CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

After World War II development was posited by the World Bank and other post-war institutions as universal, inevitable and inherently valuable and as something that naturally springs from the boon of enlightenment. Many Western thinkers and Policy makers saw conditions such as poverty and backwardness in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a problem. Thus a new domain of thought and experience namely development came into being, resulting in a new strategy for dealing with alleged problem\(^1\). The western experts and policy makers assumed that countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which is often called as Third World countries and more recently they are also referred to as Economic South, could gradually, but steadily be helped to achieve development if they adopted political and economic systems similar to those in the industrialized world. So now the countries in Asia Africa and Latin America who were liberated from the colonial rule began to look upon themselves as underdeveloped and how “to develop” became a fundamental issue for these countries. These underdeveloped countries in order to develop “embarked upon the task of un-under developing themselves by subjecting their societies to increasingly, systematic, detailed and comprehensive interventions”\(^2\). The World Bank and

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other post war institutions which were dominated by European countries assisted the third world/underdeveloped countries in this task of development. Europe was able to maintain its dominance over the so called backward/ underdeveloped / third world countries by producing a discourse of difference\(^3\). In this discourse Europe described the difference between itself and others by assuming that everything European was superior to any aspect of the third world. This aspect can be explained through centre/periphery dichotomy\(^4\), in which, being western is equated with a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular and modern\(^5\), and the Third World nations as backward, traditional and primitive implying that West is the centre and everything that lay outside that centre was considered as marginal or the periphery of culture, power and civilization. This domination of the west is reflected even in how women were constructed in non western society. By taking the west as the norm and imposing it on other parts of the world, the third world women are positioned as different and deviant\(^6\).Moreover, a homogeneous image of the third world women as helpless and oppressed is created. The discourse also considered Third World Women as an impediment to development. The colonial authorities and post war development agencies considered only women as wives and mothers and had ignored women’s productive role. The discourse does this by being disengaged from other scales such as the local or

\(^3\) Ibid, pp.184-228
\(^4\) Ibid, pp.184-228.
\(^5\) Ibid, pp.184-228
community level, not considering regional, class, ethnic and gender
difference between places continuing to treat the subjects of development as
subordinate and lacking knowledge and by not including the subject’s voices
and opinion in development policies and practices. It was this discourse that
influenced the policy makers of the Third World nations. As a result, Plans
were designed on the assumption that productive work was performed
entirely by men. This discourse gave rise to the welfare approach and
women became beneficiaries of various welfare programmes.

The third world nations also believed that European countries had
developed because of the centralized top down approaches. Thus
centralization became the model for development of emerging nations in
Africa, Latin America and Asia reinforced by donor agencies including the
World Bank. These governments considered welfare of the people
especially women has their duty and began to design programmes and
policy for the benefit of women. But the welfare approach was unable to
eliminate poverty among women. Many studies have revealed that instead of
improving women’s rights and status, the development process had
 contributed to a deterioration of their position. In the 1970s women who were
involved in development began to question the welfare approach. In 1975 the
World Conference of the International Women’s year at Mexico and the UN
Decade for Women (1975-1988) raised women issues such as improved

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9 Tinker, Irene and Michele Bo Bramsen (ed): 1976,Women and World Development, Overseas Development
  Council, Washington D.C.
educational and employment opportunities, equality in political and social participation and increased health and welfare services. During the same period the feminist movement in the USA was demanding equal rights, employment, equity and citizenship for women. In 1970 Ester Boserup book ‘Women’s Role in Economic Development’ was published. The book challenged the assumptions of the welfare approach. All these events had a global impact and led to the growth of Women in Development movement. Many conferences were held to mark the UN Decade for Women and recommendations were made for the establishment of international and national machinery to promote women’s interests. Women in Development (WID) movement recognized women’s productive role and aimed at integrating women into the economy as a means of improving their status. This led to many third world governments to design policies and programmes which aimed education, training and creation of employment opportunities for women so that they can contribute to the development of country.

In the mid-1980s two major changes took place that has impacted the third world women. Firstly governments worldwide realized that centralized top down approaches had failed to reduce poverty and began to decentralize some responsibilities, decision making authority and resources to intermediate and local governments. Secondly during the same time Neo-Liberal movement had gained momentum. Free trade in goods and services, free circulation of capital and freedom of investment was the main objective

of neo-liberalism. Trade liberalization was promoted under the assumption that trade will lead to increased productivity, growth and completion and reduce poverty levels. World Bank and IMF played an important role in promoting neo-liberal ideas\textsuperscript{11}. Liberalizing reforms became IMF’s standard approach to the financial crisis of all developing countries. This resulted in developing countries making structural changes in their economies to be part of the globalization process. They began to open their markets to international competition. On the one hand decentralization led to devolution of power to local bodies and on the other hand liberalization opened the rural societies to market forces. In this process large section of society were marginalized specifically women. Rural women lost the traditional rights over agricultural production and now had to produce for the markets. This lowered the economic status of women in developing countries, and was reflected in the level of their participation in decision making process at all levels. Though women comprise 50% of the total world population they are not present in the decision making process at all level.

But it must be noted that equity issues often received cursory treatment as development planners emphasized basic human needs particularly for health, education and training as well as equal access to credit and marketing facilities and greater access to land and legal reforms. The WID policy makers did not understand the lived realities and experience of the Third world women and development for third world women meant

\textsuperscript{11} For details, Felix D. 2003, the Past as Future? The Contribution of Financial Globalization to the current crisis of Neo-liberalism as a Development Strategy, Washington University.
becoming more western, more modern\textsuperscript{12}. The third world women now began to question the WID approach which focused on women in isolation. This approach never challenged the power relations between men and women. Status and power differentials between men and women came to be emphasized. Gender was analyzed as a construction of the identities, roles and relations of people on the ground of sexual difference\textsuperscript{13}. The social constructions of gender was reinforced by social activities that both define and are defined by them\textsuperscript{14}. This sociological approach on gender became a useful and gave rise to Gender and Development (GAD) in 1980s.\textsuperscript{15} This evolution in thinking has led to a major shift from a focus on women specific project to mainstreaming women/gender at the programme and policy level\textsuperscript{15}. It was from these roots that the notion of empowerment grew and it came to be most clearly articulated in 1985 by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) as the Empowerment approach. The Empowerment approach also brought issues of power as it relates to gender which gave rise to strategies for empowering women\textsuperscript{16}. Since 1990’s Empowerment has became a major goal of all international and national agencies which are working in the field of development.

\textsuperscript{12} Parapat Jain, pp.439-457.
\textsuperscript{14} Moore.L Hanriette, 1998, Feminism and Anthropology, University of Minnesota Press, pp.15-16.
\textsuperscript{15} Razvi and Miller Carol: 1995, From WID to GAD, conceptual shift in the Women and Development Discourse, UN Research Institute for social development, Geneva, www.unrisd.org
\textsuperscript{16} Rowland Jo, pp.6-8.
The UN has played a significant role in taking up the cause of the marginalized, especially women. Report of the world conference of the UN Decade for Women Equality, Copenhagen 1980; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979; The Cairo conference 1994; Report of the fourth World conference on women, Beijing, 1995, Report of the Human Development, UNDP, 1995; The inter-parliamentary Union Report 1998; etc were the efforts made by the UN to promote women’s empowerment. Empowerment of women was also addressed by the Millennium Summit in 2000; the Millennium Development Goals was adopted by all UN member states. Of the eight goals promoting gender equality and empowering women was one of them. The developing nations were given financial aid by developed countries, World Bank, IMF and other such organizations to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. All these efforts of the UN led to the member nations to formulate policies and programs that were necessary for women’s empowerment. Empowerment has become such an important concept that it has affected a large number of women in their daily life. It was this development discourse that dominated India’s development strategies.

Development Strategies in India

During the colonial era, government’s economic policies in India were concerned more with protecting and promoting British interests then with advancing the Welfare of the Indian population. At the time of Independence India inherited an impoverished economy. The Indian economy was
overwhelmingly rural and agricultural in character. There were few modern industries and bulks of the industries were traditional cottage and small scale processing activities. Capital formation was inadequate to bring about rapid improvement in per capita income. Immediately following the transfer of power, the government’s main concern was to put India on the path of development so that all sections in society could benefit from it. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 had signaled acceptance and the principle that the government will play a major role in initiating and regulating development of the economy.

This led to the setting up of the planning commission in 1950 for economic development of the country. It was a challenging task for the planning commission to evolve and enforce policies and programme designed to best serve the interest of the country as a whole and simultaneously accommodate the interest of big industrialists, the hope of Gandhian miniaturists, the ambitions of Nehruvian intellectuals and those of a rural landed elite\textsuperscript{17}. The planning commission focused on women’s issues as per the perceptions of their members on women’s status within the economy\textsuperscript{18}. It is important to analyze the development strategies and how the perceptions on women’s status within it changed over the years from welfare to development to empowerment can be seen in the Table-2.1.

### TABLE -2.1 : CHART OUTLINING THE SHIFT IN PERCEPTION WITH RESPECT TO WOMEN IN THE PLANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Approach</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Plan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1951-56</strong></td>
<td><strong>Set up the Central Social Welfare Board</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Welfare work through voluntary organizations and charitable trusts</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Second Plan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1956-1961</strong></td>
<td><strong>Supported the development of Mahila Mandal to work at the grassroots</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Rural Development</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third, fourth and interim plans</strong></td>
<td><strong>1961-1974</strong></td>
<td><strong>Provisions for women's education, pre-natal and child health services, supplementary feeding for children, nursing and expectant mothers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>**Women as “targets” of family planning and social sector “beneficiaries”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fifth Plan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1974-1978</strong></td>
<td><strong>Programmes and schemes for women in development</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Shift in the approach from welfare to development</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sixth Plan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1980-1985</strong></td>
<td><strong>Separate Chapter on Women in the Plan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Accepted women's development as a separate economic agenda; took a multi-disciplinary approach with a three- pronged thrust on health, education and Employment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Seventh Plan</strong></td>
<td><strong>1985-1990</strong></td>
<td><strong>Working Group on Employment of Women; Statistics on women: Quota for women in development schemes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bringing women into the mainstream of national development.</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The welfare approach to development though began with the First Five Year Plan but an effort to address women’s welfare was made as early as 1939. The Indian National Congress constituted the National Planning commission, headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. The Commission in 1939 appointed a sub-committee brought out the document “Women’s Role in the Planned Economy” which reflected the changing consciousness and the

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**Plan** | **Activity** | **Approach**
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Eighth Plan (1992-1997) | The core sectors of education, health and employment outlay for women rose from Rs. 4 crores in the first plan to Rs. 2,000 crores in the eighth | Paradigm shift from development to empowerment and benefits to women
Ninth Plan (1997-2002) | Concept of a women’s component plan to assure that at least 30% of funds/benefits from all development sectors flow to women | Empowerment of women as its strategic objective
Tenth Plan (2002-2007) | Self help groups | Suggests specific strategies, policies and programmes for the empowerment of women

Source: (Feminist Economist Engage with India’s 11th Five year Plan by Syeda Hameed & Devaki Jain, Paper for the IAFFE Conference on Engendering Economic Policy, Boston 2009.)
vision of women in the anti colonial struggle of a new socio economic order where in women would have an important role to play. The sub-committee was to deal with the place of woman in the planned economy\textsuperscript{19}. It must be noted that most of these issues and recommendations by the committee were not incorporated into the first five year plan. Women’s role was only considered a ‘social and welfare’, and clubbed together with the welfare of the disadvantaged groups like destitute disabled aged etc. The reason being that it takes policy makers out of their familiar conceptual territory of welfare, poverty and efficiency into the nebulous territory of power and social justice\textsuperscript{20}. During this period it became the duty of the government to look to the welfare of women\textsuperscript{21}. The Central Social Welfare Board set up in 1953 and acted as an Apex Body at national level to promote voluntary action at various levels, especially at the grassroots, to take up welfare related activities for women and children. The second to Fifth Plan (1956-1979) continued to reflect the very same welfare approach, besides giving priority to women’s education and launching measures to improve material and child health services, supplementary feeding for children and expectant and nursing mother. Such approaches viewed women as passive subjects of protection or as recipients of marginal welfare and social services, unrelated to policies and strategies for economic development or structural changes in

societies as a result of economic changes. Women’s role was being considered social and welfare also matches with the international approach at that time that women were a social and welfare subjects.

The Welfare approach remained till 1975 when a Report of the Committee on Status of Women in India, Towards Equality was published. This report pointed out that “women were increasingly marginalized, they face more violence in their lives than ever before, the sex ratio had worsened as had condition of work”. And shortly after the report was published from the late seventies on there was a perceptible shift in state policy, for women now began to be seen not as targets of welfare but as actors in development. It was in this background that development approach to women was initiated.

During 1980 and 1990 efforts were made for women enter into the modern sector, i.e., to enter the labour market and take part in the capitalist production so that women could contribute to development. Along with productive role (especially subsistence production), reproductive role (child bearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks) and community management role (in order to ensure the provision and maintenance of

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22 Pandey A. K: 2002(ed), Emerging issues in empowerment of women, Anmol publication Ltd.
27 Razvi and Miller Carol:1995,op.cit
collective consumption resources) women had to produce for the markets. Accordingly the sixth plan (1980-85) adopted a multi disciplinary approach with a special thrust on the three core sector of health, education and employment. The Department of Women and Child Development was set up in the year 1985 as a part of the Ministry of Human Resource Development to give the much needed impetus to the holistic development of women and children.

In the seventh plan (1985-90) the developmental programmes continued with major objective of raising their economic and social status and bring them into the mainstream of national development. A significant step in this direction was to identify/promote the Beneficiary-oriented Schemes (BOS) in various developmental sectors which extended direct benefits to women. The thrust on generation of both skilled and unskilled employment through proper education and vocation training continued. In this development strategy, women's burden of work increased This approach however made no appreciable impact upon poverty alleviation, reducing women in particular to even further levels of destitutions as mechanization displaced them from their tradition occupations, the devastation of natural resources made their subsistence labour more difficult, male migration to urban centers in search of employment left them to cope with family responsibilities and struggle with land and few governmental

28 Mose: 1989, Gender planning in the Third world, Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs, World Development, Volume7 No., 11  
welfare measures, land reforms, or health, literacy and employment programs touched them\(^{30}\). Women were not able to take advantage of the economic growth to the same extent as men and the poverty among women has only increased\(^{31}\).

In the 1990s, India initiated a process of economic reform and structural adjustment resulting in what came to the known as new economic policy. This system works only by producing and selling things and services, and the more that is produced and the more that is purchased the more there is progress and prosperity. Gross National Product the most important measure of economic growth is the sum total of goods and services produced by a given year. It is a measure of the success of a consumer society obviously to consume\(^{32}\). This consumerist economy produced consumers with extensive range of products and services that were not easily available before. In 1993 the 73rd and 74th Amendment to the Constitution ensured that 33% seats for panchayats in rural areas and urban local bodies were to be reserved for women. This ensured the direct involvement of women in positions of decision making. Decentralization and Economic Reforms have been two major policy imperatives in the 1990s. Mainstreaming of women into the new and emerging areas of growth became imperative. Women were now encouraged to participate in the decision making process in the economic and political sphere so that they

could influence matters that affect their lives in society. The result was participatory/empowerment approach became the main objective as the government was now under the influence of the feminist and other international organization.

It was during the Eighth five year plan (1992-1997) with human development as its major focus, played a very important role in the development of women. It promised to ensure that benefits of development from different sectors do not by-pass women, implement special programmes to complement the general development programmes and to monitor the flow of benefits to women from other development sectors and enable women to function as equal partners and participants in the development process. In 1992 the National Commission for Women a statutory body set up as a nodal agency to safeguard the rights and interests of women. Its major objectives are to investigate, examine and review all matters relating to the safeguards provided for women under the constitution review of both women-specific and women related legislations and suggest amendments wherever needed and to function as an agency to keep surveillance and facilitate redresses grievances of women. Of the total 41 legislations having a direct bearing on women, the commission reviewed and suggested remedial legislative measures in respect of 32 Acts and forwarded the same to the government for further action.
Legislative Support for Women

Women specific Legislations

- The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956.
- The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 (28 of 1961)
- The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
- The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act 1987 (3 of 1988)

Women related Legislations

- The Guardians and Wards Act 1860 (8 of 1890)
- Indian Penal Code 1860
- The Christian Marriage Act 1872 (15 of 1872)
- The Indian Evidence Act 1872 (yet to be reviewed)
- The Married Women’s Property Act 1874 (3 of 1874)
- The Workmen’s Compensation Act 1923
- The Legal Practitioners (Women) Act 1923
- The Indian Succession Act 1925 (39 of 1925)
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 (19 of 1929)
- The Payments of Wages Act 1936
- The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1937
- The Factories Act 1948
- The Minimum Wages Act 1948
- The Employees State Insurance Act 1948
- The Plantation Act 1951
- The Cinematograph Act 1952
- The Special Marriage Act 1954
- The Hindu Marriage Act 1955
- The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956
- The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956
- The Hindu Succession Act 1956
- The Maternity Benefit Act 1961
Another major initiative taken by the government was setting up of the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh in 1993 as a national level mechanism to meet the credit needs of the poor and assetless women in the informal sector. RMK has taken a number of promotional measures to popularize the concept of microfinancing, thrift credit, formation and stabilization of SHGs and also enterprise development for poor women.

The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) made two significant changes in the conceptual strategy of planning for women. Firstly empowerment of women became one of the nine primary objectives of the ninth plan. To this effect,
the Approach of the plan was to create an enabling environment where women could freely exercise their rights both within and outside home, as equal partners along with men. Secondly, the convergence of existing services available in both women-specific and women related sectors, To this effect, it directed both centre and the states to adopt a special strategy of Women’s Component Plan whereby identified Ministries were required to assure that at least 30% of funds/benefits flow to women’. Other major initiative during this period were introduction of Gender Budgeting to attain more effective targeting of public expenditure and to offset any undesirable gender specific consequences of previous budgetary measures. However the Ninth Plan refrained from making any commitment for achieving any specific goal or target.

In 2001 the National Policy for Empowerment of Women was adopted to eliminate all types of discrimination against women and to ensure gender justice, besides empowering women both socially and economically. The goal of this Policy is to bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. The Policy will be widely disseminated so as to encourage active participation of all stakeholders for achieving its goals. Specifically, the objectives of this Policy include

- Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential
• The de-jure and de-facto enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres – political, economic, social, cultural and civil

• Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation

• Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.

• Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women

• Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.

• Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.

• Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child; and

• Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women’s organizations.

The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) adopted a sector-specific 3 fold Strategy for empowering women, based on the prescriptions of the National policy for Empowerment of Women. They include:

• Social Empowerment – to create an enabling environment through various affirmative development policies and programmes for development of women besides providing them easy and equal
access to all the basic minimum services so as to enable them to realize their full potentials.

- Economic Empowerment—to ensure provision of training, employment and income generating activities with both ‘forward and backward’ linkages with the ultimate objective of making all potential women economically independent and self-reliant and

- Gender justice- to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and thus allow women to enjoy not only the de-jure but also the de-facto rights and fundamental freedom on par with men in all spheres, viz., political, economic, social, civil, cultural etc.

The approach to the tenth plan for empowering women was distinct from that of the earlier plans, as it had definite goals, targets and a time-frame. This plan envisaged that empowerment of women as a process demands a life cycle approach. Therefore every stage of their life counts as priority in the planning process. Depending upon the developmental needs at every stage, female population has been categorized into 5 distinct sub-groups they include

- Girl children in the age –group 0 to 14 years, they deserve special attention because of the gender bias and discrimination they suffer from at such a tender age,

- Adolescent girls in the age group 15-19 years are very sensitive from the viewpoint of planning because of the preparatory stage for their future productive and reproductive roles in the society and family, respectively
• Women in the reproductive age-group 15-44 years need special care and attention because of their reproductive needs

• Women in the economically active age-group 15-59 years have different demands like those of education/ training, employment, income generation and participation in the developmental process, decision making etc

• The elderly women in the age group 60+ years have limited needs mainly relating to health, financial and emotional support.

In 2006 the Department of Women and Child Development was upgraded to a ministry. As a nodal Ministry for the advancement of women and children, the Ministry formulates plans, policies and programmes, enacts/ amends legislation, guides and co ordinate the efforts of both governmental and non-governmental organizations working in the field of women and child Development. Besides, playing its nodal role, the ministry implements certain innovative programmes for women and children. These programmes cover Empowering strategies, welfare and support services, training for employment and income generation, awareness generation and gender sensitization. These programmes play a supplementary and complementary role to the other general developmental programmes in the sectors of health, education, rural development etc. All these efforts are directed to ensure that women are empowered both economically and socially and thus become equal partners in national development along with men. The Ministry has six autonomous organizations viz.,
1. National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development (NIPCCD)

2. National Commission for Women (NCW)

3. National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR)

4. Central Adoption Resource Agency (CARA)

5. Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB)

6. Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK)

Despite of all these efforts women and children continued to be victims of violence, neglect and injustice. The Eleventh plan aimed at addressing these problems by looking at gender as a cross cutting theme. In this plan, women's agency and the need for women's empowerment are emphasized and, for the first time, women were considered not just as equal citizens but as agents of economic and social growth. It recognized that women and children were not homogenous categories; they belong to diverse castes, classes, communities, economic groups, and are located within a range of geographic and development zones. The approach to gender equity is based on the recognition that interventions in favour of women must be multi-pronged and they must:

(a) provide women with basic entitlements

(b) address the reality of globalization and its impact on women by prioritizing economic empowerment
(c) ensure an environment free from all forms of violence against women (VAM) - physical, economic, social, psychological etc
(d) ensure the participation and adequate representation of women at the highest policy levels, particularly in parliament and state assemblies, and
(e) strengthen existing institutional mechanisms and create new ones for gender main-streaming and effective policy implementation.

Strategies like participatory approach were designed to enhance the capacity of women and empower them to meet the negative social and economic impacts due to the process of globalization. Various programmes were designed so as to provide women access to resources such as credit, training for skill development and so on which were earlier denied to them. Participatory/empowerment approach has increased the purchasing power of women which did not exist earlier and has created a new class of consumers. Participation will give a sense of psychological ownership and the illusion of empowerment which will diminish opportunities for resistance. And once resistance is eliminated the unequal gender power relations will not be questioned and women will continue to perform the role assigned to them. Thus the participatory approach has re-inscribed another approach by attempting to erase the earlier welfare and development approach. Empowerment approach of development is enabling women to perform their gender roles more effectively and empowerment approach is

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reinforcing these cultural roles which are constructed. The empowerment approach is within the terms of dominant/hegemonic cultural formation and do not empower women to challenge the structures in society that create these power relation and hierarchy.