

Development Without Inclusion? Investigating Social Exclusion in Bangladesh's Rural Transformation

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Development Without Inclusion? Investigating Social Exclusion in Bangladesh's Rural Transformation

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Abstract: Although Bangladesh has made great progress in rural development, women belonging to marginalized groups are systematically locked out of the opportunities of participating in rural development initiatives. The qualitative case study examines the experience of rural women in the Moulvibazar district in social exclusion due to state-led and NGO-based development programs. The study uses the thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with

15 women who have been identified using purposive sampling to investigate perceptions, barriers, and the gendered nature of participation. The results indicate three themes that are interconnected: a low level of awareness and a deficiency of agency; tokenism in terms of attending the community meetings; and the structural impediments that are based on patriarchal norms, domestic work requirements, and stigmatization. Although women tend to be updated on development activities, they are treated as peripheral and performative participants in the process, which discredits the ideals of participatory governance. The paper uses social exclusion and intersectionality theories to discuss how the combination of gender, marital status and economic marginalization increases the disempowerment of women. It is recommended that inclusive communication strategies, women-centered consultation places, and intersectional training of development practitioners are needed. This evidence highlights the importance of structural change and the centralization of the voices and agency of the historically marginalized people in the context of equitable rural development as opposed to mere service delivery. This study adds to the debate on gender justice, rural change and inclusive policy making in South Asia.

Keywords: Gender and development, Participatory development, Rural Development, Rural women, Social exclusion.

Introduction

The government of Bangladesh has concentrated particularly on rural development since its liberation in 1971. The country has also witnessed the huge efforts of uplifting the rural population by using the programs to enhance the agricultural production, education, and health care system (Nanda, 1999; Islam et al., 2022). The Rural Development and Cooperatives Division, with remarkable efforts, has aimed at providing infrastructural facilities and promoting self-sustenance in the community in the rural regions, which are likely to address the impending problems of poverty and underdevelopment (Hameed & Qaiser, 2019). However, along with the great success of the poverty reduction indicators, there are still gender gaps, particularly among rural women who fall under the disadvantaged groups, and who are largely excluded in the development processes (Sikandar et al., 2023; Nath et al., 2024). The relevant issue here is that despite the government showing its good intentions regarding an inclusive development process, rural women, especially those with socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, continue to experience a systematic impediment to effective inclusion in the decision-making and program

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implementation processes (Zhong et al., 2017). This kind of social exclusion not only leads to gender inequalities but also to the impossibility of bringing sustainable rural change, as these communities cannot afford the experience and input of half of the population (Jabeen et al., 2020).

The effects of this kind of exclusion are extensive and not to the person but to the family and the community at large. It hampers the effectiveness of development strategies, undermines participatory governance, and forms poverty and disenfranchisement loops (Mendis et al., 2023). This is of particular importance to gender justice advocates, with the idea of inclusive development frameworks being the key to providing fair representation and participation in governance systems (Nath et al., 2024). Moreover, the failure to engage marginalized rural women in the development discourse may lead to poor program outcomes as the program will not be able to be customized to the actual needs and priorities of the community, which will lead to the loss of trust in the mechanisms of governance (Lokot et al., 2023; Imanuella et al., 2024). It is worth noting that participatory governance is one of the indicators of a broader democratic spirit, which should include the voices of various groups, most notably, marginalized groups, which would allow us to achieve more comprehensive and sustainable outcomes of rural development (Imanuella et al., 2024). This study's primary purpose is to probe the intricate dynamics surrounding the social exclusion of rural women in Bangladesh during development processes. Specifically, it will investigate two qualitative research questions:

- ➤ How do rural women from marginalized communities perceive their participation in development programs?
- ➤ What structural or cultural barriers limit their inclusion?

By emphasizing the voices of these women, the study will assist in bringing light to the specifics of the women's experience of living in rural areas and result in identifying the possible trajectory of more gender-inclusive and effective rural development policies (Karim et al., 2018; Wei et al., 2021). Finally, the critical evaluation of the issue of social exclusion of women in rural Bangladesh is not only capable of informing critically both policy and practice, it could also be subjected to the broader debate on gender justice, inclusive development and participatory governance. The research aims at unearthing the heritages of marginalization, besides encouraging holistic approaches that will ensure policy makers achieve significant involvement of all members of the community in their developmental procedures.

Rationale of the Study

Social exclusion, especially of the rural women belonging to the marginalized communities in Bangladesh, is a subject that needs to be studied as a way of identifying the development gaps that impede equitable development. Even though the government has engaged in a lot of activities to encourage rural development via different programs, most of the women in the rural areas have been left out, and this has negative effects on gender equity and sustainable development (Zolides, 2020). The barriers that rural women frequently have to deal with are rooted in strongly established structural and cultural norms, which translate into the lack of resources, decision-making platforms, and social networks (Agrawal, 2018). Such exclusion is not only shown through the inability to achieve developmental objectives but also contributes to the cycles of poverty, diminishes the agency of women, and increases gender disparities (Iqbal et al., 2021; Khan, 2021).

It is important to comprehend the dynamics of this issue to make inclusive policy-making. Given that the global discourses are focusing more on gender-responsive development strategies, the local context analysis can provide useful information that can be adapted and used in rural Bangladesh (Nightingale, 2024). Moreover, the elimination of the obstacles to access of marginalized women is related to the overall goals of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially regarding gender equality and decreasing inequalities (Mendis et al., 2023).



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The subject of the study on the experiences and perceptions of this group of women is aimed at revealing their peculiarities within the existing frameworks of development. The study will work with empirical evidence that can be used to support the use of tailored interventions to ensure that they are available and present in developmental activities by unfolding the complexity of not doing so (Islam et al., 2022). Lastly, the question can be applied in the formation of gender equity, inclusive development, and participatory governance in Bangladesh (Jabeen et al., 2020).

Objectives of the Study

- 1. To explore the lived experiences of rural women from marginalized communities in Bangladesh about their participation in development programs, identifying how they perceive their involvement and the impact of such programs on their lives.
- 2. To examine the specific structural and cultural barriers that limit the inclusion of marginalized rural women in development initiatives, analyzing how these barriers affect their agency and ability to contribute meaningfully to rural transformation processes.
- 3. To provide insights and recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders aiming to develop more inclusive and equitable rural development strategies that account for the specific needs and challenges faced by these women, thereby enhancing their roles as active participants in development.

Literature Review

Rural Development Policy in Bangladesh: Historical and Current Approaches

Rural development is a national policy issue in Bangladesh since its independence in 1971. These strategies have been evolving over history, and presently different models of service delivery have evolved to an integrated development model of rural development with reducing poverty and stimulating economic growth as the primary objective (Nanda, 1999). The government and its programs, such as the Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) and the National Agricultural Policy, have worked towards economic elevation with special attention to agricultural productivity and development of infrastructure (Karim et al., 2018; Ahmed et al., 2022). The current solutions point to the direction of the adoption of holistic community-based solutions that will involve non-agricultural projects. The government's Vision 2021 is that the government should invest in the rural areas in the field of education, health and technology to attain sustainable livelihoods and inclusive development (Nath et al., 2024; Ali et al., 2017). However, there is still a low level of participation of rural women in the programs, and this aspect reflects the predominant structural inequalities of the entire society (Nanda, 1999).

Gendered Dimensions of Development

In Bangladesh, gender is one of the key concepts within the rural development domain that affects access to resources among women, the decision-making process, and the benefits of a development project (Lokot et al., 2023). Women are more prone to encounter participation barriers in rural settings, including but not confined to socio-cultural norms that restrict free movements, inability to access education services, and limited seats in the local political setup (Imanuella et al., 2024). Furthermore, family and community patriarchal cultures are also the factors triggering the female's inaccessible economic opportunities as well as diminishing the power to influence development initiatives (Sultana et al., 2024). Research demonstrates that the inaccessibility of women in the rural setting then ends up contributing to poor performance in development since their unique needs and opinions are not being considered when policies are being developed (Karim et al., 2018; Wei et al., 2021). A successful way of incorporating women in the development process is not only capable of empowering women but leads to more precise and effective interventions that, in the long term, is beneficial to entire communities (Nath et al., 2024).



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Social Exclusion in Rural South Asia

Social exclusion in rural South Asia is multidimensional and multifaceted on such intersectional identities as caste, class, religion, and ethnicity. This complex of identities may result in the socio-economically disadvantaged women being the target of discriminatory attitudes and inter-societal inequality in Bangladesh (Mendis et al., 2023). As an illustration, women of lower socioeconomic statuses or those who represent minorities are more likely to have other issues that prohibit them from being involved in the development processes, thus making their social isolation and marginalization more severe (Hameed & Qaiser, 2019). This discrimination not only reduces access to valuable resources but also lowers their resilience and developmental ability within the community. Intersectional barriers lead to adverse representation of women in decision-making processes and limit their agency to represent their rights and needs (Karim et al., 2018; Jabeen et al., 2020). There is a need to know how the social exclusion dynamics occur to develop inclusive policies that take into consideration and mind the special needs of marginalized women in rural environments.

Participatory Development and Governance

Participatory development models have become a significant aspect in the discussion of rural governance in the Global South, where the focus has been on the inclusion of the community in decision-making (Chowdhury et al., 2022). Nevertheless, the criticism points to the fact that the involvement is usually merely formal and does not eliminate the power system that leads to exclusion (Ali et al., 2017). Although most participatory frameworks purport to give voice to the marginalized, the practices can tend to support hierarchies and inequalities (Khalid, 2020). Practically, socio-cultural and institutional barriers often restrict women from taking meaningful roles in the rural development projects (Sultana et al., 2024). Furthermore, the intersectionality of identity is commonly disregarded in participatory methods to comprehend the various experiences of rural women (Hossain et al., 2018). The promise of participatory governance in rural Bangladesh requires a more nuanced approach that acknowledges the intricacies of social identities and power relationships.

Overall, the literature indicates that although some progress has been made towards comprehensive rural development in Bangladesh, there is still a lot to be done, especially with regard to the integration of marginalized women. The historical and policy approaches depict the development of rural development structures, but the intersectional constraints that still exist restrict the effective involvement of women. The identification and overcoming of these obstacles are critical to the achievement of gender equity and a sustainable rural transformation. To be really inclusive, policies should not only involve women, but they should also contextualize themselves and deconstruct the socio-cultural parameters that still inflict exclusion in development processes.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study is based on the social exclusion theory (Sen, 2000; Silver, 1994) and the experiences of participatory development discourse (Cornwall, 2003) on how rural women have been left out of the development processes in Bangladesh. It has two major independent variables, which are structural barriers and cultural norms, and one core dependent variable, which is social exclusion in the participation of the development process.

Independent Variables

1. **Structural Barriers:** These are institutional and policy constraints that do not allow rural women to take part in development in a meaningful way. These include inability to own land, inability to participate in formal decision-making bodies (e.g., union parishads), and bureaucracy that are



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conducive to elite actors. Unequal accessibility to economic and political resources is usually institutionalized in the form of exclusion (Sen, 2000). Participatory programs can do the same unintentionally by giving priority to the dominant voices and leaving out those of the marginalized women (Cornwall, 2003).

2. Cultural Norms and Gender Roles: The patriarchal norms that exist in the rural Bangladesh setting tend to confine women to their homes, make their voices inapplicable in community spaces, and limit their roles to domestic spaces. These norms are informal yet strong restrictions to participation. Other identities, such as class and ethnicity, tend to reinforce gender oppression to result in stratified forms of exclusion (Crenshaw, 1989). Women are often not allowed to participate in any kind of political or public life because of gendered expectations in South Asian villages (Hossain et al., 2018).

Dependent Variable

Social Exclusion from Development Participation: This is the structural exclusion of rural women in the planning, execution, and assessment of development schemes, although there is rhetoric of inclusion. It entails voicelessness, non-representation in leadership, and non-representation in policymaking. It is understood that social exclusion is the withdrawal of access to economic, political and social life (Sen, 2000). Exclusion is a relation and is contextualized in power relations that create inequality (Silver, 1994).

Methodology

Research Approach and Paradigm: The research followed the methodology of a qualitative case study based on an interpretivist paradigm, focusing on the way people create meaning out of the experiences that they live (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This was suitable in examining the perception of rural women concerning their marginalization in development activities in Bangladesh.

Study Site and Case Selection: The study was carried out in Moulvibazar District, Sylhet Division with a tea garden- adjacent union, which had a rural development program and low female participation. It provided a fertile ground to study how development programs interact with the issue of gender-based exclusion (Khan & Fardaus, 2006; Hossain, 2012).

Sampling Strategy and Participants: Using a purposive sampling method, the study sampled 15 rural women from marginalized communities. The participants were chosen in terms of socio-economic marginalization, landlessness, minority status, or low levels of development participation. There was age, marital status and household responsibility diversity to ensure that diverse views were captured.

Data Collection Methods: The information was gathered using semi-structured interviews, which took 45-60 minutes. The interviews discussed how women had been affected by the development programs, their perceptions of being involved and the cultural or institutional obstacles that they encountered. Informed consent was obtained through audio-recording all the interviews, transcribing them verbatim, and translating the interviews into English where a translation was needed.

Data Analysis: Thematic analysis was used to analyse interview data in the six-step procedure outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). The data development of themes was based on inductive coding. NVivo software supports data management and organization.



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Demographic Characteristics of Respondents: The participants in this study consisted of 15 rural women from marginalized communities in Moulvibazar District, selected through purposive sampling. Their demographic characteristics reflect the socioeconomic and educational vulnerabilities that shaped their access to and engagement with local development processes. Details are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Profile of Respondents (N = 15)

| Respondent ID | Age | Marital Status | Education Level | Occupation | Monthly Household Income (BDT) |
|---------------|-----|-------------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| R1 | 34 | Married | No formal education | Housemaid | 4500 |
| R2 | 46 | Widowed | No formal education | Tea leaf picker | 4000 |
| R3 | 27 | Married | Primary | Small vendor | 5000 |
| R4 | 38 | Divorced | No formal education | Housemaid | 4500 |
| R5 | 52 | Widowed | Primary | Tea leaf picker | 3500 |
| R6 | 30 | Married | Secondary | Livestock farmer | 6000 |
| R7 | 41 | Married | Primary | Domestic helper | 4500 |
| R8 | 35 | Divorced | No formal education | Handicraft maker | 5000 |
| R9 | 29 | Single | No formal education | Tea leaf picker | 3000 |
| R10 | 48 | Widowed | Primary | Tea leaf picker | 3500 |
| R11 | 33 | Married | Secondary | Informal tailor | 5500 |
| R12 | 37 | Divorced | No formal education | Street vendor | 4000 |
| R13 | 42 | Widowed | No formal education | Housemaid | 4000 |
| R14 | 50 | Married | Primary | Housemaid | 5000 |
| R15 | 31 | Single | No formal education | Tea leaf picker | 4500 |

Findings

The following section describes the main themes identified through 15 interviews with rural women of marginalized communities in the Moulvibazar district. With the help of a thematic analysis, the study revealed the perceptions of these women in terms of their roles, opportunities, and obstacles in the context of local development efforts. Although the degree of awareness regarding development activities differed among all the participants, the reality of their experiences showed a pattern of low agency, symbolic participation, and gendered constraints that were deeply embedded. The findings are organized under three major themes. These themes are:

- 1. "Informed but Invisible": Limited Awareness and Lack of Agency
- 2. "Voices Without Weight": Tokenistic Participation in Community Forums
- 3. "Development Bypasses Us": Gendered and Cultural Barriers to Inclusion

Theme 1: "Informed but Invisible" – Limited Awareness and Lack of Agency

The majority of the participants reported hearing of development programs that are taking place in their village, e.g., rural infrastructure works, agricultural training, or NGO efforts, but mostly on a second-hand basis, through their male relatives, village gossip, or field workers. Direct invitations or explanations were rare. Although information could occasionally reach them, it was not in time or in a way that they could act, and they were not convinced that they could take part or pose questions.



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Multi-disciplinary double-blind peer review journal

Numerous women reported feeling left out in the development that is happening around them. They knew what was going on around them, but they were not consulted in making decisions and implementing. This passive kind of participation, whereby they were the beneficiaries of development and not the developers, left many to feel marginalized.

"I usually hear about these things later, from people at the market or when men talk. No one ever tells me directly or asks me to join." — R5, 52, widowed, tea leaf picker

"I heard there was some training, but by the time I found out, it was full. And it was mostly for men. How can someone like me go there?" — R8, 35, divorced, handicraft maker

This theme is a depiction of how women in rural areas can be physically near in development but feel left out of the process, being unable to engage in the development due to a lack of information, confidence, or socialization to do so.

Theme 2: "Voices Without Weight" - Tokenistic Participation in Community Forums

Other women reported that they had participated in local meetings, particularly the ones held by NGOs or Union Parishad. However, the majority of them felt that they were just figureheads during those meetings. They could be present, but they could not talk freely and shape decisions. Others claimed that they were just there to look good, particularly when the external bodies were observing.

"I was at the meeting, but when I spoke, nobody really listened. It felt like my words didn't matter." — R11, 33, married, informal tailor

"Sometimes they bring women just to take photos when NGO people visit. The decisions are already made by the men before the meeting starts." — R6, 30, married, livestock farmer

This theme shows that even where there is inclusion of women, they are usually not empowered to take part. Their presence is performative, rather than transformative.

Theme 3: "Development Bypasses Us"-Gendered and Cultural Barriers to Inclusion

A common and recurring theme through the interviews was the cultural and home-bound constraints of rural women. Most of them said they would like to be involved in making decisions in their communities or attend trainings but were deterred by the male relatives in their family, afraid of gossip, or simply too busy with chores and children.

"I wanted to go once, but my brother-in-law said women don't go to these things. He said, 'Stay home.' I felt embarrassed and didn't go." — R2, 46, widowed, tea leaf picker

"I work all day—cooking, cleaning, looking after the kids. By the time I'm free, the meetings are over. Who has time for these things?" — R14, 50, married, housemaid

This theme highlights that exclusion is not only structural, but also deeply personal and social. Development cannot be inclusive in case it does not recognize and respond to the personal costs and social condemnations that women experience.

Discussion

This paper examined the experiences of women in rural marginalized communities of the Moulvibibazar district, their role and views in development processes. The results presented three interrelated themes, namely, limited awareness and agency, tokenistic participation, and deeply rooted gender and cultural barriers. Taken together, these observations demonstrate the larger trend of institutionalized social marginalization, in which the rural women are systematically marginalized in the process of development despite the national pledges of inclusive rural change. The informed but invisible theme shows that being informed about development projects is not the same as access and empowerment. This is an indication of the wider information gaps and lack of communication equity between men and women in rural development (Hossain, 2012; Khan & Fardaus, 2006). Although participatory models encourage



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Multi-disciplinary double-blind peer review journal

inclusiveness, the lack of agency in information maintains women in their passive nature, leaving them in the fringe (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The second theme, voices without weight, shows that the involvement of women is usually empty or powerless. Women are sometimes invited to attend community meetings, but their input is often ignored or downplayed and they serve procedural rather than substantive purposes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this meaning, participation is symbolic and does not break hierarchical power relations (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The third theme, titled development bypasses us, demonstrates the ongoing patriarchal standards and household responsibilities as the factors that still hinder the participation of women. Their movement and self-esteem are restricted by cultural norms of being modest, being obedient, and being responsible in the household (Imanuella et al., 2024). Furthermore, being widowed or divorced, women experience additional marginalization because of their intersecting identity, which further affects the effects of economic and social marginalization (Hossain, 2012).

These results justify the application of the social exclusion theory and the intersectionality in explaining the lived experiences of rural women in the development contexts. Gender is not the only factor that defines marginalization; the factors of class, marital status, and cultural position are also important, and the design of the program should be nuanced and based on the local context (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Policy-wise, such findings raise the need to incorporate outreach measures and provide women-only discussion areas, as well as train program implementers to be aware of intersectional challenges and respond to them. The participation should not be gauged by attendance, but by the voice, influence, and sustainability of participation (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This study has limitations. It is limited to one district and involves only 15 participants, which does not allow a wide range of applicability. Moreover, the lack of institutional voices, including the views of local government or the members of NGOs, constrains a better insight into the systemic processes. Future research needs to involve the views of various stakeholders and differing rural settings to widen the scope of analysis. Nevertheless, the study can be seen as a critical analysis of how rural women are not included in the development processes, and how it is necessary to overcome the performative approach towards inclusion and establish a responsive approach.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper examined the lives of the marginalized rural women in Moulvibazar district and how the development processes tend to exclude women both implicitly and explicitly. The results show that although development programs are becoming more widely found in rural Bangladesh, a large number of women are left on the periphery: they know about the programs, but cannot gain access; they can be allowed to participate in meetings but not allowed to have any say; they are interested in engaging but cannot because of cultural norms and family obligations. These exclusion patterns are structural rather than accidental and are part of the daily reality of gender, poverty and social status. The way to deal with this exclusion is by changing the perception and practice of participation. The development process should not just be symbolic and should go a step further to break down the walls that do not allow women to be part of the development process. This starts with the more inclusive communication tactics that target women directly, including low-literate or socio-marginal women. Information must be accessible, timely, and actionable.

There should also be secure and conducive environments in which rural women can speak out without the fear of being mocked or punished. These spaces cannot be temporary and should be integrated into the program structures, but not as a one-time consultation. Governmental and non-governmental program



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Multi-disciplinary double-blind peer review journal

implementers should be trained on gender-sensitive and intersectional approaches, as well. Knowledge of the interactions between different types of disadvantages is also fundamental to the development of interventions that do not have the unintended consequences of strengthening exclusion. The design, monitoring, and evaluation of development programs must also have a systematic inclusion of women's voices. Their contribution must have a bearing on the decision-making and allocation of resources, and not just as a procedural requirement. Finally, structural and cultural change is required in order to have a sustainable change. Patriarchal norms should be changed through education campaigns and community discussions to establish the validity and significance of the presence of women in the public sphere. Conclusively, inclusive rural development in Bangladesh needs more than the widespread provision of services; it needs to establish avenues of authentic participation and empowerment. Development can be more equitable, responsive, and transformative by putting the lived experiences of marginalized women at the center.

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Development Without Inclusion? Investigating Social Exclusion in Bangladesh's Rural Transformation

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Multi-disciplinary double-blind peer review journal

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