

Paradigmatic Review on Women and Third World Development :

Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development

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1 Introduction

Henrietta L. Moore once stated in one of the opening paragraphs of her book that it was “both impertinent and foolhardy” to write a book entitled *FEMINISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY*.¹⁾ On writing a paper concerning feminist perspectives on sustainable development, the words “impertinent and foolhardy” lingered in the mind of the author, however challenging the task might be. She was perplexed with similar problems that Moore seemed to have had when she wrote her book, i. e. confusion about the meaning of terms and key concepts. It is true that often there is confusion on the meaning of the key terms and concepts used in the field of Women and Third World Development. Different attitudes and even contradictory remarks on past and current development approaches are often found among the people concerned with women’s issues in the Third World.

For instance there is no consensus on the terminology used to denote or to define this newly developed field in the international cooperation concerning gender issues in Third World development. Some adopt the term “Women in Development (WID)”. Others argue that it should be “Gender and Development (GAD)”. “Women and Development (WAD)” is popular among Third World feminists. Recently the term “Women, Environment and Development (WED)” was proposed after the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, by environmentalists who recognized the important role of women in achieving sustainable development.

These different terminologies and attitudes reflect different perspectives on the way to best bring gender issues into development debates as well as into development planning and practice. In this paper, Women and Third World Development is applied as a general label for the field as a whole. It encompasses all kinds of development activities that have any relevance to the improvement of situation of Third World women. The abbreviated forms such as WID, WAD, GAD and WED are employed with reference to different theoretical perspectives.

In a similar fuzzy manner, the term, “feminist perspectives” includes all the types of feminist thinking, i. e. those based on liberal feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism,

Marxist feminism, ecological feminism, neo-Marxist feminism, post-modern feminism in the industrialized countries²⁾ as well as feminism in the Third World.³⁾ As Irene Tinker stated, all those who are concerned with the persistent inequalities between men and women in the development process can be regarded as feminists.⁴⁾

Finally as for the term “sustainable development”, only such fundamental factors as participation, local initiative and the maintenance and regeneration of life indispensable to bring about sustainable development are briefly examined in this paper.

Against this entangled background, the main objective of this paper is to interpret the historical development of concepts and approaches in the field of Women and Third World Development, making clear the commonly shared traits and fundamental differences among various approaches. Although it is not, nor could it ever be, a comprehensive account, a task of this kind should be taken as the first step for mutual understanding and cooperation amongst those with different perspectives and different backgrounds.

In the process of interpretation, the importance of feminist perspectives on sustainable development as well as the importance of gender analysis accompanying a dynamic theory of social movements are emphasized, because the author believes that the feminist critique of Third World development based on both a diachronic gender perspective and a synchronic gender analysis has been and will continue to be of vital importance to theoretical and methodological refinement within the field of development as a whole. It is, first of all, indispensable for the effective management of current development programmes. Furthermore, it would also be essential for the construction of an alternative model of sustainable development in the future.

2 Historical Evolution of the Development Paradigm

Since the UN International Women's Year in 1975 and the following UN Decade for Women, it has been increasingly recognized that women play a vital role in Third World development, and now the gender is regarded by many international donor agencies as a variable intrinsic to the successful management of development process. To understand the emergence of concerns with women's issues in the 1970s and the consecutive development of gender analysis in the late 1980s, the evolution of the development paradigm is briefly examined at the outset.

Over the five decades since the end of the Second World War, public debate about socioeconomic development has undergone many twists and turns. According to Gita Sen,⁵⁾ optimism about the possibilities for accelerating the pace of economic growth in developing countries was very high during the 1950s and the 1960s. The benefits of high economic

growth, i. e. the betterment of life, was believed to reach automatically (trickle-down) to the people in lower economic strata.

Under state-led development policies, the principal task was to accelerate investment and mobilize resources for economic growth through the use of “surplus” domestic labour, as well as through inflows of foreign capital and development assistance provided by donor agencies. These early development strategies were buttressed by arguments for import substitution and protection of domestic markets.

By the end of the 1960s, critiques of this trickle-down approach emerged because it was not only ineffective in raising general living standards, but had also expanded the gap between the rich and the poor within developing countries. The gap between the North and the South also widened. The criticism on the international politico-economic order by the “dependency school” complemented the newly emerging debates in favour of directly targeting poverty alleviation and basic needs provision.

At the same time the international women’s movement flourished. It attempted to define its own agenda in which the possibilities for gender equity were seen as part of the new approaches for development. Then in the early 1970s the field of Women and Third World Development started to take shape through the recognition of the negative impact of past development efforts on women.

Consequently, during the 1970s, attention shifted within development agencies from economic growth per se to meeting the basic needs of the poor, especially those of female-headed households as the poorest of the poor in Third World countries. The International Labour Organization first defined the concept of basic human needs to include health, education, adequate nutrition, clean water, sanitation etc. The concept was adopted by the World Bank and rapidly gained currency in the development thinking of the decade. The necessity of integrating women into all the development processes also began to be recognized in parallel with such a trend. During the 1970s, new ideas, new actors and new policy approaches emerged in the world of development. However these new efforts did not bring significant results to eradicate poverty in the Third World since it was yet unable, in the 1970s, to go beyond the authoritarian top-down structure of development planning and management.

By contrast the 1980s witnessed significant reversals in both development thinking and policy. The slow growth of the world economy together with the debt crisis brought arguments favouring austerity and the play of market forces to the fore. Programmes of structural adjustment were imposed by leading international donor agencies. Drastic cut-down of the budget in the social sectors aroused popular protest as the hardship of living greatly increased. Unlike the growth paradigm of the 1960s, the state was no longer regarded

as an engine for growth. Its functions were to be minimized. Growth was not based on domestic market creation but on linking up with the global economy through competitive exports based on cheap labour in developing countries.

Among the international development agencies, however, the above-mentioned views spearheaded by the World Bank and IMF ran counter to the postures held by ILO, UNICEF and UNDP. The latter gave greater emphasis on the basic human needs, the importance of developing human resources, and the promotion of structural and institutional changes within development institutions. These policies might initially have worked as compensatory measures to mitigate the hardship caused under structural adjustment policies. Be that as it may, these agencies still maintain until now that the poverty alleviation and other development goals may be achieved if participatory development strategies based on the local initiative are emphasized. Indeed, "Participatory Development", as an alternative development paradigm, has become one of mainstream development strategies at present.

At the same time social movements within the Third World have linked environmental concerns to the deterioration of the resource base of poor people, which is consequent on the inequitable development process. Many such movements oppose current development patterns as destroying both the environment and the livelihood base of a large segment of people in developing countries.

These movements recognize the importance of developing the potential for economic growth. Nor do they deny the importance of ecological sustainability. But they emphasized that the dominant crisis for the majority of the world's population is the crisis of survival occasioned by inequitable global and national economic and political structures.

Therefore in order to protect people and the Earth from the series of non-sustainable development, it has been increasingly recognized since 1990 that both industrialized and industrializing countries are required to make greater efforts. Northern countries must change their present wasteful consumption patterns and Southern countries must continue working towards poverty alleviation and the improvement of their quality of life.

3 Evolution of Development Programmes Taking Women's Concerns into Consideration

Since 1950s, there has been a gradual shift in the ways by which women are perceived within a development model, reflecting changes in macro-level socioeconomic development paradigms.⁶⁾ Thus the shift in policy approaches toward women has mirrored general shift in development policies, from modernization which accelerated growth, through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more recent compensatory measures associat-

ed with structural adjustment policies. In relation to the general trends in development cooperation, the policy approaches toward women are first examined at the practical level in this section, being classified into five groups. While the following five policy approaches are described in a more or less chronological order, in actual practice they overlap each other to a certain extent. Then, in the next section, the official classification adopted by most donor agencies are introduced. Then in the following section, differences and commonalities among the meanings of WID, WAD and GAD are analyzed for the better understanding of Women and Third World Development.

To begin with, the evolution of programmes and projects ("projects" for short, hereafter) in the field of Women and Third World Development is described and divided into the five different approaches in accordance with C. N. Moser's classification adopted in her paper, "Gender Planning in the Third World : Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs" : (a) the welfare approach, (b) the equity approach, (c) the anti-poverty approach, (d) the efficiency approach, and (e) the empowerment approach.

(a) The Welfare Approach

In the early phase of development cooperation during the 1950s and the 1960s, the welfare approach was replicated as one of the two parallel approaches to development assistance ; i. e. financial aid for economic growth and relief aid for socially "vulnerable" groups. The underlying rationale of the welfare approach was that social needs should be satisfied through individual effort in the marketplace and that "social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structure of supply, the family and the market, break down."⁸⁾ Thus it was compatible with the prevailing development paradigm of modernization at that time. The ministries of social welfare created in the early stage of development, were invariably weak and underfinanced, while the mainstream ministries carried out general development projects without any specific consideration for women and thus virtually excluded them from the bulk of development expenditures.

With their origin in the relief work, the first important type of welfare projects is food aid to vulnerable groups. The second type is the projects to mitigate malnutrition through nutrition education for mothers. As the third type, population control through family planning projects, imposed responsibility on women for limiting the size of their families. Early family planning projects assumed that poverty could be reduced by limiting fertility through the widespread dissemination of contraceptive knowledge and technology.

It is clearly demonstrated in the above-mentioned welfare projects that women are seen as purely passive beneficiaries in the development process, with emphasis on their reproductive role. The idea is based on the Western stereotype of the nuclear family in which a

woman is economically dependent on a male breadwinner.

By the end of 1970s, critics argued that the welfare approach created women's dependency, rather than assisting them to become more independent. Criticism in a broader context also emerged based on the recognition of the failure of modernization theory as well as the increasing evidence that development projects were negatively affecting women.

During the 1970s, the other four approaches, namely equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment were formulated upon reflection of the past development experience. As these approaches shared many common origins, development agencies are inclined to categorize them together under the same label of WID. Nevertheless it is important to clarify not only commonalities but also differences among them.

(b) The Equity Approach

The equity approach derived from the retrospective evaluation that women's economic activities had been made invisible in the past development process, which had exacerbated inequalities between men and women by making newly introduced technologies accessible to men only. Boserup's book provided the theoretical foundation for feminist groups in the United States to call for an equal share of the benefits of development for women, as well as men.⁹⁾ Their assertion earned support during the UN Decade for Women and became the original WID approach, the common goal of which being to integrate women into the development process.

The basic philosophy underlying the equity approach was that women were lagging behind in society in terms of both economic and political opportunities and that the gap between men and women could be bridged within existing economic structures, by catching women up with the rights and powers men already had. Proponents of this approach tried to improve the status of women in the Third World, directly through official, top-down, legislative measures.

In spite of the ratification of such legislation in the Third World, however, the equity approach encountered problems from the outset. The majority of development agencies were hostile to the equity approach on grounds that it was identified as an unacceptable interference with the country's traditions. The equity approach required reconstruction of the balance of power between men and women that had existed in the long history of local cultural traditions. Similar antipathy was felt by many Third World governments. Furthermore, many Third World activists felt that to talk "feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense".¹⁰⁾ They criticized the equity approach as ethnocentric Western feminism which was preoccupied with equality concerns. Under widespread antagonism, the equity approach gradually disappeared in Women and Third

World Development. Instead the bottom-up mobilization of women into political pressure groups is now widely adopted by Third World activists as part of the empowerment approach. The Third World activists who abide by the empowerment approach also recognize that the reconstruction of balance of power between men and women is necessary for improving the situation of Third World women. In this respect, they are similar to the advocates of the equity approach who tried to change power relations between both sexes. However, the concept of power as well as strategies for gaining power under the empowerment approach is not identical to those adopted by the equity approach proponents, as will be seen later.

(c) The Anti-poverty Approach

The anti-poverty approach can be identified as the second WID approach. In other words, it emerged after the equity approach. Both the equity and anti-poverty approaches share the common goal of solving economic inequality between men and women aggravated by the process of Third World development. As mentioned later, the author regards the inclination towards solving economic inequality within the existing social structure as one of common traits in the theory and practice of WID.

In this approach, the economic inequality is linked not to women's subordination to men in politico-economic spheres, but to the fact of women's poverty itself in developing countries. This approach coincided with the end of the unsuccessful First Development Decade as well as the policy shift from accelerated growth strategies to basic needs strategy in the 1970s.

The anti-poverty approach recognized that women had an important role in meeting basic needs. It focused mainly on their productive role on grounds that poverty alleviation and the promotion of balanced economic growth required increase in the productivity of women in low-income households. The underlying assumption was that the origins of women's poverty and inequality are attributable to their lack of access to land and capital, and to sexual discrimination in the labour market. Consequently it aimed at increasing the employment and income-generating opportunities of low-income women through better access to productive resources.

While income-generating projects for low-income women have flourished since the 1970s, they have tended to remain small in scale, mostly confined to rural-based production projects. In addition, the fundamental conditions necessary to ensure viability, such as marketability of goods women will produce, are often ignored in the design of projects, making them unsustainable.

In addition, they have often aimed at increasing productivity in activities traditionally in the women's sphere, which has contributed to the support of the existing sexual division of

labour. In the anti-poverty approach, the focus was placed on women's productive role without sufficient considerations of their reproductive role. Income-generating activities, which assumed that women had free time, often ended with a more excessive burden on women.

(d) The Efficiency Approach

As the third WID approach, Moser identified the efficiency approach that coincided with the recession of global economy and has currently become the predominant approach for those working within a WID framework. The basic view underlying this approach is that the integration of women into the development process is essential to strengthening the national economy. Equality for and the betterment of women are not regarded as the main objectives of the integration of women in development. Instead increased economic participation is thought to automatically link women with increased equality for women. They are seen as human resources who possess under-utilized development potential. As such it is a typical WID approach, recognizing that the present economic inequality will be solved within the existing structure of development.

Both the anti-poverty and efficiency approaches emphasized improving productivity of women through getting better access to resources and benefits. Thus both approaches share the tendency to focus on women's economic activities. On the other hand, the following differences between them are recognized.

According to Moser, in the efficiency approach, "the emphasis has shifted away from women and toward development".¹¹⁾ The shift from equity to efficiency often simply means a shifting of costs from the paid to the unpaid economy by using women's unpaid time.

Elson pointed out the unconscious gender bias of structural adjustment policies. Structural adjustment policies define economies only in terms of marketed goods and services and cash crop production for subsistence. They exclude women's reproductive work and women's unpaid labour such as caring for children, gathering firewoods, processing food, preparing meals, and nursing the sick. The cut of social expenditure under the conditionality policies of IMF and the World Bank was expected to be cushioned by the elasticity of women's unpaid labour.¹²⁾

(e) The Empowerment Approach

The four approaches mentioned above have in common that they took little account of the historically-based inequalities between men and women not only in the economic sphere but also in every sphere of the social structure as a whole. By contrast the empowerment approach questions structural gender inequality, before everything else. It recognizes that

structural inequality can be overcome only by strengthening and broadening the power base of women's groups. It seeks to empower women through the redistribution of power within, as well as, between societies. In this respect, the empowerment approach lies closest to the equity approach. Unlike the equity approach, however, it identifies power not in terms of the domination by one group over others, but in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength. In a sense, the concept of power of the equity approach is quantitative while it is qualitative in case of the empowerment approach.

As for the origin of the empowerment approach, Moser emphasizes the importance of the writings of Third World feminists and the experiences of their grass-roots organizations. She seems to regard it almost identical to the WAD approach which puts stronger emphasis on the inequality between the North and the South. As examined in detail in the following sections, WAD asserts that positive development for women can only be achieved if the power differentials amongst nations are eliminated. There are many scholars who recognize the fact that the empowerment approach emerged first in the Third World such as Cecilia Andersen and J. H. Momsen.¹⁴⁾ But it does not necessarily mean that they all agree with the view of WAD concerning the cause of women's oppression.

On the other hand, some feminists such as Irene Tinker and others, seemed to lay stress on the experience of feminist organizations in advanced nations. They have pointed out that there is a close relationship between the emergence of the empowerment approach and the new wave of the women's movement in the industrialized countries since 1960s. According to Tinker, consciousness-raising was a key element in this feminist organizing approach and these groups drew on this model for training women to recognize and change cultural stereotypes that limited women's leadership roles in Third World countries.¹⁵⁾

Yet it was not accepted by most international development agencies because of the same reason as that of the equity approach, since donor agencies maintained that foreigners had no business tampering with culture.

Instead official development agencies seem to define the word "empowerment" in a different manner. In this respect, Kate Young warns that for many official aid agencies, "empowerment" means that each individual is responsible for enriching his capabilities, using all his skills at his disposition for his own betterment within the framework of market economy.¹⁶⁾ Thus along with the efficiency approach, there is little consideration, in the empowerment approach adopted by these agencies, for women's critical role in the reproduction of future generations and maintenance of life.

On the other hand, feminists and Third World women's organizations emphasize the collective empowerment through the experience of organizing women themselves. Women, particularly socially disadvantaged poor women, should be supported in such a way that they

can gain both individual self-worth and collective strength. And this collective strength seems to grow in the process of examining their own present state of things and through discussing ways of going forward. The collective empowerment is not a pre-determined method. Both individual self worth and collective strength are developing in the process of reflection and respect for the need to change opinions and to revise strategies appropriate to their circumstances.

4 Women-Only, Women's Component, and Women Integrated Projects

Almost all the official development agencies apply "Women in Development" to define the field of Women and Third World Development. While they have adopted the abbreviated form, WID, they never used acronyms such as GAD, WAD, and WED in their official documents.

They usually divide their projects into three categories i. e. Women-only projects (or WID-specific projects), Women's component in general projects (or WID-component) and Women integrated projects or general projects (or WID-integrated).¹⁷⁾ WID practitioners in development agencies have tried to involve women as active participants and beneficiaries of their programs and projects. One way of overcoming barrier to women's access to development assistance is to design a women's project. Another alternative is to insert a component for women in mainstream projects. A third alternative is to integrate women throughout mainstream projects without a component for women.

The Center for Development Information and Evaluation (CDIE) studied the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)'s experience covering 102 projects which had been carried out from 1973 to 1985.¹⁸⁾ Based upon a synthesis of this report, both advantages and disadvantages of these three methods of including women in projects are succinctly summarized in Table 1.¹⁹⁾

The report asserts that women-only projects and women's components can be useful in specific contexts for the inclusion of women into development projects. Women integrated projects are the best of the three project types if the gender-sensitive approach is truly integrated into a project. It means that "if gender differences are dealt with systematically and design is adapted in the light of these differences", "gender-sensitive mainstream projects appear to be the most effective way of promoting and utilizing women's contribution to socioeconomic development".²⁰⁾

It also suggests that attention to gender is a necessary element in meeting project objectives and in achieving overall development goals. Understanding gender variables in the context where projects operate is the key to understanding human variables in development.

Table 1 Advantages and Disadvantages of Three Methods of Including Women in Projects

Type of Project	Advantages	Disadvantages
Women-only	Women receive all of the project's benefits. Beneficiaries may acquire leadership skills and greater self-confidence in gender-segregated environments. Skills training in nontraditional areas may be much easier without male competition.	These projects tend to be small in scale and resources, and often underfunded. Implementing agencies frequently lack technical expertise in raising productivity or income. WID-specific income generating projects rarely take marketability of services into account and thus fail to generate income. Women beneficiaries may be required to contribute their time and labor with no compensation. Women become further marginalized or isolated from mainstream development.
Women's Component	These projects as a whole enjoy more resources and higher priority than WID-specific projects, which can benefit the WID component. Women are ensured of receiving at least part of the projects resources. Women can "catch up" to men through WID components.	The WID component usually receives far less funding and priority than do the other components. These components have tended to respond to women's social roles ; thus, domestic activities may be emphasized to the exclusion of any others. Awareness of the importance of gender in the project's other components may be missing.
Integrated	Women can take full advantage of the resources and high priority that integrated projects receive. If women form a large proportion of the pool of eligibles, their benefits will probably be high even without detailed attention given WID issues.	Unless information on women's activity and time use is introduced at the design stage, projects may inadvertently exclude women through promotion mechanisms, location and timing of project resources. If women form a small proportion of eligibles, they may not be included in the project. Women may be competing with men for scarce project resources and lose out because of their lack of experience in integrated group settings and their relatively low status in the family and community.

Source : Management Systems International, *Gender Analysis in Development*, 1992

Then gender analysis can be recognized as indispensable to all WID related projects.

5 WID, WAD, GAD : Trends in Research and Practice

The shift observed in development policies toward women focuses on the importance of integrating the concept of gender into development theory and practice. Gender-aware

planning based on gender analysis preceding the beginning of programme operations is now strongly recommended among donor agencies such as CIDA and USAID. The recent general trend in the field of Women and Third World Development is often described as the shift from the WID perspective to the GAD perspective, in parallel with emphasis placed on the concept of “empowerment of women”. Everybody talks about the empowerment of women, and tries not only focusing on the conditions of women’s lives per se but also considering gender relations which varies from society to society. A gender analysis is regarded indispensable as the basis of this shift.

Nevertheless, what is the fundamental difference between the WID perspective and the GAD perspective? What are pointed out as distinctive features when we distinguish the GAD perspective from the WID perspective? What is the ultimate goal of women’s empowerment? Does it aim at achieving sustainable, fair development for women by improving their capabilities within the existing development systems? Or does it mean the reconstruction of social structures as well as the development itself of the modern era? There is no consensus on these questions and the meaning given to the terms and concepts of the GAD perspective varies depending on their users.

It is natural that the goals aimed at by people who are concerned with development work at the practical level are different from those of scholars of Women and Third World Development, who are not constrained by the existing governmental systems or agency bureaucracy. They are free to utilize ideologies or critical language (especially post modern feminists’ language) to judge contemporary development issues. The problem is not that they have different values and views but that some development planners and practitioners use the same term with feminists without acknowledging differences between them. For example, if some practitioners say that they are proponents of GAD on grounds that they have carried out gender analysis fully recognizing different roles between both genders, some feminist scholars with their own GAD perspectives, i. e. reconstruction of gender structure, may be embarrassed. As explained later, the author thinks that a gender-aware analysis and planning are not sufficient but necessary conditions to be defined as GAD projects, which do not exist yet but are expected forthcoming in the future by feminists.

The two influential feminist scholars of Women and Third World Development such as Kate Young and Eva. M. Rathgeber examined meanings and assumptions embedded in WID, WAD and GAD. Both of them seem to be interested more deeply in GAD than in WID, to make women the agent for changing social structure. Their points are summarized in the following paragraphs for the purpose of theoretical clarification.

5.1 The WID, WAD and GAD Perspectives of Kate Young²¹⁾

Kate Young has discussed the three different “Theoretical Approaches to Understanding the Relative Positions of Women in Societies Undergoing Rapid Social Change”, in her presentation at the International Forum on Intercultural Exchange, held at the National Women’s Education Center on October 29–30, 1991. They are WID, WAD and GAD.

In accordance with her, the WID approach is the first and the best known approach in the field. It started from the premise that women were not benefiting from development because their economic contributions were ignored. Women were treated as if they were only housewives or mothers. In reality they were engaged in important economic activities such as farming subsistence crops for their own use and producing handicrafts. The neglect of women was due to lack of data. The studies by the WID activists showed that the sexual division of labour, control of their production, time allocation, the work schedule, the annual patterns of activity and so forth were different between men and women. These studies in sum show that development of a modern economy had largely benefited men.

Based on their studies, WID activists argued that the best way to get resources to women was women-focused projects, such as income-generating activities. They also demanded that women should be brought in all levels of decision-making so that women’s voices and concerns be central to development planning.

Then the WID approach was to help women in practical ways and to urge development practitioners and planners to recognize the women’s vital economic contribution to society. They emphasized the necessity of developing accurate and comparable measures of unpaid as well as paid work and to include these measures in national accounting system. IN-STRAW and other UN agencies are now engaged in the challenge to develop common data collection techniques for obtaining required statistical data and to develop common method of valuing unpaid work. Though they are not yet fully developed, statistical techniques for measuring the extent and nature of total productive activity will lead to a recognition of the importance of women’s contribution to national economies.

While WID was being developed, another perspective i. e. GAD was also emerging. It started from the premise that women were not neglected by development planners, but the role assigned to women by them was always one that was subordinate to that of men. Then it was necessary to focus not only on women, but to make a comparative analysis on the ways by which the development weakened women’s position as against men or on the ways by which that women and men respond to it. It is a holistic perspective that takes such variables as class, ethnicity, religion, caste, age and so on into consideration, in relation to gender roles.

For the analysis of gender relations in the Third World in particular, one has to understand what is happening not only in the economic sphere but also in the sphere of the family

which is identified as the source of women's subordination to men.

In the standard literature on economic development, the no-gender views are predominant and exclude intra-household relations from their framework of economic models. Nevertheless some economic schools have challenged the question of intra-household distribution and control such as Household Economics represented by G. Becker, Bargaining Models, and Model of Cooperative Conflict represented by A. K. Sen.²²⁾ Proponents of the GAD perspective who criticize unequal gender relations support A. K. Sen's theory, because they recognized the relationship between men and women had been historically characterized by both cooperation and conflict inside and outside a household. In other words, the sexual division of labour was regarded not only as a division, i. e. the allocation of separate tasks to men and women, but a form of connection or interdependence between them. Men on the whole have recognized women as their helpmates, but not as their equal partners.

The third distinctive point that Young identified concerning the GAD perspective was the politics of the gender relationship. It is the relationship of power between men and women, expressed within the family, the community and the state. It is socio-culturally established, but it is also negotiated and modified by strengthening the collective power base of women. The meaning of the word "empowerment" is, in a sense, political empowerment to change basic social structure in its final stage.

As for the WAD perspective, Young very briefly pointed out that it was promoted by a network of Third World feminists called the DAWN group. It takes elements from both WID and GAD as well as it questions elements within both. WAD questioned the development of modernization process in which the industrialized nations took the initiative in almost all cases. The major difference is that WAD put emphasis on the inequality between the North and the South, and it argues that positive development for women can only be achieved when power differentials between nations are eradicated.

Finally Young has summarized the fundamental differences as follows. For WID the question remains how to get women greater access to resources that the development offers. For GAD, the question is how you produce a society where inequalities between the classes is not critical variables because as long as differences between classes exist, differences between the genders remain. For WAD, the question is how to get a redistribution of resources at the global level to the poorer countries.

5.2 WID, WAD, and GAD Defined by Eva Rathgeber²³⁾

In accordance with the Rathgeber's identification, the origin of the WID perspective can be found in Boserup's book. WID first focused in the development paradigm of the sexual division of labour and pointed out the differential impact by gender on the development and

modernization process. It can be regarded as grounded on liberal feminism.

She not only recognized its contribution but also criticized the WID perspective as follows: (1) It is solidly grounded on traditional modernization theory when adopted by international agencies. (2) It is nonconfrontational, accepting existing social structures. Instead it focuses on advocacy for more equal participation in socioeconomic spheres. (3) It focuses exclusively on women's productive work and ignores or minimizes the reproductive side of women's lives. It does not question the basic social relations of gender.

According to Rathgeber, WAD is connected with the neo-Marxist feminist approach (Following the classification mentioned earlier in one of the opening paragraphs, this school might be called Marxist feminism), and it draws some of its theoretical base from the dependency theory. It begins with the notion that women always have been involved in the development and further integration contributes to the maintenance of the economic dependency of the Third World. The WAD perspective assumes that women's position will improve if and when global structures become more equitable. Therefore it does not give serious attention to the ideology of patriarchy. It shares with WID the common preoccupation with the productive sector, at the expense of reproductive side of women's lives.

GAD emerged as an alternative to WID and has its theoretical roots in socialist feminism (neo-Marxist feminism following the above-mentioned classification). It focuses on the social construction of gender. It questions why women systematically have been assigned to inferior and secondary roles, in the same manner as did other feminist groups like radical feminism and post modern feminism. In other words it gives special attention to oppression in the family and enter the private sphere to analyze the cause of women's oppression.

Rathgeber repeats the phrase "women as agents of change" which has now become common currency in the field of Women and Third World Development, even among WID practitioners and planners.

The GAD approach sees women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance and it stresses the need for women to organize themselves *for a more effective political voice.* (underline by Taniguchi)²⁴

It is clear that Rathgeber has quoted the paragraph in order to emphasize "collective empowerment of women into political pressure group" as Kate Young succinctly stated earlier. Rathgeber has stated that "it leads, inevitably, to a fundamental examination of social structures and institutions and, ultimately to the loss of power of entrenched elites."²⁵ Therefore it clearly contains a revolutionary element. The word "agents of change" implies reconstruction of gender structure itself and redress the historical male bias in development

theory and practice. Not only Young and Rathgeber but other GAD proponents share this point. The author thinks that the distinctive feature that distinguishes GAD from WID is whether a perspective contains the element of the most fundamental transformation of social structure, i. e. transformation of the basic structure concerning gender ideology and gender relations. If a programme contains that element, it must be GAD. If not, it is not called GAD.

Then it is clear that simple adoption of gender analysis on the basis of the recognition that men and women play different roles in development, and that design is adapted in the light of these differences, is not sufficient but necessary conditions to be called as GAD.

Both Young and Rathgeber pointed out that GAD questioned, much more than WID did, the aims of development as well as the process of development. As such it was not much approved among development practitioners. It is difficult, almost impossible, to find examples of development projects that have been designed from the GAD perspective, while the concept of WID has been accepted by a number of development agencies during the past two decades. GAD as yet largely remains in academic circles or in quite a few research works on Third World development.

It is true that the GAD perspective has more radical elements than does the WID perspectives, at least at the theoretical level. It does not mean, however, that these perspectives are mutually exclusive. The author does not evaluate either of WID or GAD as better or worse in comparison with the other. Considering diversity of local conditions, both perspectives are necessary when we think about the betterment of women in the Third World. Both are relevant to pause and reflect over past and current development theories and practice.

6 Gender Analysis

In relation to the different perspectives of WID and GAD, the three analytical framework for gender relationship are briefly examined before concluding the paper. All of them have, more or less, some potentialities to introduce new aspects in gender relations. Whether it happens or not depends on the application. In addition it can be said that while the first framework is relevant to WID without very drastic change in the on-going development structures, the second and the third ones need more fundamental change in development paradigm.

(a) The Analytical Framework of HIID

Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID) has proposed a framework from the basis that equity and economic growth are compatible and must be pursued simultaneous-

ly. The gender analysis is indispensable in achieving equitable development as well as economic growth. The analytical framework adopts four components : Activity Profile ; Access and Control Profile ; Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access, and Control ; and Project Cycle Analysis.

The first component, the Activity Profile, is based on the concept of a gender-based division of labour. It delineates the economic activities of local people by age, gender, ethnicity, social class and so forth. It also indicates the amount of time spent by each person to carry out their activities. The second component, the Access and Control Profile, identifies resources individual can command to carry out their activities. The third component focuses on the underlying factors that determine the gender division of labour (1st component) and gender related control over resources and benefits (2nd component). Based on these analysis, opportunities or constraints for men's and women's participation in and benefits from the projects are summarized (4th component).²⁶⁾

The Harvard method is the first analytical framework to introduce the concept of gender into development paradigms and has paid great attention to comparative situations and roles of both men and women. In this case, gender analysis is considered as a useful tool to guide the inclusion of gender considerations into a development projects. It is indispensable for smooth operation of development projects. Projects matching resources to the roles and responsibilities of men and women are more effective than those which do not. Therefore, to ensure more positive results, planners need to identify key differences in male/female roles and responsibilities, and to analyze the implications of a project. Needless to say, it recognizes the importance of reproductive activities as well as productive activities.

(b) Social/Gender Analysis of CIDA²⁷⁾

In the field of social sciences such as sociology or anthropology, for example, it has been a long time since gender analysis was regarded as indispensable to understand the status quo of the society. Social scientists usually believe that their work should be value free, as an objective analysis. The above-mentioned Harvard method for gender analysis, on the whole, is following this academic tradition, especially from the first to the third components. The fourth component, however, goes inevitably beyond this value-free type of synchronic gender analysis. It requires at least to introduce dynamic perspectives concerning gender relations, although they are not demonstrated in this framework. Especially in case of people-centered, participatory development (i. e., development in which people themselves address their needs and then plan to solve the problems), not only a synchronic gender analysis but also a dynamic theory concerning social movement would be necessary. In other words, if a people-centered project contains a dynamic perspective concerning the ways by which the

gender relations are changing, or the ways by which the changing agents are voluntarily formulated, and if this perspective works well, the project will be more equitable and more sustainable.

In this regard, social/gender analysis (SGA) of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) seems to have a dynamic perspective, as illustrated in a framework concerning people's participation in sustainable socioeconomic development.

To begin with, it has clearly stated that it is not value-free. It is based on the recognition that in the past development paradigms there has been unconscious bias against the poor and women. It claims that this unconscious bias should be redressed and that the poor and women should be supported in the first place. According to CIDA, it is nothing but a value or an ideology concerning development. The following paragraphs explicitly state their standpoint.

The resources and benefits... usually benefit most those who are best placed to exploit the additional resources. This tends to be those who are better off, male, educated and well informed... (and) those who are more accessible, rather than those who are in remote area. Development analysts have described this as an unconscious bias against the disadvantaged, especially against women among the disadvantaged.²⁸⁾

It will take conscious and systematic effort on the part of development planners, managers and implementers to overcome this unconscious bias, this tendency of project benefits to 'creep' from their intended beneficiaries, the disadvantaged, toward those who already have.²⁹⁾

In accordance with *A Handbook for Social Gender Analysis*, CIDA recognizes the relationship between the disadvantaged and the better-off is nothing but a political power relationship. It aims at **empowerment of the disadvantaged** through their **active participation** in a project, because such participation is vital to ensure the **social and organizational sustainability** of the project and its benefits led to the disadvantaged. Not only practical needs but also **strategic needs** should be met to increase power and control of the disadvantaged over resources and benefits.

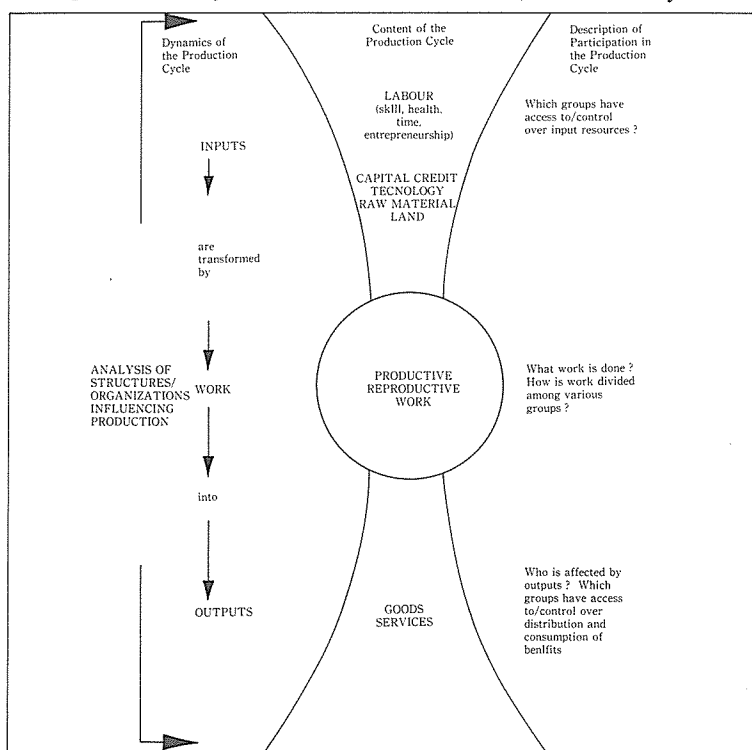
The distinction between practical needs and strategic needs was well illustrated first by Molyneux,³⁰⁾ as well as by Moser and Levy³¹⁾ in relation to women. Practical needs are those required for their survival, such as food, shelter, income, or physical security. Just meeting these practical needs has nothing to do with changing the relationships which maintain the subordinate status of the disadvantaged group. On the other hand, changing those **power**

relationships, to build organizations and increasing **the bargaining power** of women (or other disadvantaged groups) meets their strategic interests.

Sustainability is a key aim for any development project. It means that after a project is completed, people are able and willing to maintain the benefits introduced by the intervention. The social sustainability of a project has a number of dimensions, such as the willingness of participants to continue (will), the skills to do so (skills), and organizations through which the will and skills can be exercised (organizations). (See Fig. 1)

Participation is a key to sustainability. The concept of participation is complex and is often misused as Nagamine has clearly stated.³³⁾ According to CIDA's definition, "participation is inescapably about power, an increase in the power of the disadvantaged, where development is concerned."³⁴⁾ Participation can be divided into four stages or levels. The most basic level of participation is that of receiving benefits. At the second stage, people are asked to take action prescribed by others such as contributing labour and so on. At the third stage, they are consulted on problems and needs. Then at the final stage they are empowered to organize themselves to address their needs, and to plan solutions for their problems.

Figure 1 Analytical Framework for Social/Gender Analysis



Source : Coady International Institute, *A Handbook for Social/Gender Analysis*, 1991, p. 14

The author is not in the right position to judge the relevancy of the concrete operational measures to attain people's participation or social sustainability that would be the ultimate goal of CIDA's development cooperation, especially of its people-centered poverty alleviating programmes. It is out of scope of this paper, but it is recommended, for those who are interested to have a look at *A Handbook for Social/Gender Analysis*.

(c) Gender Analysis of CCIC and Other Canadian NGOs³⁵⁾

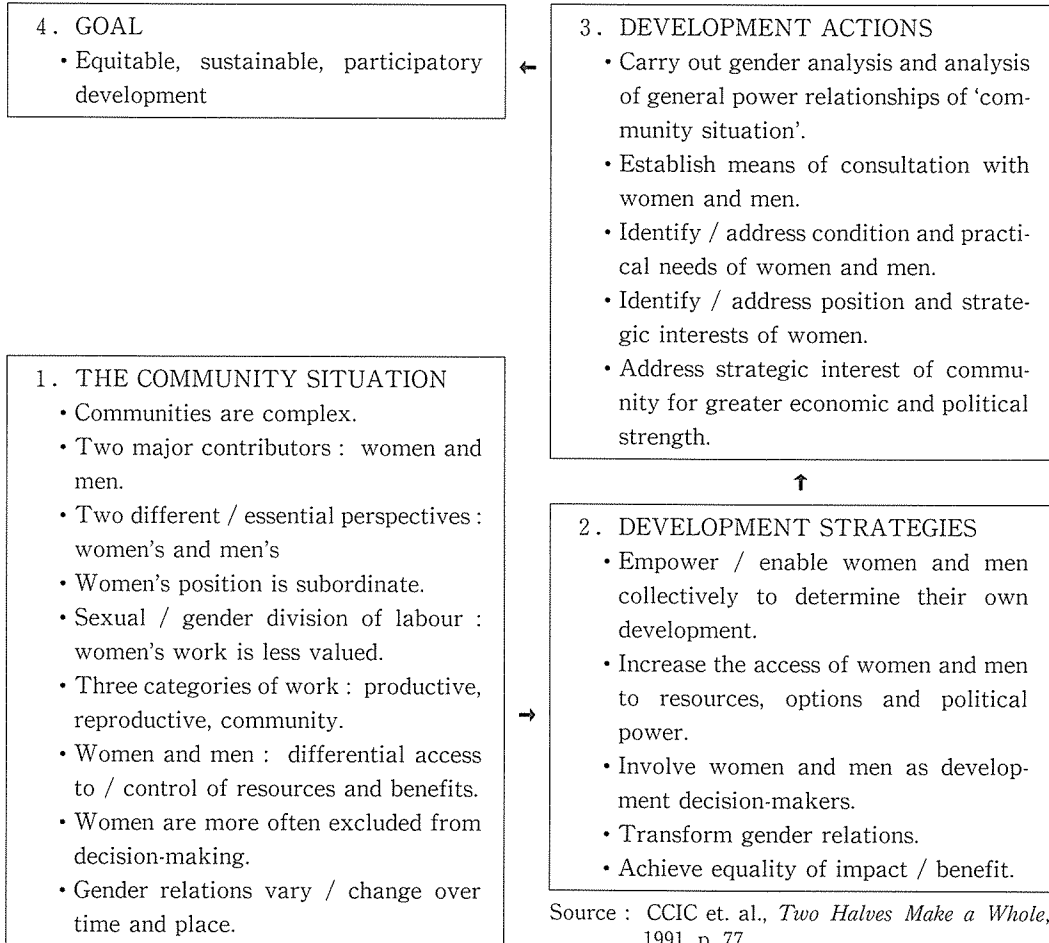
The analytical format suggested in the above-mentioned Handbook seems to emphasize social analysis more than gender analysis. The main objective of CIDA is to empower the social disadvantaged, and it does not directly attempt to redress the historical male bias in development theories and practice, although the basic ideas of GAD are reflected in SGA, so far as women are regarded to be typically disadvantaged. By contrast, the gender-awareness handbook for Canadian non-government organizations, *Two Halves Makes a Whole : Balancing General Relations in Development* (a joint publication of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation et. al.) concentrates its effort in explaining the key concepts of the GAD perspective and GAD analytical tools for programmes, projects and policy applications. The basic analytical framework is the same as that of SGA, but with a more explicit inclination toward GAD, as well as a clear intention to introduce the GAD perspective to NGOs' operations. Their basic ideas are illustrated in the following charts as used in their training materials.

The following is the brief summary on gender analyses in relation to the rather complicated situation in the field of Women and Third World Development.

As stated earlier, the main trend in this field has recently shifted from WID to GAD, and the empowerment approach is highly recommended. However, there is no common agreement on the specific features that distinguish GAD from WID. No consensus has yet been established concerning the ultimate goal of women's empowerment. Although many people now aim at empowerment of Third World women and try to take gender relations fully into account, fundamental differences are observed among these advocates. Roughly speaking, they can be divided into two groups : a) those who emphasize deconstruction of the current structures of development. They think the empowerment means political involvement in efforts to change unequal power relationships between men and women, and b) those who expect that the sustainable as well as equitable development is possible within the existing structure of development cooperation. They think that the inequality can be redressed by ensuring equal share of socio-economic opportunities between men and women, which is their idea of empowerment.

Figure 2 Introducing GAD : A Summary

Another outline which can be used to present the major ideas or points in the Gender and Development Approach as indicated in the first part of this kit.



As for gender analyses, similar situations exist and the types and objectives of gender analyses for better socio-economic development are not monolithic. Such groups as NGOs and feminists introduce gender analysis in order to formulate effective strategies for giving rise to change agents and for actively supporting them. Others such as official aid agencies employ gender analysis for more successful development operations within the current social and political structure.

Consequently, the author has been perplexed with the fact that not a few practitioners of development agencies have adopted such terms as “empowerment” and “gender analysis” or even “GAD” at their disposition. The false application of the term is often observed in development circles in Japan.

Table 2 Practical Needs and Strategic Interests

The first part of this kit describes a number of GAD conceptual or analytical tools. This chart is a point form summary of Practical Needs and Strategic Interests which also may be useful as outline, summary or hand-out.

A. PRACTICAL NEEDS	B. STRATEGIC INTERESTS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tend to be immediate, short-term. • Unique to particular women. • Relate to daily needs : food housing, income, healthy children, etc. • Easily identifiable by women. • Can be addressed by provision of specific inputs : food, handpumps, clinic, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tend to be long-term. • Common to almost all women. • Relate to disadvantaged position : subordination lack of resources and education, vulnerability to poverty and violence, etc. • Basis of disadvantage and potential for change not always identifiable by women. • Can be addressed by : consciousness-raising, increasing self-confidence, education, strengthening women's organizations, political mobilization, etc.
<p>Addressing practical needs :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tends to involve women as beneficiaries and perhaps as participants. • Can improve the condition of women's lives. • Generally does not alter traditional roles and relationships. 	<p>Addressing strategic interests :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involves women as agents or enables women to become agents. • Can improve the position of women in society. • Can empower women and transform relationships.

Source : CCIC et. al., *Two Halves Make a Whole*, 1991, p. 78

For example, whether a gender analysis is carried out or not, however important it may be, has nothing to do with the distinction between the GAD perspective and the WID perspective. As the author explained earlier, the distinctive feature distinguishing GAD from WID is whether a perspective contains the element of transformation of historically built-in gender ideology as well as transformation of gender relations through political movement. Accordingly, if a gender analysis is relevant to the GAD perspective, some other factors are required in addition to orthodox procedures of "static" gender analysis. Wherein the socio-political structures are considered as given. Meanwhile, dynamic viewpoint of changing gender ideology and of changing gender relations is central to the GAD perspective.

7 Concluding Remarks : A Perplexity

As stated at the beginning of this paper, the main purpose of the author is to present a detailed evaluation of the contributions to and the potentials of feminist perspectives on sustainable development. As an anthropologist concerned with development issues, the

Table 3 From WID to GAD

‘WID’ and ‘GAD’ are sometimes used interchangeably. This chart outlines some basic differences between WID as most of us have encountered it, and the GAD approach as presented in this resource kit. This is a much simplified variation which can be used as a presentation outline or handout. There are many variations on both themes.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID)	GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)
1. The Approach	
• An approach which views women as the problem.	• An approach to development.
2. The Focus	
• Women.	• Relations between men and women.
3. The Problem	
• The exclusion of women (half of productive resources) from the development process.	• Unequal relations of power (rich and poor, women and men) that prevents equitable development and women’s full participation.
4. The Goal	
• More efficient, effective development.	• Equitable, sustainable development with women and men as decision-makers.
5. The Solution	
• Integrate women into the existing development process.	• Empower the disadvantaged and women. • Transform unequal relations.
6. The Strategies	
• Women’s projects. • Women’s components. • Integrated projects. • Increase women’s productivity. • Increase women’s income. • Increase women’s ability to look after the household.	• Identify / address practical needs determined by women and men to improve their condition. • At the same time, address women’s strategic interests. • Address strategic interests of the poor through people-centred development.

Source : CCIC, et. al., *Two Haves Make a Whole*, 1991, p. 76

author recognizes that interventions are necessary in some phases of socioeconomic development. She does not stick to a value-free stance. As a female researcher, she feels sympathy with the feminist understanding of Third World women, especially with some radical aspects of GAD thinking.

Nevertheless she hesitates to be a feminist, either to be a WID activist or a GAD proponent because of the following reservations, concerning such concepts as empowerment, gender analysis, participation, local initiative, and sustainable development in view of cultural relativism, i. e. respect for the local endogenous socio-cultural system, or respect for socio-cultural diversity.

The author recognizes the importance of the concept of “collective empowerment” so long

as it means that the socially disadvantaged group is supported in expressing their opinions freely under the pressure of more powerful people. Having their own voice or claiming something against others, however, would not necessarily connote the need to develop a political pressure group. Sometimes it would but it would not in other situations. It depends on the local people. Those in development fields must be very cautious not to impose their unconscious bias on local people and the culture. They must resist the temptation to decide on what is the best solution to other people's problem. Even when they were asked to assist the local people, they would have no right to impose their thinking without regard to the underlying patterns of historically based local customs.

Almost all in the development circles would agree with the above remarks. Similar arguments are found in the handbook concerning social/gender analysis mentioned in preceding sections as well as in current debates concerning environmental degradation versus population control among feminists at the SID/WUMEN Roundtable, "Women, the Environment and Development Alternatives" held at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague in 1993. The Roundtable first recognized that the universalism of the western model must give way to an inclusive worldview which legitimizes non-western cultures. Second, the western model of development has replaced "regeneration of life and community" in the Third World with the concept of "reproduction" as the primary role of women. Not "reproduction" (the word which has a connotation of negative concept of "production"), but "regeneration of life and community" should be focused as a central principle to sustainable development. Third, women's responsibility for family livelihoods intimately connects them to the eco-system and makes them more vulnerable than men to ecological changes. Because women must cope with the impacts of environmental degradation of the local area, their socio-cultural knowledge, especially knowledge about environment, is crucial to ecological conservation.³⁶⁾

In spite of the abundance of rhetoric which legitimizes non-Western cultures and which recognizes the diversity of gender relations deeply built in the local social structure, both people in development agencies and feminists need a more cautious application of their intervention strategies. For instance the author cannot believe that it is possible to achieve such goals as participation, sustainable development, empowerment based on the local initiative, only through social/gender analysis carried out in a relatively short period of time in comparison with participant observations as done by anthropologists.

Anthropologists have a long history of debating the ethical relationship between researchers and the researched. If there are some elements of intervention like the case of applied anthropologists (who are ready to commit themselves in attempts to change societies), the basis should be the self-determination by the communities and individuals. In other words, action strategies should be used to assist communities in reaching their goals within

the context of self-determination, not somebody else's. The primary issues in the ethical debate is the potential negative effect that the activities of the anthropologist may have on a community or a specific person. As van Willigen has stated in his book, it is now recognized among many anthropologists that the concern analogous to "informed consent" is crucial for ethical research.³⁷⁾

It is true that development practitioners who are invited to assist peoples are placed in a different position from that of applied anthropologists. The latter are not invited from the beginning to conduct their research. They try to attain informed consent in the process of their field research. However as an outsider who is marginal to the community and yet has an intention to change it, both a development practitioner and an applied anthropologist are in fact meeting similar challenges. In this regard, it would be worthwhile to note that through their long history of participant observation in the field, anthropologists are still warning themselves, recognizing the difficulty of achieving informed consent and self-determination.³⁸⁾ Without informed consent and self-determination of the local people in development situations, people in the Third World will be in danger of losing their cultural identity, as the result of imposition of overwhelming Western culture. In this respect, more detailed examination on acculturation process in relation to identity crisis caused by development cooperation is much wanted.

It is especially difficult in case of gender issues. Gender ideology is unique to each culture and deeply rooted in socio-cultural system (i. e. the very basic principle constructing social structure supported by the system of cultural symbols). In other words, it can be said that as a gender structure is social structure itself, which is composed of historically and culturally based persistent unequal relations. If it is to be changed, it will take a stunningly long time. We must be patient, and wait until people themselves have a spontaneous deep internal motivation for changing. In dealing with the issues of this kind, very cautious considerations, tremendous responsibility and almost ever-lasting commitment to communication with the community's perspectives are required. In addition more elaboration would be called in the concept of power in relation to empowerment of women in multifarious development situations. The author is not so optimistic, unlike some feminists and developmentalists who do not seem to understand this difficulty fully.

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NOTES

- 1) Moore, 1989, p. vii.
- 2) EHARA Yumiko has classified schools of feminist thinking into seven categories on the basis of different perspectives on the way to evaluate modern society and to define causes of sexual discrimination (Feminism-Nyumon, 1990, Introduction to Feminism).
- 3) Jayawardena, 1986.
- 4) Tinker, 1990, p. 44.
- 5) Sen, G., 1992.
- 6) Moser, 1989.
- 7) Dr. Pronk distinguished five different approaches in a more or less similar manner to Moser : the welfare approach, the equity approach, the anti-poverty approach, the instrumental approach, empowerment. In addition he introduced the concept of autonomy as the basic premise for the Netherlands's policy on Women and Development. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands, 1992, pp. 11-23.
- 8) Wilenski and Lebeaux, 1965, p. 138 quoted in Moser, 1989, p. 1807.
- 9) Boserup, 1970.
- 10) Bunch, 1980, p. 27 quoted in Moser, 1989, p. 1811.
- 11) Moser, *op. cit.*, p. 1813.
- 12) Elson, 1991.
- 13) Andersen, 1992, pp. 174-175.
- 14) Momsen, 1991, p. 102.
- 15) Tinker, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 16) Young, 1991, p. 98.
- 17) USAID, 1987. According to SUZUKI Yoko, ILO also classifies three types of projects : Women-Specific Projects, Women's Component in General Projects, and General Projects. She has introduced some projects that involve female workers, and both merits and weaknesses of each type are pointed out. (IIC & JICA, 1992, pp. 83-94).
- 18) USAID, *op. cit.*
- 19) Management Systems International, 1992.

- 20) USAID, op. cit., p. 46.
- 21) Young, 1991.
- 22) Sen, A. K., 1990. SUZUKI Kanako examined the theories and perspectives of these economists in the light of Egyptian low-class women in her master's thesis, Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University (Suzuki, 1993).
- 23) Rathgeber, 1990.
- 24) *ibid.*, p. 494.
- 25) *ibid.*, p. 494.
- 26) Overhold et. al., 1985.
- 27) Coady International Institute, 1991.
- 28) *ibid.*, p. 11.
- 29) *ibid.*, p. 11.
- 30) Molyneux, 1985.
- 31) Moser, C. and Levy, C., 1986.
- 32) Coady International Institute, op. cit., p. 14.
- 33) Nagamine, 1985.
- 34) Coady International Institute, op. cit., p. 17.
- 35) Canadian Council for International Cooperation et. al., 1991.
- 36) SID Newssheet, 1993.
- 37) Willigen, 1993.
- 38) "Informed consent" and "self-determination" are the terms originally used in the field of bioethics, in relation to such issues as euthanasia, advanced directives, notification of cancer etc. It is also reported to be extremely difficult to achieve informed consent and self-determination for medical treatment because of paternalism on the part of doctors as well as lack of medical knowledge on the part of patients.

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Paradigmatic Review on Women and Third World Development

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[SUMMARY]

Through a historical review on theoretical and policy approaches adopted in the field of Women and Third World Development, this paper examines the commonly shared traits and

Paradigmatic Review on Women and Third World Development

fundamental differences among various approaches in order to have mutual understanding amongst those with different perspectives and background. It points out that the Gender and Development (GAD) perspective emphasizes strategic gender needs transforming the very basic structure of gender relations of a society and that not only a gender analysis but also a dynamic viewpoint of changing gender structure is central to the GAD perspective. On the other hand, the Women in Development (WID) perspective thinks that sustainable as well as equitable development is possible without fundamental changes in the gender structure of a society. In dealing with WID/GAD issues, this paper strongly suggests cautious considerations, tremendous responsibility and deep commitment on the part of developmentalists and feminists to communication with the local people based on their self determination and informed consent as for the courses to be taken to change their own society.