



BLOCK INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

Block two titled approaches to gender and development has three Units—all three Units designed to look at the existing development theories from the gender lens. Accordingly, the authors of these Units critiques major development theories and proposed alternatives proposed by the feminist. **Unit six**, titled development discourse, introduces development theories like modernization, dependency, world-systems, and standpoints to you all. Further, Unit six discusses approaches to women's development while locating these within theories on development in practice; and Critique development theories from a feminist lens. **Unit seven** called WID, WAD-GAD. In the previous Unit, you all have introduced the Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD and Gender and Development. The Unit six further critique and highlight the gender blindness of Development and Underdevelopment. It discusses the feminist critiques of development; and analyze the different approaches to WID, WAD and GAD approach. **Unit Eight** called GAD indicators. You all know we need indicators to measure women's progress compared to male members in society. Based on the progress, it is the government's responsibility to make necessary policies to address the needs of women. **Unit Eight** gives you various indicators to measure the progress of women in a different sector. The Unit analyse the linkage between gender and development. It discusses gender indicators, including Gender-Related Development Indicators (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM); and Describe UNESCAP's framework for measuring progress on the 12 critical areas of the Beijing Platform for Action.

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UNIT 6 DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSES (FEMINIST DEBATE ON DEVELOPMENT)*

*Adopted from Block 1, Unit 2, MWG-009

Structure

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Objectives
- 6.3 Theories of Development and their Feminist Critiques
 - 6.3.1 Modernization Theory
 - 6.3.2 Dependency Theory
 - 6.3.3 World-Systems Theory
 - 6.3.4 Standpoint Theory
- 6.4 Theories of Women's Development
 - 6.4.1 Welfare-Precursor to Women in Development
 - 6.4.2 Women in Development
 - 6.4.3 Women and Development
 - 6.4.4 Gender and Development
- 6.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.6 Unit End Questions
- 6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
- 6.8 References
- 6.9 Suggested Readings

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Over 60% of the world population lives on less than two American dollars per day, i.e. approximately Rs.120 Indian rupees. The poor, women, people of colour, people of lower castes i.e. dalits, indigenous communities, minorities, differently-abled and the migrants lag behind on most indicators of development. These indicators include freedom from poverty, malnourishment, unemployment, infant, child and maternal mortality, freedom from communicable diseases, education enrolment and achievement, access to safe drinking water and sanitation, political participation and ability to live a life free of violence. In several parts of India, China, Republic of Korea, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nepal and Vietnam female children are unwanted and their birth is considered a misfortune.

A majority of the global poor are in developing countries and growing economies like India, China and Indonesia and in Africa as well. Of late, poverty in developed countries has been increasing since global recession which began in 2007. There are different theories on what are the underlying

causes of underdevelopment. Some important ones include modernization theory, dependency theory, world system theory and stand point theory.

Some of these theories have coexisted together at the same time and reflect different world views on the causes of under- development and pathways forward, while others have emerged at different points in time. At one end of the spectrum modernization theory accepts the industrialization based economic-growth model based on the capitalist market, while dependency, world-systems view and standpoint theory challenge this perspective. The extent to which these theories on development acknowledge feminist perspectives on causes of marginalized women's underdevelopment and suggest feminist strategies to address these causes has been varied.

Parallel to the theories of development in the academia there have been theories on development and women's development in the 'development policy' sphere. Theories on development have moved from 'trickle down of state led economic growth to poor' theory, to 'growth with equity' to 'basic needs to rights-based approaches' to inclusive and sustainable market led growth and development. Along with these theories on development policy, approaches to women's development have varied from welfare, equality, anti-poverty, efficiency, women's empowerment/equity to investing in gender- analysis for growth. Women were not seen as contributors to development in the welfare approach but as passive recipients, while other approaches perceived them to be active players in development.

6.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Summarize the following theories on development in academia, viz. modernization, dependency, world-systems and stand point;
- Discuss approaches to women's development while locating these within theories on development in practice; and
- Critique development theories from a feminist lens.

6.3 THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR FEMINIST CRITIQUES

In this section, we talk about theories of development and their feminist critiques.

6.3.1 Modernization Theory

Modernization theory developed against the backdrop of widespread poverty in some countries in the aftermath of World War II, increase in unrest in some countries, and to counter ideological competition from communism. The proponents of modernization theory came mainly from the American economists.

Modernization theory collaborated development with modernity. For a country or area to be seen as modern it has to show an advancement in science and technology, has to be industrially developed and has to move away from traditional values which priorities collectivism to individualism, from hierarchy based on ascription (based on birth in a particular class, caste etc.) to one based on merit and from particularism to universalism.

Modernization theory, popular in the 1950s and 1960s, holds that all societies progress through similar steps or stages of development. Proponents of this theory hold that sometime in the past, today's developed areas were in a situation that is similar to that faced by today's underdeveloped areas. According to **W.W. Rostow** (1960) there were five steps in the evolutionary ladder of modernization. The first step can be seen as 'traditional society' characterized by poverty, primary production and traditional values. The second step can be seen as 'pre-conditions for take-off stage', wherein the West assists development through aid and industrial development. The third step is the 'take off stage' wherein high economic growth and investment begins. The fourth step is the 'drive to maturity' where economic and cultural factors lead to increasing prosperity for all. The fifth stage is one of 'high mass consumption'. Some have argued that modernization would help break inscriptive roles in productive sphere and benefit women more than men (Lewis, 1955).

Modernization theory has been critiqued for its assumption that capitalism and Western culture is the best, turning a blind eye to growing inequalities between and within countries, assumption of unlimited natural resources for growth and industrial exploitation, lack of attention to ecological issues and spirituality and proposing a uni-linear pathway to development. **Tariq Banuri** (1987) argues that many problems in society are due to the presumed dichotomy between impersonal and personal, when in fact all actions including economic ones are a result of conflicting obligations and commitments. According to him progress will begin when there is awareness of oppression in society. The oppressed on realizing their own oppression will outline their own priorities and take the required social and political action. Elite social scientists should be wary of the long term effects of their prescription and be willing to give priority to indigenous knowledge systems. Decentralization is needed in the political, economic and social sphere. The solutions may differ from place to place according to culture.

Esther Boserup (1970)'s pioneering work on women's role in agriculture systems challenged the assumption that modernization would improve position of women and instead the female farming systems in Africa were getting marginalized. She distinguishes between Africa characterized by low density of population and hand plugging systems in which women predominate and agricultural systems in Asia and Latin America characterized by plough systems and higher density of population in which men dominate. She argues that capitalist penetration of subsistence

agriculture in Africa had led to marginalization of subsistence agriculture in which women dominate. Hence when colonisers trained farmers in modern technology and cash cropping they focused only on male farmers.

Further, the introduction of private ownership of land by colonisers marginalised women's position in rural areas as land was registered on men's names. Boserup's thesis argues for women's inclusion in capitalist development from the point of view of equality. **Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen** (1981), while agreeing with Boserup in some respects, argue that her analysis was essentially descriptive and the problem was not that women were excluded from capitalist production, but that capitalist production benefitted from women's low paid labour. Further, they argued that Boserup's thesis concentrates only on women's role outside the household, and thus ignores women's role in reproduction and domestic responsibilities which subsidizes capitalism.

6.3.2 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory proposed by **A. G. Frank** was popular in the 1960s and 1970s. It rejected the modernization theory, arguing that underdeveloped countries are not merely primitive versions of developed countries. In fact wealthier countries of today had become wealthy by exploiting poorer countries in the following three respects:

- 1) Poor countries are export destinations for obsolete technology and for markets for the wealthy nations, without which, the latter could not have the standard of living they enjoy.
- 2) Developed nations actively perpetuate a state of dependence of poor nations on wealthy ones by controlling economics, media, politics, banking, finance, education, culture, sports and all aspects of human resources.
- 3) They counter all attempts made by dependent nations to resist their influences by means of economic sanctions and at times, by the use of military force.

Dependency theorists oppose free market economics and argue that underdeveloped countries need to reduce their connectedness with the world market so that they might pursue their own path-more in keeping with their own needs and less dictated by external pressures. Some dependency theorists argue that import substitution industrialization and not an export orientation is the best strategy for underdeveloped countries. **Paul Baran**(1957),taking India as an example, argues that surplus produced by labourwasextractedbycolonialists,withtheextractionbeingsupported by feudal landlords.

The heightened foreign indebtedness of less developed countries has increased their economic vulnerability. It has exposed them to pervasive external intrusions into domestic policy making in the form of

conditionalities imposed by international financial institutions. The establishment of World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994, significantly constricted the policy space previously available to developing countries. National development, which was an accepted objective in the era of decolonization, was replaced by the *mantra* of global integration- which conceals new forms of dependency.

Feminist critique

While dependency theory does explain how traditional feudal structures of exploitation like race, caste or class in colonies were used by the present developed countries it does not examine how power relations of gender within colonies were made use of for such development. Neither is the exploitation of women's labour by multi-national corporations under the WTO regime analysed by most dependency theorists. Black, Dalit, or tribal women are not only paid lower wages than men, but subsidize capital by doing free reproductive work. However, Frank (see Frank and Gills, 1996. Frank, 2005) and the theorist **Immanuel Wallerstein** developed Frank's ideas to put forward 'The World Systems' approach and argued that American capital made use of women's labour in garments factories on the Mexican border to amass profits.

Maxine Molyneux's (1985) made the distinction between 'practical gender needs' and 'strategic gender needs'. While the former are a response to an immediate practical need in response to women's position in the gender hierarchy, the latter arise from an analysis of their subordination and the formulation of a more just and equitable social order.

6.3.3 World-systems Theory

World-systems theory emerged in the 1970s and different versions of it exist even today. World-systems theory, like dependency theory, is critical of modernization theory. It indirectly sees development as a world free of exploitation. The main point of departure of world-systems theory from dependency theory is the fact that it is multi-disciplinary in nature and not just restricted to economic or culture sphere. It encompasses disciplines such as economics, politics, history, sociology, anthropology and development studies (Wallerstein, 2004; Vela, 2003).

The world-systems theory perceives that there have been two types of world-systems: world-economies and world empires. A world-empire (for example, the Roman Empire) is a large bureaucratic structure with a single political centre and an axial division of labour (i.e spread across core, semi periphery and periphery), but multiple cultures. A world-economy (e.g. global-capitalism) is a large axial division of labour with multiple political centres and multiple cultures. Mini systems- bands, tribes, chief-doms did exist outside dominant world-systems earlier, but they have more or less become extinct.

According to the proponents of the world-systems theory, the capitalist world-system emerged in the 1450-1500 and became stronger by the end 1980s/ early 1990s ousting communist system, which existed in parts of the world beginning with Russian Revolution in 1917. The world-systems theory recognizes the present capitalist world-system as comprising 1. a tripartite pattern in division of labour consisting of core (which dominate other countries), 2. semi-periphery (which are dominated by core countries, but dominate peripheral countries) and 3. periphery (which are dominated by both core and semi-peripheral countries). This is in contrast to majority of dependency theorists who believed in a bimodal system of only cores and peripheries. Domination occurs through control of core and semi-peripheral countries over the following economic aspects of peripheral countries viz. means of production (e.g. land), raw materials, surplus created, capital investment, and drain of top end skills. Peripheral countries are also forced to import products that are not wanted by core countries.

1 **Wallerstein (2004)**, one of the key proponents of the **World-systems Theory**, further recognises four temporal features of world system. **Cyclical rhythms** represent the short-term fluctuation of economy, while **secular trends** mean deeper long run tendencies, such as general economic growth or decline. The term **contradiction** means a general controversy in the system, usually concerning some short term vs. long term trade-offs. For example, lowering of wages may benefit capitalists in the short term, but the long term decrease of wages may have a crucially harmful effect by reducing the demand for the product. **The last temporal feature is the crisis**: a crisis occurs, if a constellation of circumstances brings about the end of the system. There is bound to be a global class struggle at this juncture.

Critique of the world-system approach comes from several directions, namely that the theory is prone to generalization and lacking quantitative data, second that the concept of class structure is not given importance in the analysis. Third, the boundaries between state and businesses are getting blurred in the theory. Others have argued that the world-system theory puts too much importance on economy and politics and not enough on culture.

Feminist critique

While a feminist critique of world-systems theory was not available; however interesting critiques can be culled out from several articles. Recent analysis by **Pearson and Sweetman (2011)** notes that crisis in developed countries since 2007 is linked to crisis in developing countries which are export dependent and in a way supports the world-systems Theory. They observed

That the crisis has had gender, race/ethnicity and class differentiated impact *in both* the developed and developing countries. Gender, race, class and ethnic differentiated analysis of world-system through the different stages are not part of the world-systems theory. Though **Pearson and Sweetman (2011)** claimed that developing countries with a big economy like India, China and Uganda have been less affected by the economic crisis in the year 2012, the effects are visible.

Box 6.1: Gender and Diversity Differentiated Impact of Global Economic Crisis

Pearson and Sweetman (2011) note that the main victims of economic crisis in developed countries have been low income families. Women and ethnic minorities in developed countries have been worst hit not just by job losses but also by reductions in hours of work, wage rates and non-wage benefits. Women have been affected in the three following sectors:

- **Finance**, productive and reproductive work. In finance sector, women as the main target of micro finance institutions- have been borrowing more than they can repay and are becoming indebted (India).
- In **production sector**, women labourers in garments (Thailand and Cambodia), agri-business (Peru) and electronics, telecommunications and garment industries (Philippines) have been hit the hardest.

In the **reproductive sector**, restrictions to visas in Middle Eastern countries are affecting visas to foreign, domestic and care workers from developing countries. This will lead to more poor migrant women entering illegally into these countries.

6.3.4 Standpoint Theory

A standpoint is a position from which human beings view the world. It influences how the people adopting it socially construct the world. Social group membership affects people's standpoints. The inequalities amongst different social groups create differences in their stand points and are partial. So for example, one standpoint can coexist with other standpoints. As per standpoint theory class/race privileged position gives a limited perspective on social relations. Ruling groups dominate subordinate groups and take the subordinate groups' opinions away from them. As a corollary, development can be seen as a process wherein standpoints of marginalized groups hardly shape discourses on development and under development. Stand point theory did not look at power relations of gender in the beginning, but subsequently standpoint feminism emerged. Standpoint theory began when **Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel**, a German philosopher, studied the different standpoints between slaves and masters in 1807 (Wood, 2008). Karl Marx also discussed that the position of a worker in a worker-capitalist relation shapes his or her knowledge. From these two scholars' studies, **Nancy Hartsock** examined Standpoint Theory by using relations between men and women. From this view, **Nancy Hartsock** published "*The Feminist Standpoint: Developing Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism*" in 1983. Hartsock used Hegel's ideas of masters and slaves and Marx's ideas of class and capitalism in the context of sex and gender. She refers to sex as a biological category and gender as a behavioral category (Hartsock, 1983). She called this theory "Feminist Standpoint Theory". Hartsock argues that sexual division of labour is central to understanding

society and women's subordination. Further, from a feminist standpoint perspective she argues that it is not that the class structure is the cause of women's oppression, but that the class structure is made possible because of women's oppression. She argues that women's ways of resolving conflicts-like reciprocation of gifts- maybe a better way of resolving conflicts than that of men who get into war. Black feminist standpoint theorists in US describes black women as a unique group that exists in United States' social relations where intersectional processes of race, ethnicity, gender, class and sexual orientation shape black women's individual and collective consciousness, self-definitions and actions(Few, 2007).

Standpoint theory has great relevance when approaching and assisting marginalized groups. It has been presented as a method to improving the welfare system by recognizing suggestions made by those with in the welfare system (Edmonds-Cady, 2009). In Africa, standpoint theory has catalyzed a social movement where women were introduced to the radio in order to promote awareness of their experiences and struggles (West and Turner, 2010).

Critiques

Interestingly, two different critiques of standpoint feminism can be seen. One is that it is essentialist and other that there is no real theory of change underpinning standpoint theory. **West and Turner**, (2010) argue that standpoint theory reeks of essentialism, that is it assumes that all women (or for that matter at all workers) are essentially the same. The proponents of feminist stand point theory do not realize that there are different cultures present even amongst women. Therefore, some researchers have argued that standpoint theory is essentialist in some respect (West and Turner, 2010).

This critique of essentialism while true of many Standpoint theorists cannot be extended to Black feminist standpoint theory which has looked at intersections of different shifting positions based on social relations that one occupies and cannot be termed as essentialist. Yet, another critique is that beyond negotiating with the state on their welfare needs, creating awareness at grassroots level, or spread of women centered values there is no deep rooted solution offered for transformation of gender and other hierarchies. If one were to build upon Paulo Friere's *Pedagogy of Oppressed* approach (when individuals learn from their own situation, it becomes the tool for liberation) from a feminist lens, one needs to adopt a pedagogy of revolution with women oppressed by multiple relations, dialogue with them, understand their varying standpoints (while at the same time raising awareness on causes of their oppression) and promote action for change. Friere refers this mutual process of action-reflection as Praxis. In a similar sense, the feminist standpoint theory offers possibilities for knowledge building from the position of the oppressed women.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Name the different theories of development and discuss.

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6.4 THEORIES OF WOMEN’S DEVELOPMENT

The following section is about various theories of women’s development.

6.4.1 Welfare-Precursor to Women in Development

After the Second World War in 1945, the United Nations Organisation was established. ‘Decades of Development’ commenced in 1960s. During the first decade of development (1961-70), it was assumed that economic growth in general resulting out of modernization, would trickle down to the poor and lead to economic and social benefits to all households. Within the household it was assumed that women and men would benefit equally from economic growth. The poor and women in developing countries were seen as those who failed to benefit out of markets and families, requiring welfare measures. “Poor women in the Third World had become the main beneficiaries of welfare programs begun by national and international relief agencies soon after the end of the world War II, these welfare programs were designed to relieve poor women’s needs exclusively in terms of their roles as mothers and wives”(Buvinic,1983,p.24)

According to **Carolyn Moser** (1989) the productive role and community management role (for example, participating in community meetings for benefit of all like in water users associations) of women were ignored, and the emphasis was mainly on practical gender needs. Family Planning Programs and Maternal and Child Health programs are a few examples of welfare approach. The approach was not very threatening, and continues in various forms even today. This has been termed as **the welfare** approach, and is seen by Moser (1989) as precursor to Women in Development Approach.

6.4.2 Women in Development

During the Second Development Decade 1971-80, the discourse on development shifted to various themes like basic needs approach, growth with equity/equality (by International Labour Organisation) and assault on

world poverty (the World Bank). The importance of full integration of women into development was emphasised from a both intrinsic lens (benefiting women directly), as well as instrumental lens (that women are important for something else, like central to food production). Women were seen as important players in development, and the focus was on integrating them productively into development. It coincided with the pressure from American women's movement to **declare 1975 as the International Women's Year** and to **declare 1975-85 as the International Women's Decade. Equality, Development and Peace** were the three themes for the International Women's Decade. While women from developed 'First World' countries emphasised equality, women from developing 'Third World' countries with development, women from conflict ridden 'Second World'(now no longer in use, but earlier used to refer to industrialized communist countries)were concerned with peace.

'Women in Development' approach emerged during the 1970s and the late 1980s and within this approach three different strands of development can be differentiated: equality, anti-poverty and efficiency.

Equality Approach: The equality strand of the Women in Development approach was the first to emerge during the 1970s and emphasised that women could not make use of development in productive sphere because opportunities provided to women and men were unequal. The proponents of the equality strand perceived that patriarchy and men's lack of willingness to provide equal opportunities as the main cause of women's unequal ability to make use of opportunities. They emphasized the need for equal opportunities as well as legislation to promote gender equality in all spheres. To name a few, affirmative reservation for women in employment and legislation on equal wages for work of similar value were evolved during this period. While governments constituted committees, women's organizations emerged which put pressure from below towards equal opportunities. However, the gains were limited, as the gender-specific barriers which women faced in making use of opportunities in productive sphere like care responsibilities were not addressed. Further, equality approach was found to be threatening by the men in power. The concern was with meeting strategic gender needs of women in a top down manner. Women were not organized effectively to meet these needs and neither was there any emphasis on working with men to change negative gender attitudes. An example of the equality strand in India is the landmark study on status of women leading to the Report 'Towards Equality' in 1974 (Department of Women and Child Development, 2001). Researchers argued that development was not reaching the poor and that poverty in developing countries was indeed feminized. The emergence of many women headed households was highlighted. According to Moser, this strand was most popular in 1975-85 in reality it is popular even now.

Anti-poverty Approach: It is in this context that the anti-poverty strand evolved in late 1970s and early 1980s. The primary reason for poverty was

not seen as the direction of mainstream capitalist development or the skewed distribution of resources but the fact that the poor did not have access to credit, skills, extension and employment which would increase their income and productivity. The main reason for feminization of poverty was seen as exclusion of women from income generation activities and not really capitalist-patriarchy which denied women right to means of production. The anti-poverty strand isolated poor women as a separate category and recognized only the practical gender needs related to productive role. In India, the microcredit based self-employment program Integrated Rural Development Program introduced in the 1978 targeting individuals (with 33% reservation for women), reflects the anti-poverty strand. The anti-poverty program continues to be popular even now with the Government of India, reflected in the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MNREGS), which you will be reading in the next unit in the context of change.

Efficiency Approach: The seeds of efficiency strand emerged in the 1980 in Copenhagen where the UN Mid-decade Conference on Women was held. The conference was dominated by debates on trade, development and politics. By late 1980s it was clear that the burden of structural adjustment (which entailed privatization and de-regulation, as well as reduction of trade barriers) and stabilization policies (which involves a combination of restrictive fiscal measures to reduce government borrowing and monetary tightening) was borne by women. With serious cuts in health care spending by government, the focus on efficient development meant that the existing burden of care shifted even more towards women than before. Further, in the economic sphere, women's resilience and ability to adjust to crisis was recognized. Women in the formal sector were prepared to work longer and for lesser pay. It was also more-easy to fire them. All these qualities attracted development planners to focus their programmes on women. Another stream of efficiency is the shift in micro-credit programs from individual focused self-employment generation ones with low rates of interest, to group based micro credit schemes targeted at women with higher rates of interest. Women were seen as better is repayment of loans. Equally, women were mobilized into water and sanitation committees, as they were seen as better managers of these common resources. However, rarely did these programs address strategic gender interests. In mid 1990s and 2000s in fact poor women are seen as sites of investment by Non-Banking Finance Companies and formed into joint liability groups with little investment in capacity building, gender training or social capital formation. The focus was on micro credit, insurance and small enterprises without really expanding asset base of poor women, leading in worst case scenario to women committing suicide like in Andhra Pradesh.

Critique

Critique of WID approach has come from several quarters, including the

proponents of Women and Development approach. It has been argued that WID approach saw humans including women as atomized self-interested individuals, isolated from social structures. It operated on the premise of roles rather than power relations (Kabeer, 1994). It assumed that irrational prejudice and sex role stereotypes of policy makers and planners were the main problem. Further women were seen as having homogeneous needs and the diversity of practical gender needs and strategic gender interests amongst women based on race, caste, class etc. was not recognised. For example, while a thresher may be useful for women whose household shave agriculture land, it may displace labour of women whose households do not have land. Further, the WID strands while challenging the stereotyping of women as passive players in production, overlooked their biological needs (eg. related to menstruation, breast feeding etc.). As observed by **Naila Kabeer** (1994) what is required is the unravelling of male power relations, analysis of conflicting gender interests amongst women based on their location in other power relations (e.g. race, class), shift in discourse from roles to relations, and prioritization of not just a planning solution but also apolitical solution.

6.4.3 Women and Development

The proponents of Women and Development Approach held the view that that the problem was not that women were not integrated into development as assumed by those who held the WID position, but that they were integrated in an unequal way due to global capitalism which exploited women's cheaper productive labour (than men) for profits. That is unlike the WID approach, the WAD approach perceived that society was not in equilibrium but in conflict. Class differentiated rewards are used by capitalists to keep the working class fragmented and in conflict. The main reason for women's secondary status was the structure of capitalist patriarchy and not just gender role stereo types according to this approach.

The main proponents of Women and Development approach were from the South (developing countries) with few allies from the North (developed countries). Women from the developed nations were slowly realizing that the concerns of 'Third World' women that profits were being made by the capitalists in developed countries using the subsidised productive work of women were also legitimate. The earlier patronizing attitude towards 'Third World' women diminished. Efforts were made to link issues of the family with that of politics at the local, national and international levels. The gathering at the Nairobi Third World Conference on Women (held in 1985) represents attempts by women from the first world and third world to forge an alliance. In this meeting the need for challenging laissez faire approach and patriarchy as a system was highlighted.

Critique

The WAD approach has been critiqued from several points of view. The WAD approach emphasised the use of women for accumulation of profit but

overlooked women's important role in satisfaction of needs in particular for care of sick, elderly, and reproduction of cheap labour for the market. The 'biology-less' assumption of WID approaches has persisted in the WAD approach. Further, though there was talk of capitalist-patriarchy, there was a tendency to read gender relations and class relations in isolation and not look at how they interlock in different contexts. In fact the term gender relation (or power relation between women and men) was not used but instead the term 'women' was used. While gender relations are diverse and capitalism derives benefit from gender relations, household and work places are organised differently and in some contexts capitalist patriarchy has been emancipatory and in some oppressive for women (Elson and Pearson, 1981).

Kabeer (1994) also notes that the WAD approach does not explain how biological differences lead to social differences. That is it does not explain which social institutions lead to construction of gender, race, class, caste and other social relations. The construction of a uniform global patriarchy and capitalism was problematic. She also notes that reverting to subsistence production, as suggested by Mies may not be the way to move forward. Instead, it is important for women to negotiate with social institutions. These institutions were under contradictory pressure from capitalism, patriarchy, race, caste etc. and create spaces which can be used for negotiating women's diverse interests (Kabeer 1994, Sen and Grown, 1985).

6.4.4. Gender and Development

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s when participatory approaches and rights based approaches to development became popular. In contrast to WID and WAD. GAD perceives that women do not have uniform interests. Women have multiple identities of caste, class, race, ethnicity, marital status, differential ability etc. in addition to gender identity. The gender and development approach recognises the relation between women and men as a power relation, and sees that such power stems from social construction of gender shaped by social institutions of family, community, market and state. The gender and development approach does not see women as passive victims but agents who are negotiating paces within their multiple identities.

There are two strands of thought within the GAD approach, namely empowerment and equity.

Empowerment strand: The empowerment strand of GAD approach broadened the scope of development theory by addressing issues hitherto not considered relevant in conferences on women. These included oppressive gender relations, ecological destruction and the ethics of multinational control over the developing countries and so on. At the **Nairobi Third World Conference on Women, 1985, some Third World feminists formed a group called** Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) which interpreted development issues from a Third World

women's perspective. They pointed out that the concept of development followed in the post-colonial world has been guided by a western patriarchal and capitalist idea of economic development which believed that change was linear. They rejected the aggressiveness of the dominant system and advocated the values of nurturance and openness, discarded hierarchy and recognized the diversity of feminisms in third world countries. Further, the empowerment strand recognised not only power relations of gender, but also relations of caste, class, race etc. as having a bearing on women's subordinate position. According to Moser, sought to address strategic gender needs and practical gender needs through building new political, economic and social approaches. In India, the empowerment strand is best reflected in the **Mahila Samakhya** program titled '**Education for Women's Equality**' under which mainly but not exclusively poor women are organised into groups with an open agenda of discussing what issue is important for their village. Their capacity is built to challenge all hierarchies, including caste, class, race and gender. Further, the women's groups at times take on challenges of multinational corporations and domination by corporates.

The equity strand, outlined by **Naila Kabeer** (1994), states that a combination of women's welfare, empowerment, equality of opportunity, anti-poverty and efficiency strands are required to achieve equitable outcomes (in contrast to equality of opportunities). She argues that the dichotomy between practical gender needs and strategic gender interests is artificial. Practical gender needs can be met through a strategic means of mobilization by women, a first step to them demanding strategic gender 'interests'. Further, unless women have access to water, child care, health services etc., they cannot claim strategic gender interests like right to land, political participation etc. Anti-poverty measures like access to credit are essential to make use of land. Further women's work needs to be seen as central to efficient growth of economy. Naila Kabeer positions the equity approach within a broader social relations and institutional framework-highlighting the institutions of household, community, markets and state as important institutions where in gender and social relations are played out.

In practice the term empowerment has been co-opted in many different ways by neo-liberal policy makers. The **National Policy on Women's Empowerment** in India, (2001) espouses a goal of promoting women's empowerment, but includes a mixture of welfare (e.g. nutrition of pregnant and lactating women), equality (e.g. removal of gender discrimination aspects in all laws), anti-poverty (e.g. strengthening access to skills training and housing), efficiency strand (e.g. micro-credit for women) and empowerment of women (strategies to prevent violence against women) (Government of India, 2001). Some donors like the World Bank see investing in *Gender Equality as Smart Economics* that is leading to economic growth (World Bank, 2010, pxiii). That is gender analysis- analysis of what women and men do- is used to promote efficient growth. This dilutes the power dimension within the concept of gender and social relations, and is at times called the

Gender in Development (GID) approach.

Box 6.2 Gender in Development Approach

A dilution of Gender and Development approach is the Gender in Development roles in development. There are two streams approach which is similar to the efficiency approach. Unlike the WID approach it includes a gender analysis, but not of power relations but gender within the Gender in Development approach.

- The analysis of gender roles so that project resources could be targeted at women and men so as to achieve project objectives.
- Working with men and boys to address both women’s equality, as well as to promote male specific issues that men and boys face as a result of their gender identity.

At a conceptual level, the social relations and institutional framework to looking at gender and development is indeed useful. However, in the present context two new institutions have to be added: interstate institutions (from arms of United Nations to World Bank Group to World Trade Organisation) and state-market institutions or public-private partnerships (see Murthy and Kappen, 2006)

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.
ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1) How do each of the women’s development approaches account for the subordination of women, especially women from the marginalized groups?

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6.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we attempted to engage with some major theoretical approaches to understanding the process of development and the role of women in the development process. We examined the relevance of modernization, dependency, world-systems and standpoint theories from a general and feminist lens. We concluded that the ‘modernization theory’ which held that developing countries follow a similar path to developed countries, i.e.

capitalist development, export-led growth, industrialization, spread of individualism and meritocracy was not a pathway leading to progress. In fact it was leading to further exploitation of developing countries and marginalized groups (including Blacks, Dalit, and women).

While dependency theory and world-systems theories have correctly observed that the process of integration itself is exploitative they have not adequately grappled with class, caste, race, gender and other relations in peripheral countries which keep these marginalised groups and women amongst them in an oppressed situation. The need for a world-system which puts economic, social/gender, political and environmental justice (for this generation and the next) at the center is not articulated. Further, we discuss how stand point theory articulates that the vantage point of oppressed groups needs to be heard to shape policies. However, it does not state how this is to happen and what happens when standpoints of different marginalised groups are in conflict with each other. The unit concludes that social relations and institutional framework (within GAD) offer an interesting framework for looking at how institutions of household, community, market and state shape various social relations and allows for space for negotiation. It could be strengthened by placing justice as a central goal in such negotiations not only for women and men, various social/economic groups, nature or environment, but also for coming generations of girls.

6.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the major theories on development? Critique them from a general and feminist lens?
- 2) Critically analyse the different approaches to gender and development in the Third World?
- 3) How do you relate theories and policies on development and approaches to women's development to the Indian context?
- 4) If you were to frame an alternative theory on development and approach to women's development what would it be?

6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

Check Your Progress Exercise I

Dependency Theory, World Systems Theory, Modernization Theory and Stand Point Theory

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Women in Development approach emerged during in 1970s and the late 1980s focus on integrating women into production.

Gender and Development approach address power relation.

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UNIT 7 WID-WAD-GAD*

*Adopted from Block 2, Unit 6, MGS-001

Structure

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Objectives
- 7.3 Concepts of Development and Underdevelopment
- 7.4 Boserup's Thesis
 - 7.4.1 Critique of Boserup
- 7.5 Emergence of Women in Development (WID) Approach
 - 7.5.1 Welfare Approach
 - 7.5.2 Equity Approach
- 7.6 Three World Conferences on Women
 - 7.6.1 Anti- Poverty Approach
 - 7.6.2 Efficiency Approach
- 7.7 Women and Development (WAD) Approach
 - 7.7.1 Empowerment Approach
 - 7.7.2 The Indian Context
- 7.8 Critique of WID
- 7.9 Gender and Development (GAD) Approach
- 7.10 Fourth World Conference on Women
- 7.11 Let us sum Up
- 7.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 7.13 References and Suggested Readings

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the formation of the United Nations Commission on the Status for Women in 1946, it had been proposing a United Nations (U.N.) Women's Conference with little success. Gradually with pressure from the American Women's Movement, the United Nations (U.N.) General Assembly declared 1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-1985 as the International Decade for Women. This declaration led to a growing awareness of women's issues and accepting their demands as legitimate issues for policymaking, both at the national and international level. The major themes of the International Women's Year and Conference were-- Equality, Development and Peace. Equality, however, had been a dominant issue for the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women and it came primarily from the feminist movement of the Western industrialized nations. Increasingly considered peace to be a women's issue by the countries of the Eastern bloc. On the other hand, development was a recent issue put forward mainly by the newly independent "Third World" nations as a key to improving women's lives.

During the decade, the important but previously invisible role of women in the social and economic development of the poorer countries was highlighted. The International Decade for Women (1975-85) signified the new visibility of Women in Development (WID) in international forums.

The WID approach was adopted, pointing to the fact that the policymakers do not recognize women's contribution to development. Women are treated as "beneficiaries" of development, not as active agents of development. Before this, however, brought women into "development" policy on very sex-specific terms. Men were seen as the heads of households and productive agents. Women were seen as housewives, mothers and reproducers. Therefore development efforts targeted the male population, while women were relegated to the marginal welfare sector.

In this Unit, we will trace the emergence of a gender-sensitive development debate. But before we examine the details of the term "Women in Development" and the U.N. Women's Conferences, we need to understand the concept of "development", who defines it and how it is defined within the context of international politics.

7.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Highlight the gender blindness of Development and Underdevelopment;
- Discuss the feminist critiques of development; and
- Analyze the different approaches to WID, WAD and GAD approaches.

7.3 CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Till the mid-sixties, modernization theories were used to understand post-colonial societies. Modernization theories perceived development as an evolutionary, unilinear process of change that would change traditional society, through various stages to a state of modernity. It involved a total transformation of traditional societies, their institutions, cultures and behaviour. The crux of these theories was that development involved industrial growth which was autonomous and self-sustaining. This form of development, which had occurred in the west, was assumed to be a role model for the rest of the world to follow. There was a kind of economic determinism involved, as development was measured mainly in terms of growth in GNP, and it was believed that the benefits of economic growth would "trickle-down" to households at the bottom of the income hierarchy. On the whole, modernization theories argued that capitalism played a progressive role in developing traditional and underdeveloped societies.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a growing disillusionment with modernization theories. Its inability to explain the failure of capitalist

development in different parts of the world, particularly Latin America, led to the rise of an alternative theory, namely the underdevelopment theory of dependency theory. The theorists Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein have contributed immensely to the development and popularization of dependency theory.

Frank was one of the first theorists to analyze the causes for the underdeveloped and dependent status of the Third World countries. He argues that this is because of the exploitative chain of metropolis-satellite or core-periphery relations that exist throughout the world system that affect both the economy and polity of the peripheral countries.

Through a historical analysis of Chile and Brazil, Frank tries to show the exploitative relation between the capitalist world and the national metropolises to the regional centres and so on to large landholders or merchants who appropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants, and sometimes even from the latter to landless labourers exploited by them in turn. At each point, the international, national, and local capitalist system generates economic Development for the few and Underdevelopment. The entire system has a monopolistic structure which involves the misuse and squandering of resources throughout the system. However, this capitalist expansion generates the continuous Development of the metropolises and the continuous Underdevelopment of the satellites. The transfer of surplus from the satellite to the metropolis leads to distorted development in the satellite. Finally it is the imperialist metropolis at the end of the metropolis-satellite chain that appropriates all the resources.

Hence, while there is the continuous development of the metropolises, simultaneously there is continuous underdevelopment of the satellites. Highlighting the political consequences of dependency, Frank argues that the ruling classes have a vested interest in maintaining the exploitative and monopolistic capitalist structure that runs like a chain from the villages to the imperialist metropolis. For Frank, therefore, the only way to break out of the monopolistic capitalist system is to have a worldwide socialist revolution. Like Frank, for Wallerstein too, unequal exchange between the core and the periphery leads to the Development of the former and Underdevelopment of the latter. *The underdevelopment theories have been entirely blind to gender and the contribution of women to economic development. At this time, Ester Boserup, in her book "Women's Role in Economic Development" (1970), was recognized and widely quoted.*

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What do we mean by Underdevelopment?

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7.4 BOSERUP'S THESIS

The publication of Ester Boserup's book in 1970, coincided with the growing wave of feminist consciousness in Europe and USA and youth radicalization all over the world. Boserup argues that a change in the density of population results in the change of techniques in farming, which requires a higher labour input resulting in a change in the division of labour between men and women.

She distinguished between two systems of subsistence agriculture. One is characterized by shifting cultivation, done mainly by female farmers, as in Africa. The other, characterized by plough cultivation, done mainly by male farmers as in South Asia. Boserup criticized the "dubious generalization" according to which males were considered to be the providers of food. With her comparative analysis, she pointed out the differences in women's work, emphasizing the important role women played in African agriculture as compared to the lesser role women played in Asian and Latin American countries.

The reasons for such a difference— in Africa were a low density of population, absence of agrarian technologies and shortage of domestic animals for agrarian task. Land was easily accessible and there was less class differentiation. Thus the men were mainly occupied with clearing the land, while the women cultivated subsistence crops.

In her analysis, Boserup points to the existence of a strong correlation between economic conditions and polygamy. In areas of plough cultivation, where there is a small minority of polygamous marriages, the women are totally dependent on their husbands for economic support, and they are valued only as mothers.

Boserup went on to analyze and point out the adverse effects that European colonialism and the capitalist penetration of subsistence economies often had on women. The European colonial rulers were largely responsible for the neglect of the female farming systems of Africa and the resulting loss of status of the African women. They were unsympathetic to the female farming systems that they found in many of their colonies and believed in the superiority of the male farming system. Hence, when they introduced modern technology, cash crops, and so forth, Boserup argues that they trained only the males to the neglect of the female farmers. This benefited the men, enhancing their prestige and lowering that of women. The discriminatory policies followed in education and training created a technical, cultural and

productivity gap between men and women. Women were increasingly relegated to the subsistence sector of food production using the traditional methods of cultivation. The “land reforms introduced by the European administrators” also resulted in the loss of land rights for the women. From being cultivators themselves, women were increasingly marginalized from agriculture and reduced to being “unpaid helpers in the production of crops belonging to their husbands”. Thus, women lost income and status in comparison to men.

Boserup also analyzed the status of women and the sexual divisions of labour that existed in non-agricultural activities, particularly in the urban areas. She divides towns into predominantly female or male towns. Her thesis challenged the commonly held notion that women’s status and their rights automatically improve with modernization. Despite Boserup’s path-breaking contribution to women's development, her work has also led to a great deal of debate and controversy.

7.4.1 Critique of Boserup

One of the earliest critics of Boserup’s thesis, Suellen Huntington, argued that the division of farming systems into male and female, ignored important aspects of male domination which could not be explained only by developments in agricultural technology. Besides this, Huntington pointed out that women may have had an important role in agricultural production in female farming systems. However, it did not mean that they enjoyed equal status or greater power in relation to men. Claims for women’s equality should be argued for on their own merits and not depend on historical evidence that is refutable.

Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen argued that Boserup’s thesis was “essentially empirical and descriptive” and that it “lacked a clearly defined theoretical framework”. They criticized her for accepting the capitalist model of development as given. Women’s economic marginalization was due to their incorporation into the worldwide capitalist system, which exploited their labour and not because they were excluded from productive labour. Further, they argued that Boserup concentrates on women’s role outside the household and thus ignores women’s role in reproduction and domestic production. Hence, it is argued that Boserup’s analysis lacks a feminist perspective on women’s subordination (For a detailed critique of Boserup’s thesis, see L. Beneria and G. Sen, 1981). Boserup’s thesis, however, justified the efforts to influence government policy and development based on both justice and efficiency. The debate on Boserup’s thesis can be located in a larger debate which can be largely labeled as the "Decolonization of the Mind" or in other words, the issue of development and the politics of knowledge. For the modernization theorists, decolonization had come to mean westernization and the very idea of decolonization assumed a model similar to the child development model. While Carol Gilligan pointed out the implicit male bias in the model, Nandy pointed out the implicit imperialistic

bias in these models of decolonization. Debates on the western model as environmentally destructive and spiritually lacking were in focus. Tariq Banuri has summarized this in his work “Modernization and its Discontents – A Cultural Perspective on the Theories of Development”.

Tariq Banuri points out that to understand the problems of development and progress, one needs to look at the cultural context within which they arose. He argues that modernisation theories are placed in a unique kind of culture, where "the impersonal is superior to the personal". The modernization theories argue that due to this existence of personal relations in traditional societies, development is impeded. The neo-classical economic theory too, Banuri argues, looks upon the individual as separate from the environment.

Banuri suggests that many of the problems in society that seem insoluble are “based in the assumption of a dichotomy and a hierarchy between the impersonal and the personal spheres of culture”. The solution is to supplant the idea of hierarchy with that of a "Tension" or “dialectic” between the two. What is needed is a change in the basic assumption of economic theory that all actions can be reduced to the impersonal sphere and see human actions due to the tension between conflicting obligations and commitments.

The search for an alternative vision thus, begins with the idea of “progress as being the expansion of the awareness of oppression in society”. The existence of a positive relation between impersonality and progress, as claimed by modernization theorists is disqualified. The debate on the meaning of development, it is argued, is highly technocratic and therefore it should be replaced with a “broader social definition”. The oppressed on realization of their oppression, will outline their own priorities and take the required social and political action. The social scientist should take responsibility for the long term consequences of their prescription. The indigenous ways of knowing, based on direct personal relationships, should be strengthened. Decentralization is needed in the polity, economy and society. Finally, however, this alternate vision must differ from place to place according to the cultural characteristics of the place.

However, even in these debates on alternative models, gender is not accorded the status of a structural component. The fact that women had not benefited from the new productive opportunities, new technology and market forces, resulted in doubts over the presumed neutrality of the development agencies. This led to the emergence of the WID critique of development. The WID scholars, however, retained the fundamental premise of the liberal world view. The problem was how to integrate women into development.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Whose writings highlighted women’s contribution to economic

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7.5 EMERGENCE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID) APPROACH

This section discusses the emergence of Women in Development (WID) approach.

7.5.1 Welfare Approach

Initially, during the First Development Decade 1961-70, there was no mention of women specifically. The **Welfare approach** characterized WID. It was assumed that social and economic development, in general, would bring about the desired changes for women. Women were seen as passive beneficiaries of development with a focus on their reproductive role. However, at this early stage, the emphasis was on equal rights for women rather than economic development.

7.5.2 Equity approach

During the Second Development Decade, 1971-80, the “full integration of women in the total development efforts,” was emphasized. The **Equity approach** aimed at gaining equity for women in the development process. Women were seen as active participants in development. The main goal was to integrate women into the development process more productively. The key route through this could be achieved which was equality of opportunity through education and training. A number of committees within professional associations, new women’s groups and others were formed. They came together on important issues like equal pay for equal work, greater visibility of women within professional organizations, equal rights amendment, and so on. This led to the formation of many women’s pressure groups, especially Women in Development (WID). The advocates of WID pointed out the phenomena that many scholars had observed, particularly in the developing countries, i.e. the adverse impact that development seemed to have on women. The feminization of poverty and the growing number of women-headed households due to the development policies was also highlighted.

With pressure from the American women’s movement, the United Nations declared 1975 as the International Women’s Year and 1975-1985 as the International Women’s Decade. With this, there was a growing awareness of women's issues and accepting their demands as legitimate issues for

policymaking, both at the national and international level. The major themes of the Decade were – Equality, Development and Peace. The U.N. Decade for Women and the international conferences gave impetus to the gender component in development debates.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Trace the emergence of the WID approaches.

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7.6 THREE WORLD CONFERENCES ON WOMEN

In 1975, the World Conference for the International Women’s Year was held in Mexico City. The Conference highlighted the differences in the needs of women from the

Western industrialized nations and those from the agricultural nations. This frequently led to debates on what embodied “women’s issues”. The equity approach was identified as

“developmental”, but mainly reflected “First world” feminist pre-occupations with equality. The "Second World" delegates were concerned with peace. They argued that capitalism and militarism was responsible for women’s problems. The “Third World” delegates were concerned with development. They argued that development was the key to improving women’s lives. While the women from the underdeveloped nations were concerned mainly with the survival of the family unit, employment opportunities and legal and economic roles of women; those from the developed nations emphasized the symbolic expressions of authority, status, and control over one’s own body, discrimination against women, etc. It also meant the adoption of different strategies for change in the status of women.

Scholars like Ester Boserup, Elise Boulding and others, have noted that often, economic development in the underdeveloped countries leads to structural changes that dislocate women from income-generating occupations, or place a more significant load on women who continue with subsistence agriculture, while men move into mechanized agriculture, grow cash crops or migrate to the cities. It was also pointed out that there are a growing number of female headed-households. It was recommended that these women should also be

given priority for employment on par with men with family responsibilities. Stress was also laid on the fact that peace also could be achieved only by realizing that women, who consisted of half the world 's population, were also human beings with equal rights in civil, political, economic and social fields.

7.6.1 Anti- Poverty Approach

The Equity approach, however, was considered threatening and not popular with governments. It was criticized as Western feminism. Hence there was a shift to the **Anti-Poverty approach**. This approach toned down equality because of criticism. It was more concerned with redistribution along with growth and basic needs. Its purpose was to ensure poor women increase their productivity, since women's poverty was seen as a problem of under development, not their subordination. However this approach isolated poor women as a separate category with a tendency to recognize only their productive role. It was more popular among the NGOs and developed at a small scale.

7.6.2 Efficiency Approach

With the UN Mid-decade Conference on Women held at Copenhagen in 1980, the concept of WID had shifted from the equity to **efficiency approach** and was articulated in economic terms. The Conference was dominated by debates on trade, development and politics. There were heated debates over the Palestinian issue, the effects of apartheid on women in South Africa, and women refugees worldwide. Despite the highly publicized arguments, women from different parts of the world endeavoured to understand one another and create a more congruent perspective. At this Conference, it was recognized that women were both participants and victims in political struggles.

In her review of the Copenhagen conference, Irene Tinker asked, "How do you take one tune and encourage variation while eliciting orchestral support?" The response and comments to it by several scholars showed that many people were looking at various women's issues that had not been mentioned, recognized or clarified before the decade began. One of the main functions of the Mexico City and Copenhagen conference was consciousness-raising.

The emergence of the efficiency approach in this period should be seen in a declining world economy and accompanying stabilization and adjustment policies. With serious cuts in welfare spending, the focus on efficient development meant that women became crucial actors in the development scenario. It recognized women's resilience and ability to adjust to crisis. In the formal sector, women are prepared to work for longer hours for less pay. They are usually hired later and fired earlier. Given these disadvantages in the formal sector, women are willing to accept worse conditions than men in the informal sector. All these qualities attracted development planners to

focus their programmes on women.

These approaches recognize that women play a significant economic role both within and outside the families. The efficiency approach focused on credit for women, supplementary income-generating projects, micro-enterprise for women, etc. It focused only on the economic aspects of women in development, and it was designed to suit the interests of more prominent agents of development rather than the women themselves. This approach is still the most popular WID approach for many national governments, state machinery for women and aid agencies, and NGOs. They are keen to maintain the status quo in the name of economic development without questioning the underlying power relations in the communities in which they work.

At the third and final Conference of the international decade for women at Nairobi, the various dimensions of women's needs came up. It was at this Conference that the needs of the "Third World" women gained recognition and were highlighted. The main concerns of women living in subsistence societies were environmental issues, forest and water management methods, sustainable agriculture, etc. These issues were combined with environmental issues on a world scale. The demands of "Third World" countries for techniques to limit the drudgery of everyday work were also put forward. Divisive and political issues such as the debt crises and its effects on countries of the "Third World", the issue of apartheid in South Africa were debated upon. There was growing recognition that one-third of the world's families were women-headed. The women worked to support their families and were also charged with bringing up the children.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. List the first three international women's conferences.

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7.7 WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT (WAD) APPROACH

The Women and Development (WAD) approach pointed out that women are already integrated into the development process in an exploitative way. This is because planners hold imprecise assumptions about women's specific activities, leading to the neglect of women's real needs and over-exploitation

of their labour.

Proponents of the WAD approach are mainly activists and theorists from the South and few from the North. The latter saw the limitations of WID and argued that women would never get their equal share of development benefits unless patriarchy and global inequality are addressed.

Women from the developed nations were slowly realizing that the concerns of “Third World” women were also legitimate. They began to identify with them and their earlier condescending attitude towards “Third World” women diminished. Efforts were made to link issues of the family with that of politics at the local, national and international levels. The Third World feminist movement increasingly incorporated struggles against sexual inequality

with political struggles. The gathering at Nairobi provided women of the “Third World” as well as the “First World” the chance to combine forces to fight against injustice.

The WAD approach provides a more critical view of women’s position than WID. It is assumed that women’s position will improve once international structures become more equitable. However, how these could change is not clearly explained. According to this perspective, women were not a neglected resource but overburdened and undervalued. Their substantial contribution to development needs to be recognized, along with a redistribution of its benefits, burdens between men and women. The WAD approach also demanded “affirmative action” by the State as “Laissez Faire” in the market worsened already existing inequalities.

7.7.1 Empowerment Approach

In this period, the **Empowerment approach** was adopted. Unlike the previous approaches, the empowerment approach is a direct result of “Third World” women’s social and grassroots movements and their realities and experiences of mainstream “development”. Its roots were in Latin American social movements where educationists such as Paulo Freire and Evan Ilich used conscientization to mobilize oppressed sections.

The approach emerged out of a critique of all other approaches, which were based on the expert analysis of how and what “Third World” women need to develop themselves and their communities. This approach gained momentum in the 1980s and continues to be popular among social activists, feminist researchers, NGOs and Aid agencies who are genuinely interested in the transformative potential of development initiatives.

The empowerment approach questions the notion that “women” can be addressed as a universal category. Further, for the first time, women's subordination was seen as a men's problem.

The empowerment approach broadened the scope of development theory by addressing issues hitherto not considered relevant. These included oppressive

gender relations, ecological destruction, and the ethics of multinational control over the developing countries. Thus the empowerment approach became most threatening to government and international agencies. The Self-Employed Women's Organization (SEWA) started in Ahmedabad, India, the Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), are examples of the success of empowerment through organization.

At the Nairobi conference, 1985 some Third World Women formed a group DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) which interpreted development issues from the woman's perspective. They pointed out that the concept of development followed in the post-colonial world has been guided by a western patriarchal and capitalist idea of economic development, which believed that change is linear. They rejected the aggressiveness of the dominant system and advocated the values of nurturance and openness, discarded hierarchy and recognized the diverse but equally genuine meanings of feminism of every area.

The U.N. decade for women brought to light the fact that women still perform two-thirds of the world's work, but earn one tenth of its income and own only one hundredth of its property. There was recognition of the fact that the "feminization of poverty was on the increase". Women's participation in the goals and strategies for change and their empowerment, both within and outside the home, were stressed if change was to occur.

The conferences of the International Decade for Women brought about greater interaction and mobilization of women from various countries. They provided the motive to investigate the common concerns of women worldwide. Conventional indicators of development-modernization, urbanization, per capita income, growth of the economy, mechanization, white-green-blue revolution were questioned. During the conferences, the various meanings of the term "women in development" predominated. Besides economic development, it also signified "legal equality, education, health, employment and empowerment".

Equal rights for women and men before the law were stressed in the early years. During the International Women's Decade, a number of conventions were passed, important among them is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Later on, legal rights were not given great importance. Though most countries had granted women's equality, they were not enforced.

It was argued that women's status could be improved by educating them. However, the earlier literacy programme had failed because classes were held at the time when the women were busy with economic activities. No formal education systems were advocated, and emphasis was laid on reducing gender biases within the education system.

Emphasis was laid on employing women, especially in the development agencies as an effective method of ensuring that development programme reach and involve women. Consciousness-raising and empowerment of

women was emphasized.

Economic Development remained the main focus of "women in development". The attempt was to remove the gender bias in development planning that overlooked women's role in economic activities.

7.7.2 The Indian Context

The U.N. decade for women generated a lot of data on the status of women the world over. In India, a political emergency was declared in 1975. Yet in this period, the UN-sponsored International Women's Decade provided the space for women's organizations to meet and discuss issues, organize seminars, etc.

During this period, an important and significant report on the "Status of women in India" was published entitled "Towards Equality" Report (in 1974 it was tabled in the parliament). The Government of India appointed the Committee on the Status of Women in 1971 to look into the changes – legal, constitutional, administrative, political, social and economic, -- that had occurred in the status of women since Independence. The Committee submitted its report in December 1974. Its investigations revealed the dismal reality of declining sex ratios, decreasing participation of women in employment and political activities. Illiteracy and lack of vocational training prevented women from being absorbed into the modern economy. Development itself was very uneven between different regions, communities and sections of society.

The low status of women in society was indicated by a number of factors such as – the age of marriage of girls was below 15 years in more than 1/3 of the districts of India. The life expectation for females was 45 years as compared to 47 years for males in 1961-71. The gap in male and female life expectation was in fact increasing. The female mortality rate was much higher than that of males, especially in 15-44 years. Though there has been an increase in the female population, the number of females per thousand males has been declining. In 1901, it was 972 females per thousand males, but by 1971, it had declined to 930 females per thousand males, and in 1991 it had declined further to 929 women per thousand males. One of the reasons for the low sex ratio, it is observed, is the high maternal mortality. In 1964, it was 252 per 1,00,000 live births in the whole country, and in 1968, it went up to 573 for 1,00,000 live births in rural areas. Maternal mortality has been mainly due to frequent pregnancies, abortions, malnutrition, etc.. Another reason is rampant female feticide and infanticide.

The literacy rate among women was much lower than for males – 18.4% and 39.5% respectively. The number of women in the labour force came down from 34.4% in 1911 to 17.35% in 1971. 94% of the women workers are found in the unorganized sector and the rest 6% in the organized sector. It was also noted that a majority of women did not make use of the rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution. There has been an increasing

incidence of dowry in the urban and rural areas and communities that did not follow this practice earlier.

This report demystified the popular belief that the Constitution had guaranteed equality between the sexes. The mid-sixties witnessed an economic crisis, stagnation, inflation and increasing lawlessness. There was general discontentment and displeasure in society, especially among the youth and working class. There were strong protests by students all over the world, trade unions and anti-price rise movements, and anti-war and colonial liberation movements.

In India, too, there were student protests, anti-price rise *morchas*, tribal revolts, and the Naxalbari movement in the seventies. Women participated in large numbers in these movements. A number of radical activists started autonomous groups involved with education, popular science (KSSP – Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad), health, environmental protection, civil liberties, women’s issues, tribal issues. Involvement with the anti-price rise protests, student and tribal movements made the women realize the importance of taking up issues related to the oppression of women, violence in the family, dowry, alcoholism, sexual

discrimination against women. It was in the decade of the 1970s that the “Third World” began to emerge as a challenge and a force to reckon with. This heralded the critiques of “development” and “under-development” in the “Third World” countries from both feminist and others.

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Is the Empowerment approach drawn from WAD?

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7.8 CRITIQUE OF WID

The main critique of Women in Development came “from three sources: - Marxist feminists, women from the developing countries and scholars who sympathized with the female sphere approach”. In their effort to influence the development experts, the advocate practitioners and scholars of the WID approach did not “raise basic theoretical issues” but instead, sought to adjust the contemporary “development practices to include and benefit Women”.

As the field developed, the pragmatic approach of the WID practitioners and advocates and the detail of women's lives coming from WID scholars began to influence the theorists. The theorists then raised questions about the global power structures, values etc. which were more relevant.

The Marxist feminists have questioned the constitution of women as a "category". They argue that biological sex has been misunderstood as gender relations through social, cultural, political and economic forces. However, women's interests vary by class. But one common factor among women of all classes and in all societies is their subordinate position in society. The main cause of this is class and patriarchy. While Marxists and other feminists would try to change this situation and fight for equality, the feminists who argue for a female sphere would emphasize the difference. Over the years, other factors of subordination of women have come up like race in the USA, colonialism, Underdevelopment and dependency in the "Third World" and the intricacies of caste, religion and ethnicity in India.

Development programmes that are supposed to help women with their practical and material problems and to address the causes of their subordination often end up perpetuating it. What is required, therefore, is feminism that provides a political basis for bringing women of all classes together despite their differences.

Throughout the Decade, the effort was to associate value and status to women's work. But often, the emphasis has been on economic activities. Though women have worked for long hours, be it in subsistence societies or the new industries of developing societies, their work has not been valued, and they have not got high status. The effort now is to decrease the woman's work and simultaneously empower her. This would need an examination of the controls on woman's labour. Hence an examination of the household and the issue of patriarchy.

The female sphere theorists argue that the demand for equality of work for a just and egalitarian society may be disadvantageous for women. In a society where women enjoyed autonomy in the private sphere, they are withdrawn from the visible public labour force and are made economically dependent on the family. However, many women have chosen to retain their economic Independence.

Yet another perspective is put forward by scholars like Elise Boulding, who argue that women have developed the quality of nurturing, survival and peace. These feminine values will save the earth and not the male values of ruling and conquering. The need is for environment-friendly technology and efforts towards peace.

The DAWN report points out the connection between global economic policies and women at the local, national and international levels. The economic crises, ecological degradation, increasing militarism and so on are all linked to the global policies. Scholars have pointed out how the debt

crises, structural adjustment policies, and macro-level development policies have had differential effects on male and female work and perpetuate gender bias in market policies. Rae Blumberg argues that the African food crisis resulted from macro-level development policies that overlooked the importance of women's contribution to economic development.

Kathryn Ward, in her work "Women in the Global Economy", argues that women's economic status has stagnated due to underdevelopment processes. Increasingly, women are pushed into subsistence agriculture or the service or informal sectors. Until the coming of transnational corporations, women did not get industrial employment. However, even this employment is not permanent, and they are once again displaced into the service sectors.

Ward argues that women's status has been structured both directly and indirectly by the global capitalist system. She highlights three processes of trade dependency, dependent development, and debt dependency as being particularly important in shaping women's status. As a result of this global capitalist system, the peripheral regions within this system experience socio-economic dependence on the core nations and underdevelopment.

The major problems with the WID approach are as follows.

- WID considers women as a homogeneous group. It ignores the fact that women are not a single uniform category. Women are differentiated by racial, economic and other factors which are not considered important.
- WID projects the myth that women's development can be achieved by addressing economic issues alone. Yet, in a context where women are not allowed to own property and do not have control over resources, it is questionable how income-generating projects can lead to women's development.
- It does not question the kind of development that is being imposed on the developing countries. WID does not have any scope for change and transformation. It does not challenge existing power relations in society. Hence it has remained popular.

However, since the early 1980s, WID came under severe attack, mainly from "Third World" women's movements, who are questioning the relevance of such development programmes in the context of continuing poverty and oppression. This has led to a rethinking of the WID approach and resulted in the emergence of the **Gender and Development approach** or GAD.

7.9 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD) APPROACH

GAD, which shares elements with the empowerment approach, gained popularity in the 1980s and attempts to address the loopholes of WID. It is rooted in post-development theory and post-structuralist critiques in

GAD does not consider women as a uniform group. It maintains that women’s situation should be seen in the context of the socio-economic, racial and other factors that shape a particular society. It points to the importance of understanding the relationship between women and men and how society influences their respective roles. Development to be meaningful will have to take all these factors into consideration.

This approach rejects the dichotomy between the public and the private. It focuses attention on the oppression of women in the family, within the private sphere of the household. It emphasizes the state’s role in providing social services to promote women’s emancipation. Women are seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development.

The focus is on strengthening women’s legal rights. It also talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society. Gender is an issue that cuts across all economic, social and political processes. The GAD approach attempts to identify both the practical gender needs of women and the strategic gender needs that are closely related.

The problem with GAD is that it is accessible in the name of gender to disguise and even sidetrack real issues that affect women. Gender can rise above the personal, which means the personal can remain behind the scene, despite all the efforts that go into the analysis of “social construction of gender”.

However, GAD is often seen as just a new label for the same older women’s programmes that do not address power relations in society or women’s oppression. Though

It is popular among funding agencies and NGOs and can be different, and it has become institutionalized like WID.

Check Your Progress Exercise 6

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What is GAD?

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2. How is GAD different from other approaches?

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7.10 FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

At the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in December 1995, the mood was sombre, reflecting the turmoil of the past decade, the global economic crises, the collapse of most communist regimes, unmitigated ethnic conflict and growing conservatism. This is reflected in the disproportionate burden borne by women. Statistics showed that women today constitute 70% of the world's 1.3 billion poor, 2/3rd of the illiterates and (with their children) 80% of the 25 million refugees mostly victims of armed conflict.

The single most critical issue at the Conference was women's economic crises: Southern women reeling under structural adjustment; East European women faced with rising unemployment and collapse of state-provided welfare services; and Western women faced with sharp cuts in public expenditure on health, education and welfare.

The critical outcome in Beijing was the new recognition by both NGOs and governments that macro-economic policy is also an issue of critical importance for women and, therefore, a feminist concern. Furthermore, it was important not just to be reactive after policies have done their damage but to be creative in framing alternatives. The "Beijing Platform for Action" recognizes the link between the economic and the political. Eradication of poverty cannot be accomplished through anti-poverty programmes alone. Still, it will require democratic participation and changes in economic structures to ensure access for all women to resources, opportunities and public services.

Check Your Progress Exercise 7

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Where was the Fourth World Conference on Women held?

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2. What are the key issues discussed at the Conference?

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7.11 LET US SUM UP

In conclusion, the significant issues that emerge are: In the '60s and '70s, women voiced their dissent and protested through mass movements as well as autonomous feminist groups.

The “Western” model of development as the role-model was not only questioned, but women activists in the Third World refused the label of “always and already victims” that the Western feminists had accorded them. This translated into viewing women, not as passive recipients of development but as active agents in the process.

The issues of gender, nationality and ethnicity within the context of the global political economy came into focus; rightly questioning thereby the “woman” as the subject of feminist debates.

The increasing marginalization of women in the economy, their increasing landlessness and lack of access to resources had resulted in feminization of poverty. A significant relationship between the feminization of poverty and female-headed households was brought into focus.

7.12 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Elaborate Boserup’s contribution to visibility of women and development.
2. Describe the emergence of the WID approach.
3. Trace the WID approach through the first three world conferences.
4. Elaborate the GAD approach

7.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Lack of economic growth is considered as under development. This is measured in terms of GDP.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Esther Boserup

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. The pressure from the Third World women group led to the emergence of the WID approach. In this approach, the status of women on par with men was discussed in terms of equality. This was emerged in the year 1975.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

1. Mexico – 1975
2. Nairobi – 1980
3. Copenhagen – 1985

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

1. Yes, in WAD period, the **Empowerment approach** was adopted. Unlike the previous approaches, the empowerment approach is a direct result of “Third World” women’s social and grassroots movements and their realities and experiences of mainstream “development”. Its roots were in Latin American social movements where educationists such as Paulo Freire and Evan Ilich used conseintization to mobilise oppressed sections.

Check Your Progress Exercise 6

1. GAD means Gender and Development.
2. GAD doesn’t consider women as a uniform group.

Check Your Progress Exercise 7

1. Beijing - 1995
2. Representation of women in social, political and economic institutions.

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UNIT 8 GAD INDICATORS*

*Adopted from Block 2, Unit 8, MGS-001

Structure

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Objectives
- 8.3 Background to GAD Indicators
 - 8.3.1 Meaningful Indicators of Women and Development
- 8.4 Why look at Gender and Indicators?
- 8.5 The Millennium Development Goals
- 8.6 Examples of Gender Indicators
 - 8.6.1 UNDPs GDI and GEM
 - 8.6.2 Gender-Related Development Index (GDI)
 - 8.6.3 Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)
 - 8.6.4 Critique of GDI and GEM
- 8.7 UNESCAP's Framework for measuring progress on the 12 critical areas of the Beijing Platform for action
 - 8.7.1 Women and Poverty
 - 8.7.2 Education and Training of Women
 - 8.7.3 Women and Health
 - 8.7.4 Violence Against Women
 - 8.7.5 Women and Armed Conflict
 - 8.7.6 Women and the Economy
 - 8.7.7 Women in Power and Decision Making
 - 8.7.8 Institutional Mechanisms for the advancement of Women
 - 8.7.9 Human Rights of Women
 - 8.7.10 Women and the Media
 - 8.7.11 Women and the Environment
 - 8.7.12 The Girl Child
- 8.8 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) developed by the OECD's Gender, Institutions and Development Data Base
- 8.9 Let Us Sun Up
- 8.10 Unit End Questions
- 8.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
- 8.12 References and Suggested readings

8.1 INTRODUCTION

To ensure that women and men will equally contribute and benefit from the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental development of the country, appropriate measures must be undertaken to provide them with equal conditions for realizing their full rights to participate in the development process and at the same time gain from it.

However, in many countries of the world, Gender discrimination and resulting gender inequality in economic, social and political spheres is a fact of life. They understand where, why, and how gender inequality arises is vital in addressing gender and development problems and issues.

Efforts aimed at advancing the status of women require timely and accurate information on their situation compared to that of men. Gender disaggregated data and statistics are needed to enhance women's and men's awareness and capabilities, leading to greater participation, decision-making, power, and control.

8.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Analyze the linkage between gender and development;
- Discuss gender indicators including Gender Related Development Indicators (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM); and
- Describe UNESCAP's framework for measuring progress on the 12 critical areas of the Beijing Platform for Action.

8.3 BACKGROUND TO GAD INDICATORS

Conventional development indicators are economic growth, rise in national and per capita income and GDP, the rapid pace of urbanisation, high mobility of labour and capital, expansion of the industrial base, agrarian growth and growth of foreign trade.

Gender economists have challenged this thinking as these indicators have not considered just the distribution of resources, opportunities, and material well-being to most human beings, especially women.

This resulted in the development of the **Women in Development approach**, which signifies awareness about the marginalisation of women in society in general and in the economy in particular. Towards Equality Report, Government of India published in 1974 and The UN Charter on Equality, Development and Peace adopted in 1975 were influenced by this approach.

It is also worth noting that the **Women and Development** approach that believes in the integration of women in the mainstream through education, health and economic development of women is a guiding force for National Perspective Plan (1988-2000), GOI.

The gender and Development approach is committed to bending the existing power structure in favour of women through women's empowerment in the apex bodies of decision making. Convention on Elimination of (All Forms of) Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) espouses this approach.

The four global women's conferences (Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985 and Beijing 1995) were instrumental in bringing women's issues centre-stage in the country after country by raising awareness, spreading ideas, creating important alliances and increasing confidence. These conferences also provided the mandate for CEDAW (the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), which was in turn responsible for the creation of UNIFEM (the UN Development Fund for Women) and

INSTRAW (the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women). In addition, MDGs – gender-inclusive 2000, INSTRAW-UN, visibility of women in statistics and indicators (1988), GDI and GEM by the United Nations, and development radars developed by various countries, including India.

Inter-district, Inter-state and Cross country comparisons of women's empowerment are obtained from Gender-related Development Index (GDI). GDI owes its origin to its precursor, the HDI (Human Development Index), three main components: per capita income, educational attainment, and life expectancy, a proxy for health attainment. Gender disparities are measured, keeping these three indicators into consideration. "An additional measure, gender empowerment measure (GEM), has been formulated to take into account aspects relating to economic participation and decision-making by women. The indicators used in GEM are income share, share in parliamentary seats and an index that includes a share in administrative and managerial jobs and share in professional and technical posts".

8.3.1 Meaningful Indicators of Women and Development

Comparative data of 130 countries regarding gender-related development index (GDI) reveals that gender equality does not depend entirely on the income level of society. **The human development approach** which focuses on demographic, health, educational and human rights profiles, have revealed that there is an urgent need to reexamine this approach by conducting participatory action research and rapid rural appraisal not by social scientists alone, but in collaboration with other professionals such as scientists, doctors- occupational health and safety experts, engineers and lawyers who believe that like them, citizens from subsistence sector also have right to enjoy fruits of modern science and technology in terms of food security, safe transport, clean environment, secure housing and healthy life.

India ranks 114 in GDI and 134 in the HDI in the year 2008-2009 as the Indian women enjoy nearly 1/5th of the total earned income, life expectancy of 63.4 years (female 64.9, male 62) and 66 % adult literacy (female 54.5 %, male 76.9 %) rate and combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrollment ratio (GER) of 61% (female 57.4 % and male 64.3%). HDI for India is 0. 612 and GDI for India is 0.594. As compared to their male counterparts, women in India have higher life expectancy because women

from the middle and upper classes live in a secure environment, produce one or two children and control food (kitchen) of the household.

8.4 WHY LOOK AT GENDER AND INDICATORS?

Because what is measured is more likely to be prioritised and evidence gathered against indicators can help make the case that gender issues should be taken seriously. Indicators can be used for advocacy and can help make a case for action by highlighting key issues backed up with statistics and other evidence.

They enable better planning and actions. Gender indicators can be used to evaluate the outcomes of gender-focused and mainstream interventions and policies and help reveal barriers to achieving success. They can provide vital information for adjusting programmes and activities to achieve gender equality goals and do not create adverse impacts on women and men. They can also be used to measure gender mainstreaming within organisations.

They can be used for holding institutions accountable for their commitments to gender equality. Gender indicators and relevant data can make visible the gaps between the commitments many governments and other institutions have made at all levels – for example, by ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against

Women (CEDAW) – and their actual implementation and impact. They can be used to hold policymakers accountable for their actions or lack of action.

They can help to stimulate change through data collection processes. For example, discussions in focus groups or individual interviews can help raise awareness of particular issues. They can stimulate discussion and inspire recognition among participants of everyday experiences related to sensitive topics such as GBV.

8.5 THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS)

MDGS proposed by the UN Millennium Summit of September 2000 affirmed the international community's commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment. The third of the MDGs addresses gender equality specifically. Gender advocates and policymakers agreed that the achievement of this goal depended on the extent to which other goals addressed gender-based constraints. The Millennium Project Task Force on Gender and Education advocated the case for developing gender indicators for each of the MDGs. (See box)

MDGs and the importance of gender equality	
Goal 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal access for women to essential transport and energy infrastructure can lead to more significant economic activity. • Investment in women's health and nutritional status reduces chronic hunger and malnourishment, which increases productivity and wellbeing.
Goal 2. Achieve universal primary education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educated girls and women have greater control of fertility and participate more in • A mother's education are a strong, consistent of her children's and attainment and their health and nutrition outcomes.
Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women	This central goal dedicated to gender equality and women's empowerment depends on achieving all other goals for its success.
Goal 4. Reduce child mortality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A mother's education, income, and empowerment have a significant impact on lowering child mortality.
Goal 5. Improve maternal health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A mother's education, income, and empowerment have a significant impact on lowering maternal mortality.
Goal 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater economic independence for women increased ability to negotiate safe sex, and more awareness of challenges around traditional norms in sexual relations are essential for preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and other epidemics.
Goal 7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender-equitable property and resource ownership policies enable women (often as primary users of these resources) to manage them in a more sustainable manner.

Goal 8. Develop a global partnership for development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater gender equality in the political sphere may lead to higher investments in development cooperation. (Adapted from Grown <i>et al</i>)
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8.6 EXAMPLES OF GENDER INDICATORS

There have been a few significant attempts at developing indicators for measuring gender-related issues. Of these, three important ones are discussed here:

8.6.1 UNDP'S GDI and GEM

On the occasion of the UN world conference in Beijing, the UNDP Human Development Bureau prepared and released The Human Development Report 1995, subtitled Gender and Human Development. The report highlighted the disparities among men and women in various indicators of Human Development around the world. The report's most important contribution is introducing two unique indices for measuring gendered inequality, the GDI (Gender-related Development Index) and the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure).

8.6.2 The Gender-related Development Index (GDI)

In 1995, the UNDP brought out the Gender-related Development Index as a method for assessing gender inequality. The variables used in GDI are similar to those used for the Human Development Index; these being education, health and income.

While the HDI measures average achievement, the GDI adjusts the average achievement to reflect the inequalities between men and women in the following dimensions:

- A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth.
- Knowledge as measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined primary, tertiary and gross enrolment ratio.
- A decent standard of living, as measured by estimated earned income (PPP US\$).

8.6.3 The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

Focusing on women's opportunities rather than their capabilities, the GEM captures gender inequality in three key areas:

- Political participation and decision-making power are measured by women's and men's percentage share of parliamentary seats.
- Economic participation and decision-making power, as measured by two indicators – women's and men's percentage shares of positions as

legislators, senior officials and managers and women's and men's percentage share of professional and technical positions.

- Power over economic resources, as measured by women's and men's estimated earned income (PPP US\$).

Box1: Some Facts from the Human Development Report 2009

HDR 2009 ranks 155 countries on a global scale in terms of their GDI. It is clear from the GDI estimates that women enjoy the same opportunities as men in no society. The top rank is enjoyed by Australia with a GDI value of 0.966 – compared with a maximum possible value of 1.000 showing perfect equality. Most countries with a high GDI are also countries with high HDI since GDI is discounted (for gender inequality) HDI. Therefore an interesting data to analyse is the gap between a country's GDI rank and its HDI rank. This shows how equitably basic human capabilities are distributed between men and women. The countries showing GDI ranks markedly higher than their HDI ranks include – Belgium, Spain, Finland, Denmark, Barbados among the countries with Very High Human Development (HDI >0.8) and Bulgaria, Romania, Trinidad and Tobago among the High Human Development and only Magnolia and Tonga among the countries with Medium Human Development ($0.8 > \text{HDI} > 0.5$) and none from the countries with Low Human Development (HDI < 0.5). So we may say that poverty is bad for gender equity, but the reverse is not true, meaning not all countries with High Human Development have small gaps in their HDI and GDI ranks. It is -9 for Austria, -6 for USA, Kuwait and UAE, -5 in case of Ireland and Luxembourg which are among the Very High Human Development list, among high Human Development list Saudi Arabia is worst at -7, among Medium Human Development countries Jordan and Syrian Arab Republic has -8 and none of the low human development countries have less than -1. Therefore as mentioned by the HDR 1995, –Income is not the decisive factor. The decision to invest in the health and education of people, irrespective of gender, seems to cut across income levels, political ideologies, cultures and stages of development.

The report also ranks the countries on their GEMs (109 countries for which data is available. The top four countries in this list are in the Nordic belt – Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, in that order. This is hardly surprising. These countries have adopted gender equality and women's empowerment as conscious national policies to end the relative deprivation of women. GEM brings out the gender inequity more sharply. Japan, with only 12% women in industrial positions and a similar percentage of women in parliament and 0.45 as the ratio of estimated female to male earned income (which are some of the components of GEM) has the dubious distinction of having the 57th rank in terms of GEM in spite of a much higher rank for HDI (10th). A similar dismal situation is shared by some other countries such as Ireland (22nd and 5th), the Republic of Korea (61st and 26th), Qatar

(88th and 33rd), Saudi Arabia (106th and 59th). On the other hand, a relatively low-income country such as Trinidad and Tobago shows a high GEM rank of 14 while on the 64th position in terms of HDI. Similar examples include the Philippines (59, 105), Kyrgyzstan (56, 120), South Africa (26, 129) etc.

Source: UNDP (2009) Human Development Report

8.6.4 Critique of GDI and GEM

The GDI has been criticized for failing to consider important aspects such as the quality of community life, human rights and access to basic amenities. Issues as violence against women or restrictions placed on women's capacity to be mobile or household allocation of resources do not reflect the GDI. Income or education levels can not fully capture the specific disadvantages experienced by women.

Recognizing the importance of gender-based power imbalances, the UNDP has recognised that movement to gender equality is a political process. For this, the Gender Empowerment Measure has been formulated to reflect variables that consider women's political participation, their access to professional positions and their earning power.

The GEM is also criticized because it is based only on three variables and therefore defines empowerment very narrowly. It ignores legal and human rights and does not consider cultural constructions and related practices that disempower women.

The GEM has also been criticized because its components were related to characteristics of power more appropriate to the developed countries. The argument was that there would not be professional associations of women and there would be few women in parliament in developing countries. Still, in these countries, participation of women in other types of organisations such as cooperatives, trade associations and community organizations may indicate empowerment which is not reflected in the statistics on which GEM is based.

It has been argued that the majority of women in underdeveloped countries are doing work that is invisible to valuation in the mainstream male-defined world of statistics relating to work and income. Therefore, the GDI and GEM indices based on per capita income and work participation rates are not accurate for developing countries.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer this question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Explain the importance of gender indicators.

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2. Explain the significant differences between GDI and GEM.
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8.7 UNESCAP'S FRAMEWORK FOR MEASURING PROGRESS ON THE 12 CRITICAL AREAS OF THE BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION

In October 1999, ESCAP (the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) of the UN (United Nations), organized the High-level Intergovernmental Meeting to Review Regional Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. The meeting was convened to review the progress made and the obstacles encountered in implementing the 12 critical areas of the Platform for Action. Subsequently, at its twenty-third special session entitled –Women 2000: Gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century (Beijing⁺⁵), the General Assembly adopted a political declaration and an outcome document on further actions and initiatives to implement the Platform. The political declaration recognised that governments have primary responsibility for implementing the 12 critical areas of concern. The Platform recommends explicitly designing gender-sensitive indicators with particular reference to poverty, economic activity, and violence. Governments agreed to regularly assess the further implementation of the Platform to bring together in 2005 all parties involved to assess progress and consider new initiatives. In this context, the need for a road map of indicators to inform policymakers on the progress or reverses in the situation of women in the countries was acutely felt.

A set of guidelines for developing gender-based indicators (both quantitative and qualitative) in the ESCAP region was developed and proposed by the expert group that met for this purpose from December 2 to 4, 2002 intending to provide accurate measurements of change in the situation of women occurring over time and for comparisons between countries in the region. The proposed indicators are briefly explained below:

8.7.1 Women and Poverty

IMPORTANT INDICATORS:

- Population below the National Poverty line (Percentage)
- Population living on Less than US \$1 per day (Percentage)
- Public assistance beneficiary rate (Percentage, by sex)
- Female-headed households below poverty line (Percentage)
- Policies and programmes supporting female household heads with low income (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Legislation ensuring equal inheritance rights to women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Legislation ensuring equal property ownership rights to women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Credit programmes for women in poverty (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Policies and programmes on gender-based research on poverty, including social security systems (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Production and distribution of sex-disaggregated statistics on poverty (Yes/No, List Key Statistics)

8.7.2 Education and Training of Women

Important Indicators:

- Gender difference in average years of schooling (By sex)
- Gross and net enrolment ratio (Percentage, by sex, level of education)
- Female students in tertiary education (Percentage by field of education)
- Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Yes/No, Year of Ratification)
- Adult illiteracy rate (Percentage, by sex, age group, rural/urban)
- Vocational training enrolment rate (Percentage by sex, field of study)
- Policies and programmes for women in science and technology (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Women in information and communication technology (ICT) (Percentage by industry, level)
- Access to computers, Internet (Percentage by sex, urban/rural)
- National programmes to reduce gender stereotypes in school curricular and textbooks (Yes/No, Key Features)

8.7.3 Women and Health

Important Indicators:

- Life expectancy at birth (By sex)
- Calorie intake (By sex, age, group)
- Pregnant women with anaemia (Percentage)
- Deliveries attended by skilled health personnel (Percentage)
- Maternal mortality rate (Percentage)
- Induced abortion rate (Percentage)
- Contraception practice rate (Percentage, by sex, methods)
- Health education for women (Yes/No)
- Gender-sensitive policies and programmes to prevent HIV/AIDS. (Yes/No, Key features)
- Medical research fund for women's health issues (Percentage of total, Key features)

8.7.4 Violence Against Women

Important Indicators:

- Incidences of domestic violence (Per 100, 000 people, graph of reported and convicted cases)
- Incidences of sexual violence (Per 100, 000 people, graph of reported and convicted cases)
- Legislation against gender-based violence (yes/No, Types of violence covered and enforcement situation)
- Support system for female victims of violence (yes/no, list available services and budget)
- Production of statistics on gender-based violence (Yes/No, List key statistics)
- Fund for research on violence against women (Yes/No, Amount of funds)
- Ratification of international conventions on trafficking in and enslavement of people (Yes/No, Year of Ratification)
- Legislation combating sex tourism and trafficking of women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Incidences of prostitution and trafficking (Numbers of cases filed and convicted)
- Services for female victims of exploitations by prostitution and trafficking (Yes/No, Key features)

8.7.5 Women and Armed Conflict

Important Indicators:

- Women in peace-related decision-making (Percentage, background of women)
- Policies and programmes ensuring women's participation in the peace process (Yes/No, Key features)
- Ratification of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons, which may be deemed to be Excessively Injurious and the Protocol on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Mines, Booby traps and other Devices (Yes/No, year of Ratification)
- Military expenditure (Percentage of the total government expenditure and GDP)
- Ratification of Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Yes/No, year of Ratification)
- Policies and programmes preventing human rights abuses of women in conflict situation (Yes/No, Key features)
- Gender-sensitive peace education (Yes/No, Key features of programme and participants)
- Programmes for refugee and displaced women (Yes/No. Key features)

8.7.6 Women and the Economy

Important Indicators:

- Labour force, economic participation and unemployment rates (Percentage by sex)
- Policies and programmes to implement the 1993 United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA) (Yes/No, Key features)
- Equal employment opportunity law and Legislation ensuring equal pay for work of equal value and Legislation for prevention of sexual harassment at workplace (Yes/No. Key features and enforcement situation)
- Programmes to enhance women's income-generating potential and to support women entrepreneurs (Yes/No, By rural, urban, Key features)
- Vocational training, counselling and placement services for women (Yes/No, the percentage received service by sex, by training)
- Legislation protecting women in the informal sector (Yes/No, coverage)
- Ratification of ILO conventions (Yes/No, List ratified conventions and year of Ratification)
- Women in managerial positions (Percentage, by occupation and subsector)

- Participation of women in labour unions (Percentage, by position)
- Lengths of paid maternity leave (days, List state and public payment provisions)

8.7.7 Women in Power and Decision making

Important Indicators:

- Women in parliament (Percentage)
- Women in ministerial posts (Percentage)
- Women in political parties (Percentage by the level of position)
- Women in government committees (Percentage)
- Women in central government (Percentage, by rank)
- Women in local government (Percentage, by rank, elected/non-elected)
- Affirmative action for women in political parties (Yes/No, Key features)
- Women voters (Percentage)
- Training for women political candidates and for female government officials (Yes/No, Key features)
- Leadership training for women in NGOs, trade unions and business organizations (Yes/No, list programmes)

8.7.8 Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women

Important Indicators:

- National machinery for women's advancement and gender equality (Yes/No, by level, list mandates, numbers of staff and budget)
- Gender focal points in different ministries (Yes/No, level of position, list mandates)
- Gender – sensitivity training for government officials (Yes/No, key features)
- Institutionalization of gender analysis of government policies (Yes/No)
- Inter-ministerial gender policy coordinating body (Yes/No, Key features including mandates)
- Gender caucus in the parliament (Yes/No, Key features including mandates)
- Publication of gender statistics and indicators regularly (Yes/No, Specify the type of Publication)
- Time use survey (Yes/No, Year of Survey)

8.7.9 Human Rights of Women

GAD indicators

Important Indicators:

- Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and optional protocols (Yes/No, Year of Ratification) Number of reservations to CEDAW (Number, list articles/paragraphs and reservations removed)
- Legislation protecting women's human rights (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- National action plans to protect women's human rights (Yes/No, key features, including monitoring mechanisms)
- National Commission on human rights (Yes/No, Existence of women's division, percentage of women commissioners)
- Revision of gender discriminatory laws following CEDAW (Yes/No, list revised laws)
- Gender – sensitivity training for people in legislative, judiciary and law enforcement system (Yes/No, Key features)
- Legal literacy education for women (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)
- Education on women's human rights. (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)

8.7.10 Women and the Media

Important Indicators:

- Women professionals in electronic and print media (percentage, by type of media, level of position, women in decision-making positions)
- Training for women in new communication technologies (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)
- Media literacy education for women and the general public (Yes/No)
- Institutionalization of gender sensitivity training for media professionals (Yes/No)
- Legislation against pornography, violence, the portrayal of women as sex objects, and commercial exploitation in media (Yes/No, Key features including monitoring mechanisms)
- Codes of conduct and guidelines on the balanced portrayal of women (Yes/No, Key features including monitoring mechanisms)
- Support for women's media monitoring activities (Yes/No, key features including the level of funding)

8.7.11 Women and the Environment

IMPORTANT INDICATORS:

- Women in environmental decision-making bodies (Percentage, by types)
- Leadership training for women on environmental and resource management (Yes/No, list key features and measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)
- Gender analysis of environmental policies and programmes (Yes/No)
- Programmes promoting women's role in environmentally sound production (Yes/No, list programmes)
- Database of women's indigenous knowledge on resource management and environment preservation (Yes/No, Key features)
- Implementation of Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 (Yes/No, monitoring mechanisms)

8.7.12 The Girl Child

Important Indicators:

- Legislation ensuring equal inheritance rights of the girl child (Yes/No)
- Legislation ensuring the minimum legal age for marriage (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Sex ratio at birth (By Birth order)
- Policies to promote girl's access to education (Yes/No, List Key features)
- Infant and under age five mortality rate (Per 1,000 live births by sex)
- An infant with low birth weight and malnutrition of children under 5 (Percentage, by Sex)
- Education for girls and boys on sexual behavior and reproductive health (Yes/No)
- Children aged between 10 and 14 in employment (Percentage, by Sex)
- Legislation preventing child abuse, female infanticide, prenatal sex selection, incest, child prostitution and child pornography (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Parental education and counselling on gender-sensitive parenting. (Yes/No)

8.8 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND GENDER INDEX (SIGI) DEVELOPED BY THE OECD'S GENDER, INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT DATABASE

The OECD introduced the Gender, Institutions and Development Database (GID-DB) on International Women's Day 2006 to determine and analyze obstacles to realising gender equality. The SIGI was constructed as a new measure of gender equality. At the same time, the conventional indicators focused on inequality outcomes, the SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions like norms, traditions and informal laws.

The index of social institutions is a tool for capturing the underlying reasons for the gender gaps in 102 non-OECD countries.

The SIGI has introduced 12 indicators on social institutions, which are grouped into five categories: Family Code, Physical Integrity, Son Preference, Civil Liberties and Ownership Rights.

Family Code includes institutions that influence the decision making power of the women in the household.

- **Early marriage** measures the percentage of girls between the ages of 15 and 19 who are married, divorced or widowed. This indicates forced or arranged marriages as a gender-related variable.
- **Polygamy** refers to the acceptance within a society of men having multiple wives.
- **Parental authority** measures whether women have the same rights to be legal guardians of their children and whether they have custody rights after divorce.
- **Inheritance** measures whether widows and daughters have equal rights as heirs

Physical Integrity consists of two variables on violence against women:

- **Violence against women** measures the existence of legal protection for women against rape, assault and sexual harassment.
- **Female genital mutilation** measures the extent and incidences of this practice.

Son Preference measures gender bias in mortality due to sex-selective abortions and inadequate care given to girls.

Civil Liberties refers to the freedom of social participation of women.

- **Freedom of movement** measures the restrictions women face in moving freely outside their household without being escorted by male family members.

- **Freedom of dress** measures the obligations to observe a certain dress code in public.

Ownership Rights include three variables:

- Women's access to land
- **Women's access to property other than land**
- Women's access to a credit

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Write the essential indicators to understand the interlinkages between women and the economy and women and the environment.

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2. What is SIGI, and how can it be an essential tool for achieving women's equality?

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8.9 LET US SUM UP

The choice of what to measure will be different for different actors. Governments might be concerned with monitoring progress for women and men; development agencies might evaluate the impact of their gender programmes, while gender equality activists may be measuring gender (in) equality or (in) justice.

A good practice when developing indicators

Although there is often a temptation to apply universal templates and frameworks simply, it is vital to adapt indicators to be relevant. To be meaningful and illuminating, indicators need to be derived in consultation with local people and reflect the gender context of a particular region, country or community. Indicators should take into account statutory and

customary laws, as well as reflecting how gender inequalities are experienced and expressed. Only then can they convey meaningful change for the people involved in or being affected by the donor policy.

Key questions to be asked when designing gender indicators

Some questions that should be asked in the design and review stages of developing gender indicators include:

- What change do you want to see? What would success look like? How will people's gender or sexuality affect the way they understand and experience these changes?
- Who should be involved in defining the vision of change, determining the indicators and gathering data?
- Are there existing national indicators that could be used or adapted?
- What legal frameworks exist that may enable or inhibit gender equality? For example, does national law prohibit violence against women or GBV more broadly? These frameworks can provide the basis for indicators.
- Has CEDAW and its Optional Protocol been ratified? If so, this can offer a framework for developing indicators.
- What information already exists, or is being collected, assisting in tracking changes?

What relevant research and reports on the indicator already exist? If there is no data, what does that tell you, and where might you look?

- Do partner governments have the political will to undertake data collection around the gender indicators selected? And were they consulted in the formulation of the indicators? Do they have the capacity to collect data?
- How can you ensure small changes will be measured? There is increasing pressure on donors to –manage for results – to demonstrate significant changes in a fixed period. It is, however, essential to consider which indicators could capture the often small, nuanced shifts in gender equality that tends to happen over time.
- How will the data collected be analysed and disseminated? And how will the results be used for learning and feedback into programme/project learning and design?

Recommendations

- Identify the objectives and goals – your –vision of change. – This should be the basis for choosing appropriate gender indicators against which to track progress.
- Consider a combination of qualitative and quantitative data to generate richer data.

- Use participatory approaches wherever possible, including in defining gender indicators.
- Use gender indicators to assess the outcomes and impacts of gender mainstreaming.
- Support and strengthen local statistics offices to produce gender-responsive data.
- Make regular gender evaluations or internal audits mandatory.

8.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. How is gender equality brought out in the Millennium Development Goals of the UNDP?
2. Discuss UNDP's gender indicators: GDI and GEM. Are they complete in themselves?
3. What are the guidelines for developing gender-based indicators as given by UNESCAP ?
4. What indicators could be developed for ensuring equal rights for the girl child?

8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Planning, accountability of institutions, data collection and MDGs.)
2. GDI similar to HDI; GEM focuses on gender capabilities

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Labour Force, Economic Participation, Unemployment rate, equal employment opportunity, laws and legislation, policies and programmes, women position in occupation and subsector wise, participation of women in labour unions and lengths of paid maternity leave.
2. SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions like norms, traditions and informal laws. SIGI has 12 indicators on social institutions, which are grouped into five categories. The Gender institutions and development database (GID-DB) was introduced by the OECD on the international women's day 2006 to determine and analyse obstacles to realization of gender equality. It is a new measure. Unlike conventional indicators, which are focused on the outcomes of inequality, the SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions.

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