Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Economics

Economics

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN IRAN FROM THE GENDER PRESPECTIVE

Sahar EBADI

Master’s Thesis

Ankara, 2019

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ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, **Doç. Dr. Derya GÜLER AYDIN** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.

Sahar EBADI

ABSTRACT

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Feminist economics which emerged during women's movement in the nineteenth century has developed the concept of gender relations in the various aspects of social and economic life. It challenges the male-dominated economic methods and questions why women have been ignored in economic activities and seeks to improve the economic situation of women. In traditional economy, domestic work which is the cheapest and most difficult phase of production has been considered as a woman task. However, women have the largest share of world unpaid jobs, but their participation of the world's total workforce is more than past years. Some economic analysts like Kenny Dawn argue that if women were hired in jobs with pay, the world's economic situation was much better than the current one.

In this thesis we will try to introduce the feminist economics which is a new subject to the literature, gives a new perspective on economic life, make contributions to the feminist movement and examine female prespective on economic approaches. A review of studies up today, mostly reveal that the status of women in the economy has been ignored. Also, in this study, it was aimed to investigate the woman's perspective on the economics. For this purpose, in the first chapter after the concept of feminism is explained, the emergence process of feminism is set forth. Different types of feminist economics theories has formed the second part of study. The last part of the study describes the contribution of feminist economics in the economic and social life and feminist economics point of view regarding the concept of women in the economy has been explained with reference to the views of feminist economists. Actually by means of gender inequality factor, we analyzed the economic growth in Iran. We investigate whether gendered outcomes in labor markets and education have macroeconomic effects and, in particular, whether gender inequality affects the rate of economic growth. Based on the results obtained in this study, it can be argued that reducing gender inequality

increases the rate of economic growth. Decreasing gender inequality in employment and education increases the rate of economic growth, in other words, empowering women and increasing the participation of them in economic activities will lead to a high growth rate of economy.

Keywords:

Economics, Feminism, Feminist Economics, Gender inequality, Growth

ÖZET

EBADI, Sahar. Toplumsal Cinsiyet Yaklaşımıyla İran'da İktisadi Büyüme, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

On dokuzuncu yüzyılda kadın hareketiyle birlikte ortaya çıkan feminist iktisat, toplumsal ve iktisadi yaşamın çeşitli yönlerinde toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri kavramını geliştirmiştir. Feminist iktisat, erkeklerin egemen olduğu iktisadi yöntemlere karşı çıkar, kadınların iktisadi faaliyetlerde neden görmezden gelindiğini sorgular ve kadınların ekonomik olarak durumunu iyileştirmeyi hedefler. Geleneksel iktisatta, üretimin en ucuz ve en zor aşaması olan ev işleri, kadın işi olarak kabul edilmiştir. Dünyadaki ücretsiz işlerde en büyük paya kadınlara sahip olmakla birlikte, kadınların toplam işgücüne katılımının geçmiş yıllarla kıyaslandığında arttığı söylenebilir. Kenny Dawn gibi bazı iktisatçılar, kadınların ücretli işlerde işe alınmaları durumunda, dünyanın ekonomik durumunun mevcut durumdan çok daha iyi olacağını savunur.

Bu tezde, ilk olarak, literatürde yeni bir konu olan feminist iktisadın ne olduğu ortaya konulmuş, ve böylece iktisadi hayata yeni bir bakış açısı getirilmeye, feminist harekete katkıda bulunulmaya ve ekonomik yaklaşımlarda kadın bakış açısı incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Günümüzde yapılan çalışmalar incelendiğinde, çoğunlukla ekonomide kadınların durumunun göz ardı edildiğini görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte çalışmada, iktisatta kadın bakış açısının araştırılması amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaçla, ilk bölümde feminizm kavramı ortaya konulmakta ve ardından feminist iktisadın ortaya çıkış süreci incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünü, farklı feminist iktisat kuramları oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın son bölümünde, feminist iktisadın iktisadi ve toplumsal hayata katkısı tanımlanmakta ve feminist iktisadın iktisadi alanda kadına bakış açısı, feminist iktisatçıların görüşleri çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. Tezin son bölümünde, İran'nın işgücü piyasalarında ve eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet yaklaşımının makroekonomik etkilerinin olup olmadığı ve özellikle toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin ekonomik büyüme oranını etkileyip etkilemediğini araştırılmaktadır. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlardan yola çıkılarak, toplumsal, cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin azaltılmasının iktisadi

büyüme oranını arttırdığı söylenebilir. Bir başka deyişle, kadınların güçlendirilmesi ve ekonomik faaliyetlere katılımının arttırılması iktisadi büyümenin artmasına neden olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Feminizm, Feminist İktisat, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği, İran'da İktisadi Büyüme.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, especially in the last decade, women's prespective has gained importance in all social sciences including economics. First of all, we should know that, the feminist economics that will be analyzed here as well as other science origins from the fact that economics is socially constructed and these social constructions shape the feminist economics. Economics, as a science, and gender, as an element of identity, are both notions of social construction. As such, they are limited by human perception and the particular cultural, social, economic and political environment they are defined in. Feminist economics, which came to exist in nineteenth century during women's liberation movement, has played a key part in finding gender relations and gender inequalities within the different aspects of social and economic status of individuals.

Feminist economics analyzes the system in which gendered thought take effect on the study and methodology of economics. Some feminist economists did scientific research and studied that how economic outcomes are affected by interaction of such dimension of inequality like race and social class and sexual choice and gender. Feminist economics analyzes the economic sphere and also takes into consideration the perspective of gender, and propounds different types of feminist economic transformations and allows us to explore the gap between men and women in the labor market, social reproduction activities, such as activities like reproduction, social relations, sexual relations, nurturing and domestic affairs. Most gender inequalities are rooted in cultural patterns in society and result in inequalities in outcomes. Economic and cultural patterns and inequalities in work can change with public policies and contribute to better conditions for women. Therefore, in feminist economics, one of the main goals is to eliminate the gap between women and men, especially in the economic domain. Actually, the aim of feminist economics is to eliminate or decrease gender bias in economics, which historically has been 'culturally masculine'. In addition to some new fields of research, like non-market activities which involve childcare and housework or domestic affairs, along with the investigation of the various impacts of economic changes and restructuring on women and and communities, feminist economics proposes a wider perspective of the component parts of macroeconomics. As the aim of feminism is equality for all, race, sexuality, social

class, environment and other dimensions of discrimination are considered as the concerns, which feminist economists are trying to cope with. They try to analyze how gender and gender roles shape the economy and how they form society and people's economic experiences. The relationship between gender inequality and growth rate of economy is a classic example of these studies that a growing number of scholars like Klasen (1999), Dollar (1999), Seguino (2000) are working on.

Gender gap as a universal and very serious problem, which has been particularly dramatic in developing countries for decades, is regarded as a main issue in feminist economics. There is inequality between presented opportunities for men and women and their outcomes can be seen in several dimensions like education, labor market, wage and earnings, occupation, power over economic resources, access to formal jobs, access to productive inputs, politics and administration, or bargaining power inside the household. If we want to analyze this situation, we should try to know the roots of the issue and must analyze the sociological factors, which result women in getting restricted opportunities and low level jobs in comparison with men. Men historically has shaped the society and has shaped the policies. Therefore, it is normal natural to see that our society reflects their thoughts. These gaps are particularly more dramatic in developing countries. Gender equality can only be achieved if people, regardless of their sexsual identities, can access and benefit from the same resources, opportunities and powers. In recent decades, many countries, such as the Scandinavian or Australian countries, have made significant progress in creating gender equality, especially in education and work (Global Gender Gap Report 2017). However, women are still less likely be to paid salaries and to benefit from job opportunities compared to men, and therefore, especially in underdeveloped countries, it is highly probable that their last years of lifetime will end in poverty. Gender equality in work is very important not only because it is "fair" or "the right" of a person, it is also vital for growth and economic productivity of countries. If labor market creates equal opportunities for women and men, by providing all talents and capabilities in the community, then it is possible to observe increases in both productivity and economic growth. Statistics show that higher education levels are rising globally among women, so a market that prevents women from gaining equal access will lose these educated talents. On the other hand, gender equality can reduce costs in the workplace and the economic

system. According to the labor statistics, in the case of leaving the job market, the person will impose a cost equal to 75 percent of his/her annual salary, or even more to employer. If women and men are fairly treated in the organization which believes in gender equality, labor turnover will decerease and the cost of the recruiting new staff will be minimized. There is also a direct and significant relationship between gender equality and organizational performance improvement. In addition, the World Economic Forum's report (2017) shows that there is a significant correlation between the economic competition of a country and women's education and training. "The empowerment of women means more effective use of the human potential of a country by reducing gender inequalities that will improve productivity and increase economic growth" (Global Gender Gap Report 2017). Also a number of experimental proofs state that gender inequality can negatively affect economic growth. In this thesis, the relationship between gender inequalities in education, labor force and pay, and, economic growth is analyzed. The results in the literature show that economic growth has a positive connection with the education level of women. In this thesis, this relation is set forth based on the situation of women in Iran. It has been observed that there is also a meaningful relationship between participation of women in the labor force and economic growth. However, in the analysis of this relationship for Iran, data were missing. This difficulty was tried to be overcome by presenting actual data in tables and by driving connections between gender equality and ineconomic growth based on these tables. It is possible to claim that if Iran gains a gendered perspective, women would become more educated and in this way, they would participate more in the labor force. Hence, productivity and economic growth would be increased.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINISM AND FEMINIST THEORIES

1.1. THE CONCEPT OF FEMINISM

In this chapter, historical development of feminism will be scrutinized in order to highlight the evolution of gender perspective in feminist theories. Central to feminism is the view that women's condition is socially constructed, and therefore, is open to change. At its heart is the belief that women's voices should be heard - that they should represent themselves, put forward their own view of the world and achieve autonomy in their lives.

Feminism is a French word, meaning women's emancipation, which was initially used in political debates in the late-nineteenth-century of France and the first woman to proclaim herself a "féministe" was the French women's suffrage advocate, Hubertine Auclert. Earlier in the nineteenth century, 'woman movement', was the same as 'women's rights'. Even after 1900 when the word feminism was in more general use in Europe, women might still prefer to describe themselves as suffragists rather than as feminists. In some cases, as in the United States after 1910, feminism was used by those who wanted to distinguish themselves from the 'woman movement' with its emphasis on suffrage and equal rights. The term feminism was preferred because it implied a more far-reaching revolution in relationships between the genders, in particular, within the family. In this period, the term "feminist" was used to refer to those who supported the growing social role of women and their rights as independent entities, but during the last century, with the development and expansion of individual and social roles of women, the definition of the word was changed, so that today, it can not be simply arranged in a uniform and integrated form (Hannam, 2014:7).

Feminism is not only a political movement but is also a cultural and most importantly, an economic one, which tries to provide equal rights by ending legal and social discrimination. Hence, we can use feminism to identify a movement, which consists of a wide range of political, cultural or economic issues, seeking equal rights and non-

discrimination and equal opportunities for women. A general overview of feminism covers political and sociological theories and thoughts concerned with issues of gender difference, as well as a movement, which aims to defend gender equality and women's right and campaigns for eliminating any kind of discrimination. Generally, three important points are considered in the definition of feminism, firstly, an imbalance of power between the sexes, with women in a subordinate role to men is recognized. Secondly, a belief that women's condition is socially constructed and therefore, it can be changed. Third one is an emphasis on female autonomy (Mitra, 2008:350). When we say feminism is a cultural as well as a political movement, it means that it changes the way women think and feel, and affects how women and men live their lives and interpret the world. Contemporary feminism and its concerns, therefore, are rooted in a history stretching over at least two centuries. The central idea of feminism refers to the belief that men and women deserve equality in all opportunities, treatment, respect, and social rights. In general, feminists are people who try to acknowledge social inequality based on gender and try to stop it (Hannam, 2014:3). In order to achieve this aim, feminism has taken different forms throughout the historical process.

1.2. HISTORY OF FEMINISM

It is claimed that the starting point for the history of the liberation of women is about 1850s. Women of past centuries strived enormously for a better position in the society. The pioneers of them are Hidegard of Bingen (1179), who initiated a dynamic community of woman's right activists in a convent in twelfth century and Christine de Pisan (1430) who was an author of several books in the fourteenth century. They opposed the contemporary common belittling views about the women in all possible ways. Their objective was to provide equal opportunities for women in every aspect of a society especially in education. Nevertheless, their impact on the society as a whole was only limited to an educated class during their period and the trend was constant until eighteenth century when the concept of feminism started to flourish both in content and in the nature. During the time, more attention was attached to their novel ideas, and more texts and scripts was released in the books and magazines, which helped spreading their word to a broader audience. This coincides with the burst of French Revolution and Enlightenment

era when the women's passion grew for a more liberated and gender equal society. It was the time when women started to challenge the contemporary characterization of female as a gender by forming groups and associations and sought for alternative social relations between genders. It is naive to define feminism as a single ideology. During the years, many divisions of feminism ideology have evolved. They might be classified according to their objectives, methods and connections. The first-wave of feminists (19th and early 20th) started the movement and the second-wave feminists developed the body and empowered the brain behind the action after 1960s (Purvis, 2008:198).

The modern version of feminist movement has three waves, each of which considers the similar feminist issues in mainly western women population, where the movement is originated (Hannam, 2014:4). Here we shortly discuss the waves and ellaborate on conditions of their period.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the building blocks of first wave of feminism were laid. With the advent of urbanism, primitive technology and industrialism, socialist politics gained more ground by echoing the voice of women who defied the boundaries set by the opposite gender particularly in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries when the demands for woman's voting were still oppressed (Harees, 2012:545).

The wave sought for favorable societal circumstances for women and attempted for the voting rights for them. The wave set the suffrage as the ultimate goal and started at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. The successful campaign started off with only 300 people including men and women, who were chanting equality mottos. Feminism in the first wave alludes to a prolonged period of feminist activity in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries in the United Kingdom and the United States. Initially, it concentrated on the advancement of equal contract and property rights for women as well as the attempts to restrict chattel marriage and child custody rights for women. However, before the start of twentieth century, the main goal of the movement was shifted fundamentally on increasing political power, especially, aiming for the privilege of suffrage. Nonetheless, during this time activists never stopped their ongoing efforts for

other aspects of women's rights including sexual and economic rights (Maggie, 1995:251).

In many occations, both the Suffragettes and the Suffragists battled for the women's right to vote in Britain. The first symptoms of success appeared in 1918, when the Representation of the People Act 1918 was approved and women over 30 years of age, who owned houses, were given the right to vote. Ten years later, the law included all women over twenty-one years old (Melanie, 2004:370).

In fact, the first-wave feminism in America was composed of a wide range of women. At the same time, other radical activists such as Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826-1898), intended to support ideas of National Woman Suffrage Association. American feminism in the first wave ended with the adoption of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States (1919), giving women the right to vote in all states. Once a new feminist movement focusing on the fight against social and cultural inequalities as well as on political inequalities started, first wave was used to describe the legal issues especially gaining the vote right (Flexner, 1996:51).

The women's liberation movement which started at the beginning of the 1960s and lasted until the end of the 1980s influenced the second wave by feeding the ideas and creating awareness. Soon, the priority objective of the second wave turned to be legal and social equality for women. One of the scholars of the women's rights Imelda Whelehan (1960) believes that the second wave is the renewal and extension of the suffragettes to broader fields in women's rights in the UK and USA. Since then, feminism of the second wave succeeded to survive till the emergence of feminism of the third wave. According to Estelle Freedman (Freedman, 2003:464), a scholar and activist of women's rights, the difference in two waves lies in the fact that the first wave dealt with rights such as suffrage, while the second wave had other concerns such as ending inequality and discrimination (Whelehan, 1995:70).

In the development of the second wave, the anti-war movements, rise of civil rights activists and the growing awareness of a number of minority groups worldwide played a crucial role. Sexuality rights were the overwhelming issues at this stage, and a great part

of the efforts and concentrations were centered to the passing the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution to ensure social equality (Freedman, 2003:464).

According to the feminist scholars while the first wave of feminism was predominantly driven by the middle class, Western, cisgender and white women, the second wave represents women regardless of their color and also developing nations who sought sisterhood and unity, whose motto was " female struggle is class struggle. " Feminists tend to define women as a social class about women and formative expressions such as " personal is political " and "identity politics" show that oppression of race, class and gender is interrelated. They began a comprehensive plan to eliminate sexism from the whole society. From TV cartoons to the highest levels of government was the target of feminists (Magarey, 2011: 61).

The third wave can be considered as the continuation of the second wave and grew as a reaction to the recoil caused by the second wave which began in the 1990s. The reaction was a response to the fallout caused by the oppositions of the second wave. Feminism of the third wave aims to overcome the failures of the second wave. It is redefining femininity since feminists of the third wave believed that the role of the upper and middle-class white women is overestimated in the second wave (Walker, 1992:39).

In contrast to the concrete viewpoint of second-wave feminists on issues such as prostitution, pornography and sex work, feminists of the new wave were not unanimous on such controversial subjects. The deviation from the feminism of second wave prompted a significant number of the legal and institutional privileges being reached out to women. Notwithstanding the new accomplishments, third-wave activists attempted for further adjustments in media portrayals, conventional image and dialect used to characterize women. Precisely, the third wave feminists based their ideology on a more post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality. In this sense, it is not inaccurate to claim that a post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality had a central role in third wave's ideology. In this regard "micro-politics" is under the focus of feminists in the third wave, who tend to question the second-wave’s world view about matters which benefit women. Roughly speaking, the third wave started off in the mid-1980s (Henry, 2004:153).

Post-colonial and post-modern thinking inspired the third wave in the strong sense. The third wave has risen in the era of post-modernism. Not surprisingly, in this era many concepts such as heteronormativity, universal womanhood, body, gender and even sexuality were redefined. Third-wave feminism stunned the mothers of the earlier feminist movement in many aspects. Lipstick, cleavage and high heels adopted by young feminists were the very redlines of the feminists of the two earlier waves. Ironically, Pinkfloor summarized the new ideology of third-wave when she said that “it's possible to have a push-up bra and a brain at the same time” (Newton, 2017:46). Race, social class, transgender rights and sexual freedom are at the heart of the third-wave ideology. Nonetheless, common difficulties encountered by women in a workplace including sexual harassment, unfair maternity-leave rules, glass ceiling and welfare issues about the single mothers were highlighted by the third wave feminists to a considerable degree. One other important mission was to provide support for women who had to leave their jobs to raise their children (Munden, 2003:26). There is no unified framework of feminism. The section below demonstrates this by introducing the different types of feminism.

1.3. TYPES OF FEMINISM

1.3.1. Enlightenment and Feminism

The ear of enlightenment advanced into a time of political turmoil causing insurgencies in France, Germany and Italy. This era coincides with the rise of abolitionism. Inspired by abolitionism, female activists strived to acquire freedom and equality to their own social and political situations, which in return established feminism in the United States. This was the motive for them to reach out to English abolishionists and seek for global support. During the nineteenth century, the problems associated with feminism had contributed to the turmoil of social change and caused to the exchange of ideas throughout Europe and North America. New thoughts, political disruptions and economic development facilitated the development of feminist ideas in the late eighteenth-century Europe. During this time, contemporary debates were shaped around issues such as gender and sexuality, which are known as Enlightenment (Burket and Brunell, 2012).

Starting in the late 17th century, enlightenment era is marked by a point in time when religieous institutions were not capable of providing answers to the questions raised by feminists. The age of enlightenment continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The enlightenment movement can not be distinguished from women's movement as they had significant impact on the generation and flow of the movement. Renowned philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was one of the many thinkers, who influenced the movement. Together with other female scholars of the time, they published books and articles, which elaborated the movement to male audience and gained their respect (Hannam, 2014:11).

Considering the huge role of the women in the progression of the movement, the contribution of the movement to women's role in society was negligible. During the time, their social status degraded significantly and their rights gradually diminished. The reforms triggered by enlightenment caused the business women lose their buisiness in favor of men. According to enlightenment practitioners, science is designed for men but not for women, hence, women were directed to learn fine arts such as music, drawing, singing and painting on the reasoning that only these forms of knowledge will make women be called better wives (Evans, 1997:213).

Contrary to men, who benefited from the new arrangements, women were subjected to deprivation, which sparked a new movement to draw advocacy for women. The French Revolution of 1789 smoothed the way for women to take prominent role in society again and provided ground for them to take political action. This was motivated by the detriments, the new republic bring about for women as it questioned the role of women as a citizen and encouraged them to demand for their own rights more actively. At this time, the women were explicitly kept outside from being an active citizen and this triggered suspects of gender related motives in women and caused them to augment their efforts and claim their rights on behalf of their gender. By setting up their own organizations, they appealed for government support on the issues such as education, social justice and gender equality (Bessieres, 1991).

1.3.2. Cultural Feminism

Cultural feminism refers to an ideology that believes the society benefit from encouraging feminine behaviour and underscores the biological contrasts in favor of women. Cultural feminism emphasizes on women's liberation through the individual transformation, identification and creating a female "oriented" culture and redefining femininity and masculinity (Johnson, 2012:76).

Starting in the nineteenth century, cultural feminism claims that the emphasis on feminine characteristics like the women's intuition, emotional sensitivity and moral superiority, can create serious openings in the tied up ethics of society and the political approaches. This branch of feminism upholds the unbiased evaluation and respect female occupations. One of their main concerns is respecting and encouraging paid child care in the home so that women are also contributive to the economy of the family (Bromley, 2012:30).

Critics believe that cultural feminism ignores the circumstances, where men can act as a supplement to women and with a focus on only half of the human population, reproduce the same oppression that masculism imposed on the women's right in the other direction. One of the criticts the cultural feminists were facing at the time was their separatist attitudes regarding the issues such as women's music, art and women's studies as they tried to maintain these apart from mainstream culture (Ghodsee, 2004:29).

Cultural feminism is based on the refusal of the belief that the nature of men and women is the same. It is based on a view that a uniquely feminine essence and nature exists which is different than men. It refers to an intellectual stream in feminist thought, which credits the differences between women and men and acknowledges the "differences" as the foundation of social reform. These differences may point at differences in women's experiences, actions, thoughts or values (Alcoff, 1988:32).

It conjectures that the biological differences between men and women are important in the sense that the world would have few problems if the women ruled it. In the nineteenth century, cultural feminism gained considerable ground in the midst of feminist theories, whose primitive conformation can be observed in the book of Margaret Fuller (1845) with

the title "Women in the Nineteenth Century (1845). In this book, Fuller argues that women need freedom to be able to discover the talents exclusively found in women, and that this is not unique to an individual or a group of women, but the whole society of women. Hence, it is not achievable without the support and accompaniment of the whole women society. The rejection of war and violence constitutes one of the core elements in the artwork of feminist artists and is reflected dominantly in the works of female artists from eastern countries and countries, which are the scene of clashes and battles every day (Fuller, 1999:62). The existence of a 'male culture' and a 'female culture' which are different due to the biological differences of men and women, composes the building blocks of the theory of cultural feminists, who tend to justify the differences with the distinctive social behaviours. According to cultural feminists, nurturing and caring are descriptive of 'female culture,' than 'male culture'. Cultural feminists also believe that the contributions of 'female culture,' such as child care and domestic work have been significantly disregarded and devalued in society, largely because they are unpaid. They also believe that social systems have been built up around the core consisting of 'male culture,' which incorporates attributes such as competition and aggression. According to them, these attributes tend to isolate women. In summary, the focus of cultural feminists is creating a system in which 'women's work' particularly, the domestic work and child care are valued and recognized as economically and socially productive. To this end, they believe that the conductive environment in the work place must be created so that it includes more 'female culture' (Kramarae and Spender, 2000:746).

1.3.3. Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism stems from the teachings of Karl Marx, whose theory is less focused on the material aspects of life than on the broader social aspects. Classical Marxism asserts that from the beginning of time, people have found many different ways to protect and reproduce themselves, emphasizing the role of the material life. When people create their material lives, they cooperate and enter into social relationships with one another. The methods and social relations of creation comprise the methods of generation. According to Marxists belief, human instinct is the result of particular methods of creation and individuals are moulded by the general type of society and by each individual's

particular place or class in that society. On the other hand, individuals are mature enough to change their society and their very own inclinations. The inferiority of women resulted in the production method, which originated private property (Desai, 2014:119).

Engels' study entitled the Origin of the Family: Private Property and the State, published in 1884, argued that when agriculture replaced hunting, a more efficient and productive mode of production was created, some men controlled and transformed the productive resources into private property. The first forms of class structure appeared when a few men claimed property and others didn't (Brever, 2008:106).

Engels (1884) hypothesized that the reason behind the subordination of women was to ensure that males pass their properties to their heirs, thus, preserve the class structure. Many of the contemporary Marxist feminists argue that capitalism is the newest form of class society, which sustains women's subordination by increasing their economic reliance on the opposite sex. They provide multiple supportive arguments for their theories. According to their logic, working force is reproduced by men. By creating more labour force and hence, a competition for limited jobs, they reduce wages. Having the role of housewives, women increase profitability both as consumers of goods and services at the same time as unpaid caregivers who cover up the actual costs of reproducing and sustaining the workforce. In Marxism, division of labor is a key component and this component is started to be obvious in the capitalist system as well. Hence, the basis of the arguments of moral rights and wrongs starts with the wage labor while this expression carries a notion of class distinction in itself. Figuratively, the unskilled and illiterate workers are behaved as slaves in the scheme of a production system which oppress wage seekers. According to this doctrine, "wage system produces oppression and a framework in which the workers are inevitably slaves under a system of production where, deprived of knowledge and skill, they are reduced practically to nothing" (Kautsky, 2003:6). In light of such convention, Marxists are against any social or political activity that sustains the subjugation and abuse of individuals from the work force. Naturally, prostitution as a type of labor falls under the definition of wage labor corruption. Marx believed that prostitution is only a symbol of wrong societal practices by human. Marx's interpretation of prostitution relies on that "prostitution is only a specific expression of the general prostitution of the laborer" (Chris Knight, 2012:34).

According to Marx, a prostitute is never a free individual who chose to be a prostitute rather they are representing a class of oppressed labors who serve the permanence of an abusive capitalistic plot. For a long time, critics having the roots in Marxism, Marxist feminism, and radical feminism perceived the capitalist system as a mean, which drains the spiritual qualities and leaves the individuals in a society as a mere cog in a machine. It can be observed that some of the modern day feminist writers tend to describe the relationship between feminism and prostitution using similar terms, by removing the spiritual qualities of prostitutes and offering a robotic visage of prostitutes in prostitution (Ferguson and Hennessy, 2010:121).

According to the Marxist feminist, the main cause of oppression and injustice against women in a society lies in capitalism and capitalistic doctrine. They argue that discrimination against women in domestic life and higher rates of unemployment in women population is an effect of capitalist ideologies. Contrary to the beliefs of the Marxist feminism, socialist feminism considers the suffocation of both cultural and economic source of oppression as the genesis of women's liberation. In contrast, feminists of Anarcha Sect believe that anarchy against the established system starts from confronting male control and patriarchal system in a state. What today is called Marxist feminism points out a set of structures arising from the intersection between Marxism and feminism. Marxist feminism focuses on types of deliberate imbalances that prompt the oppression and abuse of otherized people. Marxism also addresses a form of inequality which stems from class struggle in a capitalistic system. According to Marxism, class inequality has the pivotal role in creation of oppression in capitalist societies. Another form of inequality addressed by feminism is the gender inequality. Feminism sees gender inequality as the nucleus of oppression in a patriarchal society. As a consequence, the Marxist feminism has set the fundamental objective of resisting women exploitation and eradicating the sources of oppression to achieve ultimate goal of women liberation. This is not accomplishable, unless a transparent causal link between the inferiority and capitalism is made. According to this viewpoint, in a capitalistic system women are exploited not only by their husbands but also by their employers in the work place (Vogel, 2013:17).

The fact that patriarchy preceded capitalism by thousand years makes it easy to believe that it is the product of capitalism. This indeed drew the serious critiques. In addition to that, this standpoint crushes when male supremacy exists. Marxist and socialist feminist theories are considered to be indispensable element of the feminist heritage.

A series of factors such as the intersection of gender and class; prioritization of the material and economic dimensions of social life; social inequality instead of difference; social transformation instead of mere recognition of identity; and a commitment to reasoned arguments within the Enlightenment tradition are in fact characterizing the theories of Marxist and socialist feminism. Nowadays, a significant number of its concerns are directed into the study of political economy. Due to its permanent contribution to the process of understanding the intricacies of gender based labour, many changes around the subject are easy to comprehend. The distinction between socialist and Marxist feminism is not readily made. In fact, a fuzzy limit exists between two. The extent of independence from class relations associated with the gender relations is a challenging issue where the decisive factor is the proper classification of materialist feminism or radical feminism rather than socialist feminism. A second example could be the significance of culture until a different classification becomes available. The Marxist feminist and socialist theory of feminism coincides to an enormous degree, even though the intensity fluctuates from time to time (Walby, 2006:17).

Despite contextual distinctions, the two terms are often used interchangeably. While there is no doubt that the distinctions exist, Marxist feminism conceptualizes the possible class differences while social feminism regards gender interactions and differences. Second point in which they both happen to overlap is that based on the materialist feminist theory, men is exploiting women materialistically, while the importance of gender distinguishes it from socialist feminism (Bryson, 1992).

In the eighteenth century, before the emerge of the so called Socialist feminist theory in Western societies, school of thoughts such as Owenism revived, which encouraged women's liberation deeply. In fact, this radical communitarian belief was the early form of socialism. Later in nineteenth century, Marxist feminist theory evolved by the evolution of theory and practice of Marxist socialist. In this process, the role of class

struggle and first- wave feminism was also prominent. Surely, feminism was not at the focal point of Marx. However, contrary to Marx, with regard to women's liberation, Engels expended considerable amount of efforts to investigate the way family structure influenced numerous different components of society. From the scholars and theorist of first-wave feminism, Gilman (1898:30), put women exploitation by men at the core of his studies and studied different aspects, in which they benefited from the exploitation. A century later, Delphy in 1984, in parallel to the studies of Gilman, explains women's subordination as the key outcome of the exploitation of women's labor in the household. In 1960s, Western feminism reformed inside and outside of academy. This decade is recognized by the broad voices coming out of socialist feminist and Marxist feminist thought (Walby, 2011:23).

As a direct consequence, the significance of the gender in social studies as well as behavioural sciences was reinvestigated. With a concentration on the women's labour force and the analysis of its impact on the social theories from bottom, inside the home level, to top, at the labour market level.

1970s and 1980s were the time when socialist feminist studies deepened by scrutinizing social affairs involving male violence directed to women, sexuality and cultural concerns. Disputes of domestic labour, started in the 1970s, led to inspection of the links between women’s housework and capitalism and a formal unanimous definition and theorization of concept of socialist feminism (Vogel, 2013:17).

This theory considers maternal issues such as childcare, housework and other forms of domestic services offered by the mother without a wage as the possible issues correlated with capitalism. On the other hand, protagonists undermined the possible benefits such activities as domestic labor would bring about, hence, disregarded it in theory of capitalism. Capitalists benefit more and as a result care more about male workers. For capitalists, male workers were more productive and an easy target to benefit and exploit them. It was also debated that the traditional Marxist terminology falls short to describe gender inequality and that a new dictionary is required to define ambiguous concepts more transparently. Particularly, the productive or non-productive aspects related to domestic labour force was questioned (Mitchell, 2013:45).

According to the Marxist interpretation of capitalism, this was an important question to answer as the value producing labour lies in the centre of capitalism. In contrast unproductive or non-productive work without and contribution to the surplus value was completely neglected and belittled simultaneously. To some considerable extent, feminist writers and scholars successfully challenged the Marxist presumption that domestic labour was non-productive and hence remained side-lined to capitalism. They request more respect to domestic labour and the importance of women in gender relations. Currently, it is difficult to observe the usage of Marxist concepts in the understanding of housework. However, understanding the relationship of domestic labor to the market economy remains a challenge, which feminists barely attempt to find an answer for in the domain of Marxism (Bettie, 2000:35).

Socialist and Marxist feminist theory values class divisions in several ways: first, by identifying the class divisions between capital and labour structure and the domestic labour and their role in capitalism. Second, the divisions between women which are hardly generalized about women as a whole, but the distinctive nature of the interest of women belonging to different social classes . One example is the difference in the interests of two women when one is working for the other as a house cleaner. Many of the Socialist and Marxist feminists conceived culture as the second dimension of the women's life. Starting from the late 1980s, Western social science has gradually intensified the amount of focus on the cultural issues. At the same time, writings of feminist academicians were criticized because of paying inadequate attention to issues such as race or ethnicity. One important criticism points out the inherent inability of the theory of socialist and Marxist feminism, to simultaneously deal with the intricacies of gender and race (Ferguson and Hennessy, 2010:134).

By the emergence of new feminist theories in the late 1980s and early 1990s, socialist and Marxist feminist lost their credibility to a significant degree as the new theories had more cultural explanation to most complexities, which were reasonable for many. In Europe, after the Wall between East and West Europe was demolished, Marxist theory became unpopular and was treated as unreliable consideration regarding the historical developments. There is no ground for the hypotheses, which infer to the revolutionary potential of the proletariat. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily prescribe the

underestimation of the effect of socialist feminism on the society and the concepts composing its theoretical structure. Not all of the components of socialist feminism are unreliable. On the contrary, many ideas, which were regarded as nonsense once, received green light later by many critics. Unlike the 1970s, currently, mainstream social science is rarely denying the relevance of gender to issues such as labour market. Many contemporary activists unanimously highlighted the significance of the domestic labor and its central position in the understanding of gender inequality. Gender issues used to be limited to a part of family studies. However, nowadays currently the connection of gender to a broader set of subjects such as the labour market is barely doubted. Socialist feminism succeeded to impose itself as the main subject of the debates to a considerable extent, while this was achieved at the expense of losing some of its distinctive identity. As the theoretical concerns inside socialist feminist theory was broadening, distinctive socialist feminist was moving with faster pace to be trivial. However, since the feminist theory in the 1980s and 1990s moved towards postmodernism, socialist feminism started to reflect prevailingly the commitment to modernist forms of theorizing, while trying to explain conditions under which gender relations might be diverted (Walby, 1988:89).

1.3.4. Radical Feminism

In accordance with radical feminism, the system of power in a society upon which human relationships are built relies on the basis of women oppression. To overcome the male oppression, radical feminism defies the conventional gender role and seeks for new arrangement of power within the society. According to radical feminism, the main cause of women oppression is related to gender relations rather than legislatory systems or class conflict theories which separate it from liberal feminism and socialist or Marxist feminism, respectively. Radical feminist refers to those who identify heterosexuality as the main root of women's oppression in the society (Allen, 2005).

Divisions of male/female and the extent of it have also been under the focus of radical feminism. Radical feminists believe that different types of discrimination and oppression are applied on women regardless of their position in the society. Radical feminists focus on a male dominant society where women are forced to accept oppression and used for

the profit of opposite gender. They have proposed to create isolated woman-only communities to create fundamental change they aim to make in gender relations (Aktinson, 2000:86).

Many critics argued that the basis of the radical feminism lies on the misconception that genders are species without any commonality which can create bonds between them. Second type of criticism it receives states that the interactions and relations between women are literally romanticized. Specifically, it seeks for the roots of any type of inequality in the patriarchal practices and the dominant role of males over females (Allen, 2005).

The philosophy of radical feminism views patriarchy as the origin of the privileges and advantages devoted to men. They are also known to be more stricted in approach compared to other feminist groups. Since it believes that an inherent connection between the current political and social organization and patriarchy exists, it challenges the structure of power share. In other words, radical feminists are inclined to suspect the political action within the existing system and concentrate on cultural changes, which support patriarchy extermination and the hierarchical structures associated with it. Precisely speaking, radical feminism is challenging the patriarchy, not the men. In their belief patriarchy and men are separate subjects hence, it is considered to be unsophisticated to assume that radical feminism equals man-hating (Olson, 2002:167).

According to radical feminists, sexism is profoundly established in the society that the main solution is the disposal of the idea of sex totally. One awkward solution they offered, suggest to invent technology which enables baby growth outside the mother’s body, hoping that this will promote equality between genders. Hence, women will not lose their job after getting a maternity leave. According to radical feminists maternity leave is the reason why women are not promoted as quickly as men. According to the radical feminists, the traditional system of family is based on sexism. Which believes that men should provide economy of running a family and women should stay at home to raise children and handle household (Willis, 1984:116).

According to radical feminism, the traditional interpretation of family structure favors men to remain always in power and believes that a hierarchy of capitalism under the control of man which is pure sexist is the main feature of women's oppression. This motivates their attempts to resist sexism and tries to free women from a hierarchy of patriarchal system. According to the manifest of the radical feminists, women will be liberated only when they release themselves from the chains of what they consider an inherently oppressive and dominating patriarchal system (Shelley, 2000:138).

Authoritative power devouted to men based on its gender remains the target of attacks for radical feminism as it identifies it as the sustaining force behind the inequality and oppression and injustice. Hence, society will not be reformed unless the system of patriarchal oppression collapses. Many radical feminists prescribe a complete revolution of society as the unique solution to uphold justice and equality between genders (Willis, 1984:112).

Radical feminism has three main branches evolved during the time: Cultural feminism, separatist feminism and anti-pornography feminism. Cultural feminism is based on the differences between men and women, where they believe that these differences are more cultural rather than biological. The existence of a "female nature" or "female essence", which must be appreciated is the core ideology behind cultural feminism. Separatist feminism avoids supporting heterosexual relationships. They believe that even well intentioned men reproduce the patriarchal dynamics in the society and are unreliable agents to seek support for feminist movements. Much of the criticism that this form of feminism received is based on the point that sexual differences between men and women are facts and hence, they are unresolvable (Echols, 1989:160).

Radical feminism considers the dominating patriarchy as the primary source of female oppression in society. They believe that the oppression continues to happen regardless of class, color and economics in the family, and that the oppression occurs in the form of brutal force. Hence, it is vital to oppose gender related violence. To sum up, radical feminism argues that patriarchy is the source of women oppression irrespective of their financial status skin colour or education level (Willis, 1984:114).

1.3.5. Lesbian Feminism

In the mid-to-late 20th century, lesbian feminism emerged at a point where the women's movement, the gay rights movement, and the sexual revolution met each other. The reason behind the movement was that in the late 1960s, many lesbians were sidelined both by women's movement and the emerging gay liberation groups (Gamble, 2001:25).

A common belief among many lesbian feminists was that lesbianism was the only right choice for women in its political and social senses. The distinction between heterosexual and lesbian women was elaborated by Rita Mae Brown, who argued that the difference was 'the difference between reform and revolution'. No Turning Back: Lesbian and Gay Liberation for the '80s, was a book, which defied the contemporary beliefs and assumptions that household should be heterosexual, as well as the widespread belief regarding the innate subordination of the female and challenged the common pattern of dominant-male/passive-female in the society (Jeffreys, 2003:19).

Lesbian -feminists believe that sex and gender are conceptually interrelated categories, which in its purest form can be visualized by the theory of compulsory heterosexuality. According to lesbian feminists same-sex relationships are unquestionable matters. They insist on their lesbian identity and use it as a basis for collective actions. The bottom -line of the lesbian feminism is that male supremacy is abnormal. It challenges the perception of heterosexuality and attempts to offer alternative streams of thoughts about gender and its relation to power (Griffin, 2017:109).

In the 1960s, the revival of second wave feminism triggered concerns of lesbians whose efforts were part of a broader challenge against sexism. New organizations formed and managed by lesbians, took their part in creating awareness and attempted to attain equity in the workplace, home, and the other areas of a society. Fortunately, these attempts were supported by the civil rights and gay rights movements, which in return helped to change the attitudes toward sexuality and increased hopes to eradicate sexual oppression. These advancements were attained despite of the taboos surrounding lesbianism within feminist organizations in the 1960s (Brein, 2009:488).

Two important claims form the basis of analysis in lesbian feminism. The first one states that heterosexuality was beyond a form of sexual desire. This claim of lesbian feminism views the heterosexuality as an institution that supported male superiority and subordination of women throughout history. The second claim of lesbian feminists was that lesbian relationships presented a profound challenge to the social and economic order established by the male power. This is due to the fact that male supremacy is maintained only on the basis of overestimation of the importance of heterosexuality and marriage. They rejected the notions of superiority of men and inferiority of women. In fact, lesbian feminists claimed that lesbians facilitate the liberation of women by demonstrating the personal, economic and sexual independence that feminists believed all women should have.This analysis provided insights into the way in which society constructed its conception of femininity. It also recognised that lesbians were subject to many traits that are usually regarded as masculine. Moreover, some lesbian feminists believe in the superiority of women's ways of living. Using this logic, many lesbian feminists criticized butch-and-femme role-playing as the imitation of an oppressive heterosexuality (Jeffreys, 2003:13).

Starting from this point, radical lesbian feminism represents three features of this revolutionary approach. As first, they discussed about critical evaluation and rejection of compulsory heterosexuality. They condemn heterosexuality as the one-way road of male sexual access to women's bodies. Secondy, radical lesbian feminists reclaim women's experiences, desires, bodies and lives as meaningful in themselves. Third, radical lesbian feminists aim to end institutions which deny lesbian identity or insist on defining it in terms of male desire and privilege (Ellison, 2013:30).

1.3.6. Black Feminism

Black feminism relies on the connection between sexism and racism. An argument offered by black feminists states that the liberation of black women, will lead to freedom for all people. They justify the argument by mentioning that elimination of racism, sexism, and class oppression is the prerequisite of a free society. The activists under this ceiling are labeled as womanists rather than black feminists (Collins, 1990:19). For black

women of the 1960s, who participated in the feminist movement racism was not an unknown realm. They were mostly excluded from the conference panels and talks and this exclusion happened regularly in many forms and contexts specifically about the topics such as black or third world women. The departments of woman's studies were hardly accepting black women and the classes were not devoted to the study of black women and their role in movements. In many of the publications of the women's movement, white and middle class women were described as universal "women", largely ignoring the differences of black and white women's experiences due to race and class. Mostly, "black" was equivalent to black men and "woman" was equivalent to white women. As a result, black women were an invisible group whose existence and needs were ignored. Moreover, the work of the black artists and writers were representatives of the black experience. Undoubtedly, the Black Feminist Movement developed as a reaction to the Black Liberation Movement and the continuation of Women's Movement. It can be considered as an attempt to meet the essential needs of black women, who were oppressed because of their race and color in the Women's Movement and the Black Liberation Movement. In such circumstances, black women felt that they were ignored and sidelined.

The primary objective of the movement was to develop theory which could precisely address the link between race, gender or class of women and their lives in a society. Of course, similar to all forms of feminism they tried to take actions to stop racist, sexist, and classist discrimination (Johnson and Culveerson, 2016:122).

It is almost agreed by all academics and feminists of second and third wave that the Black Feminist Movement grew out of, and more importantly, in response to the Black Liberation Movement and the Women's Movement while the Black Liberation Movement itself was an out-growth of the Civil Rights Movement. Considering that the black women were racially oppressed within the Women's Movement, and sexually oppressed within the Black Liberation Movement, as well as within the patriarchal system of the black community, diversion of a mere black feminism creates no surprise (Collins, 1990:203).

Black feminists realized the fact that feminist movement is also a place of inequality and privilege. While black women were fighting for gender equality, they were otherized by

white feminists who rejected a black woman advocating gender equality rights. Contrary to black feminists, white feminists did not encounter the additional barriers of racism. African American female job seekers used to face prejudice about their hair style, and anxiety of whether or not their hairstyle will disqualify them as a job candidate. Therefore, the fundamental objective in most of the black feminism interpretations is developing the theory required to adequately address the way race, gender, and class are interconnected in the lives of every individual in a society. This is the first step toward elliminating racist, sexist, and classist discrimination (Danielle, 2010:48).

Once the black women decided to create their own movement, they needed to define the goals of the Black Feminist Movement and to determine its priorities. Alice Walker's definition of black feminism gained much popularity where she coined the term "Womanist" to describe the Black Feminist Movement. According to Walker while feminism is incorporated into womanism, it is also instinctively pro-humankind. She believed that the objective of the theology is not establishing gender inequality, but race and class-based oppression (Walker, 1992:40).

In these definitions of black feminism, the complementary nature of one's personal life in relation to political life is visualized. From the personal, the striving toward wholeness individually and within the community, comes the political, the struggle against those forces that render individuals and communities unwhole. The personal is political, especially for black women. The primary objective of black feminism writings was developing a theory which would address the role of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism in the lives of black women. In addition, the audience of these writings was the black women, rather than white feminists or black male activists. Black women needed to develop a critical, feminist consciousness and begin a dialogue which directly addressed their experiences and connected them to a larger political system.

1.3.7. Socialist Feminist

Socialist feminism defines itself in the elimination of capitalism through a socialist reform in the economy. According to the thoughts of this movement, capitalism directly supports the sexist status quo since men are the ones who currently control the source of power

and economy. These men are more inclined to share the power if the new party is a men rather than a woman, which keeps the women under the constant control of women and provides less opportunities for women in power. Even though some feminists increasingly emphasized male power over women, many others focus on class as well as sex oppres¬sion and drew attention to the difficulties faced by working-class women. According to socialist feminist movement of women's emancipation should be part of the struggle for socialism and not an independent movement for itself (Kennedy, 2008:34).

Socialist feminist theory checks the existence of a link between the oppression of women and other forms of oppression in society and hopes to create a society in which nobody is exploited to the benefit of others. Similar to the Marxism, social feminism relates the presence of the oppression to the existence of a capitalist society (Ehrenreich, 1976:121).

Contrary to the radical feminism, socialist feminism believed that the patriarchy was the essential cause of women's oppression. The distinction lies in the fact that according to the socialist feminism, gender is not the only driver of oppression. Gender discrimination and recognition of its existence in the society was one of the concerns of socialist feminists who were hoping that they can merge it to their agenda on the fight against oppression and achieve gender equality and justice (Buchanan, 2011:230).

Socialist feminists of the 1970s did not differentiate women oppression from other forms of inequality and injustice. However, the movement of the late twentieth century is differentiating it from other forms of inequality, where the difference is at the heart of the practice and theory of contemporary feminism. Widespread debates among feminists have been shaped in terms of differences among women. 'Women of colour' refers implicitly to the whiteness of feminism In the United States in the late 1970s (Kennedy, 2008:490).

Socialist feminism tends to believe that women are produced being 'conditioned' and that femininity is an effect. In socialist feminism ideology, emancipation requires freedom from class and economic oppression and that economics and politics are two major elements to achieve the ideal society (Linda, 2018).

Since Marxism saw women's subordination as secondary to class subordination, many feminists were dissatisfied with Marxism. The new radical feminism was not attractive to them as well, since it denied class and saw patriarchy, or women's subordination, as the primary form of subordination. In socialist feminist belief, class and women's subordination have equal importance and had to be addressed simultaneously. They hoped to revise Marxism by incorporating radical-feminist insights into it which would challenge both male dominance and capitalism. Socialist feminists redefined the radical-feminist conception of patriarchy. In the new definition patriarchy refers to a set of hierarchical relations within the control of men which administers women's sexuality, procreation, and labor power (Kennedy, 2008:497).

Patriarchy takes different forms in different historical periods as well as in different racial, cultural, political, economic, and religious contexts. This reality encouraged them to add a historical dimension to the concept of patriarchy. They also tried to expand the Marxist definition of economic activity in such a way that includes both productive and reproductive work. According to the ideology of socialist feminists, the reproduction of children and the production of commodities imply equal importance (Parparet, 2008:126).

1.3.8. Postmodern Feminism

In the early 1980s, a new concept was introduced in the dictionary of feminism namely postmodern feminism. Postmodern feminism, redefines femininity which was given an essentialist definition during the period of modern feminism. According to the essentialist definition of women in modern feminism theory, "one is not born a woman but becomes one" (De Beauvoir, 1990: 32). On the other hand, the philosophy of postmodern feminism which is built on the ideas of Foucault, de Beauvoir, as well as Derrida and Lacan accept the male/female binary as a main classification factor in a society.

Feminists of postmodern era criticizes the patriarchal aspects of a society which permits for male dominance. They reject being labeled as a feminist due to the fact that the movements with a suffix of "ism" reflect an essentialist conception. They respect diversity, and acknowledge multiple roles and realities as facts. They refuse the notion that there is only one way to be a woman. Many scholars agree that the acceptance of

diversity in postmodern interpretation of feminism which at the same time rejects prior essentialist definitions of feminism represents more practical philosophy. Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva are the most well-known writers who influenced the progression of postmodern feminism. As indicated by Cixous, man's composing is loaded up with twofold oppressions yet woman's composing is a response to life's requests. She additionally relates feminine composition to sexuality and physical issues. She argued that advancement of this stream of writing will change the trends that control the dialect and the structure of society as well. Luce Irigaray is a psychoanalyst whose primary motive is to free women from men's philosophies. Her well-known three strategies designed for woman to "experience herself as something other than 'waste' or 'excess' in the little structured margins of a dominant ideology; 1) create a gender-neutral language, 2) engage in lesbian and autoerotic practice, for by virtue of exploring the multifaceted terrain of the female body, women will learn to speak words and think thoughts that will blow the phallus over; 3) mime the mimes men have imposed on women. If women exist only in men's eyes, as images, women should take those images and reflect them back to men in magnified proportions (Gutting, 2002:389).

Julia Kristeva believes that the idea that the biological man and woman are identified with the “masculine” and “feminine” respectively is not accurate. Rather classifying them based on their anatomy forces both men and women into a repressive structure. Kristeva agrees with feminist but refuses the existence of a “woman's perspective”. For Kristeva, the problems of women are the same as the problems of other minority groups which are excluded from the dominant. Examples include Jews, homosexuals, racial and ethnic minorities. Similar to the other postmodern feminists, she believed that the use of language is crucial (Fillingham, 1993).

A major critique of postmodern feminism is its seeming identification of women with the feminine and the biological body. Many view postmodern feminists as valorizing women and the feminine over male and the masculine. To many feminists, the idea that they should embrace the feminine, or “mime the mimes men have imposed on women” (Parpart, 2008:439) feels awfully similar to the pressure to be feminine from the dominant society. Some of us didn't want to wear feminine looking dresses when our mothers tried to make us to go to the patriarchal church and we don't want to wear them in graduate

school either. Postmodern feminists are mostly known to valorize women and the feminine over male and the masculine. Another common criticism of postmodern feminism is its apparently irrational writing. On the other hand, there are widely varying viewpoints within this theoretical framework. While some feminists appreciate this diversity, many others worry that this may cause to the potential loss of feminist community arguing that with no common philosophy accepted by all feminists, it will be cumbersome to make political action (Parpart, 2008: 443).

Much of the writing of postmodernists rejects linear construction in their writing. And therefore, accusations of eliticism have been leveled at the postmodern feminism as a whole. Critics contend that only few academics can participate because the jargon is so thick, and that "true" feminists address issues of political import. Considering that postmodernist rejects essentialist, there is an obvious lack of conceptual understanding of postmodern feminism reflected in these criticisms. Also, because linear, normal speech and writing are viewed as part of the propaganda of the dominant order, breaking them down the linguistic power structure is, in their philosophies, an important part of undermining that power. So in fact, being obtuse and chaotic is their way of introducing change and therefore, offering new meanings (Denes, 2005:67).

Postmodern feminism has resulted in some of the most ground breaking research in the last twenty years. Its major technique, discourse analysis has been used in many different fields to ask many different questions. A logical progression of postmodern theory has refreshed feminism by questioning many assumptions that were previously unexamined. While as of yet it has not been a major presence in the field of library and information studies, the number of studies utilizing it is steadily increasing. With the introduction of postmodernism an enormous body of literature has shaped in the last twenty years. Discourse analysis is the main technique used in this subject. A logical progression of postmodern theory starts by questioning many assumptions that were previously unexamined, and this has refreshed feminism in many ways (Olson, 2002:25).

It would be difficult to study postmodern feminism without paying enough attention to the studies of Judith Butler, which are distinguished by a “linguistic turn”. In her studies one encounters a view of gender, which is presented as a discursive construction and

performance rather than a biological fact. Theorists from the same sect as Butler criticize the conflation of sex and gender, the essentialist generalizations about men and women, and the tendency to view gender as fixed and concrete at birth, rather than a mobile construct that allows for multiple gender expressions. Postmodern feminism rejects a binary classification of gender. They believe in the inseparability of the body from language and social norms. Postmodern feminists argue against the assumption that all women share a common oppression; this assumption has, unintentionally generalized the category of "woman" into a white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, young- to middle-aged norm (Butler, 1995:50).

Postmodern feminists take Simone de Beauvoir's idea that woman is "other", but they emphasize that this state of being "other" is actually an advantage because of the possibilities that being outside of the male-dominated world has. It attempts to correct false structures that the old versions of feminism set up. As a consequence of old feminism actions and publications, a totally misleading perception formed in many people who think of feminism as a very liberal disastrous idea that seeks to elevate women above men. However, the truth is that postmodern feminism is simply striving for gender equality (Parpart, 2008: 439).

Postmodern feminism also focuses on survival and health. It encourages women to work through problems in a progressive way and unite instead of separating and bonding only through their pains and faults, suggesting that compared to older feminism, it is a much healthier movement for women. Many evidences support the idea that this form of feminism challenges the male/female binary, and advocates deconstructionist techniques of blurring boundaries between the genders, eliminating dichotomies, and accepting multiple realities rather than searching for a singular "truth (Poorman, 2003).

Postmodern feminists have built on the ideas of Foucault, de Beauvoir, as well as Derrida and Lacan. While there is much variation in postmodern feminism, there is some common ground. Postmodern feminists accept the male/female binary as a main categorizing force in our society. Following Simone de Beauvoir, they see female as having being cast into the role of the other. They criticize the structure of society and the dominant order, especially in its patriarchal aspects. Many postmodern feminists, however, reject the

feminist label, because anything that ends with an "ism" reflects an essentialist conception (Gutting, 2002: 389).

Postmodern feminism fully embraces diversity. Multiple truths, multiple roles, multiple realities are part of its entity. It rejects the existence of an essential nature of women, of one-way to be a woman (Olson, 2002:19).

The argument that gender is itself constructed through language differentiates postmodern feminism's from other branches of feminism. The general premise of postmodern social theory is a rejection of the western ideal of establishing universal narratives as a means of understanding and explaining society (Butler, 1995:42).

Postmodern theory openly challenges claims of a unified subject. The objective point of view toward unified subject is a “view from nowhere”, whereas postmodern theory recognizes diversities and allows all to contribute and thus, having a “view from everywhere” (Schmidt, 2005:129).

The combination of postmodernist theory and feminism allows for a questioning of essentialist approaches within and outside of feminism, an expansion of feminist scholarship as well as contributing the lens of “gender” and other issues inherent to feminism to the body of postmodern scholarship. Postmodern thought follows early feminist challenges to dualistic concepts, such as modernist practices of objectivity being favored over subjectivity, belief in rational over irrational thought, and the strength of nature over cultural constructions. The essentialist approaches, which exists within and outside of feminism, were subject to challenges when postmodernist theory and feminism combined together (Wolff, 2007:8).

A major critique of postmodern feminism is its seeming identification of women with the feminine and the biological body. Many view postmodern feminists as valorizing women and the feminine over male and the masculine. For many feminists, the idea that we should embrace the feminine, or "mime the mimes men have imposed on women" (Parpart, 2008:439) feels awfully similar to the pressure to be feminine from the dominant society . Some of us didn't want to wear feminine looking dresses when our mothers tried

to make us to go to the patriarchal church and we don't want to wear them in graduate school either. However, most of the criticism in this vein simplifies postmodern feminism. As we have seen, there are widely varying viewpoints within this theoretical framework. While this diversity is seen as empowering by some feminists, many are concerned with the potential loss of feminist community. With no essential philosophy accepted by all feminists, it is difficult to make political action (Hoeveler, 2011:12). To sum up we can say that postmodern feminism focuses on gender issues more than the other types of feminism.

One of the most prevalent criticisms of postmodern feminism, and postmodernism in general is its apparently nonsensical writing. Much of the writing of postmodernists rejects linear construction in their writing. And so accusations of eliticism have been leveled at the postmodern feminism as a whole. Critics contend that only few academics can participate because the jargon is so thick, and that "true" feminists address issues of political import. Considering that postmodernist reject essentialist, there is an obvious lack of conceptual understanding of postmodern feminism reflected in these criticisms. Also, because linear, syntaxically normal speech and writing are viewed as part of the propaganda of the dominant order, breaking them down the linguistic power structure is, in their philosophies, an important part of undermining that power. Therefore, in fact, being obtuse and chaotic is their way of introducing change and therefore, offering new meanings (Parpart, 2008:439).

Postmodern Feminism has resulted in some of the most ground breaking research in the last twenty years. Its major technique, discourse analysis has been used in many different fields to ask many different questions. A logical progression of postmodern theory, it has revitalized feminism by questioning many assumptions that were previously unexamined. While as of yet it has not been a major presence in the field of library and information studies, the number of studies utilizing it is steadily increasing.

According to feminism scholars, women have economically been oppressed, in other words they believed that like other areas, economics is male dominated therefore they try to root in economics and provide gender equality as an end goal and change the social structures. For example, the first issues that attract feminists' attention are women's

housework or employment outside the home. In general, all types of feminism theories, such as liberal, marxist, radical, etc., are influenced by thoughts of scholars such as Jager Rottenberg, Tang, Bart and Walby , who believed that the male dominated of women's roles outlasted through the social structures. By the rising of first-wave feminism, another group of feminists, referred to maternal skills as limiting women's chances of independence and economic equality with men in the public realm, believing that unpaid house work and maternal duty have coused social inequality (key, 1909).

After this part we will introduce feminist economics. Like any subject, economics is in the domination of males and feminist economics tries to challenges it by dealing with gender issues in economics. feminist economists also challenge mainstream economic policies which overpower women throughout the history. They also expose gender equality and economic growth to discussion. According to feminist economics this two are interacting each other. Finally we can not ignore the key role of feminist economics in rethinking the way economics works. Creating an economics discipline that's better able to show the various contexts in which men and women participate in the global economy is an objective concept for feminist economics.

After the touching upon the significance of feminist economics, in the second part we will try to introduce it.

Gender biased feminism helps us to understand the social, cultural, historical issues of women's oppression. For this reason, it is necessary to alter the current perception towards gendered standpoint. In this thesis, not only the non-economic dimensions but also the economic influence of feminist approaches, in general, gender perspective, in particular, will be scrutinized by taking Iran into consideration and by making a connection between productivity and economic growth as an underlying factor behind education, participation of women in the labor force and etc.

CHAPTER 2

FEMINIST ECONOMICS

Feminist economics emerged during women's movement in the nineteenth century has developed the concept of gender relations in the various aspects of social and economic life. It challenges the male-dominated economic methods and questions why women have been ignored in economic activities and seeks to improve the economic situation of women. Feminist economists do not separate women from economic activities in contrary to the believe that women economists have experiences many issues that male economists do not. Based on traditional economy, domestic work, which is the cheapest and most difficult phase of production, has been considered as a weman task. However, women have the largest share of world unpaid jobs, but their participation in the world's total workforce is more than past years. Some economic analysts like Kenny Dawn argue that if women were hired in jobs with pay, the world's economic situation was much better than the current one (Nelson, 2014:16).

Feminist economics critiques the neoclassical economics and goes against its hypothesis in three aspects. The first challenge raised by feminist economics is that women were nearly ignored in many economic analysis, especially, with regard to their role in household economics, whereas the main piece of social reproductive is caring labor. The second one is about why domestic labor is considered as a woman job. According to the neoclassical economics, each person has rational and self-interested preference. The last one is that recognizing the maximization of utility function happens for which one is really hard because according to the neoclassical economic theory, everybody often has his/her identical utility functions (Dolfsma and Hoppe, 1996:72).

Economics like most other philosophical systems, as traditionally, is just a neutral stream of thought without any positive discrimination. Until recently, most economists who have been white men with privileges belieived that their definition of life is best for all people. But as long as more and more people came from outside and began to participate in economic systems, the hidden hypotheses of the economy came to the surface. Since

1960, the feminist economics, as a part of the feminist movement, has acted in such a way that it questioned the economic methods (Kuiper et al., 2003:68).

Feminist economics is not exclusive to women, man can also be considered as feminist economisst, but it does not mean that every female economist deals specifically with feminist economics. Being a feminist economist means that with a different point of view, the discrimination that women face when starting an economic activity will be found out. The abstract concept of traditional economic system is one of the main criticisms that feminist economists have exposed to discussion, which does not work for real life and for real people. Fortunately, feminist economists have been much creative to bring up some positive changes in the life of people, especially women. Feminist economists, such as Maryland Warring, have tried to answer the question of why women's unpaid labor is not counted in the traditional economic systems. The Wanda Shiva also challenges the issue of removing women and land from production flow. Other feminist economists have also criticized government policies, such as employment insurance, as well as non-obligatory requirements for part-time workers, most of whom are women. The economists of this branch also studies the impact of structural adjustment programs on women's housing or childcare and their linkage to women's access to productive employment, which is income-generating, and finally, the feminist economists use the economic system, which aimed to create positive changes into the lives of women and girls. It seems that this kind of economy is necessary for today because the past traditional economics has excluded or ignored the experience, capabilities and power of women (Margunn and McKay, 2014:68).

With the feminist economics, equal rights and equal working conditions for women, and their equal participation in the job market started to be questioned. It was put forward that including woman power both intellectually and physically in the economic life would cause an increase in productivity and economic growth. Before investigating this relationship, the origins of feminist economics should be briefly touched upon in order to set the background for the examination of the gender neutral position of women in Iran. Conducting such an analysis would increase the awareness in gender issues and spread gender perspective in Iran.

2.1. THE ORIGINS OF FEMINIST ECONOMICS

Feminist economics consists of studies which have both gender roles in the economy and critical approaches toward the biases observed in the content and methodology of economics. The liberatory perspective of gender roles in the economy was remained as an unknown field until feminist economics started to shape the body of literature around this subject. Before the formation of feminist economics, the existence of women's role in the economic analyses was rather denied to a significant degree. With the designation of feminist economics as the brand new stream of literature to cuddle the old rare and scattered writings around this subject, the attention of the field of feminism grew more and more rapidly (Kuiper et al., 2003:105).

The primary objective of the feminist economics is to challenge situations oppressive to women at the time when the economy was used as a norm to question the competency of women to add value to the chain of economics. Proponents of feminist economics achieved success in these fields and continued trying to change the subjective biases, which partly have compromised the reliability of economics research. They are also unified in criticizing the common thinking methods in economics, which they believe are overlooking the main reasons behind gender inequalities and motivates their attempts to explore more alternatives (Dolfsma & Hoppe, 1996).

Feminist economics allows us to analyze the gap between men and women, especially in the job market and through activities associated with the social renewal. The contemporary form of feminist economics emerged in the 1970s as a reaction to the discriminations existing in the labor market. Until the 1960s, in the framework of neoclassical economics, which is an approach in economics focusing on the determination of prices, outputs, and income distributions in markets through supply and demand, the traditional activities of women was only restricted to household activities. During the time household was commonly represented by its male "head," and the decisions related to the household labor supply and consumption were solely determined by the wills and wishes of the male head. Not surprisingly, the definition of the activities in a household was narrowed down to "leisure". The researchers were only focusing on men in their studies on paid labor, and generally household production was ignored in the national accounts

while women, and their traditional activities, and well-being were invisible. During the 1960s, the debates around the subjects like the discrimination by race and sex in the labor market started to be heated. Some activists single-handedly put forward the idea that household activities must include unpaid work as well as leisure (Nelson, 2014:201).

It was in the middle of these debates that the new home economics school was striving to extend rational choice theory to intra-household decisions. Nevertheless, the primary work of economists on these issues was simply justifying the traditional sex roles in the family. Their incentives of segregating women into a narrow range of paid occupations, and lower earnings in the labor market were backed up by males, who benefit from women's exploitation in the labor market. Essentially, neoclassical economists of the time justified the practiced patterns calling them to be rational choices, where the argued the discriminations between men and women were due only to presumably innate differences between men and women in tastes and abilities, which they believed that those differences cause different choices about human capital formation. According to the proponents of neoclassical economics, low market earnings of women should direct their focus to gain specialization in household work, and at the same time, they justified women's lower market earnings by their household responsibilities. Fortunately, women's existence was not denied in their works, but they were not fitting perfectly into the definition of a feminist as they aimed to rationalize rather than question women's status classification as second-class and financial dependency (Waring, 1989:120).

Feminist economists tends to believe that sex and gender are distinct in that sex, defines the biological difference between the sexes, while gender, refers to the social beliefs that society constructs on the basis of gender. According to the feminist economists, misleading stereotypes of women and social restriction imposed for a long period of time on women were the reasons leading to the disparities in household and labor market outcomes. In contrast, the traditional economists argued that these outcomes are reflecting only gender differences (Mikkola, 2008).

In reality and in practice, starting from the 1960s and 1970s, the legal limitations and unfair law enforcements started to be waived since the discipline of gender equality was gaining more ground constantly. In addition the social norms, which were unquestionable

previously, lost their credibility with the growing awareness among women in society. As an immediate result, the educational and job related restrictions imposed on women were loosened and a massive wave of skilled women intruded in the job market, which previously used to be only-male territory. This was a common trend in many countries towards to the end of the 1970s (Hill and King, 1995:45).

Many social scientists got interested in understanding the interrelations between gender and power in job market. To get to the bottom of this issue, they conducted well- devised surveys, which were measuring women's economic history, their status, and progress towards gaining economic equality. Other types of surveys were conducted aiming to study the policies related to gender equity in many countries and regions. Undoubtedly, the significance of social norms and beliefs, and the power sharing patterns in creating gendered economic outcomes were at the focal point of the studies conducted by feminist economics. One of the crucial challenges of feminist economics was to understand the way, in which gender is related to the economy and more specifically to people's economic experiences. For instance, the study of the gap in wages is associated with gender. As a sideline to this, they aimed to explore the way in which gendered influenced thinking affects the study and methodology of economics itself (Nelson, 2014:211).

Many believe that economics is a field occupied by male making it too masculine. They rationalize the profession by comparing the proportion of the contributors from each gender. They argue that the judgements of the economical theorems are also genderized as such the theory of "good" economics is always linked to men. They believe that the notion of "good" economics and "good" economic theory is depicted by the adjectives such as quantitative, logical, powerfulness and all these descriptive words are masculine. One of the many challenges that feminist economics are facing is the fact that there is a bias of perspective into economics tailored towards men. This so-called male-point-of-view bias is causing separatism in mainstream economics, which simply results in highly relative and subjective understanding of oneself. Their challenge extends to efforts to prevail over the limitations of mainstream economic theory not only to develop genuine questions in economics, but also more fundamentally explore the different ways in which more accurate answers can be provided for these questions. Generally speaking, feminist

economics refers to a developing branch of economics that is shaped based on the insights and critiques that feminists pointed to mainstream economics (Mckay, 2001:97).

The literature and research of feminist economics includes the disputes regarding the link between feminism and economics on many levels: From applying mainstream economic methods to under-researched "women's" areas, to questioning how mainstream economics values the reproductive sector, to deeply philosophical critiques of economic epistemology and methodology. In this regard, the field of feminist economics is interdisciplinary and prominently critical, or heterodox. One critical point of feminist economists relies on the argument that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) does not adequately measure unpaid labor, which is predominantly performed by women in forms of housework, childcare, and eldercare (Nelson, 1995:131).

The rhetorical approach of mainstream economics is another aspect, which was targeted by the feminist economists. Basically, the fundamental assumptions of the mainstream economics, including the homo economicus assumption have been criticized by the feminist economists (Barker et al., 2004:20).

Betsy Warrior , the author of the House Worker's Handbook presents a strong argument that the foundation of economic survival is formed by the reproduction and domestic labor of women even though this labor is mostly ignored, not appreciated enough and most importantly not included in the GDP. A controversial argument presented by warrior states that the ignored income of men which is mostly gained from conducting illegal activities like arms, drugs and human trafficking, political graft, religious emollients and various other undisclosed activities provide a rich revenue stream to men, which further invalid GDP figures. The advocators of this theory rely on the assumption that women are not competent enough to produce revenue from illegal sources and on the other hand, men are not competent to contribute to domestic production. They have had a crucial role in creating the capability approach , which is basically an alternative model. Other forms of alternative models include the study of incorporating gender into the analysis of economic data. The fundamental ideology of feminist economics evolves around the way in which gendered divisions of labor is inclined to enclose and imprison women only to domestic household activities or reproductive work and men to productive or paid work.

In fact, both natural difference and social norms and institutions are the main causes of this gendered division of labor. Hence, reproductive works regardless of being paid or unpaid are accepted commonly as feminine roles, which in many societies are undervalued. From feminist economists' point of view, domestic and care work conducted at home must be appreciated since they are huge contributionrs to the economy (Folbre, 2006:190).

From the feminist economics perspective, unpaid work is titled as social reproduction, reasoning that the proper functionality of society and the economy considerably depends on domestic and unpaid work. A comprehensive analysis of the relationship between productive and reproductive works, and their interdependence is provided by Diane Elson: "The ability of money to mobilize labour power for 'productive work' depends on the operation of some non-monetary set of social relations to mobilize labour power for 'reproductive work.'. These non-monetary social relations are subordinate to money in the sense that they cannot function and sustain themselves without an input of money; and they are reshaped in response to the power of money. Nevertheless, neither the monetary economy can sustain itself without an input on unpaid labor; an input can be shaped by the structures of gender relations" (Elson, 2010: 205).

In order to understand the role of gender and its relationship with the economy, basic concepts used in feminist economics will be given below.

2.2. THE CONTENT OF FEMINIST ECONOMICS

Feminist economics is a field that includes both studies of gender roles in the economy from a liberatory perspective and critical work directed at biases in the content and methodology of the economics discipline. It challenges economic analyses that treat women as invisible, or that serve to reinforce situations oppressive to women, and develops innovative research designed to overcome these failings. Feminist economics points out how subjective biases concerning acceptable topics and methods have compromised the reliability and objectivity of economics research and explores more adequate alternatives (Ferber and Nelson, 2003:36).

A key distinction feminist economists make is between sex, understood as the biological difference between the sexes, and gender, the social beliefs that society constructs on the basis of sex. While traditional economists saw household and labor market outcomes as reflecting only sex differences, feminist economists raised the question of how these outcomes might, instead, reflect misleading stereotypes and rigid social constraints (Nelson, 2014:121).

Some works called into question, for example, the ideas that specialization in household work would be an optimizing choice for a woman (given rising divorce rates), or that it would necessarily yield higher household well-being than other, more egalitarian, arrangements (Ferber et al., 1993:155). Others emphasized the role of discrimination in limiting women's labor market opportunities or the interplay of household and workplace power relations.

Actually, as the equal rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s loosened many of the legal restrictions and social norms that had artificially narrowed women's educational and job choices in a number of countries, women moved increasingly into the labor market and into formerly all-male occupations. Surveys of women's economic history, economic status, and progress towards gaining economic equality have since been made for many countries and regions, along with surveys of policies related to gender equity. Recognition of the importance of social beliefs and structures of power in creating gendered economic outcomes has remained a hallmark of feminist economics (Hartmann, 1998:175).

Feminist economics seeks to understand the way, in which gender shapes the economy and people's economic experiences. A classic example of this would be the study of the gender wage gap. It also explores the way in which gendered thinking influences the study and methodology of economics itself. They tend to be very masculine, not only the proportion of men in the field, but also in the way "good" economic theory is judged. Good economic theory is quantitative, logical, strong, etc. – all descriptions that are rhetorically masculine. Also, mainstream economics focuses on the separative self rather than communities or a more relative and subjective understanding of oneself, which is an androcentric or male-point-of-view bias. The feminist economics project tries to overcome these limitations of mainstream economic theory not only to bring up new

questions in economics, but also more fundamentally explore the different ways in which questions can be answered (Mckay, 2001:97).

Feminist economics broadly refers to a developing branch of economics that applies feminist insights and critiques to economics. Research under this heading is often interdisciplinary, critical, or heterodox. It encompasses debates about the relationship between feminism and economics on many levels: From applying mainstream economic methods to under-researched "women's" areas, to questioning how mainstream economics values the reproductive sector, to deeply philosophical critiques of economic epistemology and methodology. One prominent issue that feminist economists investigate is how the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) does not adequately measure unpaid labor predominantly performed by women, such as housework, childcare, and eldercare (Aslaksen and Charlotte, 2014:57).

Feminist economists have also challenged and exposed the rhetorical approach of mainstream economics. They have made critiques of many basic assumptions of mainstream economics, including the homo economicus assumption. In the House worker's Handbook, Betsy Warrior presents a cogent argument that the reproduction and domestic labor of women form the foundation of economic survival; although, unremunerated and not included in the GDP. Warrior also notes that the unacknowledged income of men from illegal activities like arms, drugs and human trafficking, political graft, religious emollients and various other undisclosed activities provide a rich revenue stream to men, which further invalidates GDP figures (Warrior, 1975). Somehow proponents of this theory operate under the assumption that women do not generate revenue from illegal sources and men provide no domestic production. They have been instrumental in creating alternative models, such as the capability approach and incorporating gender into the analysis of economic data to affect policy (Power, 2004:19).

Considerable feminist economics thought is based around the way, in which gendered divisions of labour tend to confine women to domestic duties or reproductive work and men to productive or paid work. This gendered division of labour is shaped by both natural differences and social norms and institutions (Folbre, 2006:185).

Therefore, reproductive work (such as care work), be it unpaid or paid, is seen as a feminine role. Furthermore, this type of work is undervalued in many societies. Feminist economists argue that domestic and care work contributes significantly to the economy. Feminist economics refers to unpaid work as social reproduction, because society and the economy would not function if this work was not carried out. Diane Elson provides a useful analysis of this relationship between productive and reproductive work, and their interdependence: “The ability of money to mobilize labour power for ‘productive work’ depends on the operation of some non-monetary set of social relations to mobilize labour power for ‘reproductive work.’ These non-monetary social relations are subordinate to money in the sense that they cannot function and sustain themselves without an input of money; and they are reshaped in response to the power of money. Nevertheless, neither can the monetary economy sustain itself without an input of unpaid labour, an input shaped by the structures of gender relations” (Elson, 2010:205).

The assumptions of mainstream economics and the criticisms of the feminist economics to these assumptions will be given below.Now we will discuss about assumptions of feminist economics.

2.3. THE ASSUMPTIONS OF MAINSTREAM ECONOMICS VERSUS THE FEMINIST ECONOMICS

Feminist economics revise some of the assumptions, which the mainstream economics is based on, including that "women are economically dependent on men". The mainstream economics assume that women are not economically independent and depend on fathers, husbands, or any other male partner. For this reason, women's income is defined as a secondary income, and men have to meet all of the needs of women in common lifes. Today, women's wages are clearly lower than men's wages, even if they do the same job. This assumption, ignores the fact that many single women are with or without children, and all of them need to be independent. They also disregard the fact that for many families, with the presence of parents, the second income provided by women is vital for the family's well-being. Another assumption according to the mainstream economics is that, family is considered to be the main economic unit. They give a classic definition for family: "An income-generating work for man, an economically dependent woman with a

caring role and dependent children." This presumption makes women dependent on men. On the other hand, even though such a hypothetical premise exists, it ignores the fact that all families are not formed in this way. Homosexsual couples, single-parent families, and single people are ignored in this definition. Single parent families hazard more than others because the parent of the family must be both career and financial supporter. Historically men do not tend to share their income with family members so economists should keep in mind that even those who are not able to make money should have economic independence.

Other assumptions are that women are not considered as productive labor. This system divides life into two parts: "The economic sphere and the home territory." The economic sphere focuses on the market: manufacturers, supply and demand, while the domestic part includes a range of unpaid works that are necessary to be done. Since the economy only sees the production sector as something that can be sold on the market, domestic work is considered as non-productive labor. Women's domestic works, such as childbirth and raising and caring children, houseworks, cooking and emotional support, are underrated, but in fact, the economy is entirely dependent on women. The elimination of women's work as production cost results in underestimation of gross profit (Longino; 1986:45).

Another premise that exists in the mainstream economics is the belief that individuals are free and single actors in the market, with rational choices based on their wishes and interests. In other words, people are completely separate from each other and since women often do not make such a decision, they are not considered as rational. But feminist economists like Diana Strassmann (1997:8) beleieves that the concept of people as independent and single actors, reflects a male, heterogeneous, and privileged disparate view. "The feminist economics discusses the issue that our relationship with other people plays an important role in our decisions. We are not independent creatures but are dependent on each other. Meanwhile, many decisions are not based on our individual desires, but on our limited choices in life. An economy that ignores all people's livelihoods does not take into consideration many other important things. Strassmann, believes that perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of contemporary feminist economics is to ask "who is responsible for economic thought and how can these ideas help human life?" (Strassmann,1997:8). In her opinion, feminist economics does not deal with

abstract concepts, but relates to real life situations and addresses the position of how all the people of the world can benefit from various economic benefits. This economy does not just provide abstract ideas, but all of us may not have access to the scientific field of economics, but all of us we can learn from the feminist economicsy, which is the economy for all people, and we all have the right to understand what We we are in the middle of it and we can interfere with our own opinions around the world. (Waring, 1989: 139).

Feminist economics provides an interdisciplinary, critical and pluralistic framework. The feminist economists deal with concrete economic and social issues in contrast with the abstract framework of the mainstream economics.

2.4. TRANSFORMATION REGARDING FEMINISM

The transformation of femienist economics is considered to be a direct reaction to the restrictions and oppressions, which were imposed to women not only by men but by women as well. Organized women's movements have the very concrete task at the top of their agenda that they are determined to eradicate all forms of oppression and injustice, which cause the women to suffer from. Examples include racism, class oppression, and the destruction of nature, which demolish the bases of a society with equal roles assigned to women and men. Among these very atrocious forms of inequality, gender oppression comes at the top of the list of the reasons, which cause subordination of women and the feminine in general. The damage is not restricted to subordinating women but it also results in imbalances and distortion in women’s personalities and social institutions. It is a dimension of the hierarchical polarization paradigm, which had the responsibility to organize social relationships in the West for a millennium. The paradigm basically polarizes people into opposed and unequal groups along a variety of interconnected dimensions such as gender, race, class, nationality and so on (Ferber and Nelson, 2003:116).

Feminist transformation aims to free half of the human race, namely, women from subordination to men. However, they believe that this will be a mutually beneficial for both men and women so called a win-win outcome as it this movement frees both men as well as women from unhealthy and oppressive gender restrictions. Feminist

transformation has one other benefit to the society as it helps to solve the most pressing hardships of humankinds, such as alienating and violent love relationships, heartless, unjust and unsustainable economic practices, oppressive childrearing practices and deadly and destructive wars.

Bel hooks (2000) states that feminist transformation is far more complicated and multi-faceted that many people face difficulty to even realize the situation and the environment in which they act. Multiple faces of Feminist feminist transformation, and the fact that it has become ubiquitous over the globe, causes this to be at the core of the debates in many different countries each having their unique attitude to women's rights. Here, we will focus on feminist transformation in the United States, which involves seven distinct processes, which together are transforming the system of gender oppression.

The processes are namely the feminist questioning/envisioning process, the equal gender rights and opportunity process, the valuing the devalued feminine process, gender integrative process, the feminist discernment process, the feminist combining process and finally the feminist unifying/diversifying/globalizing process . Each process is expressed both through personal healing and transformation, and through organized movements for the transformation of social values, practices, and institutions (Allard, 2008: 175).

We present a short description of each process. The feminist questioning/envisioning process declares gender oppression as unjust and oppressive, and simultaneously challenges its naturalness and inevitability, and envisions a world free of gender oppression and inequality. The second process, which is equal gender rights and opportunity process, attempts to achieve equal rights and opportunity for women all the arenas of society including in political life, in the labour force, and in sexuality and reproduction. The third process, namely, valuing the devalued feminine process strives to revalue feminine traits and activities, such as care-giving, household actvities and child-raising, and community-building, which are crucial to a healthy self and at the same time to a balanced and sustainable society. The gender integrative process aims to help women (and men) to express and balance the feminine and masculine sides of entities, and to participate actively in balancing paid work and family work. The feminist discernment process is a more radical type of a process among others, which strives to reshape and

reconstruct each and every aspects of human being's lives, including the values, social practices, cultural, economic, and political institutions so that they are not bounded by the distortions and injustices connected to gender oppression.

The feminist combining process relies on the argument that women's movements seek justice and freedom for women mainly because women suffer from unequal and discriminatory factors other than gender, for instance, race, class, sexuality, religion and nationality. This fact reveals the incentives of the formation of women's movements, which aim to battle gender injustices and other forms of unfreedom and injustice, which impact women. And because men also suffer from gender oppression, care about women, and/or are committed to opposing all injustice, men combine with women in the feminist movement.

The feminist diversifying process relates itself to the wave of globalization, when women organize across national boundaries to fight unitedly against the many injustices directed at women. In the light of this process, global organizations seeking economic justice, democracy, and peace, such as the World Social Forum recognized and adopted feminist values and principles. The diversifying/unifying/globalizing process is leading people across the globe to reject the prevailing competitive and materialistic values. Nonetheless, the feminist diversifying/unifying/globalizing process has two aspects: the interdependence of feminist movements across the globe, or global feminism, and the interconnection of feminist movement with other social movements in a "movement of movements". From historical point of view, global feminist concept is as old as the second wave of feminism, as they emerged concurrently (Allard, 2008:175).

Feminist economists exhibited examples of polyphony in reaching their aims. With many similarities to other disciplines, feminist economists also differ in their search for and ways to proceed towards their goals.

2.5. THE BRANCHES OF FEMINIST ECONOMICS

The fact that economists working on feminist economics have different backgrounds as discussed above (liberal, radical, socialist, postmodernist, etc.) and this influences the

evaluations of the stages of the development process of feminist economics. Despite these differences, different feminist economic concepts are presented as different parts of the same table (Serdaroğlu, 2010:70), since they respect the differences with the "different but equal" poem, which is one of the most basic points of convergence of feminism and consequently, feminist economists.

Feminist economists exhibited examples of polyphony in reaching their aims. Just as in many disciplines, feminist economists also differ in their search for and ways to go. Feminist economists can be divided into five groups that exclude each other (Ferber et al., 1993, 7-8). These groups are discussed below.

2.5.1. Affirmative Action

From the ‘affirmative action’ viewpoint, the core problem with the discipline is the underrepresentation of women, meaning that the advancement of women is the prioritized responsibility defined for this approach. Nonetheless, they do extend their job to even monitor and encourage women in their steps of progression and promotion. While complementary to several of the other approaches, the affirmative action view need not imply dissatisfaction with the way a discipline is practiced, only with the underrepresentation of women among its practitioners. More precisely, affirmative action is planning to redistribute economic power, which used to be biased and tailored towards men. This action forces employers to prefer skilled women over men in an equal condition with similar skills and capabilities. Similar to all schemes of distributing justice, choice is taken from individuals and given to social planners. The failure of affirmative action has been evident when it failed to tackle sex segregation in the work place and it’s defeat to close the wage gap between men and women. More importantly, it has obstructed the free market, which was the institution with the most benefit to women economically. Socio-economic equality is the most critical pillar of the concept of affirmative action, which became popular during the 1960's. In these years, access to the basics was presented as the right of every American. In principle, three arguments have been offered for affirmative action: 1) social good; 2) compensatory justice; and 3) the ideal of equality. The social good, which is also defined as the utilitarian argument, states that the

progression of women will benefit society. This is in fact not a substantial justification, since the proponent of affirmative action themselves generally admit that they would seek equality even if it lowered the overall good of society. The argument of compensatory justice claims that anyone, who causes damage or an injury to an innocent person, should cure the damage but it remains silent about compensating the damage (Mcelroy, 2001:77).

On the contrary, affirmative action goes one step further and proclaims the rights of descendants of the injured parties to receive compensation as well. This argument has been subjected to criticism and two basic objections to this argument argue that first of all, people receiving compensation are not the victims; and, secondly, people, who are forced to pay the compensation, have done nothing wrong. The ideal of equality is merely a moral argument for preferential treatment since obviously, the government in all its forms and on an international basis, has a dreadful record in terms of favoring equality (McElroy, 2001:81).

Another group, namelt, feminist empiricism is touched upon below.

2.5.2. Feminist Empiricism

Feminist empiricism is a prominent perspective within feminist research that mainly concentrates on combining the objectives and observations of feminism with the research methods and philosophical foundations of empiricism. In its essence, feminist empiricism illustrates the philosophical tradition of empiricism, which can be defined as an epistemology that gives primary importance to knowledge based on experience (Campbell, 1994:90).

Throughout the history of feminism, the demands of feminists to draw the attention of the public to women's experiences suggest that empiricism can be a promising resource for developing a feminist account of knowledge. Yet, feminists also value empiricism's prevailing level of attention to science and the empiricist view that abilities and experiences are interdependent, and one cannot be analyzed without considering the experiential histories, including socialization and psychological development (Hesse-Biber, 2012:28).

Feminist empiricism is typically connected to mainstream notions of positivism in the sense that feminist empiricism proposes that feminist theories can be objectively proven through evidence. However, one should not conclude that feminist empiricism is a positivist approach following a feminist agenda. Feminist empiricism is a distinct viewpoint, which challenges the shortcomings and biases, which exists and dominates the mainstream research methods, including positivism (Campbell, 1994:90).

Some principles in the contemporary interpretations of feminist empiricism distinguish it from the originally formulated views by Harding (1986). First, feminist empiricism is contextualist meaning that it assumes the justification of scientific theories to take place within a particular set of assumptions, including assumptions about the aims of the research, appropriate methodology, and criteria for theory choice (Longino, 2002).

Feminist empiricists tend to refuse the fact that there is a set of criteria for theory choice, or cognitive values that apply in every research context. Rather, they believe that cognitive values are specific characteristics of theories and models that promote the cognitive aims of research. According to feminist empiricists, cognitive values may vary depending on the research context. In other words, feminist empiricists deny that all types of sciences have only one fixed set of objectives. Some research may aim to uncover natural laws, and other research may be concerned primarily with generating predictions that will save human lives. Because the aims of science depend on the research context, the methods and criteria for theory choice that promote those aims may also vary. Moreover, feminist empiricism is normative in those aims, cognitive values, and other background assumptions of a research context, which may depend on social, ethical, or political values. Auxiliary assumptions have always accompanied theories. Therefore, theories are often tested in conjunction in the presence of auxiliary assumptions. Additionally, the normative behavior of feminist empiricism alludes that the aims of science and resulting cognitive values can themselves depend on social, ethical, and political values. The third attribute of contemporary feminist empiricism is that it is a social epistemology. Because theory justification depends on the presence of a certain types of assumptions existing in the background, of which individual scientists are frequently unaware, including ethical and political values. This fact suggests that it is not

always possible for individual scientists to identify or assess their own biases or faulty assumptions (Longino, 1990: 71-74).

Although individual scientists may not be able to identify or prevent their own values from framing research questions, operating as background assumptions, or limiting the range of alternative hypotheses considered, scientific communities as a whole can achieve a higher degree of objectivity to the extent that they are structured in ways to help minimize the negative effects of such biases. Thus, feminist empiricists have made prescriptions hoping to increase the objectivity of scientific communities and preventing or at least minimizing individual biases.

Several researchers have argued that scientific communities should be consisted of diverse inquirers. Among those, Longino (1990) argues that it is easier to recognize when idiosyncratic values are influencing scientific reasoning or methodology when the values in question are different from one's own. Thus, a scientific community comprised of individuals with diverse values and interests will be more likely to identify the ways that values influence the reasoning of individual scientists. Such diversity is likely to cause the scientific community as a whole to see existing limitations with how research questions are framed and with existing models, the range of alternative hypotheses and explanations considered, as well as faulty background assumptions. Research communities comprised of inquirers with diverse values will thus be more likely to produce new research questions and models, consider a broader range of hypotheses and explanations, and adopt justified background assumptions (Campbell, 1994:85).

In summary, contemporary feminist empiricism has three broad features that distinguish it from Harding's original characterization. Feminist empiricism is now: 1) Contextualist with respect to the aims, cognitive values, and methods that govern particular research contexts. 2) Normative in the sense that aims, cognitive values, methods, and other background assumptions are not always independent of social, ethical, and political values. 3) Social in that the locus of objectivity and justification is scientific communities rather than individual scientists. Objectivity is promoted by structuring scientific communities in ways that minimize the negative influence of individual biases (Anderson, 1995:60).

The next two perspectives have considerably lower number of representatives and advocates among economists. Proponents of the “feminist difference” emphasize distinctions between men and women. They often declare women’s superiority in creating knowledge based on women’s experience, including experience of oppression or what they call women’s way of knowing. Some suggest that since the failures and biases of men’s past inquiry are the result of their masculinist methods, woman should use gynocentric or women-contented methods in their research.

2.5.3. Feminist Difference

The term "difference feminism" was coined in American feminism in the 1980s and 1990s, when the "equality-versus-difference debate" was at its crux. However, the term subsequently lost the popularity and fell out of favor and use. In the 1990s, feminists addressed the binary logic of "difference" versus "equality" and moved on from it, notably with postmodern and/or deconstructionist approaches that either dismantled or did not depend on that dichotomy (Scott, 1988:32).

Difference feminism which also named as gender feminism, emphasizes women’s difference/uniqueness and traditionally “feminine” characteristics. This strand of feminism argues that more value should be placed on the qualities, which are attributed by “feminine” characteristics. Commitment to essentialism is not a requirement for difference feminism. Most strains of difference feminism did not argue that there was a biological, inherent, ahistorical, or otherwise "essential" link between womanhood and traditionally feminine values, habits of mind (often called "ways of knowing"), or personality traits. These feminists simply recognized that, in the present, women and men are significantly different and to aimed to explore the devalued "feminine" characteristics (Tandon, 2008:68).

Some strains of difference feminism, for example Mary Daly's (1928-2010) , argue not just that women and men were different, and had different values or different ways of knowing, but that women and their values were superior to men's. This viewpoint does not require essentialism, although there is an ongoing debate about whether Daly's feminism is essentialist.

Difference feminism was developed by feminists in the 1980s, partly as a reaction to popular liberal feminism also known as "equality feminism". Liberal feminism emphasized the similarities between women and men in order to argue for equal treatment for women and this was a controversial issue for the difference feminists.

Even though difference feminism still aims at equality between men and women, it emphasizes on the differences between men and women and argues that identicality or sameness between men and women, and masculine and feminine values are not necessarily a prerequisite to treat equally towards them.

Making a gender-neutral society and law establishment lies at the heart of the missions of the liberal feminism. It considers the recognition of gender difference as a prominent obstacle to rights and participation within liberal democracy. On the other hand, difference feminism asserts that gender-neutrality cause to harm women "whether by impelling them to imitate men, by depriving society of their distinctive contributions, or by letting them participate in society only on terms that favor men”(Bock and James, 1992:68). Difference feminism represents a broad spectrum of feminisms that emphasize differences between women and men. This approach established in the 1980s and 1990s in efforts to revalue qualities such as subjectivity, caring, feeling, or empathy which were traditionally devalued by labeling them as "feminine". This approach identifies bias in science and technology by seeing what has been left out from feminine perspectives sometimes expressed as “women’s ways of knowing.”(Ford, 2008:187). Difference feminisms have been criticized as being essentialist. Difference feminism tends to romanticize traditional femininity and masculinity and to reinforce conventional stereotypes. This approach fails to acknowledge that women and men across classes and cultures possess different perspectives and values.

2.5.4. Feminist Constructionism

Built on the theory of constructivism, feminist constructivism is an international relations theory, which mainly focuses on the study of how ideas about gender influences the global politics. It was generated from proximate and direct communication between two postcolonial theories; feminism and constructivism. The key point is to investigate how

they both share similar key ideas in creating gender equality in the global arena (Baylis and Owens, 2001:267).

Constructivism can be defined as an epistemological approach to social issues. More specifically, constructivism relies on the theory that humans generate knowledge and meaning through interactions and ideas. Constructivists argue that international life is social, resulting from the ways people interact with each other (i.e. talk, follow norms, create rules, etc.). While there are similarities, from constructivist viewpoint, relationships of power operate differently than traditional constructivists. According to feminist constructivists power and gender are considered "integral elements in the processes of construction," whereas traditionalists believe power to be external. Feminist constructivists argue that the lack of problematization research as a social process of construction is logically inconsistent "with an ontology of becoming" (Birgit and 2001:129).

They also believe that the differences between men and women, other than anatomical differences, were constructed due to socialization and cultural training. However, this idea has been subject to criticisms that point out the interactions of feminism with constructivism. Many feminists do no't agree with constructivism as an alternative middle ground. This is mostly due to the fact that the majority of the constructivists tend to ignore feminist literature and gender analysis. It is also pointed out that constructivism falls short to provide an explanation of how gender and power in politics influence each other, due to the social construction of power being under theorized (Birgit and prugl, 2001:51).

The prime concern of constructivist feminism is to explore how ideas about gender influence global politics as well as the ways that global politics shape ideas about gender. Elisabeth Prugl (1999) from a linguistical perspective argues that gender politics spread through world politics, creating a set of linguistically-based rules about how states interact with each other and with their own citizens.

According to the feminist theory, constructivism also known as constructionism reflects the view that gender is created by culture. However, it does not necessarily infer that gender does not exist, even though that is a common misunderstanding of constructivism.

Things, which are created by culture, are very real, and cannot easily be changed: Buildings, books, economies, laws, prisons, prizes and even our own names. Theologically, this can refer to two possible meanings: It may mean that we are to learn and grow into a predefined godly gender role, or it can mean that gender roles are open to debate, criticism and change.

The bottom-line is that according to constructivism, gender is learned in a regulated and predetermined way from culture, giving it a completely fatalistic interpretation. According to constructivism, because of subjective nature of culture, the meaning we get from culture caused to conflicting inferences mostly. As a consequence, we can ask questions about them, choose between them, and argue with them. This refers to the individualistic nature of culture. Constructivism lifts up Margaret Mead's (1901-1978) famous observation that, while every culture has gender roles, every culture's gender roles are different and gender is entirely learned and regulated, not naturally inborn (Butler, 1995: 36).

The problem commonly encountered when dealing with constructivism is that it's hard to take gender apart and then try to make some definitive political statement. In other words, constructivism is not bounded by manifestos, legislation or mission statements. On the other hand, many believe that social change can not be achieved unless clear standards of right and wrong are set, in order to bring about the changes that must take place in women's environment. Moreover, constructivist perspective in feminism does no't make claims regarding the inherent nature of women such as saying that women are inherently better than men or women are inherently anything in particular as opposed to men.

2.5.5. Feminist Economics and Postmodernism

For many reasons, postmodern feminism was and continues to be a fashionable stream in feminism. It can be considered as an approach to feminist theory that incorporates postmodern and post-structuralist theory. In this regard, postmodern feminism introduces itself as a stream, which moves beyond the modernist polarities of liberal feminism and radical feminism. Postmodern feminism's major departure from other branches of

feminism is perhaps the argument that sex, or at least gender is itself constructed through language. This is a view, which was notably propounded in Judith Butler's book, Gender Trouble published in 1995. She criticizes the work of Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan, as well as on Luce Irigaray's argument that what we conventionally regard as 'feminine' is only a reflection of what is constructed as masculine (Butler, 1995:37).

The latter half of the twentieth century is the period of the time during which postmodern theories have exerted a powerful influence on feminist thought. This period coincides with the lifetime of scholars such as Foucault, de Beauvoir, as well as Derrida and Lacan. These scholars inspired the thoughts and works of postmodern feminists. Controversial debates among the scholars of the twentieth century reached at the peak when the humanist modernism of Sartre placed man as central and surmised that God was dead, Foucault said Man was dead (Foucault, 1976). Another important philosopher to mention is Jacques Derrida, who continued the rejection of essentialism in almost everything. According to him, the attempts to search for meaning is pointless, because there is no't one. What would be the most freeing is to liberate our thoughts from binary oppositions (male/female, nature/culture, speaking/writing). Derrida's rejection of a single truth is also important to an understanding of postmodern feminism (Derrida, 1990:58).

Postmodern feminists represent an approach to gender issues that emphasizes the essential role of dialogue in defining gender, sexuality, and the realm of the feminine. They refrain from developing totalizing theories of social reality or the essential nature of ‘woman’. They have concentrated on how discursive regimes construct and maintain male dominance and hierarchical definitions of sexuality. Hence, they demand for a redefinition of the subject, which reflects real power of women.

There are many aspects in which feminism and postmodernism converge to a common understanding. For instance, both of them engage in a radical critique of modernist thought, attacking the roots of its understanding of knowledge and the subject. They have an agreement on that the binarisms that inform modernist thought are necessarily gendered, rooted in the central opposition between male and female and the subordination of the feminine entailed by this opposition. Overall, the fact that the ideas and beliefs of

the postmodernists and feminists converge on this central issue was the initial basis of the attraction of postmodern theories for feminists.

Postmodern feminism is not a unique and concrete concept. It is the ultimate acceptor of diversity. Nevertheless, despite the variation and diversity in postmodern feminism, there is common ground to a considerable degree. Multiple truths, multiple roles, multiple realities are part of its focus. Meaning that the idea of existence of an essential nature of women i.e., one-way to be a woman is strongly rejected. Post-structural feminism offers a useful philosophy for diversity in feminism because of its acceptance of multiple truths and rejection of essentialism (Olson, 2002:19).

In summary, postmodern feminists accept the male/female binary as a main categorizing factor in the society. In this regard, they follow the stream of thoughts of Simone de Beauvoir , who perceives female as a gender, which have been cast into the role of the other gender. They criticize and challenge the accepted structure of society and the existed dominant order, particularly in its patriarchal aspects. Many postmodern feminists, however, reject the feminist label, because according to them, anything that ends with an "ism" reflects an essentialist conception, which they refuse to accept it. The clearest statement of the major issues surrounding postmodern feminism is found in an influential article by Fraser and Nicholson (1990) in which they clearly argued that feminism and postmodernism are the most important political-cultural currents of the 1980s and that the two approaches can both benefit from a closer alliance. Their central thesis presented in their well-known article is that the strengths of each movement could and should correct the weaknesses of the other.

Economics is the science that concerns itself with economies, from how societies produce goods and services to how they consume them. It has influenced world finance at many important junctions throughout history and is a vital part of our everyday lives. The assumptions that guide the study of economics have changed throughout history. When we say school of economic thought, it means that a group of economic philosophers share common view on how the market and its participant in economics work. While economists do not always fit into particular schools, particularly in modern times, classifying economists into schools of thought is common (Olson, 2002:19).

Just like economics, feminism has several branches, different representatives and different core issues. What is common in both economics and feminism is that the socially constructed existence of human-being, in general, and woman, in particular, and power relations depend not only on economic but also on non-economic factors. In order to struggle with power relations created by patriarchy, we need the instruments of feminist economics's as discussed in this thesis and the gender perspective. The third section analyzes the relationship between productivity, economic growth and women's participation in the labor force in Iran.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN'S EDUCATION, LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN IRAN

3.1. GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN ECONOMICS

Since female labor force participation has gradually increased during the last years, the modern literature on women's role in economics has been developed. Most of these developments are related to microeconomic research of the household structures and behavior of family members to adjust or match the extensive changes that occurred. Many countries around the world have switched to two income households system by also increasing the number of single parent families, women are not afraid of raising their children alone (Meulders and Dorchai, 2011:80). The economy for a long time was considered as a gendered science. Most influential writers of the nineteenth century like Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1898:20) concentrated on ignorance of female labor force in paid occupations and this resulted in a society with economic dependency. Later the situation has changed a bit and their concentration switch to unpaid jobs, which were done by women such as caring, domestic works, child raising and etc. In order to embed the feminists viewpoints into economics, an international organization in the USA was founded in 1992 and named as "International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE)". Through this organization, many scientists concentrate on the connection of gender and economics and the number of scientific research has increased. As a result of this institution's activities, the 'feminist economics' was started to be used more and more, a new school of thought in economics was also established under this title. The combination of genderbased theories and economics, can promote economic implementation (Rolin, 2012: 211).

There are great scopes for embedding feminism into economics. Gender inequality and women's rights are a globally important issue. Diana Strassman refers to Amartya Sen's research states that "if women had the availability to use equal and basic resources, much more women will survive (Sen, 1987). In economy, this is a significant achievement however gender issues are neglected by many economists, who only pay attention to some

primary economic indicators like GDP, which does not includes any information regarding gender distinction. The economic status of women in the third world and in underdeveloped countries is at the bottom of the pile. Right of succession, right of possession, right to employment and many other topic subjects are restricted in women because of legal obligation, religious beliefs or cultural differences, hence, they can not make a great contribution to economic outcomes. When the concept of gender is ignored in the economic doctrine, actually, a large amount of data are not noticed by economists and the decision makers. A comprehensive research of feminist economics raises awareness about the women's role in economics and this leads to make policies with positive effects on economic improvements (Strassmann, 1997:8). For this reason, while analyzing any economic problem, gaining gender perspective is crucial.

3.2. UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN ECONOMICS

Women within the economics sphere enormously diminished. This is observed in the real world including professional levels like college. Absence of women with academic degree in economics may lead to higher gender wage gap, because the graduates of economics generally receive high incomes (Mckay, 2001:112). To this day, under-representation of female economists in academic positions, in spite of increasing number of female students, is very common. Women, as usual, were regarded as a departed creature, whose main job is households and domestic work without any rational manner. Because of the same reason, women's economic contribution always have been discounted or even minimized in the history of economic thought. Under-representation of women in economics is justified by many scolars with the statement that they are naturally less willing than males or this under-represantation is related to different learning abilities and practical skills in men and women. On the other hand, some others believe that under- representation of women in economics can be changed (Dynan, 1997:360). Feminism can change the perception of the whole society. It can change the whole society's perception in the economics domain.

3.3. WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL WORK AND WOMEN IN PROFESSION

Traditional economist analysis is limited to labor market, where women are left behind but historical significance of household activities and their connection with women's well-being results in some expansion in scope of economic analysis (Folbre, 1995:80). Since families are regarded as the primary core of production, appropriations and expenditures using an analysis method that contains all of these parameters is an important subject. The concept of 'home production' for the first one emerged in 1970s. Supposing that women's comparative advance in domestic works is noticeable and allocation of sources and power relations are based on logical decisions, traditional economists prefer to keep gender biases in old models in stead of opposing it. After the in-depth research with practical details about househols, which took place in 1980s, a literature developed related to bargaining power and allocation of family household resposibility and resources were shaped (Agarwal, 1997:53). Since every family member has different interests and personal characteristics, sometimes conflicting with one another, such an analysis provides a restricted possibility of study. Women's traditional work plays a decisive role in the definition of family welfare since formal markets form a minor part of the economy in less developed countries. However, an extensive literature, which concentrates on reproductive women labor has developed. Particularly, feminist study involves macroeconomic policies, which needs to be adjusted in order to affect women's economic life. The combination of some factors like lower income, lower paying job, stereotyped behaviour and activities of women and unpaid household work lead to poverty of women in less developed and third world countries (Elson, 2010:208).

Currently, because of segregated workplace, gendered division of works and differentiate between paid and unpaid work, most part of women's achievement is not reflected to the market. Lower salaries paid to women because of gender discrimination in the labor market especially, in people-oriented activities, shows that the traditional perspective regarding the role of women in the on economy still continues but it's command widen from family to market sector (Hartmann, 1998:160). Unpaid care work and households responsibilities were considered as a major obstacle in women's employment, in order to be counted as productive work needs to be paid . The gendered division of paid and unpaid occuption is generally related to male-dominated or patriarchal economic system. Women

historically predetermined in lower paid jobs. For example, according to the traditional economics, all women have to get married and they should have children, all the women are also considered as willing to be economically dependent. Their productive potential is specialized for homemaker activities. They are unreasonable, insufficient for economic activities and unreliable decision makers. By means of these elements, as traditional factors or preset hypotheses, the distressed status of women in the workforce or deletion from labor market is justified (Nelson, 2011).

In all societies, labor is the most important factor in generating income and it is a large part of the national income of each country. Women are half of the world's population, so undoubtedly, women's workforce plays an important role in the economic development of countries, and as a result, countries in the process of industrialization are constantly increasing the rate of women's participation in the production cycle. The presence of women in the labor market varies according to the environmental, economic, social, cultural and political conditions of each country. Various factors such as the level of women's education, government policies related to education and employment of women, the distribution of household income and expenditure, unemployment rate, fertility rates, living conditions and other cultural and social factors have a key role in determining women’s status. While in developed countries, women's employment in professional positions has increased dramatically, in developing countries, women's participation in agriculture, homemaking activities and informal sectors is increasing. But in most countries including developing and developed, in all sectors of the economy, there has always been a vertical occupational segregation, which represents inequality and shows that women are treated unequally (Blaug, 1992:107).

These are some factors, which explain the unseen barriers that exclude women from professional fields:

a) Women have been excluded from most of the classical economics textbooks and there have been generally a male-dominated perspective on economic thoughts. In the same way, genderbased issues and discrimination have been ignored in writings.

b) A hostile economic environment to women has been observed, limited number of women economists have behaved like role models, and there have been a shortage of policies related to women's empowerment (Mckay, 2001:110).

As stated above, gender sensitive economic studies and policies can change woman's traditional position in the job market. One of the most important factors behind this evolution is increasing the education level of women, especially in developing countries in general, in Iran, in particular.

3.4. AN INQUIRY INTO THE FEMINIST ECONOMICS

Feminist research is often understood to be the research field, which aims to provide knowledge "for women." However, there are a variety of views about what the commitment to do research for women actually means. Whereas some views do not require that economic methodology be revised in any way, others require that traditional concepts and methods of economic inquiry is challenged. Some views suggest that the very definition of economics as a discipline needs to be questioned. Sharon Crasnow (2007) identifies three different responses to the question of what makes a social science feminist: (1) feminist research focuses on research topics, which are of particular interest to feminist politics; (2) feminist research is characterized by the use of the concept of gender; (3) feminist research aims to reveal structures of power, especially those structures organized by gender. All of these three approaches can be found in feminist philosophy of economics. In this section, a brief account of them will be given (Rolin, 2012: 200).

As the first approach, there is no doubt that "feminism" in feminist economics signals an interest in certain topics. A quick glance through the titles in the 2008 issues of the journal, Feminist Economics reveals that the following topics continue to be of interest to the community: gender pay gap; multidimentional discrimination in the jobs markets; policies, which aim to equate households and labor market activities; gender differences in unselfish action; the role of unpaid market labor in families; the distribution of the costs of having children; gender differences in employment; wage penalties for women's part time jobs; and unfair division of domestic works. There is, indeed, no shortage of research

topics for those economists, who are concerned with gender inequalities in the world. According to the report of global gender gap, which annually is published by the World Economic Forum, any country in the world has not been successful in eliminating the gender gap in all main areas of social and economic life: Labor force participation and employment opportunity, political empowerment, educational background, physical condition and ability to survive and operate. The smallest gender gap can be found in Scandinavian countries (Hausmann, 2007:7). However, it is unsatisfactory to characterize feminist economics merely in terms of its preference for certain research topics. This is evident if we consider feminist responses to Gary Becker's "new home economics" (Becker, 1981). The division of labor among women and men is certainly a topic, which is of interest to feminist politics. Yet, Becker's approach to the topic has been met with severe criticism in feminist economics. Many feminist economists argue that Becker's approach is biased because it represents the traditional division of labor among women and men mainly as an outcome of individual choice, and downplays the role of more and less subtle forms of gender-based discrimination in the labor market (Ferber and Nelson, 1993, 6).

The second and the third responses to the question of what makes an economic inquiry feminist are more promising than the first one. They attempt to characterize feminist economics not merely in terms of its subject matter of inquiry but in terms of an approach to a subject matter of inquiry. It is not easy to make a clear-cut distinction between the two approaches because most analyses of gender turn out to be analyses of power structures organized by gender (Thagard and Woods, 2012:201). Therefore, we will discuss the two approaches together.

The second and the third approach in understanding what makes an economic inquiry feminist appeal to the concept of gender as it has been developed in feminist theory. To make use of the concept of gender in research implies more than recognizing the obvious fact that most economic agents are male or female. The concept of gender refers to the many ways that differences between females and males are socially constructed and contested. The gender ideology which creates the concept of gender, refers to belief or presumption of the shape 'x is male' or 'x is female', however, x can represent several things, including physical characteristics, gestures and facial expressions, dressing,

household chores, outfits, business, occupations, goodness, and even philosophical notions like reasonableness and objectivity. When it is stated that gender is a concept that is created by gender ideologies, it intends to explain that the concepts assumed to be gendered as masculine or feminine (or gender neutral) are not inherently in that way. In feminist philosophy of economics, the concept of gender has inspired analyzes of gender ideologies in the rhetoric of economics (McCloskey, 2005:190) as well as in the criteria used to judge what counts as "good economics" (Nelson, 1995:131).

Androcentrism and sexism are other important concepts introduced by the feminist theory to economics. Androcentrism means the practice of treating men's experiences and social roles as generic, whereas women's experiences and social roles are invisible or treated as deviations from the norm. Sexism means a set of value judgments, which state that females or the feminine are inferior to males or the masculine. In their introduction to Beyond Economic Man, Ferber and Nelson (1993) identify both androcentrism and sexism in traditional mainstream economics. An example of androcentrism is the tendency to efface gender by focusing on abstract individuals as the preferred units of analysis (Ferber and Nelson, 1993:5). Another example is the tendency to underestimate the role of women's unpaid labor in accounts of human capital formation as well as in accounts of GNP (Ferber and Nelson, 1993:5). An example of sexism is the assumption that social and economic inequalities are an outcome of women's choices (Ferber et al., 1993:6).

When the concepts of gender, androcentrism, and sexism are transported from other social sciences to economics, they give rise to two concerns. One concern is the lack of attention to gender in much of economic research. Another concern is the question of whether some assumptions in economics are gendered despite their apparent neutrality. Not surprisingly, many contributions to feminist philosophy of science address the question of whether the assumptions in rational choice theory are androcentric and whether they should be accepted. We will provide an overview of this debate in the next section. Clearly, the latter concern constitutes a more fundamental challenge to economics than the former. Nelson (1996) and Strassman (1997) argue that the recognition of gender ideologies in economics will ultimately lead feminist philosophy of economics to question the tendency to define economics by its approach rather than by its subject matter

of inquiry. By “economic approach” they mean the commitment to apply rational choice theory to various kinds of social phenomena. Nelson argues that gender ideologies underlie the practice of giving high prestige to esoteric mathematical modeling at the expense of other kinds of theorizing in economics (Strassman, 1997:25).; Strassman suggests that behind the high prestige of mathematical modeling is its culture wide association with masculinity (Strasman, 1997, 33). Nelson recommends that economists adopt an alternative definition of economics. She suggests that economics is defined as a discipline, which studies “how humans, in interaction with each other and the environment, provide for their own survival and health” (Nelson, 1993, 34). Both Joyce Jacobsen (2003) and Nelson (1996) argue that the feminist commitment to understand “how the world actually works” means that feminist economics is more faithful to “empiricism” than mainstream economics. By “empiricism” they refer to research, where the emphasis is on the analysis of empirical data (Jacobsen, 2003:95; Nelson, 1996:191).

Within this framework, using empirical data contributes to feminist economics in deepening their gendered perspective in economic life.

3.5. GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality is an unavoidable fact that should be considered in four main areas including economics, politics, education and health sectors. Gender is a central analytic lens in a feminist economic analysis.

As mentioned before, gender and sex are two different terms. The concept of sex is related to the biological structure of the body and includes the sexual and reproduction organs of the individual. The biological difference like hormones, chromosomes, and internal and external sexual organs, plays a major role in sex determination and differentiation. But the gender is very different from sex. In fact, gender is a sum up social roles and behaviors, which are defined by culture and society for the sexes. These roles determine the range of behavioral expectations of the sexes (male and female). The sex is fixed but gender may change because of changing gender roles. Gender role is a set of sexual behaviors and stereotypes that society and culture expect from everyone. These roles may differ from one culture or society to other one. For example, femininity and

masculinity are among these gender roles. Based on these gender stereotypes, people with male sexual organs are male and should have "male" behaviors (power, violence, resistance, etc.), and women with female sexual organs are women and must have women's behaviors (kindness, delicacy, ladylike, etc). Gendered discourse, specifically attempts to eliminate inequalities in most societies, that are caused because of gender differences. Feminists challenge patriarchy, as a gender-based system. According to them, social differences are based on the physiological and biological differences between women and men in a patriarchal system, and consequently, placing women in lower social roles, discrimination, and, in general, leads to inequality between men and women. Gender inequality in access to various social, political and economic opportunities is one of the most important challenges for developing countries. Empirical evidences from the international communities show that gender inequality disrupts the economic performance of countries, reduces their ability to utilize their capacities, and ultimately slows down their economic growth and productivity.

Gender inequality can be seen as a situation in which women are generally dominated by men, and the position of women and men is divided into two areas: Private and public. Different types of gender-based participation in the public domain and social life have expanded these distinctions and have given greater social value to men's social role (Gamble, 2001: 25).

There are various forms of social, political, economic and cultural affairs, including the economic dependence of women on men, based on less women's participation in the labor force and low salaries for them, political dependence on men's domination over political power structures, dependence on more men's authority and their decision-making power in the family and at work, the dependence on men's power in defining social reality, the dependence on men in protecting women against other men's violence, and even the psychological dependence of women on men, through emotional links. Not only the soul of gender inequality but also the message reveals the necessity for paying attention to this area at the micro, middle and macro levels (Jacobsen, 2003:93).

The most part of gender inequalities have been caused in pattern of social bevavior, which are connected to job specialization.

Public policies may have a positive role in removing the pattern of cultural and economic related to the job specialization in order to improve women's status. Therefore, closing the gender gap, particularly, in economic territory, is at the top of the basic objectives of feminist economics.

3.5.1. Gender Inequality and Feminist Economics

In the 1960s, by coming up the women's movement, feminist economics has represented a significant role in investigating gender relations in the various economic and social positions, in which we discover ourselves. Researchers in feminist economic field dispute about the gender-based hypothesizes that underpin the bases of economies work, particularly, many policies and plans created to enhance the standard of living of people in underdeveloped districts of the world.

Economics, as a discipline used in policy- making, is supposed to be a tool to see the world. But it has some shortcomings. Feminist economics believes that the economy both in terms of methodology and in terms of its context is focusing on the male. They believe that in the context of the general policy of feminist economists, gender equality should be valued on its own, not merely because it can contribute to economic growth. They also criticize commonly used methods of thinking in terms of economics because they believe that they ignore the fundamental inequalities of the sexual nature.

Gender, as a critical macroeconomic fact and gender equality as a factor in poverty reduction, rising standards of living, proportional growth and economic stability, have been considered as topics of feminist economics (Hill and King, 1995:43).

It is possible to claim that in order to increase economics growth gender inequalities should be decreased.

3.5.2. Gender Equality and Economic Growth

In this section, we confine ourselves within three significant aspects, which influence economics growth. First one is equal opportunity and right in education. This is a basic

right and essential condition for providing equality in the labor market, but it is not sufficient. Human capital in societies is not being managed properly, because of discrimination policies between women and men. Well-educated women could participate in economic activity with high values. Countries are uncommonly developed and wealthy if they do have not equal gender education. Raising female education level and employment could decrease poverty with increasing revenue. Increasing the education level that is received by women can improve earning and aid to eradicate poverty. Education could improve the level of living and the raise the earning rate regardless of gender. But women are usually less educated in comparison to men and because of this reason, their income or earning is less than men, especially in the developing countries. Hill and King (1995) reviewed the global documents and evidence about the rate of come back to education and indicated that, generally in all studies, an additional schooling year enhances earning by 10% and the average come back for women is relatively high in comparison to men. There will, certainly, be remarkable difference between countries.

Generally, gaps between genders in educational index are related to higher rates of fecundity and also lower saving rates. Increasing fecundity could decrease investment in the field of children's health and education. In addition, educational inequality could lead to women's disparate household purchasinge power, influencing the household resources distribution, which leads women to spent greater part in the needs of their children (Lesser, 1990:167). By decreasing the amount of resources invested for children, inequality is theorized to drop the future labor quality and long-term productivity growth.

The second one is equal working opportunity and right in the market. Currently, there are major variations between women and men's participation in the labor. Generally, women have been expected to make big parts of home works in spite of the fact that her partner is more liklier to do that. This classic attitude is still a significant explanation for variations in women's labor contribution (remarkably greater than men's), which is found in the European Union members. Women in comparison to men have less labor force participation in many countries. Furthermore, women usually work in the unofficial economy and therefore, it is more probable that they are unpaid for their labor or face remarkable earning gaps. A recent report, "Women, Work and the Economy," published

by the International Monetary Fund (2013), emphasizes how economic growth negatively affected by gender inequality in the market. According to this report, GDP will grow faster if inequality in the labor force decreases. In the rapidly aging societies, the economic advantages of gender equality are especially high, where reinforcing women's labor force contribution can help balance the importance of a shrinking workforce.

There are three common factors, which drive women out of the labor force. These are classified as structural, social and behavioral factors. In this section, these factors will be reviewed in the light of the literature.

Structural Factors: Employment does not rely only on a personal decision, it also depends on the structure of the economy to fulfill people's demand for work. Therefore, in macro level, everything needs to be ready for a person to begin working. Otherwise, however, if a person wants to work, it cannot be fulfilled because of the structure. Here, the literature about the structural factors that determine women's labor force participation rate will be reviewed.

In this literature, one of the most popular hypothesis is called the U-curve of FLFP. According to this hypothesis, women's participation is high when their education level is low, it is relatively low when their education level is between low and intermediate, and it is high when the education level is higher than intermediate. The hypothesis can be expanded into the nation level and be claimed that lower income countries have high female labor force participation, middle income countries have low FLFP and high-income countries have high FLFP rates (Mehrotra and Parida, 2017:46).

This phenomenon can be summarized as such: While countries develop, initial training degree of men increase more rapidly than women. Then, men have more access to labor market. At the same time, household income rises as men get more qualified jobs. As a result, firstly women wages and opportunities change relatively slower and this forces them to be behind the men in the labor market. Secondly, increasing household income by men negatively affects women's participation in the labor market. Thirdly, the difficulty of combining domestic work and outside work, at the same time, makes it worse for women to participate. However, as countries become more developed, women get

more education and substitution effect by higher wages offered to women dominates household income effect. Then, they tend to join the labor force more. Also, increasing the flexibility of social preferences and values provides easier access of women to different kinds of work, especially, it happens when the rapidly expanding of service industry, demands for further white-collar labor force. Principally, in order to increase the access of women to equal opportiunities and labor markets, it is possible to convince governments to make laws which force workers to stop discrimination, facilitate working mothers' use of paid maternity leave, give women property ownership and inheritance rights and allow women to travel without getting permission from their male relatives (Ross, 2008:47). However, as long as they are excluded from the labor force, it gets harder to gain political and social influence to change unsuitable conditions in workplaces against them.

From the beginning of the industrial revolution, women have been employed generally in export oriented industries with lower pay than males especially in food and textiles sectors and clothes (Ross, 2008:50). Currently, high percent of women work in the garment sector. The reasons behind the demand for women in these industries are that there is no need for physical strength, intense training or specialization and the traditional perception that it is women's job to make clothes. Some studies show that more women work at export oriented firms than the firms that local oriented even within a single industry (Baslevent and Onaran,2004: 201).

Resource curse is another important structural hypothesis that explains low FLFP rates. It basically means that whenever a country heavily relies on export of natural resources, FLFP rate decreases. The idea behind this is that as export of resources increases, the exchange rate would appreciate and this would decrease the global demand for exported manufactured goods. In addition, domestic demand for imported manufactured goods would increase. They would both negatively affect the manufacturing industry, which is the main employer of women in the domestic country. Therefore, FLFP rate would decrease.

Natural resources boom through two channels and affect the economy and growth. However, one more channel was added to these channels. The first one is that, demand

for labor force increases when natural resources boom, and as a result, production switches toward the booming industries, away from the lagging ones, like agriculture or manufacturing, which is named direct-deindustrialization. Secondly, the perquisite brought in by the resource boom grows requisition for labor in the services, which are not bought or sold at the spending amount of the lagging industries which is defined as indirect-deindustrialization. Third channel is the inflow of the foreign exchangesi which will increase the real exchange rate and causes local people importing at low-pricesed instead of buying them from own producers (Corden, 1984:362).

Therefore, the lagging sector, which is manufacturing, suffers from the resource boom. This affects women in two ways. Firstly, employment area of women is contracts since women mostly are employed in the manufacturing sector besides agriculture. Secondly, household income increases through men-employed non-tradable sector wages. Therefore, women participation is negatively affected (Folbre, 2006: 90).

Social Factors: Another important constraint is social perception against women in the labor force. Despite the fact that it has been changing positively there are still a considerable number of countries that have been shaped by strong patriarchal norms. This is a result of patriarchal structure of many cultures and religions. That is why, for some underdeveloped and developing countries, it is becoming tough to shape the social perception towards to women. It can be understood that lower participation of women in the labor market, is due to imposing gendered division of labor, which gives a preference to their status as mother or wife (Dedeoglu, 2010:20).

Behavioral Factors: Besides all the other factors, there is a simple but strong intuitive idea behind any kind of decision- making process. It is the opportunity cost of an action to the individual. In this case, an increase in women’s wage rate reduces demand for leisure as its opportunity cost rises, and increases the labor supply. According to Klasen nd Pieters, (2013), if leisure is a normal good, then an increase in a person’s or their household members’ income will increase the demand for leisure and thus, will reduce labor supply. These are the well-known substitution and income effects.

3.6. EMPIRICAL CONCERNS IN FEMINIST ECONOMICS

In order to address feminist thoughts in feminist economists, empirical approaches can be categorized in three main fields. The first one is survey/evaluation of forced labor of women (work without payment). The second one is domestic topics like distribution of revenue and financial sources , division of labor, decision making and balance of power. The third one is about gender gaps in the pay of the labor market (Folbre, 2006:97).

Since gender is a fundamental and determinant basis in the economy, which is not restricted to the market, we should consider it in all of the economic issues. Feminist economics challenges the gap between formal and informal sectors in the economy, labor with/without payment, business and non-market operations, value-added activities, productive and unproductive labor force.

1) Surveying/evaluation of forced labor of women (work without payment): To understand the economy as a whole, and changes in it, we need a wide range of information related to livelihoods and household production, informal paid work, and voluntary work (Feiner et al. 2005:56). These measurement issues challenge individual researchers and are important in terms of the data collected by national statistical bureaus on GNP and labour force activity (Folbre, 1995:80).

2) Feminist work also emphasizes the importance of intrahousehold processes. This is the second major empirical issue challenging feminist economists. Empirical work on the household has demonstrated significant intrahousehold inequality in the distribution of income and other resources. Women and development literature have emphasized inequality in access to education, food, land, technology and credit.

3) Feminist work also emphasizes the importance of gender in understanding the formal labor market. This creates the third empirical challenge to feminist economists (Waring, 1989: 23).

In the following part, the relationship between gender inequality and economic growth in Iran will be studied by using empirical data for the period 1999 and 2010.

3.6.1. Female's Education, Labor force participation and Growth: The Case of Iran

Theoretical Conceptualization:

The factors affecting economic growth have varied from one time point to another and from one country to another, due to environmental, cultural, social and economic characteristics. But with these interpretations, human resources have been one of the most important factors that have affected economic growth in different countries and periods. Therefore we can say that economic growth is directly related with human capital. Gender equality in education, health, labor force and pay results in increasing human capital and welfare.

There are many studies show that theoreticaly there is a negative relationship between gender inequality and economic growth. Also it is a fact that the degree of gender inequality (in education, labor force participation, health and etc.) in developing country is higher than developed ones based upon some structual, social and behaviral factors. For example the belief of 'Women are the optimal labour force because they are universally defined as 'housewives', not as workers; originating from some social factors means that their work, whether in use value or commodity production, is obscured, does not appear as 'free wage labour', is defined as an 'income-generating activity', and can hence be bought at a much cheaper price than male labour' (Mckay, 2001:112).

In this thesis, our findings are similar to other findings in different periods and policy areas which show that there is a positive relationship between gender equality in human capital and economic growth. Here we will briefly review the literature.

According to Lucas's studies in the 1988, training the workforce is considered to be the main accelerative factor of economic growth. This is the concept that any country with a dynamic, advanced and epidemic education system can optimize its human resources in order to achieve economic growth.

At the same time, Amartya Sen who wins the Nobel prize for economics in the year 1998 says that: In the process of development, there is nothing more important than political, economic and social participation of women. Indeed, the important aspect of development is equality and she stated that because of inequality, there are 100 milion ‘missing women’ in the world (Sen, 1987:46).

After analyzing the relationship between gender equality and economic growth among the 100 countries, Dollar and Gathy (1999) concluded that more women in secondary education would lead to higher growth rates. They also show that increasing per capita income leads to a reduction in gender inequality. They provide empirical evidence that countries with a high gender gaps in education, experience a decline in per capita income of 0.1 to 0.3 percent.

Seguino (2000), in a study on gender equity and economic growth in different countries for the years 1975-1995 by using the neoclassical production function analyzed the relationship between gender inequalities and economic growth, it was concluded that women's education has a positive effect on economic growth rate. Also, there was a positive relationship between pay gap and economic growth through the export and investment channels.

Klasen and Lamanna (2008) in a study surveyed the extent of reducing economic growth through the gender gap in education and employment by using cross country and panel regressions. They concluded that gender gap acts like a tax on education which leads to a misallocation of educational resources and lower economic growth. In fact, men with fewer qualifications and competences than women have better access to economic resources. Therefore, productivity, capital accumulation and technical progress are affected by gender inequality.

In 2002, Stephen Nolls and Paul Luzerler studied the gender gap in education and economic growth over the period 1960-1990 using the panel data method. Based on the results of this study, women's education has a positive effect on labor productivity, while male education has less effect than women on labor productivity.

Thevenon and Del Pero (2015) in a research as “gender equality or economic growth’’ analyzed the economic growth in the case of decreasing gender inequality for the member countries of the organization for the economic co-operation and development and concluded that an increase in the ratio of women to men's education, has a significant positive impact on economic growth.

Yumuşak et al. (2013) in a study on the impact of gender inequality on education on economic growth in Turkey, examined the impact of gender inequality in education on economic growth over the period 1968-2005. Based on research results, women's education through reducing fertility reduces the population of children and their spending on childeren and this makes to increase the saving and investing. Also, with the decrease in the population of children, the dependency ratio is decreasing and national income per capita increases.

Forsythe et al. (2000) believes that gender inequality is associated with economic growth and concludes that, considering the different dimensions of inequality, for example inequality in employment, wages or poverty, a large part of these inequalities are as a result of the difference in human capital, but a large part of the gender gap in employment and pay can be attributed to discrimination.

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In Iran, due to the traditional structure of economy and continuity of patriarchy system, there is a negative discrimination against women which is lasting and solid. Some studies have also done about women’s status and the issue of gender inequality. However, there is no study on the effect of reducing gender inequality on macroeconomic variables such as growth, productivity, and so on.

Emadzadeh (2003), in an article titled "The Importance of Investing in Women's Education," highlights the importance of investing in women's education. This paper shows that investing in women's education not only reduces gender gaps, but also promote productivity, economic efficiency and income levels.

Hashemi (2003) has studied the reasons for the low participation rate of women and their high unemployment rate, as well as the level of education and literacy. The level of education of women in Iran is comparable to advanced countries, but their economic participation rates are similar to those of underdeveloped countries. The reason for such a contradiction can be the ineffectiveness of informal employment for educated women.

Kakavand (2016) analyzed the gender equality effect on growth through two channels of productivity and fertility by using the panel data of the provincial during the period of 1998-2006. The results show that both productivity and fertility have a positive and significant effect on provincial growth.

By means of following collected data during the 1990-2010, we estimated the connection between gender inequality and economic growth and tried to forecast its effect in Iran. In other words, how edocation and labor force is affected by gender inequality and as a result how might this relationship affect economic growrh is captured.

According to official statistics of the census in Iran, despite a slight increase in the women’s economic activities from the last three decades, the percentage of women in employment is about 10% of the active population women have remained relatively low compared to developed industrial countries. Several factors can be considered as active roles in women’s lower employment, including:

1. Contradiction between housework and out-of-home work;

2. The unskilfulness of women's labor force in comparison with men's labor force;

3. In the out-of-home works, women are predominantly attracted to office work.

Due to the existence of these gender inequalities in employment, the potential of all human resources of society are not used well and this will have a negative effect on economic growth.

Education constitutes 4.39% of gross national income in Iran, higher than the 3.5% average rate in MENA region, and includes 22.85% of government expenditure. Iran has reduced the gender gaps in all levels of education (World Bank, 2009). In Iran the rate of women to men parity index, as ratio of literacy rates, aged 15-24 is 0.99 (Statistical Center of Iran, 2009). In spite of the fact that female college students have outnumbered their male counterparts in recent years; the participation of women in economic activities is considerably less than men. Lack of appropriate matching between labor market and the university female graduates on one hand, and the structural barriers that Iranian women are faced with on the other hand, will result in a great number of potentially skilled women in the country.

Gender inequality, feminism and women's rights are critical issues in Iran and accessing to the data in some cases is not possible or even there is not any statistical data. In spite of these difficulties, we tried to show that how gender inequality affect economic growth.

Table. 3.1. Variation of GDP in Iran from 1990 to 2010 (Statistical Center of Iran)

Year	GDP (IRR)	EMPF (%)	GRED (%)	LFG	GED (%)
1990	24503600	9.4	0.912	14050059	5.6
1991	25482200	9.9	0.917	14397690	5.76
1992	25860100	10.4	0.925	14581764	5.94
1993	25987600	10.9	0.939	14758080	6.14
1994	26753400	11.5	0.954	14968804	6.34
1995	28380700	12.1	0.967	15240793	6.58
1996	29176900	12.3	0.975	15633606	6.73
1997	30014000	12.4	0.992	16373368	6.89
1998	30494100	12.5	1	17162944	7.04
1999	32006900	12.7	1.01	18019910	7.2
2000	33056500	12.8	1.02	18934562	7.37
2001	35767100	13	1.04	19945801	7.53
2002	38563000	13.1	1.05	21084340	7.7
2003	41042900	13.3	1.08	22262316	7.88
2004	43890000	13.4	1.09	23458085	8.05

2005	46793000	13.6	1.11	24690252	8.24
2006	49109900	13.5	1.12	24681275	8.37
2007	49526600	13.4	1.15	24648548	8.5
2008	50989500	13.4	1.16	23877005	8.63
2009	54217200	13.3	1.17	24479785	8.77
2010	55543600	13.2	1.19	25063879	8.91

LFG is the average annual rate of growth in the labor force (ages 15–64) population in 1990–2010, GED is average annual absolute growth in total years of schooling between 1990 and 2010, RGED is the female-male ratio of the average annual absolute growth of total years of schooling between 1990 and 2010, EMPF is the ratio of employed women to the whole employment over 15 years old. The data on these variables, which are estimated, are derived from the country's Management and Planning Organization, as well as from the fact that data on education and gender inequality in education in Iran are not officially recorded by any entity or organization. Therefore, it should be estimated that in this research, the estimated data of Mojtaba Yousefi (2003) has been used, his method to estimate the average years of schooling is based on the estimation of Baro's work.

The results indicate that when labor force and education increase, as it is expected in theoretical literature, economic growth increases too so it can be understood the economic growth is positively affected by these variables.

Generally, according to the results, reducing the gender gap and encouraging women to have a continuous presence in the labor market is one of the factors affecting the economic growth of the country. Therefore, it is necessary to prompt women to do more productive labor market activities that are more dynamic and economically efficient.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, firstly, we tried to have a brief review of feminism and its types. We conclude that, all types of feminist movement which have been developed over the years actually have a main goal and it is about equality for all genders. They may have different ideas and hypotheisis but their ultimate goal is same, then we reviwed the types of feminism and their contribution to the main flow of feminism. In chapter two we talked about feminist economics, its concept and origins also five different branches of feminist economics were object of our interest. Also the assumption which feminist economics is based on them was another issue of our concern. Finally in chapter three the contribution of feminist economics to women's life was analyzed. We concluded that women's life is not separate from economy on the contrary any advance in women's status directly results in economic growth. In this chapter women's traditional work which is based on gender roles was discussed. Also by making references to the contribution of feminism to economics, we explain that why we need feminism economics. The core element of third chapter is gender inequality which is a central analytic lens in a feminist economic analysis. The most part of gender inequalities have been caused in pattern of social bevavior, which are connected to job specialization. Also feminist economics maintain that gender is a critical macroeconomic factor and that gender relations could influence economic development and growth. Actually gender is a key determinant in economic growth. The relationship between economic growth and inequality between men and women as a social infrastructure is one of the important issues discussed by economic and social policy makers. Gender inequality or discrimination is referred to any kind of unequal treatment or attitude based on the individual's gender. According to the economic definition, discrimination also means the lack of equal allocation of resources between similar groups. Some important settlements such as investing in women's skills training and education, creating job opportunities, providing them with entry into the labor market, holding seminars and workshops for the presentation and advancement of goals, promoting non-discrimination and protecting women's legal rights regarded as primary factors to decrease gender inequality. Also, the fertility rate and the population growth rate should be commensurate with the capacities of the communities. Now we want to talk about some policy implications or what we can do in different point of view to eliminate or at least decrese the gender inequality.

Family: The family as the first core of the community is directly responsible to change the view of girls and women as "second sex and lower-than-male beings." As an example, differences between girls and boys on issues such as learning science and math are derived from the community and the prevailing conditions. This difference does not indicate differences in the physiology and learning ability of them and they will no longer exist when the parents accompany the children with the same gender-based behaviors in the educational process. Therefore, raising children based on gender equality and provide equality is the main responsibility of the families.

Government: As a behavioral pattern for economic, social, and political enterprises, it is necessary to take actions in order to achieve gender equality and define projects. The responsibility of policymakers in the field of gender equality is very important, and through gender-based activities, gender equality can be provided in society, and all people, including women and men, participate in cultural, political and economic affairs. Another important role of government can be seen as the gender based education policy. In Iran, it is possible to increase gender equality by means of education. The aim of education should provide equitable quality and learning opprtunities for all and empower women. Learning achievements and continuation in education should not be expense.

Media: To achieve gender equity, the media have a great role. Culturalization, even for the purpose of establishing a positive discrimination for courses to accelerate the development of an equally gender-based system, can only be done by media.

It is possible to claim that, by means of these policy implications, if Iran gains a gendered perspective, women would become more educated and in this way, they would participate more in the labor force. Hence, productivity and economic growth would be increased. In order to change the perception about the gender inequality by education, government should take an importatnt role. By fully exercising women rigth to participate education, not only economic growth, but also poverty, disability, gender-based violence would decrease.

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.....İktisat..... ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 08/02/2019

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