

In Tiano's model while integration approach refers to WID approach; marginalization and exploitation approaches correspond to WAD and GAD approaches. Gündüz-Hoşgör summarizes Tiano's model as follows.

Marginalization approach stresses that the reproduction role of women hinders their involvement in production during the capitalist development process. In contrast, the exploitation approach suggests that women are involved in production as 'cheap labor for capital accumulation... according to this approach, their reproduction role at home continues so that women's oppression and subordination do not come to an end. In sum both approaches suggest that development is not beneficial to women but rather harmful (2001:113).

On the other hand, Gündüz-Hoşgör in her model classified women-gender and development approaches into two broad categories as modernization and conflict (Marxist) theories. While modernization approach corresponds Rathgeber's WID and Tiano's Integration classification; conflict theories include women in dependency/world systems approaches in addition to Tiano's marginalization and exploitation approaches classification. In this paper women-gender and development approaches will be discussed mainly through combining all these systematizations.²

² There are also recent feminist debates on development such as Eco Feminist approach focusing on the intersection between gender, development, and environment. This approach argues that there are similarities between men's control over women and nature suggests first to analyze the relationship between women and nature for sustainable development (Mies and Shiva, 1990). On the other hand postmodern perspective with its critique of modernity and Western hegemony rejects staying in colonial/neo-colonial development discourse. It argues that hierarchical and dualistic nature of Western thought silenced the "Third World women's" voices and emphasizes differences among women (Parpart and Marchand, 1995).

Women in Development approach (WID): Integration of Women into Development

Main argument of WID perspective is that women are not integrated into development process and also not benefited from it. Main assumption of WID is the source of women's relative backwardness derived from traditional attitudes and simple technology. During the development process, through industrialization along with urbanization, education and employment opportunities improve women's status and lead liberation for them (Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits, 2007). Giele (1992) lists the conditions for gender equality from WID perspective as follows;

1. a technologically advanced or industrial economy;
2. a kinship system based on a nuclear rather than the extended family;
3. a democratic state and an egalitarian class structure;
4. a secularized religious tradition or world view (cited in Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits, 2007:8).

Its theoretical base is closely linked to Modernization Theory which is a liberal approach to development emerged after the Second World War period. The main focus of this approach is economic growth with trickle down process and political stability in Third World's newly formed nation states that were in search for a development model. It aims to assist backward/traditional/primitive Third World to achieve the level of full developed countries as modern/rational/ industrialized; so that threat of their joining to the Soviet communist bloc could be eliminated (So, 1990).

Modernization approach emerged in the 1950s, by adopting evolutionary theory views industrialization and urbanization as inevitable processes.³ Accordingly, Third World countries should exhibit a pattern similar to that of developed countries in their move toward development. Rostow (1960) identifies the sequences of development of modern societies by their economic scopes in five categories: traditional society, preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption. By following these sequences developing countries could become modernized. Accordingly, modernization could be achieved by bringing Third World `backward` societies to the “take-off” stage. This unidirectional progress perception takes Western pattern of development as ideal type. Since in the beginning, namely take-off stage, industrialization and the overall modernization of the society is possible through providing infrastructure (Escobar, 1999). Consequently, the dependence in Western supply of capital is unavoidable as well as transferring values, technology and political institutions from West. So that, they should rely on external loans and aid, transform their traditional institutions (Gündüz- Hoşgör, 2001:114).

However, modernization approaches being male-centric have failed to recognize women’s condition in development. It was automatically assumed all sexes would benefit equally as societies become modernized (Rathgeber, 1990:491). Gündüz-Hoşgör also asserts that within modernization school women’s relative “backwardness” takes its source from traditional attitudes and simple technology.

According to this school, since industrialization expands job opportunities and social services, it should lead to improvement in the status of women. Thus, economic development brings female liberation by increasing the integration of women into economic life (2001:114).

³ So describes modernization process as phased, irreversible, progressive, Europeanization (Americanization), and lengthy process (1990, p. 33-37).

Besides having male-centric point of view within modernization school women's specific contributions to economic modernization and social welfare have not been recognized (Bandarage, 1984). Standard developmentalist interest in the problems of Third World women aroused from the view that women are instrumental to programs of population control, increased food production, and the provision of other basic needs (Beneria and Sen, 1982). On the other hand, current research has revealed that only men have benefited from development such as private property rights, wage labor, technology, credit and education (Boserup 1970; Rogers, 1979; Tinker and Bramsen, 1976; Lynne and Ilcan, 2000).

In development literature dealing with women as productive economic subjects has begun with Boserup, who firstly theorizes women's exclusion from development in the literature. Boserup being among the first scholars investigating what happens to women in the transformation process, in her empirical study "Women's Role in Economic Development" (1970) argues that the development process does not have same effect on women's and men's economic and social position in developing countries. In the same line Afshar argues in the introduction of the edited book "Women, Development and Survival in the Third World"⁴, that "development in the developing countries has, by and large, marginalized women and deprived them of the control over resources and authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their traditional duties" (1991:15).

Until Boserup's (1970) innovative work, "Women's Role in Economic Development", women are not perceived as active producers as man; in other words, they are perceived as one of the main obstacles of development. As a result, women -lacking property, skills, capital or education- are relegated to the least productive and least paid jobs. Main argument of Boserup's study is that women are marginalized both

⁴ This book includes case studies about the effects of economic transformation on women living in Africa, China, India, Iran, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Southern Africa and Vietnam.

economically and socially during the process of economic development. She firstly used gender as a variable in her research by using statistical data. Since her work, there has been a growing research trend towards women economic marginalization and exclusion from development and activism for women's inclusion in development process as productive laborers.

These efforts eventually resulted with the formation of the women in development (WID) approach which criticizes modernization approach for ignoring women in establishing a development model. According to WID approach women should be integrated into development policies and projects to solve the problem of their insufficient incorporating in economic modernization and spreading the benefits of modernization. In parallel, liberal feminists assert that the reason of women's economic marginalization and subordination is their confinement in private sphere (Friedan, 1963; Mill, 1970). In this context, WID's agenda, inclusion of women as workers and producers fitted well with the liberal feminists' equity agenda which advocates women's existence in public sphere as equals of men. Along with Western Liberal feminists, WID thinkers seek this integration through legal measures and attitude changes. With the aim of influencing development planners, many international and national conferences, declarations and legislation including the UN Decade for Women organized and the sexual inequalities underlying the process of economic modernization were highlighted (Bandarage, 1984).

In policy application, WID approach was efficient in International Development Agencies' internalizing this 'first-wave' feminism's discourse (Kabeer, 1997; Vavrus and Richey, 2003). In this context, during 1970s and early 1980s, it has been axiomatically assumed by aid agencies that women's lives would improve once they had been integrated onto the development process. Policy approaches implemented towards Third World women within WID discourse have been differentiated by time. Using Molyneux's (1985) concepts Moser (1989; 1993) states five stages of policy evolution. First one, until 1970's "*welfare approach*" focuses women's reproductive roles and sees population growth as the main source

of poverty. Therefore, main policy implementations were designed on the control of population growth. Secondly, which lasted during the UN Decade for Women (between 1976-1985), “*equity approach*” directed all policy implementations. Main focus was legislation and thanks to UN efforts women’s civil and political rights in many countries were enhanced. Feminists had started to organize around the gender equality agenda. However, this agenda encountered great resistance from development agencies, policy makers etc. Third approach “*anti-poverty*” is a tactical response to this opposition. By this approach the focus changed to meeting people’s basic needs. The stress was upon women’s productive role through waged work and income generation. The fourth approach which is also more convincing for the development community and basis for WID programming is “*efficiency approach*” corresponds with IMF’s structural adjustment programs in 1980s (Tinker, 1990). Accordingly, by emphasizing women’s integration in economies the debt crises could be overcome through their participation. The last approach “*empowerment*” is associated with feminist writing and grass-roots organizing of Third World Women for altering laws and structures that oppress them (Molyneux, 1985).

As a combination of modernization and liberal feminist approach WID school was confined within the limits of these approaches. Being leading scholar of WID, Boserup was accused as being oversimplified in defining women’s situation and staying superficial rather than focusing with the empirical data she presented in neo-classical terms (Beneria and Sen, 1981; Rathgeber, 1990; Parpart, 1995; Lynne and Ilcan, 2000). Similarly, WID scholars who stay within the boundaries of modernization school and advocating women’s integration labeled as “developmentalists” who simply assert that economic modernization and westernization will liberate women (Tiano, 1984; 1982). They have been widely criticized for accepting existing social structures and not proposing any structural change in the social system by ignoring sexual dimensions. Modernization theory is also criticized for not emphasizing changes in class relations or the contradictory effects of the capitalist development process and for not acknowledging the possibility of alternative development models (Beneria and Sen, 1981:284).

One of the arguments against WID approach is also on having origins from colonial and liberal discourse. Chowdry (1995) argues that the colonial discourse homogenizes and essentializes Third World Women and privileges European people. On the other hand, the liberal discourse supports free market, voluntary choices and individualism. The intersection of these two modernist discourses paradoxically disempowers Third World Women. Accordingly, as a result this approach could not go beyond reinforcing colonial representations of Third World women and liberal market discourse. Moreover, WID advocates ignored the historical context of development and inherent problems with the framework of development itself. By doing so they failed to acknowledge the specific social and cultural context of women's lives (Koczberski, 1998). The effort of adapting women's projects to the standard development projects represented no threat to the existing power structures and budget allocations, distanced WID from its original objectives (Goetz, 1997, cited in Chowdry, 1995:35).

The "integration" issue has been found problematic for some theorists (Tinker, 1990; Palmer, 1991). Accordingly, within WID school rather than proposing a total challenge to growth model of the development approach, main cure was found in integration women into development gender sensitive economic policies (Chowdry, 1995:35). However, the notion of integration is also questionable since aid practice is male-biased. According to socialist feminists (Beneria and Sen, 1981; Hartmann, 1981; Mies, 1982; Young, 1981) the main problem is not integration of women of Third World. They have been already integrated to the system but at the bottom of an inherently hierarchical and contradictory structure of production and accumulation. They argue WID is guilty for promoting capitalism rather than assisting Third World women. For this reason, a coherent analysis of the interconnections between capital accumulation, class formation, and gender relations required for understanding the impact of development process. However, WID approach avoided questioning the nature and the sources of women's subordination and oppression and did not bring radical perspectives requiring structural changes (Vijayamohanan et al., 2009:11).

Although WID has remained subject to many criticisms, it has leading role in development practice on women. First of all, it is successful in making women visible as a category or variable in research and well established sociological subjects. (Fernandez-Kelly, 1997:162) Starting with Boserup, Third World women's place in development process has been questioned. WID scholars made serious assessments on women's marginalization from production; women's exploitation as cheap labor in economic development process (Boserup, 1970: Leacock, 1975); and varying sexual division of labor across countries (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983). Besides, through empirical studies made on women's work, persuasive data has accumulated on women's centrality and economic contributions in the Third World. Even though its limited scope confined modernist and liberal perspective; WID's integration efforts increased recognition of women's role in development and encouraged a more `gender aware` approach to development planning (Koczberski, 1998). One of the important achievements of WID school is that governmental and nongovernmental agencies had started to assess the impacts of development policies on women. Their interaction with feminist analyses resulted with the challenge to most of development issues (Harding, 1998:147).

Women and Development Approach (WAD): Marginalization of Women in Development

In the second half of 1970s WAD approach emerged from the critique of modernization theory and WID approach. Focusing on the relationship between women and development process, its main argument is integrating women into development is a myth since women have always been part of development. WAD school draws its theoretical roots from the intersection of the dependency theory and concerns of dependency school thinkers; development practitioners and radical / neo Marxist feminists. While dependency theorists have been started to call for self-reliant development, development practitioners have been concerning with recent criticism on the relationship between development and patriarchy. On the other hand, radical feminists' critical discourse on patriarchal structures; and neo-Marxist feminists'

analysis on relations of production and women's lack of access to critical resources met with those concerns (Parpart, 1993; Parpart and Marchand, 1995; Rathgeber, 1990). Resulting approach has been called Women and Development and had significant influence in development circles.

Dependency Theorists have found explanations of Modernization School limited and advocated opposite of its assumptions that assert close contact between West and Third World. According to them, rather internal characteristics such as traditional culture, this close link leads underdevelopment of third world countries which is created by the long history of colonial domination in Third World countries; and transition to peripheral capitalism (Amin, 1976; Dos Santos, 1970; Frank, 1967). Main obstacle to national development could be found in historical heritage of colonialism and unequal international division of labor rather than lack of capital, entrepreneurial skills or democratic institutions (So, 1990:104). Dependency is continuously perpetuated through creating a system wherein capitalist `metropole` benefiting from a dependent, peripheral Third World. Therefore, separation from metropole; a critical attitude toward Western technology; and commitment Third World self-reliance could be main paths towards for Third World Development (Connelly et al., 2000:59).

Parallel to dependency theorists, WAD school advocates the claim for "integration of women into development" is closely linked to the maintenance of the economic dependency of Third World (Pala, 1977). Moreover, in development processes women have been always an integral part in a global system of exploitation and inequality with the work they do both inside and outside the household. They did not suddenly appear due to efforts of some scholars and activists in the early 1970s (Rathgeber, 1990:492). Therefore, the causes of gender inequalities which lead to women's subordination and oppression should be discovered for answering the question of why women had not benefited from development (Vijayamohanan et al., 2009).

Similar to dependency theorists, radical feminists also challenge to existing power structures and advocated a degree of separation from the sources of power and domination. According to radical feminists (Beauvoir, 1971; Firestone, 1970; Millett, 1970) the roots of existing inequalities between men and women in all societies lie under the patriarchal system.⁵ They also argue that activists should challenge to women's subordination and struggle to abolish patriarchy and reach equality for women. Overcoming this inequality is only possible with alternative social institutions formed separate from men. Furthermore, they underline the distinctiveness of women's knowledge, women's work and women's goals and responsibilities. Influenced from this approach some development theorists and activists called separate projects for women rather than integrating women into a patriarchal world. (Connelly et al., 2000). Placing grass roots point of view in the center, WAD approach committed itself avoiding governmental interventions; respecting local women's knowledge and adopting participatory approach to development in designing small-scale women only projects rather than domination of development experts (Parpart, 1995: 233).

WAD approach also based on neo-Marxist feminism. Different from WID approach it analyses relations of production and international structures of inequality. According to Marxists, main reasons of these inequalities are relations of production and women's lack of access to critical resources. Namely, during the early phase of transformation women marginalized⁶ by staying at home for reproducing labor force

⁵ Similar to WID, GAD perspective also accuses patriarchy as the sources of women's disadvantaged position in development. However, different from WID approach which sees the base of patriarchy mainly in culture and tradition; GAD's reference of patriarchy is materially originated.

⁶ Gündüz- Hoşgör summarizes the marginalization thesis as follows; "The marginalization thesis... says that women are isolated from production and political control. Women are integrated as "use value" in household production since they reproduce the labor force while men are drawn into the labor force to produce commodities in exchange for wages. However, women's isolation from production outside the home, and consequently their economic dependence on men, limit their autonomy and access to resources. This leads to a disadvantaged status for women. ... According to the marginalization thesis, despite the ideology of egalitarianism, development has generally increased women's economic and social marginality" (2001:118).

and mostly kept away from waged works. The presence in labor market in later phases is as cheap laborers. (Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits, 2008).

According to Bandarage; the sexual division of labor in reproduction, local class structure, the articulation of specific regions and sectors of production within national economies and the international economy are the main determinants of the diversity or the complexity that women are integrated into development (1984: 502). However, Marxist approach has given inadequate attention to social relations of gender within classes and fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression and since they see sexual inequality as an aspect of inequity created by capitalist accumulation. Similarly, in practical application, similar to WID approach WAD focuses on intervention strategies for productive sphere such as income generating activities, without taking time burden on women into consideration (Vijayamohanan et al., 2009). These questions are better analyzed in GAD approach.

Gender and Development Approach (GAD): The Exploitation Approach

Gender and Development Approach (GAD) appeared in 1980s as an alternative approach to WID's focus and WAD's limitations. This perspective has a holistic approach⁷ to all aspects of women's lives; and makes structural critique on the nature of production and reproduction by focusing the effects of capital accumulation (Fernandez-Kelly, 1994). It emerged from grass-roots women's movement's experiences; writings of Third World (South) feminists and Western (North) socialist feminists thinking. The research and writing on problems of women in South by Third World feminists are encouraged and

⁷ In this perspective, the tasks that are performed by women at home are moved into the wage-labor sphere in a commercialized form. However, the cost of employing female labor is mostly lower than that of employing men. Thus, women provide a 'cheap' labor supply for the sex-segregated labor markets. Moreover, since women rarely organize effective workers unions, they are often powerless to change their working conditions. In sum, according to the exploitation perspective, capitalist development provides jobs for women since women figure as crucial factor for capital accumulation (Gündüz- Hoşgör, 2001:119).

fostered during the series of international conferences for celebrating UN Decade for Women (1976-85) (Sen and Grown, 1987). The articulation of these groups was emerged as a result of efforts of a group called Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). DAWN launched an international NGO forum at 1985 Nairobi Conference and called for a new approach to women's development (Parpart and Marchand, 1995:14). Main concerns were growing poverty of women in South, gender inequities and global patriarchy (Sen and Grown, 1987). Nairobi Conference facilitated dialogue between Third World and Western feminists and leded production of some important texts (Robertson and Berger, 1986; Stichter and Parpart, 1988; Agarwal, 1988; Afshar, 1987; 1991; Young et al.,1981: cited in Parpart, 1993:450).

GAD school perceives development as a complex process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of individuals and society itself (Young, 1996:52). In this sense, main commitment of GAD perspective is to understand class and gender inequalities in a global context which are barriers of development (Parpart, 1993). Its theoretical roots could be found both in socialist feminism and dependency school. Socialist feminism explains both patriarchal and capitalist relations in explaining women's secondary position (Hartmann, 1979). In this sense it combines both radical and Marxist feminist theories' concerns and focuses both relations of production and relations of reproduction. As a holistic perspective it focuses social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society (Young, 1996) in both public and the private/reproductive sphere.⁸ Within this context, main argument of GAD approach is women's status in society deeply

⁸ This perspective insists that "women usually form a "reserve army" of labor for the market since women's primary work is in the home. The most obvious function of this reserve army is to lower the general level of wages. In capitalist development, the search for cheap labor, the manipulation of reserve armies of labor, and the persistence of poverty have been an intergral part of the process. Capitalism and patriarchy serve as effective mechanisms of exploitation of women workers. Patriarchal ideas and structures attempt to place women in a subservient position at home and at the work place. These patriarchal features also operate to legitimate the exploitation of women workers" (Gündüz- Hoşgör, 2001:119)

affected by their material conditions of life and by their position in the national, regional, and global economies and by the nature of patriarchal power in their societies at the national, community, and household levels (Connelly et al., 2000:62).

1980's witnessed two oil crises resulting with enormous international debts and global recession. Affected by this situation, Third World countries experienced structural flaws and weak economies. Under the influence of modernization approach international financial institutions applied Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in Third World countries at the expense of reducing role of the state. Main assumption was Third World countries could access productivity and efficiency through reducing government expenditure and increasing the power of market forces. In the long run, it was expected that SAPs would benefit everyone as well as women and who are under the thread of short term effects of SAPs with other vulnerable groups (Moser 1989; Elson 1992: cited in Connelly et al., 2000). In this context, it was expected that an increase in women's economic contribution lead to increase overall economic efficiency and bring about equity for women. However, GAD scholars having the Dependency School's perspective claim that integration into the world economy will enhance capitalist exploitation in developing countries.⁹ Additionally, women's integration into development system will strengthen also patriarchal exploitation in rather than bringing equity for them (Fernandez-Kelly, 1994; Moon, 1997). They emphasize the risk of women focused development programs in intensifying the

⁹ Gündüz- Hoşgör (2001) in her classification of women-gender and development literature sorts women-in dependency and world system approaches as third category under the conflict theories. This approach emphasizes the effects of international division of labor and the world market on the status of women in developing countries. Accordingly this "new international division of labor is taking shape in which low-skill, low paying jobs are being relocated to the underdeveloped countries to be performed predominantly by women, while high-skill, high paying jobs continue to remain in the developed countries where they are predominantly by men". (Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1984; Fernandez-Kelly 1983 cited in Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2001:120)

existing forms of gender subordination or creating new forms of gender subordination (Elson and Pearson, 1981).

Different from WAD approach's marginalization thesis, GAD approach insists on exploitation¹⁰ of women during the development process. Accordingly, during the industrialization process the demand for women's labor became vital, and women's involvement into production rise. On the contrary, this involvement is considered more harmful than beneficial to the actual status of women (Tiano, 1987). GAD approach is distinguished by its gender and empowerment focus and emphasize on the role of state in development.

Gender Focus

Rather than focusing only on women as WID and WAD approaches do, GAD school's main interest is at gender, in particular the social construction of gender roles and relations. Gender is perceived as Kabeer suggests "the process by which individuals who are born into biological categories of male or female become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally-defined attributes of masculinity and femininity" (1991:11). With this, GAD perspective emphasizes that gender is socially constructed and gender relations are power relations. The concept of gender appears in first sight less threatening to the status quo, however it has transformative capacity to the social, economic and cultural structure as a convenient analytical tool. With this characteristic the implementation of GAD approach in development projects is difficult and not preferable by agencies since it rejects the basic logic of international development assistance programs (Rathgeber, 1990:204).

¹⁰ Gündüz- Hoşgör summarizes exploitation perspective as follows; "In this perspective, the tasks that are performed by women at home are moved into the wage-labor sphere in a commercialized form. However, the cost of employing female labor is mostly lower than that of employing men. Thus, women provide a 'cheap' labor supply for the sex-segregated labor markets. Moreover, since women rarely organize effective workers unions, they are often powerless to change their working conditions. In sum, according to the exploitation perspective, capitalist development provides jobs for women since women figure as crucial factor for capital accumulation (2001:119)."

Empowerment

GAD approach is also referred as “empowerment approach” developed from the dissatisfaction with WID’s equity approach. It aims empower women through supporting grass roots organizing and bottom-up mobilization. (Vijayamohan et al., 2009) This approach is closely related to transforming gender interests. Molyneux (1985:232) conceptualized gender interests those arising from the social relations and positioning of the sexes. She distinguishes gender interests as practical and strategic. Each of these interests has different derivation and involves different implications for women’s subjectivity. Practical gender interests are short term interests associated with an immediate perceived need as related to gendered roles and responsibilities. They do not challenge the prevailing forms of gender subordination while strategic interests do. Strategic gender interests are long-term, usually not material, and are often related to structural changes in society regarding women’s status and equity. They include legislation for equal rights, reproductive choice, and increased participation in decision-making.

Within the same paradigm Moser (1993) prefers to use the term “needs” instead of “interests”. Needs and interests are closely linked in policy planning process and women’s interests required to be identified by women, in order to translate them into planning needs. GAD approach, aiming change in the structures of subordination, centralizes the issue of empowerment of women via politicization of practical needs and their transformation into strategic interests (Connelly et al., 2000:63). With this GAD school emphasized the necessity for women to organize themselves as active agents for change rather than passive recipients of development assistance.

In order to make a fair assessment of GAD approach for praising its provision of grassroots empowerment it is critical to ensure which type of empowerment is being supported. In this context this discussion should also refer Kabeer’s (1999) notion of empowerment. For Kabeer, empowerment refers to the processes of acquiring the ability to make choices by those who have been denied. Accordingly,

there is an order between the choices in relevance to power and their consequences for people's lives; first order strategic life choices and second order choices. Kabeer addresses that strategic life choices are critical for people's lives such as marriage, having children etc. On the other hand, second order choices are less consequential and closely related with one's quality of live and generally framed by strategic life choices (Kabeer, 1999:437).

In Kabeer's conceptualization, the ability to exercise choices include three interconnected dimensions; resources, agency and achievements. The degree of having ability to exercise choice is closely related to the resources. For Kabeer, these resources include not only economic resources but also human and social resources. They are acquired through social relationships conducted different domains in the society (namely family, market, community).

Agency as the second dimension of empowerment process refers the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. The tendency in social sciences literature is operationalization of agency with "decision making". Kabeer (1999:438) offers other forms of agency in addition to decision making; bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance. Kabeer also discuss the meanings of agency in relation to positive and negative forms of power as "power to", "power over" and power as not exercising agency.

Achievement, the third dimension of empowerment, is for Kabeer most difficult to measure. In regard to the ability of making strategic life choices there are inequalities in people's capacity. For Kabeer measuring empowerment should interest in these possible inequalities rather than the differences in the choices people make. However, interpretation of inequality is problematic for Kabeer (1999:439) as follows; an observed lack of uniformity in functioning achievements cannot be automatically interpreted as evidence of inequality because it is highly unlikely that all members of a given society will give equal value to different possible ways of 'being and doing'. For Kabeer, one of the strategies to cope this

challenge, adapted by Sen (1984), may be focusing to basic survival related achievements without concerning the context;

... If there are systematic gender differences in these very basic functioning achievements, they can be taken as evidence of inequalities in underlying capabilities rather than differences in preferences. (1999:439)

However, Kabeer contends that inequalities in basic functions occurs in extreme scarcity. This strategy brings us narrowing our analysis of women's disempowerment as a matter of poverty and lacks of analyze disempowerment in better-off sections of society. It also missed forms of gender disadvantage among the poor which do not take the form of basic functioning failures. (1999:439). Kabeer's second suggestion for analyzing achievements is moving from the basic functions to the functions in more complex form. This is the strategy adopted in the UNDP's gender-disaggregated Human Development Index as well as its Gender Empowerment (GEM) index in 1995 (Kabeer, 1999:439).

Role of State

One of the features of GAD perspective is its special attention to the role of the state to provide social services in promoting women's emancipation. It is assumed that women are politically weak and have little bargaining power at local, regional and national levels, state should support women as an employer of labor and allocate of social capital for the care and maintenance of the future generation, i.e. expenditure on education, health; providing programmes to support the work of social reproduction, namely the care and nurturance of children. With this, state refutes the idea that production of future generations both socially and physically is not an individual matter (Young, 1996:53). This issue became highly politicized in the 1980s since due to economic crises many states reduced or privatized such social services before they had provided (Rathgeber, 1990:494).

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Today thanks to global women's activism and growing academic interest on women's experiences from a feminist theoretical perspective gender became an important dimension in development studies. The evidences show that in developing countries women and men experience the results of economic transformation differently in terms of accessing to critical resources such as education, employment and political representation. In this context women-gender and development perspective enables the practitioners to consider these inequalities from a critical perspective and to design proper policies.

Although the main three approaches WID, WAD, and GAD differ how they conceptualize women's problem in development process at some points they share common problematic of improvement current unequal position of women. Among them WID establishes a development model to correct lack of integration of women into development by proposing socio economic measures and policy designs driven by liberal feminist notions. On the other hand, WAD from dependency school and Marxist feminist perspective insists that women have been already an integrated part of development but marginalized and exploited at the bottom of an inherently hierarchical and contradictory production structure. So that, claiming for integration of women into development works for keeping the economic dependency of Third World. Despite the differences, these two approaches are parallel with suggesting top down policy measures, supporting women as producers in public sphere and disregarding the "gender" dimension of development.

On the contrary, GAD shifts its dimension from women to gender by underlining relative positions of women and men within socio economic and political structures. By problematizing women's gender based relations both productive/public and reproductive/private sphere, GAD suggest gender-sensitive transformation in those spheres for effective development. The policy measures of GAD perspective targeting empowerment of women are designed to begin at grass-root level rather top-down

interventions. In this context, GAD perspective could be considered a total challenge to development process aiming to redistribute power in social relations (Moser, 1993; Razavi and Miller: 1995). Beyond improving women's access to the same development resources as are directed to men, the GAD approach stresses direct challenges to male cultural, social and economic privileges (Goetz, 1997), so that women are enabled to make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources.

The literature review shows us there is a remarkable shift in "women-gender and development" approaches from integration to empowerment of women. GAD approach together with its focus on grassroots level empowerment distinguishes among other perspectives. Although this may be true, some points in the implementation of GAD oriented policies should not be disregarded. Firstly, in order to make a fair assessment of GAD approach for praising its provision of grassroots empowerment critical to ensure which type of empowerment is being supported. As a matter of fact, in developing countries states are not willing to design social and economic policies that support women's empowerment which has the possibility to have a direct change in existing gender order which rests on strict gender division of labor. In this context by referring Kabeer's (1999) conceptualization, an ideal policy implementation targeting transformation of current gender order, should consider three dimensions resources, agency, achievements of empowerment. Comprehensive consideration of these dimensions shapes the type of targeted empowerment; namely empowerment to cope and/or to change.

Lastly, it can be said, especially since 1970's, how Third World women are affected by the development has been demonstrated only with case studies (Kandiyoti, 1977). However, women-gender and development approach cannot solely explain women's status in the Middle East (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2001)

since it lacks the analysis of the experiences of women living in patriarchal belt.¹¹ All this considered, it should be noted that women-gender and development literature is not emerged as a self-questioning of third world by themselves rather it evolved as a reaction to the dominant development discourse. A strong link between this literature and feminist literature on patriarchy including unique patriarchal experiences of women in different regions is important since it gives the possibility taking into account sex/gender system along with an economic system in analyzing women's oppression.

¹¹ The belt of patriarchy consists of the countries in North Africa, the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey and Iran), and South and East Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan, Northern India and rural China) (Caldwell, 1978; Kandiyoti, 1988). Contemporary feminist perspectives, including Liberal, Radical, Marxist and Socialist feminism, agree that patriarchy is a system of power relations resting on male domination. They only differ in explaining the source of women's subordination and discuss root causes of this subordination. Among them, the socialist feminist approach emphasizes both women's reproductive and productive labor. It also links women's oppression with the interrelation of patriarchy and the capitalist organization of labour process.

Sharabi (1988), Kandiyoti (1988) and Moghadam (1993), have more specific explanations on reconfiguring of patriarchy in the Middle East region where Turkey also located. Sharabi (1988) calls current form of patriarchy as "neopatriarchy" which derives its meaning from two realities which make up its concrete structure, modernity and patriarchy. On one hand he describes patriarchy as a universal form of traditional society having different characteristics in each society; on the other hand, he emphasizes the unique character of modernity as a historical development that origins from Western Europe's break with traditionality.

Sharabi also suggests that, the effects of Islam, patriarchal structures of Arab Society, colonization and dependent capitalism all together strengthened a kind of inverted modernity resulted with neopatriarchy which refers neither modern nor traditional patriarchy. The capitalist transformation in the Arab Society leads material modernization and served to "remodel and reorganize patriarchal structures and relations and to reinforce them by giving them "modern" forms and appearances" (p.4). In this context, considering to the field of this research, Turkey -as a modernizing country still practicing both pre-capitalist and capitalist relations of production and socio-cultural reflections of these relations- experiences neo-patriarchy.

Kandiyoti (1988) contrasted two systems of male dominance to propose two ideal types of patriarchy Sub-Saharan Africa and the areas covering North-Africa, South and East Asia including Muslim Middle East where Turkey, Pakistan and Iran are located. Kandiyoti describes Sub-Saharan form of patriarchy as based on polygyny, relative autonomy of women in return to men's weak responsibility for his family as bread winner. Kandiyoti termed the type of patriarchy prevailing also in Turkey as "classical patriarchy". She contends that classical patriarchy reproduced through the relations conducted in patrilocally extended household.

ÖZET

1970'lerden itibaren sermayenin tüm dünyada en son ulaştığı noktada ortaya çıkan krizi çözmek için uluslararası kuruluşlar tarafından tasarlanmış neoliberal politikalar uygulanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu politikaların gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yarattığı sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm kalkınma literatüründe popüler bir araştırma konusu olmuştur. Diğer yandan kadın odaklı araştırmalar kalkınma sürecinin kadın ve erkek üzerinde farklı etkileri olduğunu ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bu bağlamda günümüzde Kadın-Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kalkınma Yaklaşımı söz konusu dönüşüm sürecinde kadınların deneyimlerini araştırmada işlevsel bir teorik araç olmaktadır. Bu makalede Kadın- Toplumsal cinsiyet ve Kalkınma yaklaşımının ortaya çıkış ve gelişimi incelenerek ana akım kalkınma yaklaşımından hangi noktalarda ayrıldığı ortaya konacaktır.

Kadın ve erkeğin farklı deneyimleri 1970'lere kadar kalkınma literatüründe bir araştırma alanı olmamıştır. Kadınların kalkınma sürecindeki deneyimlerine odaklanan ilk tartışmalar 1970 yılında Ester Boserup'un *Ekonomik Kalkınmada Kadınların Rolü* çalışmasıyla başlamıştır. Kadın-Toplumsal cinsiyet ve Kalkınma yaklaşımlarından en önemlileri sırasıyla *Kalkınmada Kadın*, *Kalkınma ve Kadın ile Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kalkınma* perspektifleri olarak sıralanabilir.

Kalkınmada Kadın yaklaşımı, liberal feminist teoriden beslenmekte ve kadınların kalkınmaya entegrasyonunu savunmasıyla da modernleşme paradigmasında kendine yer bulmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımın aldığı en temel eleştiri kadınların kalkınma sürecine entegrasyonu önerisinin var olan kalkınma modeline bütüncül bir eleştiri getirmemesidir. Yapısal bir çözüm üretmediği ve kapitalizmi desteklediği için aldığı tüm eleştirilere rağmen Kalkınmada Kadın Yaklaşımı kadınların deneyimlerini kalkınma literatürü içerisine bir araştırma alanı olarak sunduğu için önemli ve değerlidir. Her ne kadar modernist ve liberal bakış açısıyla sınırlı bir çerçevede kalsa da bu ekolle birlikte üçüncü dünya ülkelerinde yaşayan kadınlarla ilgili yapılan araştırmalar artmış ve kadınların ekonomiye katkıları ve üretimde

merkezilikleri üzerine ikna edici düzeyde bir veri birikmiştir. Tüm bu gelişmeler kalkınma planlarında toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı bir bakış açısının gelişmesinin yolunu açmıştır.

Kalkınma ve Kadın Yaklaşımı ise 1970lerin ortasında hem modernleşme teorisine hem de bu teoriden beslenen Kalkınmada Kadın yaklaşımına yapılan eleştiriler sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu ekolün teorik kökleri bağımlılık teorisi ve radikal feminist yaklaşımlarından beslenmektedir. Üretim ilişkileri ve eşitsizliğin küresel yapısına odaklanan; gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasında yakın ilişki kurulmasını destekleyen modernleşme teorisinin tam tersine bu ilişkinin kendisinin az gelişmişliğe neden olduğunu savunan bu yaklaşıma göre kadınlar zaten kalkınmanın bir parçası oldukları için onların bu sürece entegrasyonu için çabalamak anlamsızdır. Dolayısıyla Kalkınma ve Kadın yaklaşımında asıl amaç kadınların kalkınma sürecinden neden yararlanamadıklarının altında yatan sömürü ilişkilerinin ve eşitsizliklerin ortaya çıkarmak olduğunu vurgulanmasıdır.

Kadınların sadece üretim emeklerine odaklanan Kalkınma ve Kadın yaklaşımına alternatif olarak, 1980'lerde kadın hareketinin içinden, güneyli feminist yazından ortaya çıkan *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kalkınma yaklaşımı* ise kadınların yeniden üretim emeklerini de içeren bütüncül bir değerlendirme olanağı sunmaktadır. Kalkınmayı bireysel ve toplumsal düzeyde sosyal, ekonomik, politik ve kültürel iyileşme olarak kompleks bir süreç olarak gören bu yaklaşımın ana sorunsalı az gelişmiş ülkelerdeki giderek artan yoksulluk, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizlikler ve küresel ataerkilliktir. Bir toplumdaki kadınların statüsü küresel, bölgesel ve ulusal ekonomi ile yaşadığı toplum ve hane düzeyindeki ataerkil güç ilişkilerinden etkilenmektedir.

Ele alınan üç yaklaşımdan ilk ikisi yukarıdan aşağıya kalkınmayı konu alırken, tarihsel olarak daha sonra geliştirilen toplumsal cinsiyet ve kalkınma yaklaşımı tabandan kalkınma odağıyla farklılaşmaktadır. Diğer yandan söz konusu literatürün gelişmekte olan ülkelere ziyade gelişmiş ülkelerdeki akademisyenler ve teorisyenlerin var olan kalkınma söylemine tepkileri üzerine doğduğu bir gerçektir.

Bu bağlamda ataerkilliğin özgün görünümünün yaşandığı gelişmekte olan ülkeler için toplumsal cinsiyet ve kalkınma perspektifine yakın politika tasarımlarının, söz konusu ülkelerdeki kadınların deneyimlerini analiz eden feminist literatürden de yararlanması gerekmektedir. Böylece güçlenme, gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki kadınların kalkınmanın sadece üretici aktörleri olmasının yolunu açacak baş etme stratejileri ile sınırlı olmayacaktır. Hedeflenen güçlenme, kadınlar yaşamları hakkında eğitim, evlilik, doğurganlık, istihdam gibi stratejik alanlarda kritik kararları verebilme yetisine sahip olduğu ve özellikle özel alanda var olan cinsiyete dayalı eşitsiz iş bölümü yeniden düzenlendiği sürece dönüştürücü olacaktır.

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