学位論文題目

Politics and Agency over "Women's Dairy Cooperative Society" as Development Policy: A Case of Rajasthan, India

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Gender and Development Studies has introduced ample critical research on the depoliticization of women's empowerment programs in the name of gender and equality in this era of neo-liberal globalized economic reform, and empirical studies with such critical perspectives are now needed more than ever. In this dissertation, I consider multiple factors while tracing the historical establishment of Women's Dairy Cooperative Society (WDCS) as a development program and analyze the practices of women and men in relation to WDCS. Therein, I examine the ideology of Indian rural dairy development program focusing on women, including WDCS, based on the framework of critical gender and development studies.

The structure of the whole dairy cooperative society falls into three tiers, each corresponding to a different administrative level, from village/hamlet to state, called the Anand Pattern. The term WDCS, as used in this study, refers to any Dairy Cooperative Society (DCS), which is the smallest unit on the village/hamlet level, constituted and managed by only women. Each DCS is responsible for collecting raw milk material and checking its quality. Upper-level organizations manage milk plants and the marketing of dairy products. The number of WDCS and women's membership has increased, as has their proportion in the industry as a whole. Recently, female members have also begun to be selected for management positions in dairy cooperative societies including in upper-level organizations through elections.

In the 1970s, women began to be recognized as workers in animal husbandry in India and, by the end of the decade, Indian dairy development attracted substantial domestic and international attention from NGOs and international institutions promoting women's participation in development. By the end of the 1980s, dairy development programs for women were being launched and, by the early 1990s, the establishment of WDCS proliferated throughout India. Discourse underscoring how WDCS had effected a "dramatic impact socially and productively" emerged in the late 1990s. Since the early 2010s, a renewed focus materialized on women in dairy cooperatives as important actors for "sound governance". Moreover, WDCS established under development policy are public organizations constituted and managed by women, by which women gain access to cash

income via dairy labour. WDCS have been assumed to meet developmental goals including the holistic empowerment of women, democratization and modernization of rural areas and economic improvement through organizations, trainings and activities.

Firstly, to make clear the strong connection between dairy development policy and women, I analyze factors constituting WDCS as they are considered useful for empowering rural women, based on the notion of a "translocal assemblage". As a term of "translocal assemblage" indicates that a dominant concept or means (such as development programs), tending to promote a kind of change, has been formulated through the combination of heterogenous, multiple, and sometimes contradictory, factors at local, national and transnational scales contingently. By reviewing literatures and examining policy documents, I make clear the process by which WDCS are generated as development programs by identifying various elements including those that are contradictory. Elements that underlie Indian dairy development include the "tradition" of animal husbandry and food culture in the Indian subcontinent, scientific techniques and transportation in the modern dairy industry, "cooperative society" as a means (for "resistance" and "rule"), nationalism and modernization and the discourse of Indian development (economic policy). Moreover, in the process of establishing WDCS, elements such as global feminism, Indian feminism developed in postcolonial state, women's NGOs, the institutionalization of women's studies and women's policy, discourses on "rural women" as "workers in animal husbandry" and "efficient producers" have been articulated. Furthermore, I analyze how the subjects of development, namely, "rural women empowered through WDCS" are maintained within the neo-liberal economic regime.

Secondly, data used for the basis of analysis was collected during fieldwork in Rajasthan, one of the first states to introduce WDCS. One objective of the fieldwork was to explore how dairy development programs with women as the subject of development have been implemented. During fieldwork, I collected documents, engaged in participatory observation, and conducted a series of interviews at the state, district and village/hamlet levels. In research on the female directors of upper-level cooperative organizations, I reveal that practices of them are constructed through social relations both in and outside of cooperative organizations, as well as the gender politics that suffuse it. The WDCS established at the village/hamlet level emerged as a phenomenon of its own, without mediation from local society. Over about twelve-years (2004-2016) of research, I have observed numerous practices pertaining to this twenty-four year old WDCS. The ways by which people make sense of WDCS were diverse, generally depending on local power structures, and have changed over time. Some specific practices also indicate that the WDCS carries the possibility of changing the existing local power structure. Local people, both women and men, have come to understand various

elements relating to the development aims of the WDCS in accordance with their own contexts and incorporated these in their daily lives. To understand the practices of women associated with WDCS, I use the term "situated subjects" and analyze female subjects living in a developing country without trapping myself in ethnocentrism or cultural relativism; I also refrain from over-romanticizing resistance subjects and assuming subjects defined solely by structure. In addition, I interpret women's agency while considering my positionality as someone living in a developed country.