

**INTRODUCTION TO GENDER,
AGRICULTURE AND SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT**

**School of Gender and Development Studies
Indira Gandhi National Open University**

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Acknowledgements

Vice Chancellor and Pro Vice Chancellor (SOGDS and SOA), Director SOGDS, Director, SOA and faculty of SOGDS and SOA for administrative and academic support.

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December 2021

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ISBN:

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Further Information on the Indira Gandhi National Open University Programmes may be obtained from the University's office at Maidan Gandhi, New Delhi

Printed and Published on behalf of the Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi by Registrar, MPDD

Lase Typeset by Tessa Media and Computers, C-206, A.F.E- II, New Delhi

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Introduction to the Certificate Programme Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development (CGAS)

Why Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development

The disciplines of, Gender and Development Studies and Agriculture and their allied disciplines acknowledged and brought discourse on women's contribution to agriculture and its allied activities like animal husbandry, fisheries, beekeeping etc. in this decade. The process of acknowledging women's contribution to economic activities, especially agriculture and allied activities started much earlier by the feminists. Feminist economists and researchers did field-based research and documented women's contribution to agriculture and allied activities. The notable contribution was from Ester Boserup. Her work on "Women's Role in Economic Development", first published in 1970 brought the women's contribution to agricultural activities. It helped to declare the period from 1976 to 1986 as the United Nations (UN) decade for women. Her work was also widely discussed in the first International Conference on women was held in Mexico City in 1975 to know the women's status and position in economic activities. Her work was based on Africa. She discussed women's contribution to agriculture and industry, and her work brought light to women's land rights (chapter 3). In her book, she clearly stated that

"Africa is the region of female farming par excellence. In many African tribes, nearly all the tasks connected with food production continue to be left to women. In most tribal communities, the agriculture system is that of shifting cultivation; small pieces of land are cultivated for a few years only until natural soil diminishes. When that happens, i.e when crop yield declines, the field is abandoned, and another plot is taken under cultivation. In this type of agriculture, it is necessary to prepare some new plots every year for cultivation by removing bush or grass cover trees. Tree felling was always done by men, most often by young boys of 15 to 18 years, but to women fall all the subsequent operations.; the removal and burning of felled trees; the sowing or planting in the ashes; weeding of crops; the harvesting and carrying crop for storing and immediate consumption" (Page 4).

According to Ester Boserup work, Women lost their land right under European rule. In her book, she stated that

"When the sale of land increases, women are at a disadvantage, because they usually cultivate subsistence crops for the family, while men cultivate cash crops or work for a wage. Therefore, it is the men who have money and purchase land. Thus, possession of land is likely to pass gradually from women to men, even in tribes where women have the right to inherit the land" (p.47).

She further analysed the origins of prejudices to consider women as farmers. Colonial rule contributed to these prejudices. Male had access to education and training during colonial rule. This helped them to use modern technologies in agriculture and allied activities. They got access to the market

to sell cash crops. Like African countries, women contributed to agriculture activities from sowing seeds, weeding and harvesting crops, and domestic work in India. Firstly, women's contribution to agriculture varies from region to region depending on agro-climatic condition and agriculture production in India. The existing patriarchy and prevalent gender roles in India limit women's to control over lands and other assets even though they have access to and contribute to agriculture and allied activities. The existing social norms further prevent society from acknowledging women's contribution to agricultural activities. Thus, women's contribution is not valued in India. This led men and women to have different position and land-owning pattern in India.

Secondly, the contribution of agriculture and allied sector to the economy at current prices in 1950-51 was 51.81 per cent, the industry was 14.16 per cent, and the service was 33.25 per cent. There was a decline in the agriculture and allied sector share, which was 18.20 per cent in 2013-14. At the same time, the share of the service sector has improved to 57.03 per cent and the share of industry to increase to 24.77 per cent.

(<http://statisticstimes.com/economy/sectorwise-gdp-contribution-of-india.php>).

The above facts showed the decline of the contribution of agriculture over the period. It was around 16 per cent of the country's economy in 2019. This includes agriculture, forestry, and fishing sectors. (% of GDP – India Data (worldbank.org). But, still, it accounts for 42 per cent of the total employment (<https://tradingeconomics.com/india/gdp-from-agriculture>). The decline of the contribution of agriculture and allied sectors to the overall economy brought internal migration. The migrated population, mostly male from agriculture, joins in the service and manufacturing sectors. As per estimation, 37 million labour left agriculture between 2004-2005 – 2011-12. Internal migration and the lack of economic benefits made men leave agriculture, and more and more women joined in agriculture.

With the changing agricultural activities, migration, and the mechanization of agriculture, women's roles in agriculture increased significantly among small and marginal farmers. Even though industrialization has changed agricultural activities, still women have more labour intensive farm activities such as weeding and harvesting.

Women are estimated to carry out 60-75 per cent of all farming-related work across most regions of the country. Still, they are not considered as farmers, and they are not getting recognized as farmers due to male dominance and the existing patriarchal attitude prevailing in the society in India. Since they are rarely recognised as farmers, they lack access to resources and institutions. Lack of training and lack of access to modern technologies increase women drudgery in agricultural activities. Extension workers rarely acknowledge women as farmers and share their knowledge with the women who are putting their hard works in agriculture.

Thirdly, men wages are more than women wages in agriculture, even though women do strenuous physical work related to agricultural activities. It is approximately 1.4 times higher than women wages even though the Equal

Wage Act existing in the country. When we look at the data related to women workers, one could notice the women's involvement in agriculture and allied activities for long hours—the rural females are involved in subsistence production and domestic work. According to 2017-18 National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) data published by the Government of India, more than 70 per cent of rural women workers are engaged in agricultural work. But, women own only 13.9 per cent of landholdings based on the agricultural census of 2015-16.

Regarding the female work participation rate collected by NSSO in the year 2011-12, it declined from 51.6% in 1993-94 to 37.2% in 2011-12 for the age group of 15-59 years. Another vital data we all must know is about total female workers. The total number of women workers is 127.05 million (25.68 percentages in the 2001 census). This has reduced, and the total number of women workers is 149.9 million in the 2011 census, which 25.26 percentage. Out of this total number of women, the main workers are 59.57 per cent, according to the 2011 census. Total women marginal workers are 40.43 per cent, and total women cultivators are 24.02. Total women agriculture wage workers are 41.09 per cent. The number of cultivators declined from 41.3 million in the 2001 census to 36 million in the 2011 census. The total number of women workers in agriculture in 2001 was 39 per cent and 61 per cent men. This percentage was reduced, and it was 37 per cent women and 63 per cent men in 2011 (Census of India). The percentage share of agriculture workers in 2001 is 72.7. This declined to 65.1 per cent in 2011. This data clearly shows that women predominantly contribute to agricultural activities. But they work as wage earners or unpaid family workers—most of the women workers engaged in agriculture either as cultivators or wage labourers.

According to a study conducted by Shiva in 1991 through a time use survey, women contribute approximately 55 to 66 per cent of their work for agriculture production. Aggarwal study in 2003 pointed out that women dominate in the processing and storage of farm produce. And men involved in these activities are negligible. Apart from that, sowing of seeds, transplanting of seedlings, winnowing and storage of grain are done by women. Women are doubly burdened by spending 15 hours a day in agriculture and domestic activities, including livestock management (Kelkar, 2009). Even though women's involvement in agriculture is notable, but they are rarely involved in the decision-making process. The position of women in agriculture is determined by access and control over land and other resources. In India, We can see women as farm managers, women as equal partners in agriculture activities, unpaid women farmers in the family land and women as paid wage labourers. Patriarchy plays a significant role in gender inequality. It is part of everyday life, and women are not considered equal like male members in society, including agriculture. Women's subordination has become part of our society.

The above discussion is based on various studies, helped to theorise and bring women's contribution to agriculture. Even though the existing disciplines like gender studies and agriculture and allied studies constantly acknowledged women's contribution, there is still a long way to go. It is high

time to sensitise graduates of various disciplines, policymakers, extension workers, and Non-governmental organisations that need to be sensitised on women and agriculture. They need to be sensitised theoretically and with the help of field-based study. Apart from agriculture activities, women's contribution to preserve, protect, and sustainable use of forest produce is commendable. It was proved by feminists working on ecology. In the era of the 21st century, women's contribution to sustainable development needs to be recognised. In this context, agriculture needs to look towards sustainability in the country's planning and policy process and the women's contribution to sustainable agricultural development.

This certificate Programmes Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development has been designed and developed by keeping the above discussion in mind with the following objectives.

- To create awareness about gender roles and typology of issues in sustainable agriculture;
- To provide the knowledge on sustainable development in relation with gender and agriculture; and
- To build capacities in gender research in agriculture.

The Programme is at the Postgraduate level. It is sixteen credits worth of Programme. As you all are aware, we in IGNOU, write each Programme under several Courses. Each course has further been divided into several Blocks. Each Block has several Units. In each Unit, you will find some questions after one or two headings and at the end of the Unit and also activities; please try to attempt these questions and activities to check your level of understanding the subject.

Changing the mindset of the policy makers, government functionaries, extension workers, researchers, and students is need. This ODL programme on 'Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development is expected to address these issues and create awareness among all stakeholders.

Wish you a happy learning.

G.Uma

Mita Sinhamahapatra

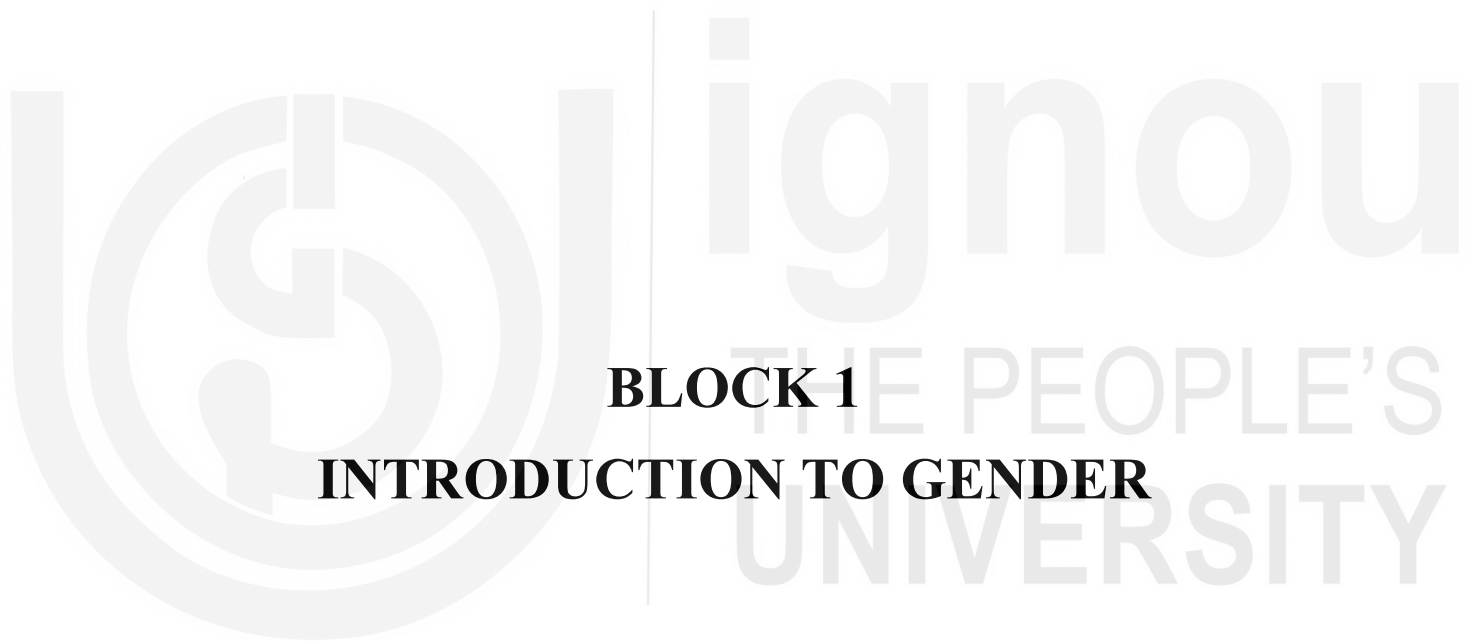
COURSE INTRODUCTION

The Course titled Introduction to Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development (MGS041) has designed and developed with the Objectives of introducing concepts related to gender, agriculture and sustainable development to our learners. The specific objective of the course is to discuss the basic concepts related to gender, agriculture and sustainable development. The Course has six credits worth, and it has four blocks totalling 19 Units. In this Course, we introduced all essential concepts related to gender, agriculture and sustainable development. We introduced basic concepts like sex, gender, gender analysis, gender mainstreaming, and feminism in block one. Apart from these concepts, the learners need to know about not treating women on par with men. The feminist theories explained the same. The Unit titled Social Construction of Gender discussed the socialisation process and division of labour. It is essential to know the feminist intervention in the existing development theories to bring alternative development discourses and construct theories based on feminist knowledge. This was discussed in Unit 3. Apart from the above-said topics, we discussed gender and work and care economy. It was discussed in unit 4 and 5. Block two was dedicated to discussing approaches to gender and development. It has three Units (Unit 6, 7 and 8). Block three introduce you to agriculture and allied sectors like Crop Agriculture, Horticulture, Livestock, Fisheries and Agroforestry. It has five Units. The final block talks about sustainable development, and it is titled Introduction to sustainable development. It has six Units discussing sustainable development, Sustainable Development Goals, Ecology, Ethics in Agriculture and Global Challenges to Sustainable Development.

Overall the Course introduced all aspects related to gender agriculture and sustainable development to you.

Happy Learning

G.Uma and Mita Sinhamahapatra



BLOCK 1

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER

BLOCK 1 INTRODUCTION

Introduction to Block

The first Block of the Course, Introduction to Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development, is titled Introduction to Gender. It has five Units. The first Unit divided into IA and IB. Both Units 1A and 1B! Two Units introduce various concepts related to gender. These concepts Power, Subordination, Empowerment, Discrimination, Entitlement, Needs and Rights, Women in Development (WID), Gender Mainstreaming, Literacy Gender Parity Index (GPI), Gender and Development, Gender Planning, Gender Budgeting, Gender Auditing, Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) , Gender Blind Approach, Rights-Based Approach, Strategic Gender Needs, Practical Gender Needs, Gender Analysis, Gender Gap Index, Gender Policy, Gender Inequality Index (GII), patriarchy, postcolonialism, postmodernism, nation-state, trends feminism, liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, ecofeminism, socialist feminism , black feminism, Dalit feminism. All these concepts are related to gender studies. It is very well used when we learn interdisciplinary studies like gender and development, gender and agriculture and gender and sustainable development. Block one dedicated to making you all get clarity about concepts related to gender studies. Unit 2, titled as social construction of gender, explain the process of constructing gender concerning the culture and the order of the society. The Unit further explains gender construction concerning development indicators like sex segregation, gender division of labour etc. The Unit three and four in this block is related to gender and work. As you all aware, women contribute to the economy, especially their contribution to agriculture and allied activities are noteworthy. Due to the existing socialization process, women contribution is not valued and recognized. The Unit introduces you to all the concepts related to gender work. The final Unit in this block is Unit five, which introduce you to the care economy. The final Unit talks about the concept of the care economy, the role of the care economy in the national economy, and the economics of the care economy. The entire block is designed to introduce you to all about concepts related to gender.

G.Uma and Mita Sinhamahapatra

UNIT 1A GENDER-BASIC CONCEPTS*

*(Adopted from Block 1, Unit 2, MGS-001)

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Power
- 1.4 Subordination
- 1.5 Empowerment
- 1.6 Discrimination
- 1.7 Entitlement
- 1.8 Needs and Rights
- 1.9 Women in Development (WID)
- 1.10 Gender Mainstreaming
- 1.11 Literacy Gender Parity Index (GPI)
- 1.12 Gender and Development (GAD)
- 1.13 Gender Planning
- 1.14 Gender Budgeting
- 1.15 Gender Auditing
- 1.16 Gender Related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM)
- 1.17 Gender Blind Approach
- 1.18 Rights Based Approach
- 1.19 Strategic Gender Needs
- 1.20 Practical Gender Needs
- 1.21 Gender Analysis
- 1.22 Gender Gap Index
- 1.23 Gender Policy
- 1.24 Gender Inequality Index (GII)
- 1.25 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.26 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 1.27 References
- 1.28 Unit End Questions

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit introduces you to the basic concepts associated with the Programme. Wide ranges of concepts are discussed in this Unit to familiarize

you with those concepts and be used frequently in the subsequent Units and Courses of this Programme.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define the basic concepts concerning gender , agriculture and sustainable development ;
- Explain the differences among the fundamental concepts; and
- Analyze the trends in the evolution of gender, agriculture and sustainable development.

1.3 POWER

Power can be defined as the degree of control exercised by certain people/ institutions/organizations over material, human, intellectual and financial resources. The control of these resources becomes the source of power. It is dynamic and relational and exercised in the social, economic and political relation between individuals and groups. It is also distributed unequally where some individuals or groups have greater control over the resources and others having little or no control. The access to and control over resources determines the extent of power one exercises. Different degrees of power are sustained and perpetuated through social stratification like gender, class, caste etc. Power can be understood as operating in a number of different ways:

- *power over*: This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/ subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;
- *power to*: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
- *power with*: This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
- *power within*: This power refers to self confidence, self awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how can individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this.

1.4 SUBORDINATION

According to Webster dictionary Subordination means

1. One who stands in order or rank below another; — distinguished from a principal.
2. Inferior in order, nature, dignity, power, importance, or the like.

3. To place in a lower order or class; to make or consider as of less value or importance; as, to subordinate one creature to another.
4. To make subject; to subject or subdue; as, to subordinate the passions to reason.
5. Placed in a lower order, class, or rank; holding a lower or inferior position.

Women's subordination refers to social norms, culture and customs which maintain men as primary, superior and paramount and women are secondary and subordinate to men. This excludes and restricts women entering into public domain, taking decisions on their own, occupying positions and so on. Women's conference in Beijing has said that there is no nation under heaven, where women are not subordinated. Thus women's subordination is a global phenomenon which is considered as the result of the manifestation of the patriarchy.

1.5 EMPOWERMENT

Merriam Webster dictionary defines empowerment as to give official authority or legal power to the powerless; to promote the self actualization. It is providing opportunity to the people to come out of their subordination, deprivation and seek their entitlement. Srilatha Batliwala defines empowerment as a range of activities from individual self assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge basic power relations. For individuals and groups where class, caste, ethnicity and gender determine their access to resources and power, their empowerment begins when they not only recognize the systemic forces that oppress them, but act to change existing power relationships. Empowerment, therefore, is a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces that marginalize women and other disadvantaged sectors in a given context.

Asian activists define women's empowerment as "the process and the result of the process" of

- challenging the ideology of male domination and women's subordination;
- enabling women to gain equal access to and control over resources (material, human, intellectual, financial); and
- transforming the systems, institutions (family, education, religion, media, etc.) and structures (legal, political, economic, social) through which the ideology and practice of subordination is reinforced and reproduced

Srilatha Batliwala, "The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action" in Population Policies Revisited, Sen.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- Note:** i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.
- ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. How does power operate in different ways?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2. Define Subordination.

.....
.....
.....
.....

1.6 DISCRIMINATION

The term discrimination refers to differential treatment taken against a person/ group because they belong to certain class, caste, gender etc which is considered as lower in the society. Discrimination is the differential behaviour towards another group. It involves excluding or restricting members of one group from accessing opportunities that are available to other groups. Discriminatory behaviour takes many forms and involves in social, political and economic exclusion. This disadvantages lead to different kinds of discrimination and injustice. The economic disadvantage may be seen as one of the root causes of discrimination. Unequal distribution of income gives advantages to the working classes than others. Apart from economic causes people with socially despised sexualities as well as people suffering from different types of illness also discriminated. In this scenario the gender discrimination is more predominant. Gender encompasses elements of injustice which stems from the dominant value of the society. The devaluation of women in the society leads to their discrimination. This discrimination manifests in the form of dowry, son preference, sex trafficking, unpaid labour, abuse, nutritional deprivation, lack of education, lack of opportunities in the labour market, domestic violence, other economic, social and political disadvantages.

This discrimination takes different forms in different context. In US race structures plays an important role that too women from disadvantaged race is paid low, have low status, do menial jobs and they are mostly in domestic occupation. In Indian context caste is also associated with this discrimination. The lower caste women has triple burden of being a woman, hailing from lower caste and being poor. Contact of any kind through touching, having sexual relation, dinning, drinking from the same well and so on between institutionally upper caste and lower caste is socially not accepted. According to Arjan De Haan these discriminations and deprivations is multi dimensional. For example a landless female daily labourer of scheduled caste

is very likely to be poor, illiterate, with poor health status, have little social capital and she finds difficult to exercise her constitutional rights. Her quality of life is less because of discrimination. The lower castes are segregated on space and they are confined to the margins of village. This distance and social disadvantage made them socially, economically, culturally disadvantaged. By taking this disadvantage the upper caste formulated their demands and fulfils their interest. And women are mostly deprived because of this inequality.

The Constitution of India guarantees to all Indian women equality (Article 14), no discrimination by the State (Article 15(1)), equality of opportunity (Article 16), equal pay for equal work (Article 39(d)). In addition, it allows special provisions to be made by the State in favour of women and children (Article 15(3)), renounces practices derogatory to the dignity of women (Article 51(A) (e)), and also allows for provisions to be made by the State for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief (Article 42). In spite of these measures women discrimination in India is not rooted out. Social commitment and political will has a significant role in uprooting the discriminatory practice against women.

1.7 ENTITLEMENT

Entitlement means the appropriate rights and claims. It is the right guaranteed by the law/statute and provides certain benefits to the deprived and underprivileged group. In the context of gender, women do not have access and control over tangible and intangible resources and their equal rights with men are deprived because of patriarchal norms. The low status of women is thus an effect of the entitlement failure. Family, other social institution confines the capacity of women, restricts their independent activity and making them to consider the needs of others above their own. Therefore to seek gender justice entitlement is the primary requirement.

Entitlement in economics is often associated with the right to property. Many believe that empowerment of women can happen if they have access and control over resources and properties. Looking from this perspective it can be said that resources and properties are still male domain and women don't have their claim towards it access and control. Women also lack inheritance to property rights. In view of this the commission on status of women in India 1975 has given many recommendations regarding the entitlement of women. Some of them are:

- Legal recognition should be given to the economic value of the contribution made by the wife through household work for purposes of determining ownership of matrimonial property, instead of continuing the archaic test of actual financial contribution.
- On divorce or separation, the wife should be entitled to at least one-third of the assets acquired at the time of and during the marriage.

- Sections 15 and 16 of the Indian Succession Act 1925 to be amended, removing mandatory linkage of wife's domicile with that of the husband.
- Equal distribution of not only separate or self acquired properties of the diseased male, but also of undivided interests in co-parcenary property.

In order to ensure the entitlement of women, legal reforms are mandatory. Even when law is there is to ensure the rights of women social conventions and practices restricts women from exercising their rights. Attitudinal change has to be brought in the society. Social reform movement is necessary for creating awareness and changing the mindset of the people. Dr.Sarala Gopalan, former secretary to Government of India has given following recommendations to ensure women's entitlement.

- Increase awareness of laws through education institutions, general awareness and legal awareness programmes;
- Sensitize Judiciary, administrators and legislators about implementation of laws in letter and spirit;
- Consider long pending recommendations for amendments of legal provisions on inheritance;
- Introduce compulsory registration of marriages and strengthen the administrative machinery for the purpose.

1.8 NEEDS AND RIGHTS

Needs

From 1970 onwards low status and condition of women was brought into focus. To improve their status and conditions gender planning is an important tool. The gender planning concerns the fact that women and men not only play different roles in the society but also their strategic and practical needs are different. When identifying interest it is useful to differentiate between "women interests", strategic gender interest and practical gender interest following the three fold conceptualization made by Maxine Molyneux. (Caroline O.N. Moser, Gender Planning and development: Theory, Practice and Training, Routledge, London, 1999). After identifying different interest of women this can be translated into planning needs and their concerns may be satisfied. The further concerning women's needs divided into strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. For example the strategic needs more concern about the equality in the society. On the other hand practical gender needs talks about day to day survival like getting drinking water, fuel, fodder etc.

Strategic gender needs (SGN) are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in the society. SGN vary according to particular context. They relate to gender division of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting SGN helps women to achieve

greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position. With regard to practical Gender Needs (PGN) are the needs that women identify in their socially accepted roles in the society. PGN don't challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. PGN are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often concern with inadequacies in living condition such as water provision, health care and employment.

Rights

The term women's rights refer to freedoms and entitlements of women and girls of all ages. These rights may or may not be institutionalized, ignored or suppressed by law, local custom, and behavior in a particular society. These liberties are grouped together and differentiated from broader notions of human rights because they often differ from the freedoms inherently possessed by or recognized for men and boys, and because activists for this issue claim an inherent historical and traditional bias against the exercise of rights by women and girls.

Issues commonly associated with notions of women's rights include, though are not limited to, the right: to bodily integrity and autonomy; to vote (suffrage); to hold public office; to work; to fair wages or equal pay; to own property; to education; to serve in the military or be conscripted; to enter into legal contracts; and to have marital, parental and religious rights. Women and their supporters have campaigned and in some places continue to campaign for the same rights as mens.

1.9 WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID)

The WID approach aims to integrate women into the existing development process by targeting them, often in women-specific activities. Women are usually passive recipients in WID projects, which often emphasize making women more efficient producers and increasing their income. Although many WID projects have improved health, income or resources in the short term, because they did not transform unequal relationships, a significant number were not sustainable. A common shortcoming of WID projects is that they do not consider women's multiple roles or that they miscalculate the elasticity of women's time and labour. An other, is that such projects tend to be blind to men's roles and responsibilities in women's (dis)empowerment.

The biggest difference between WID and GAD is that WID projects traditionally were not grounded in a comprehensive gender analysis. The GAD approach is gender-analysis driven.

There is definitely a need for women-specific and men-specific interventions at times. These complement gender initiatives. Research shows that the success of both sex-specific and gender activities is directly linked with the depth of the gender analysis that informs them.

1.10 GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender mainstreaming is the public policy concept of assessing the different implications for women and men of any planned policy action, including legislation and programmes, in all areas and levels.

The concept of gender mainstreaming was first proposed at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi. The idea has been developed in the United Nations development community. The idea was formally featured in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

Most definitions conform to the UN Economic and Social Council formally defined concept:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

United Nations has defined Gender Mainstreaming as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. Gender mainstreaming is not only a question of social justice, but is necessary for ensuring equitable sustainable human development by the most effective and efficient means.

1.11 LITERACY GENDER PARITY INDEX (GPI)

GPI is the ratio of the female to male adult literacy rates which measures progress towards gender equity in literacy and the level of learning opportunities available for women in relation to those available to men. It serves also as a significant indicator of the empowerment of women in society.

1.12 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD)

GAD, which shares elements with the empowerment approach, gained popularity in the 1980s and attempts to address the loopholes of WID. It is rooted in post-development theory and post-structuralist critiques in feminism.

GAD does not consider women as a uniform group. It maintains that women's situation should be seen in the context of the socio-economic, racial and other factors that shape a particular society. It points to the importance of understanding the relationship between women and men and how society influences their respective roles. Development to be meaningful will have to take all these factors into consideration.

This approach rejects the dichotomy between the public and the private. It focuses attention on the oppression of women in the family, within the private sphere of the household. It emphasizes the state's role in providing social services to promote women's emancipation. Women are seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development.

The focus is on strengthening women's legal rights. It also talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society. Gender is an issue that cuts across all economic, social and political processes. The GAD approach attempts to identify both the practical gender needs of women as well as the strategic gender needs that are closely related.

The problem with GAD is that it is easy in the name of gender, to disguise and even side track real issues that affect women. Gender can rise above the personal, which means the personal can remain behind the scene, despite all the efforts that go into the analysis of 'social construction of gender'.

Most often, however, GAD is seen as just a new label for the same old women's programmes which do not address power relations in society or women's oppression. Though it is popular among funding agencies and NGOs and has the potential to be different, it has become institutionalized like WID.

1.13 GENDER PLANNING

Gender planning is the recognition of existing gender inequalities in the society and helps to formulate the policies to mitigate gender inequalities in the society. It aims to improve the status and conditions of women by formulating appropriate policies and programmes. The existing planning approach treats all as equal and it will make a plan for all without considering the inequalities existing in the society. Gender planning helps to expose, analyze and resolve the inequalities existing in social, economic, culture, legal and family structures and serves to initiate processes of change to address inequalities in such structures and processes.

1.14 GENDER BUDGETING

A budget is one of the most important instruments which reflect the economic policy of the government. It can also be a powerful tool in transforming the economy at different levels of State, District or Grassroots level of village Panchayats. It reflects the choices that the government

chooses in order to achieve the economic and developmental goals. Of late, Gender budgeting has emerged as a new process. This ensures the care for women's needs and priorities in the total budget. This has become an effective mechanism to bring about gender equity. A Gender Responsive Budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in the society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that changes these patterns in a way that moves towards a more gender-equal society. Gender budget initiatives are exercises that aim to move the country in the direction of a gender-responsive budget.

1.15 GENDER AUDITING

Gender auditing is the analysis of the system and process of finance of any government. Gender auditing implies auditing the income and expenditure of governments from a gender perspective and also analyzing the development process including the process of legislation, guidelines, taxes and social development projects. It understands that policies have a differential impact on men and women by recognizing the roles and responsibilities of men in the society form the basis for gender auditing. Gender auditing is the one aspect of social auditing.

1.16 GENDER RELATED DEVELOPMENT INDEX (GDI) AND GENDER EMPOWERMENT MEASURES (GEM)

Inter -district, Inter-state and Cross country comparisons of women's empowerment are obtained from Gender related Development Index (GDI). GDI owes its origin to its precursor, the HDI (Human Development Index), three main components of which are per capita income, educational attainment and life-expectancy which is a proxy for health attainment. Gender disparities are measured keeping these three indicators into consideration. "An additional measure, gender empowerment measure (GEM) has been formulated to take into account aspects relating to economic participation and decision-making by women. The indicators used in GEM are share in income, share in parliamentary seats and an index that includes share in administrative and managerial jobs and share in professional and technical posts".

It was in 1995 that the UNDP brought out the Gender-related Development Index as a method for assessing gender inequality. The variables used in GDI are similar to those used for the Human Development Index; these being education, health and income.

While the HDI measures average achievement, the GDI adjusts the average achievement to reflect the inequalities between men and women in the following dimensions:

- A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth.
- Knowledge as measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined primary, tertiary and gross enrolment ratio.
- A decent standard of living, as measured by estimated earned income (PPP US\$).

Focusing on women’s opportunities rather than their capabilities, the GEM captures gender inequality in three key areas:

- Political participation and decision making power, as measured by women’s and men’s percentage share of parliamentary seats.
- Economic participation and decision-making power, as measured by two indicators – women’s and men’s percentage shares of positions as legislators, senior officials and managers and women’s and men’s percentage share of professional and technical positions.
- Power over economic resources, as measured by women’s and men’s estimated earned income (PPP US\$).

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- Note:** i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.
ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What is the major difference between WID and GAD?

.....

1.17 GENDER BLIND APPROACH

“Gender-blind approach does not consider these differences existing between men and women, rather it views men and women belong” to the same category. Gender-blindness refers to a failure to identify or acknowledge difference on the basis of gender where it is significant. This approach does not recognize gender as an essential factor that determines the choices for men and women separately in the society. Persons or institutions or policies based on this approach consider both men and women as a homogeneous category and they become blind towards their differential needs. This approach does not question the existing norms and values that discriminate against women and focuses only on the development of communities, households, agricultural sector in general. Moreover, gender-blind policies display ignorance about the gender differences in the allocation of roles and resources and accept the universal norms of the society as such which is patriarchal in nature. Therefore the gender policies even though meant for

development cannot be fruitful as they ignore the differences in resources, entitlements, opportunities, influence between men and women. Women are hence left out and do not get benefits.

1.18 RIGHTS BASED APPROACH

Rights based approach aims at promoting and protecting human rights based on international human rights standards. It serves as a conceptual framework in the process of human development. Discriminatory practices, inequalities, unjust distribution of power are some of the factors which serve as hurdles in the wholistic and inclusive development process. A Rights based approach seeks to analyze these problems which impede progress of development. Under a human rights-based approach, the plans, policies and processes of development are anchored in a system of rights and corresponding obligations are established by international law. This helps to promote the sustainability of development work, empowering people themselves—especially the most marginalized—to participate in policy formulation and hold accountable those who have a duty to act. While there's no universal recipe for a rights-based approach, international organizations and rights-based organizations have come together to fight for the rights of deprived and marginalized communities.

1.19 STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

“Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to the particular context. They relate gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their body. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater gender equality. It also changes existing gender roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position”. Strategic gender needs are those needs that are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men. While formulating strategic gender needs it also considers the nature and structure of relationship between men and women in the society. It also considers sociopolitical cultural context. By deriving from these analyses, strategic gender needs provide equality in the society. on this, advocacy is being done to develop policies and programmes to fulfill human rights.

1.20 PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS

“Practical Gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in the society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in the society although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity identified within a specific context. They are

practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment”.

Unlike strategic gender needs, practical gender needs are formulated from the experiences of women. It includes their day-to-day survival like food, fuel, fodder, water, access to health, etc. The practical gender needs can be sorted out at the grassroots level if local governments and the decision making structure closest to the society are sensitive towards women’s issues. As Molyneux has written they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women’s emancipation or gender equality nor do they challenge the prevailing forms of subordination even though

they arise directly out of them. As women they have dual roles by managing household chores as well as earning. When the planners make policies to meet practical gender needs they have to consider both women’s needs with reference to the domestic as well as income earning activities and also requirements of the community like access to health and sanitation, access to education, proper connectivity to basic services, opportunities to participate in community life. These needs concern not only the women, but also for the entire community needs. Yet, due to the gender division of labour, society imposes these activities on women. So planners consider these issues and effectively implement practical gender needs at the grassroots level.

1.21 GENDER ANALYSIS

Gender analysis refers to the variety of approaches, and methods used to assess and understand the **differences in the lives** of women and men, girls and boys and **the relationships** between and amongst them including: their access to resources and opportunities, their activities, and the constraints they face relative to each other. It is a process that identifies the **varied and different roles and responsibilities** that women, men, girls and boys have in the family, the community, and in economic, legal, political, and social structures.

A gender analysis is an essential component of an overall analytical process that a successful development program of social change requires. It is a simple equation, really: if we do not fully understand the trends and dynamics that define and perpetuate gender inequality – a core dimension of labor exploitation - we will be unable to mount a successful strategy to promote gender equality and women rights. Knowing key facts, labor market trends in the organized and unorganized sector, power dynamics of women within the family, institutions and society, are critical factors for grounding the analytical and strategic work of gender equality and development programming in reality. It also helps develop a snapshot of that reality against which the impact of development programs and strategies can be measured.

Gender analysis is a way of seeing / analyzing problems, situations and solutions with awareness of gender relations and in order to identify gender

issues. The key elements of a gender analysis should include identification of similarities and differences between men and women and amongst women.

1.22 GENDER GAP INDEX

The Gender Gap Index assesses countries on how well they are dividing their resources and opportunities among their male and female populations, regardless of the overall levels of these resources and opportunities. By providing a comprehensible framework for assessing and comparing global gender gaps and by revealing those countries that are role models in dividing these resources equitably between women and men, the Index serves as a catalyst for greater awareness as well as greater exchange between policymakers. It examines four critical areas of inequality between men and women:

1. Economic participation and opportunity – outcomes on salaries, participation levels and access to high-skilled employment;
2. Educational attainment – outcomes on access to basic and higher level education;
3. Political empowerment – outcomes on representation in decision-making structures; and
4. Health and survival – outcomes on life expectancy and sex ratio.

1.23 GENDER POLICY

A gender policy is an integral part of all its organizational policies, programmes and projects and involves building a culture that understands the issues and policies, which respect diversity and gender, related concerns. A mere statement of policy and objectives does not ensure the concerns relating to addressing the gender. Towards achieving the objectives, clear indicators need to be defined to evaluate and assess the organization's commitment towards gender equity on a periodic basis. The policy seeks to ensure greater consistency of gender principles, policies and practices across the organisation and to provide an accountability framework in relation to gender, against which all staff can be accountable and against which the organization can audit itself.

1.24 GENDER INEQUALITY INDEX (GII)

The introduction in 1995 of the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) coincided with growing international recognition of the importance of monitoring progress in the elimination of gender gaps in all aspects of life. While the GDI and the GEM have contributed immensely to the gender debate, they have conceptual and methodological limitations. In the 20th anniversary edition of the *Human*

Development Report, the Gender Inequality Index has been introduced as an experimental index. It is not a perfect measure. Just as the HDI continues to evolve, the Gender Inequality Index will also be refined.

Gender Inequality Index (GII) is a measure that captures the loss in achievements due to gender disparities in the dimensions of reproductive health, empowerment and labour force participation. Values range from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (total inequality). The GII, introduced as another experimental series, is unique in including educational attainment, economic and political participation and female-specific health issues and in accounting for overlapping inequalities at the national level. It is thus an important advance on existing global measures of gender equity.

1.25 LET US SUM UP

This Unit has given you an introduction about various concepts in Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development. These concepts are discussed in detail with a suitable theoretical framework and examples in the following Courses.

1.26 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. - *power over*: This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/ subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;
 - *power to*: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
 - *power with*: This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
 - *power within*: This power refers to self confidence, self awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how can individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act to influence and change this.
2. One who stands in order or rank below another; — distinguished from a principal. Inferior in order, nature, dignity, power, importance, or the like.

To place in a lower order or class; to make or consider as of less value or importance; as, to subordinate one creature to another.

To make subject; to subject or subdue; as, to subordinate the passions to reason.

Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. The biggest difference between WID and GAD is that WID projects traditionally were not grounded in a comprehensive gender analysis. The GAD approach is gender-analysis driven.

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1.28 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain how GII is different from GDI and GEM.
2. What are the indicators used in Gender gap Index? Briefly explain them.
3. Recommend some ways and means to ensure women's entitlement.

UNIT 1B GENDER-BASIC CONCEPTS*

*(Adopted from Further Reading1, Basic Concepts, Block 1, MGS-001)

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Patriarchy
 - 1.3.1 References
- 1.4 Matriarchy
 - 1.4.1 References
- 1.5 Feminism
 - 1.5.1 References
- 1.6 Postcolonialism
 - 1.6.1 References
- 1.7 Post Modernism
 - 1.7.1 References
- 1.8 Nation-State
 - 1.8.1 References
- 1.9 Trends in Feminism
 - 1.9.1 Liberal Feminism
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 - 1.9.6 Eco-Feminism
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 - 1.9.8 Post Modernist Feminism
 - 1.9.9 Post Colonial Feminism
 - 1.9.10 Dalit Feminism
- 1.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 1.11 Unit End Questions
- 1.12 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises
- 1.13 Suggested Readings

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit introduces you to the basic concepts associated with the Programme. Wide ranges of concepts discussed in this Unit to familiarize you with those concepts and be used frequently in the subsequent Units and Courses of this Programme.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to :

- Define the basic concepts concerning Gender, Agriculture and Sustainable Development; and
- Explain the differences among the basic concepts.

1.3 PATRIARCHY

This term signifies 'the rule of father' in a literal sense. Feminist intellectuals have been articulating the determinants of dominance by the male. It also shows the subsequent oppression of women. It refers to the unequal levels of power and income that are part of the lifeworlds of men and women. These discourses of power are mediated through the family, sexuality, the state, culture and language. The category of patriarchy questions the biological determinism that privileges men over women. In other words, it explores the ideological constructions that structure the hierarchies among women and men. For instance, women are equated with motherhood. This perception is essentialist. It provides a peculiar way of description in which women are projected as the so-called carriers of nature. It does not address the question of the agency of women. Socialist feminism analyzed patriarchy and its relationship with class exploitation. Marxist feminists argued that patriarchy is interlinked with capitalism. The ideology of patriarchy structures the day-to-day power relations of men and women. Friedrich Engels argued that a 'monogamous patriarchal family' acts as an impediment to women's liberation. It is asserted that patriarchy is linked to the nature of oppression.

The differences in wages of men and women represent the nature of oppression. At the same time, it is also determined by the different structures of patriarchy. According to Sylvia Walby, the dimensions mentioned above determine the patriarchy. Walby argues that forms of patriarchy can be divided into private and public patriarchy. A patriarch within a home who regulates women in the home represents private patriarchy. Public patriarchy refers to the patriarchy that exists outside the private domain. It exists in the public domain. Thus, women are excluded in the private and public realms. Women are controlled by groups rather than individuals in the case of public property.

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1.4 MATRIARCHY

It is essential to understand the diverse interpretations of the category 'matriarchy'. It refers to a type of social system in which the mother acts as the head of the family. It is also argued that mothers acquire prime status through power. Engels argued that women had these sorts of power during the period of hunter-gatherer societies. There were no property rights at that period. When wealth or property started transferring from men to their children, Patriarchy emerged through the regulation of women's reproduction. Thus, systems such as matriarchy withered in every respect. It questions the universality of male domination. In other words, it shows there were other forms of power than male domination in the society. However, Patricia Hill Collins argued that the category of black matriarchy is a construct based on the "mythical norm of the financially independent, white middle-class family organized around a monogamous heterosexual couple". She contended that the notion of black matriarchy is based on the idea of affluent, white-centred values. Her analysis shows the differences in the construction of the category 'matriarchy'. Black feminists like Marry-Ann Weathers opined that perceptions about the black matriarchy are absurd and undermines their oppression.

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1.5 FEMINISM

It is argued that feminism as a social movement emerged in England during the 18th century. It asserted the rights of women. Thus, it demanded the equality and rights of women. It addressed the issues of voting, education and occupations of women. It provided a critique of the oppression of women through challenging male domination and division of labour. Thus, it raised questions against patriarchy. Mary Wollstonecraft questioned the diverse aspects of the subordination of women through her book, *Vindication of the Rights of Women in 1792*. During the earlier phase, feminists argued for political and economic equality for women. The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), founded in 1903, dealt with suffrage. It is essential to understand the perspectives of different streams within feminists.

Second-wave feminists considered experience as a realm of knowledge. They questioned objectivity as an extension of oppressive practices. Second-wave feminism during the 1960s and 1970s had the assertions of middle-class women against the sexist colleges. Simon de Beauvoir argued that women recognized that they were the other and the men as the subject. Women realized their oppression and oppressor. Marxist feminists analyzed the oppression of women as the consequence of social and economic systems. Radical feminists argued the oppression of women is carried out through the manipulation of their sexuality through men. Psychoanalytic feminists explore how the subjectivity of women is conditioned in the sexist culture. According to Patricia Hill Collins, black women are the 'outsider within'. In other words, it refers to the excluded experience of black women within the community and society. A Dalit feminist perspective shows that Dalit women undergo oppression based due to their specificities of caste and gender.

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1.6 POST COLONIALISM

It stands for the diversity of development in the cultural realm after the Second World War. It refers to social, cultural, economic discourse that resulted in the fall of European imperialism. Theories that exist under the rubric of postcolonialism explore the issues related to culture, gender, identity, citizenship, race, ethnicity, language and power, oppressed by the imperialist forces. Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) explored the linkages between the colonized, oppression and their subjectivity. According to him, imperialism resulted in the internalization of imperialistic culture by those subjected to it. Thus, it created economic, social, political inferiority among them. It affected their identity. Inferiority based on economic aspects also created inferiority. It also led to race and culture. It is also associated with the language. Those who are colonized, according to Fanon, are forced to articulate in the language of their oppressor or imperialist forces. This category of postcolonialism shows the partialities based on cultures that are part of the European discourses. It shows the diverse cultures of the post-colonial conditions. It also engages with the new forms of colonialism that are transmitted through the culture of imperialist forces.

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1.7 POSTMODERNISM

Postmodernism signifies movements or trends in literature, paintings, plastic arts, films, painting and architecture. Scholars such as Anthony Giddens argued that it is associated with aspects of aesthetic reflections upon the trajectory of modernity. A postmodern scholar, according to Giddens, rejects the authenticity which is attributed to the rationality of the enlightenment like Nietzsche and Heidegger. Scholars such as David Harvey contended that a more excellent elasticity and change in capitalism is related to the postmodern societal transitions. The term postmodernism is contested. The meaning of this term differs in a diverse field of expressions. Linguistic abundance, stylistic anarchy and lexical exhibitionism are considered as the features of postmodern literature. It becomes resistance against the functional

element in the architecture. Jean-Francois Lyotard argues that postmodernism marks the collapse of grand narratives such as Marxism and replaces them with little narratives. However, postmodern scholarship engages with the diversity of truth. In other words, postmodernists emphasize the relative nature of truth. Thus, they abandon those which are called objective in nature. It also rejects the boundaries that exist between high and low forms of culture. It also questions the authenticity of the author. Postmodernists also believe in the power of irony as a tool of self-reflection.

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1.8 NATION-STATE

It refers to the autonomous, political community which has a different legal system, military apparatuses, and borders and so on. It also has the head of the state. It also has distinct flags and images that are constructed to create a unique identity. National anthem also provides a distinct identity to it. Nation-state was not part of classical Greece. On the contrary, there were only city-states which used to indulge in war. It emerged after the Germanic Holy Roman Empire failed to govern an international group of sub-states. It is argued that nation-states are also the product of external interventions. For example, Pakistan emerged as an extension of the end of British rule in India. It is linked to the notion of nation-building, which is essential for the creation of national identity. However, the process of internationalization challenges the formation of nation-states.

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1.9 TRENDS IN FEMINISM

We have given trends in feminism in this section concerning your learning.

1.9.1 Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism is theorized as the logical expansion of traditional liberalism. In other words, liberal feminism adapts the liberal notions of 'individual dignity', 'autonomy', 'equality' and 'self-fulfilment'. Liberal feminists argued that theoretical premises of liberalism can be practiced in the lives of women. In other words, women should have equal rights like that of men through the law. Liberal feminists criticized liberal theory that foregrounded the person's capability to reason and argued that women can also engage with reason in the 18th century. Thus, liberal feminists challenged the bias of philosophy that was skeptical of women's ability in the case of reason. For instance, Mary Wollstonecraft contended that women possess rationality and 'moral responsibility'. During the 19th century, liberal feminists struggled for the right to property and vote. They also argued for equal educational mobility for women and pregnancy-related rights for female labourers. They also argue that women and men are similar in their 'essential nature'. However, liberal feminists asserted that androgyny is an ideal of freedom and 'human potential'. They contended that women experience restrictions as a group. They are discriminated against based on sex. Thus, their desires and potentials are questioned in every respect. They interpret that justice can be achieved only through the eradication of discrimination based on sex. According to liberal feminists, women are pushed into the field of degraded labour to exclude the realm of reason. They think that existing norms of sexuality are oppressive for women.

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1.9.2 Marxist Feminism

Marxists considered class as one of the key categories to explore all forms of oppression in society. They explored the relationship between the sexual division of labour of women and capitalism. Marxist thinkers such as Eli Zaretsky contended that the emergence of capitalism is accompanied by the

'sharp split between the economy and family'. As a result, women are marginalized from commodity production. Marxian analysts emphasized the nature of women's labour. At the same time, they differentiated the women in the capitalist class and working-class women. Oppression of women, according to Friedrich Engels, is ingrained in the interests related to capital. It is embedded in the class-based society. Engels argued that men transformed the traditional kinship system into patrilineal. Thus, the question of matrilineal ways of life is sabotaged in every respect. According to Engels, it resulted in the subversion of mother right and 'world-historic defeat of the female sex'. He also emphasized that monogamy is more economical than sexual. Marirosa Dalla Costa and Selma James argued that women's work in the home provides freedom to male workers. In other words, he can work for a long duration. Thus, he assures the existence of capital and proliferates the rate of surplus value. The following arguments are essential to understand the central tenets of Marxist feminism. It is argued that feminist analysis lacks understanding about history and materialist approach. According to Heidi Hartmann, materialist interpretation showed that patriarchy is part of social, psychic, and economic systems. Marxists also investigated the everyday lives of women under capitalism.

On the other hand, earlier Marxists such as Engels, Kautsky, Lenin and Marx argued that capitalism co-opts women into the wage-labour system. They perceived that it would destroy the sexual division of labour. Mariarosa Dalla Costa argued that women should claim the wages for housework. Dalla Costa considered it as a struggle against capital. Dalla Costa asserted that the struggles of women are revolutionary not because of their feminist nature but due to its anti-capitalist nature. However, Heidi Hartmann argued that capitalists, including men, husbands, fathers and so on, appropriate women's labour.

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1.9.3 Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminists emphasized the re-interpretation of the category such as the public sphere. They provided historical and conscious readings of sexuality, economic and political dimensions of child care. Social structuring of childbearing became one of the key aspects in their intellectual investigations. Socialist feminists focused on the historical materialistic approach of conventional Marxism. According to Juliet Mitchell, socialist feminists deploy feminist interpretation of Marxist discourse to explore 'feminist questions to feminist answers'. They argued that there are linkages between racism, capitalism, imperialism and male domination and demanded eliminating those ideological forms. Thus, they debunked the relations between capitalism, male dominance and consequential-capitalism driven division of labour. Socialist feminists analyzed the masculine and feminine character types. They assert that 'the existing social systems condition gender structuring 'of bodies of women. Thus, they challenged the Marxian notion of alienation by stating that men only experience alienation. In other words, women do not experience alienation. Therefore, the idea of alienation is male-centric. They are defined accruing to the interests of men.

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1.9.4 Psychoanalytic Feminism

Feminists like Juliet Mitchell provided new readings of the perspectives of Sigmund Freud. She argued that psychoanalysis gives an explanation of patriarchy. It does not provide reductionist alternatives to the power of the male. The perspectives of Melanie Klein influence feminists. She mapped the children's relationship with their mother. Feminist adapted their perspectives to understand differences based on gender. They argued that psychological dimensions are gendered and sexed. Feminists like Kate Millet argued that Freudian theories served conservative interests by providing reductionist analysis on women. Judith Butler is conscious of the assumption of compulsive heterosexuality in psychoanalytical feminist's writings.

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1.9.5 Black Feminism

Black Feminism deconstructed the white Universalist biases of the dominant feminism. Thus, it is a rapture from the hegemonic forms of feminism. Black women struggle against racial, sexual, heterosexual forms, including class oppression. Black feminist argues that they gain their perspectives from historical realities of the struggle of Afro-American women for there survival. However, they emphasized the intricacies of sexual and racial identity. Hence they formed National Feminist Organization in New York in the year 1973. They were also connected with movements related to Civil Rights such as Black Nationalism, Black Panther, etc. It draws its basic premises from the personal lives of Black women. However, they place their

movements within the field of the modern economy and Black politics. Thus, it is contended that race and gender are related to their political repression.

For instance, the rape of a black woman by a white man is political repression for them. At the same time, they are conscious of the challenges such as capitalism and imperialism. By claiming their position on the liberation of Black, they argue that if one is not accessible, how they can liberate others. Hence, they are liberating black men too. Therefore, they provide a critical dimension to their struggle against racial and patriarchal domination. Black feminist positioned themselves as the most oppressed, marginalized and degraded communities. The middle-class black women are represented in Black feminist writing as the agency that can create consciousness among the poor black women by establishing communes. For instance, Patricia Hill Collins, one of the most pioneering black feminist, argues that black women are the 'Outside within' their community and the dominant –non-black-white community. Black feminist thus offers a powerful critique of multifaceted aspects of race and gender.

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1.9.6 Eco-feminism

Ecofeminists explore the oppression of the environment and women. The environment and women are the two categories that are essential to undermine male dominance. French writer Françoise d'Eaubonne introduced this term in 1974 to show the capability of women in the upsurge of an ecological assertion. At the same time, it considers the perils of the dominance of human beings and men on earth and women. It questions the cultures that undermine the existence of nature and women. Thus, ecofeminists demand political action to challenge those biases which question the authenticity of women and nature. It is observed that nature is undergoing rapid changes due to the exploitative –science and technology and industrialized society. Simultaneously, women are oppressed by the hierarchical trends that emerge from the conglomeration of capitalism and patriarchy. Thus, it results in the negligence of labour of women in the home and the acceptance of labour of men in the market systems. It is important to understand the formative periods of ecofeminism. Activists within the peace movement of the United States of America started to reflect on the correlations between racial discrimination, military domination and classed based inequalities. It evolved during the period of second-wave feminism.

They also theorized that science and technology are patriarchal and masculine. Biotechnology induced research created problems in nature. At the same time, reproductive technology affected the lives of women. Mies and Shiva argued that the aforementioned technology-driven changes exploit women for the mere purpose of production. Thus, women started agitating against different forms of exploitation of nature. The fundamental premise of ecofeminists focuses on the notion that a woman represents nature due to their role in biological reproduction. Women are theorized as someone who is intimate to nature due to their capability of reproduction. Thus, women and nature are oppressed through the vicious circles of male dominated-technological discourses. Women and their linkage to nature have political implications, and it is vital to their articulations against the forms as mentioned earlier of dominance.

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1.9.7 Womanism

The category of womanism questions the stereotypes that characterize women as girlish, frivolous, and irresponsible and so on. It represents a particular knowledge within the Afro-American feminist ideologies. It appropriates the black folk culture influenced by the dialogues between black mothers and their female children. Alice Walker argued that acting "womanish" is like "acting like a woman". Womanism, according to Alice Walker, explores the philosophical investigations of Afro-American women. It is linked to their intellectual growth. Women encourage love and sexual/asexual engagements among women. Simultaneously, she argued that there is no element of separatism in womanism. As an intellectual cum experiential discourse, it engages with aesthetes, sprits, struggle and so on.

Reference

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1.9.8 Postmodernist feminism

It is argued that feminism and postmodernism question forms of hegemonic knowledge such as scientific rationality and causal enquiries. It is also theorized as mutually "complementary" and "corrective". It explores the differences that exist between men and women. The postmodernist critiques of the meta-narratives are considered productive in the field of gender studies. As a response to postmodernist debates, feminists argue that power and forms of inequality can be analyzed in the context of language. Postmodern feminists theorized women as the other. They were criticized for

their abstract and detached bourgeoisie identity. Postmodern feminists in North America and France engaged with the writings of Jacques Lacan and Jacques Derrida. Postmodern feminists such as Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray and Helene Cixous played a vital role in the debates on postmodernist feminism. Kristeva and Irigaray deployed Lacanian reading of Sigmund Freud to explore the pre-oedipal condition, i.e., the relationship between mother and son. Kristeva explored the diverse maternal aspects. Irigaray emphasized on the sexed identity of women. Helene Cixous introduced the term 'feminine writing' and its specificity from the 'canonized masculine writing'. Thus, and she questioned the reductionist patriarchal language. Some of the scholars argued that categories such as "women" and "patriarchy" are essentialist. They explored the representation of femininity and masculinity in print and visual culture. At the same time, they argued that most of the great theoretical explorations on patriarchy have failed to understand the historical and cultural transitions related to diverse aspects of women's lives.

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1.9.9 Postcolonial feminism

The intellectual tradition of postcolonialism influences postcolonial feminism. Postcolonial scholarship scrutinized the impact of the former colonized state and its reproduction of new forms of colonial past. Thus, the culture of colonialism is mediated through the neo-colonial or post-colonial lifeworlds. However, postcolonial feminists who hail from decolonized regions analyzed their gendered body politic within the gamut of newly formed nation-states. In other words, it helped them to re-think the determinants of gender, citizenship, identity and nationalism. Educational interventions of postcolonial feminism subjected the colonial interventions and their role in structuring the agency of the native women. Postcolonial feminist scholars debunked the gendered and Eurocentric biases of the colonial intelligentsia. Thus, they revisited the exoticization of the colonial past, the coloniser's gaze on the colonized and so on. Women's productive and counterproductive roles were also analyzed to understand their locations within the domination of the colonizer and oppression of the colonized. At

the same time, feminists also addressed the questions related to sexuality, race and gender. It mapped the colonialism and subsequent oppression of women.

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1.9.10 Dalit feminism

Dalit feminism emerged as a critique of the value-free, dominant, mainstream feminist trends in India. Dalit feminists emphasize that Dalit women are oppressed based on social factors such as caste, gender and class. Thus, they challenge the dominant feminist framework, which focused on class and gender.

Dalit feminist established an autonomous organization called the National Federation of Dalit women (NFDW) in 1995.

They draw the energy from Jotirao Phule, Savitrabai Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Babasaheb Ambedkar, and those who engage with the anti-caste movement. Dalit feminists argued that caste is interlinked to the oppression of Dalit women. For instance, Indian society is based on the hierarchy of caste. Occupations in India are divided based on caste. It can be seen in the occupations such as manual scavengers, cobblers and so on. Dalit feminist situates their critique by engaging with the multifaceted unequal status of Dalit women. They raised the difference of 'internal' and 'external' patriarchy as a fundamental premise of their critical inquiry of the dominant feminism. According to them, 'internal' patriarchy refers to the oppression of Dalit women by Dalit men.

On the other hand, the 'external' patriarchy deals with their oppression of Dalit women by the dominant /non-Dalit / men and women. For instance, victims of rape as Dalit women, bonded Dalit women labourers undergo internal and external patriarchies. At the same time, they argue, Dalit women have the authenticity to represent themselves in politics. However, Dalit feminists assert that question of agency is essential for the overall development of the lives of Dalit women. Thus, they also deploy the writings of Dalit women, such as autobiographies, to foreground their distinct and stigmatized socialization.

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Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- Note:** i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.
ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What is Ecofeminism?

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1.10 LET US SUM UP

This Unit provided you with a range of fundamental concepts related to Gender Agriculture and sustainable development. The authors have mentioned these concepts in the subsequent Units to explain theories and contemporary issues related to gender, agriculture and sustainable development. It is essential for you, as learners, to understand these concepts clearly. It will help you to relate these concepts later in this programme.

1.11 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Explain Patriarchy briefly.
2. What is postcolonialism?
3. Explain liberal, Marxist and socialist feminisms briefly.
4. Explain Dalit feminisms, postcolonialism and womanism briefly.

1.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise I

Ecofeminists explore the oppression of the environment and women. The environment and women are the two categories that are essential to undermine male dominance. French writer Francoise d'Eaubonne introduced this term in 1974 to show the capability of women in the upsurge of an ecological assertion. At the same time, it considers the perils of the dominance of human beings and men on earth and women. It questions the cultures that undermine the existence of nature and women. Thus, ecofeminists demand political action to challenge those biases which question the authenticity of women and nature. It is observed that nature is undergoing rapid changes due to the exploitative –science and technology and industrialized society.

1.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 2 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER*

*(Adopted from Block 1, Unit 3, MGS-001)

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Introducing the Topic
- 2.4 What is Social Construction?
- 2.5 Social Construction and Gender
- 2.6 Construction of a Girl Child
- 2.7 Sex Segregation
- 2.8 Division of Labour and the Sphere of Work
- 2.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.10 Unit End Questions
- 2.11 Answers to Check Your Exercises
- 2.12 References and Suggested Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As the title of the Unit goes, our main aim is to develop familiarity with the meaning, various dimensions of the social construction of gender for women in development through case studies and citing examples. Sociologically, the social construction of gender speaks about the relationship of gender with various institutions like caste, kinship, marriage and so on.

From the perspective of gender and development, the process of gender construction can be explained concerning the aspects of women's life like work, decision-making, honour killing, and the notion of autonomy and freedom. Gender construction operates both at the macro and micro level and very much embedded in the institutional arrangements of the society. In this course, the gender construction will be explained from sociological and development perspectives to understand the complex phenomenon of women's discrimination and inequality face by women on account of sex.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the processes of gender construction concerning the culture and order of the society.
- Examine the implications of gender construction with development indicators like sex segregation, division of labour, decision-making, and socialization.

- Examine the relationship between gender and the structural arrangements of society, and
- Analyze the necessary features of the universal position of gender construction.

2.3 INTRODUCING THE TOPIC

The Unit discusses the meaning of the social construction of gender. It starts with explaining the meaning of social construction and understanding gender concerning culture, sex segregation, workforce participation, decision-making, honour killing, and the notion of autonomy and freedom. First, the section on gender construction focuses broadly on the culture and various structures like work, sex segregation, and division of labour, perpetuating the existing gender divisions based on sex difference. Similarly, in the section on work and the sexual division of labour, we discuss gender as an analytical tool to understand the inequalities that are reflected in ways of hierarchization of tasks, unequal distribution of resources, the invisibility of women's work in agriculture and informal economy, and the sex segregation in the sphere of work within the household.

2.4 WHAT IS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION?

It is very often said that there is no such thing as a social reality and “what social constructions are?” Similarly, in reality, there is nothing intrinsically “good” or “bad”. These are but social constructions. In other words, morality is the acquired vision of society. How is the vision of a society or its social construction shaped? Is it shaped automatically? Is it culture-specific? Let us examine this process of social construction. Every day we observe various objects, experience a lot of events and related to various social interactions. These entire phenomena that are experienced individually help to develop an image of the society or the world. Indeed we filter everything that happens to us every day through lens or screen of our understanding of our world. This ordinary sense of the word or thing forms the basis of social reality or the construction of social reality. Social construction is a social process in which both individual and other social processes are intrinsically related. Every construction or image of the world is influenced by the individual's experience of society and his/her interaction with various social processes. Therefore, it is argued that the social construction carries subjective biases as it is shaped by individual experience. Social construction is also influenced and dominated by the interests of a particular group or class of people. For instance, in Pakistan, power and education rest with a few elites and take an interest in developing the human resources of the majority. In this sense, the culture, norms, ideologies, and values of the dominant group justify and sustain a particular form of social construction. Hence, social constructions through which we understand everyday life try to classify people based on caste, class, religion, community, kinship, gender, etc. The classification of

people is the product of social construction and forms an integral part of the social processes. Social processes such as primary socialization and social institutions' presence help produce an accepted kind of social construction. Hence, gender is the product of such social construction.

Check Your Progress Exercise: 1

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What is social construction?

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2.5 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND GENDER

In this section, I talked about social construction and gender.

Sex and Gender

Understanding the social construction of gender starts with explaining the two concepts, i.e., gender and sex. Often, these two terms have used interchangeably; however, they bear different meanings as concepts. Gender refers to differences, hierarchies, rankings which exist between two sexes. Gender explains cultural constructions of various roles that women and men in society play. Further, gender analyses the aspect of shaping women's behaviour according to the normative order of the society. Gender as a conceptual tool is used to analyze the structural relationships of inequality between women and men, as reflected in various aspects of life, such as household, labour market, education, and political institutions. Sex, on the other hand, refers to the biological differences between female and male, which are the same across time and place. Gender can therefore be defined as a notion that offers a set of frameworks within which the social and ideological construction and representation of differences between the sexes are explained (IGNOU p: 7). For instance, gender explains the structured relations between women and men within society.

In Singapore, housework continues to be understood as a gender-based issue, as it is intrinsically linked to women's role and activities. Domestic work is gender-specificity remains central to Singapore's social life and state policymaking (Phua and Yeoh 2008). Therefore, women's association with housework and men's proximity to public work are the products of socio-

cultural contexts. Further, this notion of separation/difference brings discrimination between two sexed persons. Women's social expectations as natural mothers, wives, daughters, and homemakers exist at the ideological level and operate in the material environment. Some feminist geographers have argued that space and gender are socially constructed, and women's bodies, activities, and socialization processes are limited to specific physical territory and structure. Sex, on the other hand, connects the individual with her/his sex categorization and eventually restricts the individual with the social notion of femininity and masculinity.

Cultural Construction of Gender

Gender is being a complex phenomenon that is socially constructed and culturally determined. Culture describes a web of relationships that expresses the meaning, pattern of living, and values of the institutions. Culture covers almost every aspect of life, ranging from organization of production, the structure of family and institutions, ideologies and normative patterns of the society and forms of interactions or relations. The cultural construction of gender talks about the construction of masculinity and femininity in the context of socialization, i.e., the individual acquires the gendered bodies of being feminine or masculine in social development. The construction of femininity and masculinity plays an essential role in shaping the institutions of family, economic organization, political, and religion. The understanding of gender concerning culture reflects the structure of stratification, existing power relations between women and men, and the process of acquiring the accepted roles and behaviour. We can explain gender construction about culture through the following points;

- **Gender Construction supports dominance:** The gender categories are never neutral, nor are they equal. This construction of gender perpetuates the system of dominance across society. Gender as a system of unequal relations provides a range of choices to women and men in spheres of work, production process, access to resources and power, accepting the specific gender roles, and sex segregation in the work and labour market.
- **Gender construction vis-a-vis Individual Expression of Gender:** Feminist psycho- analysis assesses that gender cannot be seen as exclusively cultural, linguistic, and political constructions. Therefore, we need to distinguish between the rigid construction of gender and individual reflections of these constructions. The rigid construction of gender is those images that are socially, historically, culturally determined. For example, the socialization of a girl child like a housewife by internalizing some of the socially accepted behaviour ranging from dress code and good conduct to care and nurture. In addition to the socio-cultural construction of gender behaviour according to sexual identity, there is an individual's notion of expressing gender behaviour. Individual inflexions are made by interacting with an individual psyche with socio-political or cultural, or historical norms. For

example, suppose a boy/girl undergoes sex transformation. In that case, there are a couple of questions, such as how societies respond to variation in individual "s expression of gender identity, to what extent societies internalize various gender roles and behaviours. This point brings us to the discussion of gender as the concept within the social construction of gender. Doing gender involves a complex set of socially governed perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities that cast particular action as an expression of masculine or feminine nature (West and Zimmerman 1991). Gender is an achieved action that is located in a particular social situation. Therefore, it is an observed feature of social situation, i.e., gender outcome of and produced social arrangements. For example, the newborn only carries the sex identity imposed upon the individual by the society. Even though continuous interaction with the parents or primary caretakers, the infant accomplishes gender identity. Often, the unequal treatment of parents towards boys" vis-à-vis girls creates gender difference and turned into gender discrimination. Doing gender is a process that legitimizes the fundamental division of society.

Box: 1 The case of Agnes: A transsexual boy

West and Zimmerman discuss the three analytical categories, such as sex, sex category, and gender, to understand the notion of doing gender. Garfinkel's case study of Agnes, a transsexual boy, would be an apt example for understanding gender construction. Agnes adopted a female identity at the age of seventeen and underwent sex reassignment surgery some years later to understand the gender construction. She possessed male genitalia and required to project herself as a woman. She was obliged to learn the feminine features and analyse femininity within the socially structured situation. She did not possess the socially agreed biological category to be classified as the female sex. More central to this argument is Kessler and McKenna's position, i.e., Biological criteria (sex) is hidden from the public perception and individual continues to behave according to the socially agreed criteria of male or female. Male or female are the products of the gender attribution process and form an essential part of gender accomplishment/activities. For example, if a child sees a picture of a person with a suit and tie, immediately the child connects the picture with the image of a man. The sex category is socially situated and acquired by the individual through everyday interaction. People perceive the activity of an individual and deduce the category of sex. In this context, gender is understood to be the product of culture and society.

The example mentioned above shows that the categories of masculinity and femininity are socially constructed, and the gender identity can only be established in conformation with the biological identity. Femininity and masculinity is nothing but accepting and showing conformity with socially

accepted gender behaviours and roles. Gender identity is subjective. Therefore, these categories do not stay static in the history and culture of the society.

- **Socialization**

Socialization is how the child transforms into the social being by adhering to social values, norms, and socially desired behaviour. Many feminists see the socialization process as a self-perpetuating system and have shown concern in sex role socialization. Sex-role socialization is a means to women’s oppression in the larger context. Stanley and Wise argue that sex role is often understood as gender role, i.e., expressing attributes of femininity or masculinity. The moment you perceive socialization as a system, we understand the process as a patriarchal system, which only perpetuates the expected values and norms. Family as an institution helps in internalizing two concepts such as socialization and gender roles. The mother or primary caretaker responds differently to the child based on the sex categorization. The differential attitude includes touching, caring, and ideas about autonomy of boys and absence of autonomy of girls. The more parents display differential behaviour like exposing children to specific toys, the more the child will express gender stereotypes. Parents are seen as channels through which gender stereotypes are communicated to the children, and later, the children internalize the multiple stereotypes (Stanley and Sue Wise).

Check Your Progress Exercise: 2

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

2. What is cultural construction of gender?

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2.6 CONSTRUCTION OF A GIRL CHILD

The construction of a girl child discusses growing a girl into a female in patrilineal and patriarchal societies like India. It will reflect on the issue of constraints that a girl faces in the process of socializing herself as a female, adhering to differential values attached with the male vis-à-vis female child,

how does she acquire appropriate roles to her gender identity, and what are the mechanisms which help her in internalizing cultural values and visualizing the image of her future. Dube (2000) refers to the process of socialization as female as how women are produced as gendered subjects. She further discusses creating gendered subjects through the medium of language, rituals, ceremonies and practices. The construction of a gendered subject, i.e., carrying the identity of femininity or masculinity, is both socially and culturally produced. For example, in every culture, the gender difference is rooted in biology or preordained nature. In Indian Hindu families, the notion of gender difference begins with the sphere of reproduction – both mother and father share different role concerning procreation. It is culturally considered that the father is the provider of seeds and the mother provides the platform to receive the seeds and nurture them further. These role differences are culturally imagined and reflected in other social institutions like family, marriage, and kinship. The social construction of gender questions the preconceived idea to assign unequal roles to male and female, and to analyze how other gender roles are learnt within the complex of relationships and institutions. Gender identity is created through learning gender roles. Therefore, it becomes essential to understand the process of gender construction in the broader context of family and kinship structure. Family and kinship are central to the understanding of socialization. In socialization, the family plays two significant roles, such as 1. rules of recruitment of members in the family and 2. configuration of roles based on gender and age divisions and providing training in the acquisition of future roles. These family roles have become agencies in imparting the characters of growing up female in Indian society.

Girl child and the Natal Home

The construction of femininity is a continuous and complex process and is conveyed through language, proverbs, and rituals. The context of natal home for both married and unmarried daughters is widely used in the form of proverbs in socialization. The desire for a boy child is explicit in day to day conversation in the forms of saying. For instance, parents who have only daughters often commented that the future is black as they are not having any support" (Dube 2000: 90). Similarly, in regions like Maharashtra, girls are honoured with accomplishments as girls are always associated with home and household works. In the process of acquiring femininity, the parental home is always referred to be a temporary shelter, there. Therefore grow up with the notion of having their own house in future. Girls grow up with the desire to have their own house evaluate and instruct their lives to learning socially appropriate behaviour verbs and rituals to realize this inevitable fact of transferring the girl 's membership from her natal home to the husband's home.

Dube, in her book, documented some of the sayings spoken in various parts of India. In Orissa, there is a saying that "equates daughter with ghee". The

proverb's meaning is both things are valuable. However, both start to stink if not disposed of on time. Similarly, there are festivals like Durga puja and Gauri puja, which reiterates the idea of "homecoming" in the context of goddess. These festivals are full of rituals that convey the message to young girls of their reality of leaving their mother's home and being invited to the natal home. In this context, the girl's socialization takes place through rituals, proverbs, and festivities that emphasize the need to learn adequate feminine behaviour of obedience, submissiveness, accommodative, etc. The construction of a girl child begins with getting temporary membership at the parental place and the inevitability of learning some of the ideal feminine characters.

The socialization process of the girl child involves the inherent steps of construction of femininity at the pre-pubertal and post-pubertal phases. In the pre-pubertal phase, there is a differential value attached to the son vis-à-vis daughters. Sons are preferred for the continuation of descent, and daughters are valued for maintaining the sense of pre-pubertal purity in the society. The importance of pre-pubertal purity amongst the girls has given special recognition in rituals of the various region of India like Maharashtra, West-Bengal, Karnataka and North India. In these regions, a little girl is associated with different customs like marriage, name giving ceremony, observing seclusion during menstruation and celebrating Navaratra by feeding pre-pubertal girls. These celebrations implicitly emphasize the auspiciousness and purity of the girl child or virgin woman. The construction of femininity is a continuous and complex process and is conveyed through language, proverbs, and rituals. The context of natal home for both married and unmarried daughters is widely used in the form of proverbs in socialization. The desire for a boy child is explicit in day to day conversation in the forms of saying. For instance, parents who have only daughters often commented that the future is black as they are not having any support" (Dube 2000: 90). Similarly, in regions like Maharashtra, girls are honoured with accomplishments as girls are always associated with home and household works. In the process of acquiring femininity, the parental home is always referred to be a temporary shelter, there. Therefore grow up with the notion of having their own house in future. Girls grow up with the desire to have their own house evaluate and instruct their lives to learning socially appropriate behaviour verbs and rituals to realize this inevitable fact of transferring the girl's membership from her natal home to the husband's home.

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Box 2: Case Analysis

In Navaratri, the customs of worshiping and feeding virgin girls are widely practice across India. On the eightieth day of the festival, pre-pubertal girls are invited for worship and food. The girls represent Mother Goddess and they were worshiped and offered food along with other gifts as part of the ritual. Two points can be inferred from this analysis, 1. In this festival the forms assigned to the girls are essentially feminine in nature, 2. The consciousness of femininity is constructed through their dressing style and from the gifts offered to them, and 3. a sharp distinction can be made between the phases of pre-puberty and post-puberty, and consequently, there is a sense of purity and sacredness is associated with the pre-pubertal phase of women's life. The construction of femininity is symbolized in these rituals and the sense of feminine features is systematically built into the minds of the girl child.

The onset of puberty is the phase, which is marked by changes and transformation in women's life. This phase is associated with several pubertal rituals, dietary prescriptions and seclusion of girls for a certain day and these are practiced widely across India in various forms. These pubertal rituals express the significance of sexuality and motherhood for a girl child and the notion of controlled sexuality in this phase of women's vulnerability and adulthood. Marriage and motherhood as two goals are highly valued for the girls in this age and often made evident to them by allocating specific roles to young girls, observing complete seclusion and imposing food restrictions during menstruation, and so on. The construction of a girl in a Hindu family

is indicative of the fact of learning feminine behaviour and socialize by adopting the structured role of an imaginary wife and mother.

2.7 SEX SEGREGATION

There is a linear relationship between economic structure and sex segregation.

The notion of sex segregation has become apparent with the advancement of industrialization and the capitalist economy. Sex segregation is mainly observed and studied within the occupation and economic structure, which reflects women's entering into a particular kind of profession in the regime of any economic reform. Purdah or the practice of female seclusion is widely followed across countries and communities, and it prescribes evident gender segregation in rural tasks and activities. In Bangladesh, female seclusion is operated according to the inside/outside divide (Kabeer 1990). The author says that the poor women in Bangladesh are subjected to the twofold process of stereotyping. On the one hand, poor women are perceived to be passive and vulnerable, and on the other hand, they regarded as the target groups of policymakers and development practitioners. These images of women have been reinforced through cultural constructions like women have always in need of male protection for their survival. The social norms and practices have portrayed women to be passive and dependant in the larger context of society. For example, the notion of inside/outside divide has curtailed women's freedom to move beyond household premises. Therefore, they perform activities within the sphere of domesticity. In the agricultural process, the activities near the homestead were performed and governed by women exclusively. The culture and society at large shapes women's engagement with the specific nature of activities.

There is a comprehensive division between men and women in terms of differential wage, access to MGNREGS job card, nature of work, and work in the labour market. Traditionally, women have perceived to be dependent as far as employment is concerned. For instance, within the family, women have access to resources through the male counterpart. Similarly, women in the labour market go through the male channels in accessing wage and other job opportunities. The employment figures of Census 1991 shows severe male-female disparities in accessing the available opportunities. In the labour market, the predominant numbers of women are non-workers, and out of 89.77 women, a substantial percentage of women belong to marginal workers.

Further, the majority of women are concentrated in the unorganized sector as compared to the male workforce. The ratio of female to male workers in the unorganized sectors seems unfavourable to women. In the unorganized sector, 95.79 per cent of females concentrated compared to 89.77 per cent of male workers. In the organized sector, there is a more significant concentration of women in the public sector than in the private sector. There

is segregation based on gender within the labour market, and this division has led to rising socio-economic insecurities for women working in unorganized and private sectors (Seth 2001). The author indicated that the states having low female status are into low paid and hazardous employment. The proportion of women in the central government services is deficient as compared to men. Having an understanding of women's employment in all sectors of labour market, it can argue that women are mostly concentrated in low paid primarily they are low in status hierarchies.

Similarly, women's participation in political and technical employments is very low. In the agricultural sector, women's have substantial contribution; however, they have mainly employed marginally. With agriculture, there is sex segregation about the nature of work concerning women and men. In most of the states in India, men are engaged in ploughing and irrigation related activities and women have exclusively engaged in works like sowing, nurturing of plants, and harvesting. Men are mostly associated with the market as immediate actions of the agricultural produce, and the control of resource and surplus is considered man's domain. Therefore, the benefits of the new government scheme and the new improvised farming practices do not percolate down to women. Women having less accessibility to monetary resources and new schemes are led them to resort to low wages and deprived of any labour benefits. The structure of patriarchy of the private domain gets reflected in the structures of the public domain. The social construction of gender reveals the discrimination and inequality existing in family, work and employment.

Over the past 20 years, globalization has led to an export-oriented economy in countries like India, which created several manufacturing jobs and brought most women into the paid workforce. Women engaged in manufacturing jobs have increased their quality of life and have received higher authority by earning money. However, in developing countries like India, sex segregation within the labour market has remained the sole determinant in women's decision making and wage negotiation. In developing countries, women are less educated compared to men. Therefore, the women have always gone for temporary, part-time, and risk-prone jobs without labour and health benefits.

Within the unorganized sector, women are resorting to low in the hierarchy compared to the male. For instance, in Bangladesh and Cambodia, 85 per cent and 90 per cent of factory jobs are held by women, particularly in the garment industry. In Colombia and Zimbabwe, 65 per cent and 87 per cent of jobs in the cut flower industry are held by women, respectively. In the fruit industry of South Africa, women comprise 69 per cent of temporary and seasonal workers. The data shows that women substantially concentrated in the unorganized workforce. However, they have no formal contract as employees and exposed to poor safety conditions and other vulnerabilities. Women as the workforce are primarily important to the global economy and, at the same time, devoid of health and labour protection.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.
ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

1. How does sex segregation help to understand gender construction?

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2.8 DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE SPHERE OF WORK

Gender relations are situated within the sexual division of labour and often create gender conflict. African agriculture is often perceived to be the female system of farming. African women carry out agricultural work independent of their household and family. Within agriculture, the sphere of work is divided along gender lines. Women and men's work was located within the sexual division of labour that is the product of existing domestic and kinship arrangements. In Africa, the separation of the sphere of work between women and men implies the social exchange of labour between women and men. However, women's sphere of work is surrounded by a complex set of claims and obligations. As Whitehead argued, two different kinds of social environment govern women's economic activity in Africa. In women's sphere of work, they have access to resources like land and the produce was shared with their children, husband, and other family members.

On the contrary, women should work for their husband and other family members, but there is no direct return for women's labour. Here, women's sphere of work is independent of domesticity; at the same time, women's labour is constructed within the social climate of rights and obligations. Women's work in the husband's field is conceptualised under her general rights to welfare and maintenance as the household member. In the African female farming system, women have the autonomy in contributing their labour. However, other activities related to production like disposal of food crops and access to land are embedded in the social environment and structural arrangements. Africa, In women's sphere of work, they have access to resources like land and the produce was shared with her children, husband, and other family members. Boserup's model on women's role in economic development was widely acknowledged within the field of women's work. The model explicitly discussed the notion of the sexual division of labour in the context of modernization. First, the author argued for a female farming

system and the relegation of women's agricultural work in the wake of modernization. African agriculture exhibited a dualism based on gender, i.e., the cash crop sector is managed by the menfolk. The food crop sector is organized through women's labour and their traditional farming methods. This model emphasized the feminine nature of subsistence farming and women's inability to participate in the modern farming sector. Though this model had shown a clear cut sexual division of labour in the agricultural sector, at the same time, it was criticized because of completely neglected women's contribution to modern food production. Whitehead argues, to meet the increasing cash needs of the African households, women have significantly contributed to the family labour for cash cropping or increased trading. Women's contribution towards the cash crop sector is also conceptualized according to the household arrangements. For instance, in Africa, the assumption is that the well being of women is dependent on the well being of the household. Therefore, despite women having an independent domain of work, their activities, claims, and obligations are tied with the structural arrangements.

Work is often understood to be physical and mental labour. According to Hochschild coined the term "emotional labour" reflects a particular kind of work associated with care and nurture. Emotional labour is associated with female occupation both in the domain of family and work sphere. Within the family, women's unpaid work is described as a labour of love.

Box 3: Labour of Love

Have you many children? The doctor asked.

God has not been kind to me. Of fifteen born, only nine live. Does your wife work?

No, she stays at home.

I see, how does she spend her day? Doctor asked.

Well, she gets up at four in the morning, fetches water, and wood, makes the fire and cooks breakfast. Then she goes to the river and washes clothes. After that she goes to town to get corn ground and buys what we need in the market. Then she cooks the midday meal. She brings the meal to the field.

She takes care of the hens and pigs, and of course she looks after the children. Then she prepares supper so it is ready when I come home (Mitter 2000)

The above-mentioned describes the nature of labour associated with females and considered to be feminine. Even in the world economy, women continue to work for low-paid wages and bear the image of casual or temporary labourers. The image of peripheral workers or casual workers that women bear reflect the notion of job insecurity and women's inaccessibility to any

other forms of benefits and career progression. Within the work sphere, women have limited freedom and autonomy.

2.9 LET US SUM UP

The unit discusses the concept of gender while making the distinction between biological sex and social gender. The unit contributes to the understanding of gender both as social and cultural constructions. Gender as a social division has impacted women and men differentially in socialization, work, sex segregation, and division of labour.

2.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Is gender socially constructed? Substantiate your arguments with suitable examples.
2. Gender is a product of society and culture: Comment the statement.
3. How do aspects like division of labour and sex segregation explain the notion of femininity and masculinity?

2.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Social construction is a social process in which both individual and other social processes are intrinsically related. Every construction or image of the world is influenced by the individual's experience of the society and his/her interaction with various social processes. Therefore, many often it is argued that the social construction itself carries subjective biases as it is shaped by individual experience. Social construction is also influenced and dominated by the interests of a particular group or class of people.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Gender is being the complex phenomena is socially constructed and culturally determined. Culture describes as a web of relationships that expresses the meaning, pattern of living, and values of the institutions. Culture covers almost every aspects of life ranging from organization of production, structure of family and institutions, ideologies and normative patterns of the society and forms of interactions or relations. Cultural construction of gender talks about the construction of masculinity and feminity in the context of socialization.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. There is a linear relationship between economic structure and sex segregation. The notion of sex segregation has become apparent with the advancement of industrialization and capitalist economy. Sex

segregation is mostly observed and studied within occupation and economic structure, which reflects women's entering into a particular kind of profession in the regime of any economic reform. Purdah or the practice of female seclusion is widely followed across countries and communities and it prescribes obvious gender segregation in rural tasks and activities.

2.12 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 3 FEMINISMS IN DEVELOPMENT: THE GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT*

*(Adopted from Unit 4, Block 1, MGS-001)

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Feminism in Development Discourse
- 3.4 Emerging Realities and Conceptual Frames
- 3.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.6 Unit End Questions
- 3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
- 3.8 References and Suggested Readings

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit deals with how feminism is integrated into development discourse and its concern in Gender and Development (GAD) context. Feminism and its relevance in GAD is discussed in this Unit. Also a brief note about few GAD thinkers is also mentioned in this Unit along with a case study on policy analysis from GAD perspective.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the influence of feminism in development discourse;
- Analyze the importance of feminism in the context of gender and development; and
- Examine the contribution made by thinkers of GAD approach.

3.3 FEMINISM IN DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

How have feminisms influenced the development discourse? ‘Feminist discourses are not just tactical, but are powerful forms of interpretation for ourselves as well as others. They enable feminists to act. These feminist discourses and feminist actions are above all diverse, differentiated and themselves sites of contestation’. When feminisms engage with development, we see the emergence of a coming together, a coalition. We will now explore these discourse coalitions (Hajer 1995) or encouraging the building of coalitions across difference (McEwan 2001) in the Gender and Development context.

Box 3.1: Explains some key concerns in the gender and development context.

Box 3.1: Gender, Social Relations and Institutions

- Gender relations interlock with other social/power relations to keep women in a subordinate position.
- The other social relations in the Indian context include those based on hierarchies of caste, class, religious identity, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, differential ability, occupation and health status.
- Gender/social relations in turn are shaped by institutions of society: household, market (commodities, labour, finance, services, from local to international levels) community, state (executive, legislature, and judiciary), supra-state institutions.
- These institutions take different organizational forms.
- State is the larger institutional framework for a range of departments, ministries, local government organizations (Gram panchayats and Nagarpalikas), judicial organizations (supreme court, high courts, district courts, family courts, mahila courts, police stations etc.).
- The market is the framework for organizations like farming arrangements, small-scale enterprises, private limited companies, multinational companies, and private media.
- The community comprises of different organizations like religious organizations, village traditional panchayats, political factions, community groups, and NGOs.
- The household may comprise of nuclear or extended families.
- Thus an institution is a framework of rules, ideologies and structures for achieving certain social or economic goals, and organizations refer to the specific structural forms that institutions take.
- Each institution, as well as organization, includes certain members and keeps certain members out, has rules or norms, distributes resources unequally, distributes decision-making powers differentially and has certain ideology.
- Women, girls and elderly, in particular from dalit, adivasi and minority communities, from landless households, and from other socially excluded groups (e.g. sex workers, those affected by HIV/AIDS) are particularly disadvantaged through institutional rules, membership, resource and power allocation. This also applies to those who are sexual minorities and differently abled.
 - The official ideology of institutions is far from true in reality:
 - Households are not 'altruistic' but sites of 'cooperative conflicts'.
- Markets are 'not neutral' but biased towards the 'rich'

- Most traditional community organizations do not maintain a ‘moral society’ but maintain ‘gender and social hierarchies’.
- State does not ‘promote the welfare or protect citizens’, but at times violates or turns a blind eye to violation of women’s rights.
- Supra-state institutions may not protect and promote the welfare of the ‘global citizen’ but instead may act in the interests of global capital and developed countries.

Source: Ranjani K. Murthy and Mercy Kappen (2007) Institutionalizing Gender Within Organizations and Programmes: A Trainer’s Manual, Visthar, Bangalore

Some key arguments and debates are summarized in Table 4.1 elaborating on re-conceptualizing GAD across three decades by Cathy McIlwaine and Kavita Datta in their paper on “From Feminizing to Engendering Development”.

Table 3.1 : Key Arguments and Debates in Re-concept GAD

Argument/ Debate	Selected References
Feminism no longer refers to a western-influenced, hegemonic set of ideas, but, rather, takes a series of forms operating at different scales, whether local, national, regional or transnational	Stubbs, 2000; Vargas, 2002
There is a need to foreground embedded local practices and the ‘imbrications’ of local gender relations and ideologies according to place and space	Afshar, 2000 on Iran; Kesby, 1999 on Zimbabwe; Robson, 2000 on Nigeria
It is important to link local understandings with strategic commonalities among women (and men) in order to effect change	Raju, 2002
Northern and Southern feminists have called for a need to form alliances across space and place that draw on commonalities	Peake and Trotz 2002; Walby 2002
Within the broad GAD framework there is the emergence of the equality approach that promotes power sharing between women and men as a fundamental human right marking a shift from needs-based approaches	Chant & Gutmann 2000; Sengupta 2000; Mohan & Holland 2001
However, rights conceptualized in western, individualistic terms may be at odds with many cultures in the South where communal or group rights may be more important	Radcliffe 2002
Strategies are required that can transform rights into choices and concrete improvements in women’s lives	Cornwall & Welbourn 2002; Harcourt, 2002

Source: Adapted from Cathy McIlwaine & Kavita Datta (2003): From Feminizing to Engendering Development. Gender, Place and Culture, 10:4, 369-382

Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead (2007) have focused on the importance of “narratives advocating gender and development within development institutions”. These narratives have helped to give an impetus to creation of a cadre of professionals and a ‘body’ of organizations of various kinds whose work deals with issues of gender. These authors emphasize that ‘discourse coalitions’ have been constructed around particular feminist insights in the development discourse. What are these insights? Among the two most important insights are:

- Households are sites of conflict as well as cooperation; and
- Women face a double burden of productive and reproductive work (now we speak of a triple burden including community management work).

According to the authors, ‘forging appropriate forms of solidarity across difference has never been more important than in the precarious geo-political realities of the world’. They suggest that attempts to redefine and reshape development intervention should, in fact, be based on “gender” as an organizing principle in the development process. Gender, in itself, is one of the critical axes of difference in our societies. We may speak, for example, of the unifying experiences of all women, their solidarity. But, on further exploration, we realize that experiences of women may actually vary depending on the influence of other axes of difference. What are these? Yes, you are right. Axes of difference such as caste, class, religion and race can have strong, powerful influences and may interact with each other to define how an individual is ‘gendered’ in and by society. These axes of difference do act together or in opposition; in some cases they increase the influence of such difference, in other cases they shrink it. However, feminists advocate working for furthering the cause of women’s empowerment in different contexts, recognizing and bridging difference or as Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead put it ‘forging appropriate forms of solidarity’ or oneness.

Do you expect feminists engaging with development to have widely differing experiences? We need to acknowledge that there is a wealth of experience spanning different regions and nations. Why? This happens because of different material, political and discursive positions emerging from varying contexts. Putting gender on the development agenda may, in fact, involve moving away from its original bases and aims. This is why we need to focus on crucial concerns of making the development process also an empowering one.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. List out the arguments of GAD which has evolved over three decades.

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Returning to our discussion of gender as an organizing principle in development intervention, it is interesting to explore how “gender” has become represented by approaches, tools, frameworks and mechanisms in the mechanisms of professionalization and institutionalization. We must understand that approaches, tools, frameworks and mechanisms constitute necessary elements in practical applications. However, they should not be regarded as a mere “technical fix”. Rather, we should employ them as vehicles for women’s empowerment. Some scholars have expressed concern that embedding in institutions, organizations and bureaucracy is very much a part of the processes of professionalization and institutionalization. They comment that this can loosen the link with feminism while at the same time providing feminists with livelihoods, work and indeed, identities (Cornwall, Harrision and Whitehead 2007).

What are the implications of these trends for development practice? Can we work on a transformative agenda? The answer is yes. We can strive for a more gender-just society and seek to change unequal power relations between women and men. In order to enable this transformative process, feminists need to engage with development institutions in new, critical ways respecting and bridging difference. Why do we need new ways of engagement? This is, in fact, deriving from the origins of the Gender and Development (GAD) approach in a particular time and phase ‘embedded in the politics of the time’. With changing times, new terms and frames of engagement need to be developed.

What does feminist engagement with development involve? One of the primary dimensions has been emphasized as making strategic alliances and substantial progress in policy making. Understanding approaches such as GAD in simplistic terms has led to limited engagement in meaningful ways with framing and implementing policies, providing different understandings of the way in which institutions influence outcomes, as well as different views of the pitfalls and compromises of political engagement. When alliances are made, we need to reflect on the cost of making such an alliance. It is necessary to ally with organizations and institutions which share critical goals of empowerment and development. Otherwise we risk the dilution of the empowerment agenda and remain restricted in our role as change makers.

When we talk of the interfaces of feminist discourse with the development agenda, there has been an increasing focus on the economic sphere. This focus can be attributed to the recognition that it is in this sphere that we see many of the changes associated with the ‘freeing of agency from structure’ (Adkins 2007) -- or what is often described as individualization. While individualization can be transformative, Adkins (1998) argues that organization of individualization may, in fact, be central to the organization of gender oppression. Earning a wage may have transformative potential, but is it empowering in reality? This would have its basis in individualization and its organization. Entering the workplace may actually add to a woman’s work burden and shrink her time reserves without giving her real access to or control of her earnings. Can you think of examples from our country where such a situation exists? Look at the informal labour market in our country and

other developing countries. Do women working in the informal sector get the kinds of 'decent work' [as defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO)] which they seek? Are they paid just wages with reasonable working hours? Are working conditions safe? Are they exploited?

What are the implications of the argument we have just studied? Individualization need not change the status quo. In fact, the gendered structuring of the economic domain may not de-stabilize existing gender-based division of labour. Individualization may actually accompany traditionalization of gender and, in particular, an intensified traditional division of labour. Evans (2003) speaks of the shift in the 21st century towards a prioritization of the workplace over the home, a reorganization of priorities operative in the case of both men and women. Work brings with it routinized tasks but often provides immediate and valued rewards. Compare this with the rewards in the world of the household and the family. Here, the rewards are less assured, less tangible in common perception. Do we observe the same value being given to long-term relationships as desired? We may not. This can be directly derived from the lack of obvious and substantial rewards associated with such relationships and hence may explain the crumbling of edifices of home and family and personal networks. Evans argues that 'the world of paid work has become the focus for both economic and emotional reward'.

Pearson (2003) makes the telling statement: "Being exploited by capital is the fate of virtually all women in today's global economy". Arguing that increases in wages will not on their own make women either less poor or more powerful, Pearson urges 'minimum income, labour regulation and proper social policy as key feminist expectations from states, which should resource the collective provision of services and recognize women's representation'. However, in the present context, can we hold states alone responsible or accountable for ensuring rights? Tsikata (2007) believes that in today's world, economic decisions are increasingly taken outside the effective control of the nation-state. In such contexts, it would be a 'strategic error to identify the state as the primary site of accountability that can deliver on rights'. Increased informalization of the labour market makes state provision doubly problematic. Pearson (2003) argues that there is 'considerable statistical, empirical and analytical evidence to indicate its increased consolidation, both driven and supported by patterns of economic globalization'.

Scholars such as Tsikata, therefore, do not expect newer top-down rights-based approaches to deliver gender justice when compared to previous top-down approaches. On the other hand, scholars such as Mukhopadhyay (2007) argue in favour of the rights-based approaches. She states that talking about rights privileges women's identities as citizens (Mukhopadhyay 2007), rather than reinforcing identities as mothers, wives and daughters (Lister 2003; Meer with Sever 2003).

3.4 EMERGING REALITIES AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMES

After elaborating these theoretical insights, let us examine practical realities in the Indian context. The last twenty five years since the Beijing Conference have seen substantial progress in official (government, donor and NGOs) discourse on women's development. Ranjani K. Murthy and Mercy Kappen (2007) have traced this process of change. In the 1980s and 1990s the discourse stressed integrating women in development. The 2001 National Policy on Empowerment of Women marked a shift with the discourse emphasizing the need for women's empowerment to challenge the socially constructed (gender) power relations between women and men. As the authors note, the policy speaks specifically about strengthening Indian women's and girls' position vis-à-vis men and boys (Government of India 2001). Gender focal points have been established in several social sector departments. Several ministries have a gender policy. Gender-specific guidelines have been evolved for integrating gender into planning and gender indicators for monitoring have been developed and exist in operational terms. Gender budgeting exercises have been undertaken by the Indian government at the national level with the support of United Nations bodies. The establishment of the National Commission for Women and promulgation of sexual harassment at the workplace and legislation on the Domestic Violence Act are landmark interventions.

We have examined in brief the government response to the challenge of promoting gender equality. Let us now look at how Indian NGOs have responded to this challenge. Can we identify some responses of NGOs? Murthy and Kappen (2007) differentiate between two types of responses:

1. Setting up basic infrastructure for institutionalizing gender into policy and programmes (they prefer the use of the term institutionalizing rather than mainstreaming since the mainstream may in itself be gender-biased)
2. Adopting organizational change approaches

What is the difference between these two responses? Rao and Kelleher (2003) have used the term 'infrastructure' to refer to systems and procedures. They suggest the term 'organizational change' approach for more fundamental changes in the usually 'masculine' decision making and organizational culture of NGOs. At this point, let us also try to understand the difference between institutions and organizations. An institution is 'a framework of rules for achieving certain social or economic goals'. Organizations, on the other hand, refer to the 'specific structural form that institutions take'. Do you know the major institutions in society? Yes, you are right. Institutions include household, community, markets, state (Kabeer 1994) and inter-state institutions (Murthy and Rao, 1997). Gender and power relations are reproduced through different institutions of society. This extended the earlier conceptualization of gender relations 'interlocking with

power relations of caste, class, race, age, religion, ethnicity etc. to maintain women in a subordinate position (Whitehead 1979).

Murthy and Kappen have elaborated on Andrea Cornwall's (1998) documentation of gender operating at the community level. Cornwall challenged the notion that gendered power relations were played out only in the relation between women and men. According to her, the social construction of gender has a strong role to play in some of the power relations *between* women and *between* men. These power relations, in turn, keep women and girls, as well as men who are sexual minorities, dalits, laboring class, religious minorities and differently abled, in a subordinate position. Elaborating this South Asian context, Murthy and Kappen talk of social construction relations between mothers and adolescent daughters, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, women with husbands and single women, women with sons and women without, upper caste women and dalit women as cases in point of power relations between South Asian women. They also give examples of power relations between men such as relations between who are sexual majorities and sexual minorities, fathers and sons, upper caste men and dalit men/ muslim men etc. The authors argue that power relations between women and between men have as much role to play as power relations between women and men in persistence of gender inequality.

Murthy and Kappen have suggested that organizational changes include making organizations more democratic, promoting flexible working time and space accommodating women employees' reproductive roles, increasing voice of women staff in decision making, increasing accountability to women clients and building alliances with leaders of women's movements to create demands for organizing change from outside.

As Murthy and Kappen have explained, several of the gains in institutionalizing gender (or mainstreaming as we usually refer to it) have been possible because of the 'windows of opportunity' heralded by the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing (1995), International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994) and the Vienna Declaration on Violence against Women (1993) as well as 'informal mobilizing structures through alliances between the Indian women's movement, gender advocates in donors, politicians and bureaucrats and gender advocates among NGOs' (Burton and Pollack 2002).

However, we have to reflect on the answers to the question: Why have inputs in mainstreaming gender within development organizations not led to reduction in gender inequalities in reality? This can be attributed to inadequate emphasis on organizational change and weak conceptual frameworks and strategies. How should we, then, attempt to engender development organizations? Naila Kabeer (1994) in her path breaking treatise on "Gender-aware Policy and Planning: A Social Relations Perspective" focuses on three paths to engender organizations (and integrate other social relations):

- Technical approaches;
- Organizational approach and
- Political approach.

What does each of these approaches imply? The following chart explains and compares these approaches.

Technical Approach	Organizational Approach	Political Approach
Effort to put in place ‘systems’ and ‘guidelines’ to mainstream gender into each of the elements of organizations but within the limits of the mission of the organization. In other words, this approach may not necessarily address gender inequalities or unequal power relations.	Effort to put in place internal accountability processes in addressing gender concerns through organizations and raising awareness among women staff, increasing representation in leadership and governance, encouraging each organizational decision to be reviewed from a gender perspective and strengthening the organization’s alliances with broader women’s movements	Effort to strengthen the ability of the organization to change institutions of society in favour of women and other marginalized groups rather than limiting itself to achieving specific sectoral missions or employing women staff and establishing gender-aware culture.

If you noticed, our discussion on the gender and development context has focused on the binary frame in both sex and gender. Box 4.2 tells us about some emerging conceptual frames which move beyond the binary frames of sex (male-female) and gender (masculine-feminine). We will have to address the challenge of incorporating concerns beyond the male-female and masculine-feminine binary conceptual frames. The range of masculinities also needs to be explored. However, essentially, the gender and development discourse focuses on ‘women, men and development’ and seeks to promote gender equality and equity concerning itself with mainstreaming gender into institutional practice. Why is this so? This emerges from applications of GAD in practice to the majority of the population groups in any country, region or local setting. Where the context requires, the mainstreaming process should extend to all marginalized groups. Nevertheless, in most contexts, women remain the most underprivileged and marginalized.

Box 3.2: Extending Conceptual Frames: Challenges and Contestations

Within development organizations and institutions, the ideology of dominant masculinities is carried by men/ boys and women/ girls, and leads to marginalization of disadvantaged men who do not adhere to these dominant norms. The IDS Bulletin (2000) referred to masculinities as the ways of being men and boys, as well as the ideology of privileging men and boys over women and girls. This leads to not only women's and girls' subordination, but also leads to subordination of disadvantaged men who do not adhere to these dominant norms. In the context of India, where gender, caste, class, age, religion, sexual orientation and other hierarchies are strong, we also need to address the concerns of women and men marginalized by their sexual, gender and other identities.

Some feminists harbour deep-seated reservations on including men into GAD (McIlwaine and Datta 2003) because of the fear that it may convey the impression that women may no longer need assistance and that men would be much more needy beneficiaries (Pearson 2000b; Chant & Gutmann 2002). McIlwaine and Datta summarize this debate: "Taken to extremes, such a view may lead to what White (2000) refers to as 're-exclusion' of women as scarce resources are diverted away from women's programmes (hearn 1996; Sweetman 1997). At a programmatic level, the inclusion of men in women-only programmes is also fraught with practical difficulties (Bhasin 2001; Chant & Gutmann 2002; Datta 2004).

As suggested by McIlwaine & Datta (2003), the inclusion of men in GAD may arguably strengthen the fight for gender justice which stands against all gender-based discrimination, and could therefore be a potentially unifying force for women and men.

Sources:

Cathy McIlwaine & Kavita Datta (2003): From Feminizing to Engendering Development. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10:4, 369-382

Ranjani K. Murthy and Mercy Kappen (2007) *Institutionalizing Gender Within Organizations and Programmes: A Trainer's Manual*, Visthar, Bangalore

How have development agencies (donors, training NGOs, gender focal points) mainstreamed gender within development organizations? These intervening agencies have, in fact, been guided by the 'infrastructure' approach rather than the 'organizational change' approach. Some donors have attempted to change organizational culture of quasi-governmental organizations by recruiting NGO workers and middle level staff into the quasi-governmental organization (Murthy 2005). How does the 'infrastructure' approach work in practice? Here, the organization's vision and mission are preserved and insulated from change. Changes are made

instead by ‘institutionalizing gender into the base-line data gathering, planning, monitoring and evaluation, and human resource development systems, as well as organizational structure’. In the case of government line departments, their mission is often sectorally driven (agriculture, health, education etc.). NGO missions, on the other hand, are either sectorally driven or issue driven (reduction of poverty, reduction of violence against women, furthering reproductive rights, etc.).

What, then, should be the ultimate goal of mainstreaming gender in development organizations? We must seek to foster progressive changes in the gender discriminatory rules, practices, and allocation of resources and power within households, community, markets, state and neo-liberal inter-state institutions. We need to place gender infrastructure in organizations but we also need to foster a change in organizational culture. The latter is a difficult, contested terrain and certainly not easy to achieve. Organizational change processes, as you know, need to be reshaped not just by strengthening the position and representation of women staff within the organization but also responding to new demands from the field emerging from the challenges to gender discriminatory institutions. As Murthy and Kappen put it, ‘gender infrastructure and organizational change processes should be accountable to women’s strategic gender interests and marginalized men’s interests. What they suggest is ‘a combination of institutional, organizational and infrastructural approaches’ to gender mainstreaming. If you recall we have emphasized the central role of organizational and infrastructural change supporting institutional change in favour of women and marginalized men.

Box 4.3 encapsulates the Gender and Development Approach for quick reference.

Box 3.3: Gender and Development

The GAD, or Gender and Development approach emerged in 1980s, as an alternative approach to Women and Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender in Development (GID). It has a theoretical root in socialist feminism and had bridged the gap left by the modernization theorist by linking relation of production and to the relation of reproduction and taking accounts all aspects of women’s lives. Socialist Feminists have identified that socialization of production and reproduction is the main rationale for the women’s oppression. Thus GAD approach focus social relations and it questions the existing roles that have been given to men and women in different societies. According to GAD approach roles that have been assigned to men and women in different societies were due to socialization process and from this oppression begun and this can be changeable. Although the GAD approach does not question the significance of greater women’s participation in socio, economic and political life of the society, primary concern of GAD approach is that why women were oppressed and why women were systematically assigned secondary roles in

the society. The socialist feminist combined their analysis with Marxist Feminist analysis on patriarchy and they attempted to address the concerns of women.

Kate Young identified some of the key aspects of the GAD approach. Perhaps most significantly, the GAD approach starts from a holistic perspective, looking at “the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society”. GAD is not considering women in isolation but it takes into consideration of social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities to the men and women and society’s expectation from the men and women. But radical feminist considers the female solidarity and emphasis female exclusion. In contrast to radical feminist the GAD approach welcomes potential contribution of men and women who share concerns of equity and social justice.

GAD approach does not consider women’s and men’s productive and reproductive activities and lives in exclusion of the other. It analyzes the nature of women’s work and their contribution within and outside the households which includes non commodity production. According to GAD scholars third world women perform three roles which includes productive, reproductive and community managing work. Reproductive work includes child bearing, child rearing and caring work. Productive work includes secondary income earning activities and community managing works comprise the provision and maintenance of scarce resources for collective consumption such as water, fuel, common property resources.

GAD approach rejects public/private dichotomy that commonly used and undervalue women’s contribution to the family. Apart from that family is considered as private sphere and state’s interference to the family are commonly opposed. Both socialist and Marxist feminist give importance to the women’s status at the private sphere and it gives attention to the women facing oppression at the family to analyze which conjugal relationships are based. GAD also emphasized the state’s role and it stresses that state should also participate in promoting women’s development and it should contribute. GAD approach clearly states that women are the active participant of development process rather than passive recipients of state as well as other agency’s welfare measures. It gives importance that women should come forward and mobilize collectively to raise their voice. It recognizes the importance of both class solidarities and class distinctions, but it argues that the ideology of patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. Socialist Feminist and researchers working within GAD perspective are exploring both the connections among and the contradictions of gender, class, race, and development. The GAD approach focuses women’s legal rights, measures to be taken by state i.e affirmative action and tools to be developed to integrate gender issues in policies, programmes. It also stresses the importance of increasing women’s percentage in all legislative bodies.

GAD wanted to reexamine the social structure and institutions and the changes to be brought in the existing structure and institutions to bring gender justice at all levels in all the structures and institutions which ultimately bring shift in power relations. GAD also talks about the commitment of States and other agencies to bring structural change at all level. States and agencies which are following GAD approach developed tools to integrate GAD approach to their policies and programmes like gender budgeting, gender mainstreaming and Affirmative action and Gender Analysis. Gender Mainstreaming talks about mainstreaming gender in all polices and programming from legislation till implementation. Gender Analysis look at how power relations within the house hold inter relate with those at international, state, market, and community level. Gender analysis is based on GAD approach. This involves promoting equality between men and women; key to this is placing the issues that women say are of particular concern to them and the main agenda of those institutions which shapes women's and men's lives (the state, Non-government Organization and so on). Like above said tools States are committing themselves and taking Affirmative action to bring changes in the existing social structures and institutions.

Source:

Jane S. Jaquette, "Women and Modernization Theory: A Decade of Feminist Criticism," *World Politics* 34(January 1982)

Kate young, " Gender and Development" Notes for a Training course on Gender and Development(Aga Khan Foundation, Toronto,1987)

Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, And Alternative Visions* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987)

Eva M. Rathgeber " WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in research and practice" *The journal of developing areas*, vol. 24, No.4 (Jul., 1990)

In Box 4.4, we mention two key thinkers and scholars who have contributed to the emergence and evolution of GAD

Box 3.4: Few Thinkers of Gender and Development

Caroline Moser is one of the few thinkers who contributed for gender and development framework. As discussed earlier in this Unit, WID approach considers women as an untapped resource that can provide an economic contribution to development. Whereas Gender and Development framework focuses on gender relations, when designing measures to help women in the process of development. She is the first person to recognize that gender planning differs fundamentally from planning for women in development. Moser has also provided the conceptual framework for the gender planning tradition and methodology to accelerate the development process. Her focus on development is especially for women in third world countries. she has clearly demarcated the interrelationship between different macro economic

development models and policy approaches to third world women. She has clearly stated that the extent to which particular emphases on gender have determined different women and development policies, identifying a shift in policy approach from 'welfare' to 'equity', then from 'anti-poverty' to 'efficiency' and finally to 'empowerment'. These approaches are discussed in detail in forthcoming Units. These shifts have taken place, not in isolation, but have mirrored general trends in third world development policy, moving from modernization policies of accelerated growth, through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more recent structural adjustment policies. According to her women and gender remain marginalized in planning theory and practice, and will do so until such time as theoretical feminist concerns are adequately incorporated into policy and planning framework, which is recognized as a planning tradition, with its own planning methodology. Hence, she insisted for the conception of a new planning tradition and planning methodology.

As a new planning tradition the focus of gender planning for development is obviously on gender and primarily examines the social relations of inequality between men and women. The objective of this planning tradition is to achieve both strategic and practical gender needs. These needs are discussed in detail in the following Courses as well.

Naila Kabeer's contribution to GAD framework is indeed significant in many ways. She helps to promote an understanding of the deeply-entrenched institutionalized nature of gender inequalities, the power relations which they express, their relevance to the policy domain and different forms of gender advocacy which have emerged to address these inequalities. At the same time she also states that there is no single correct way of doing gender in the policy domain. In her words "all that a framework can do is provide policy makers with a different 'window on reality' from their accustomed one and hope that it will make a difference in the way that they design and execute policy in the future".

Let us now give you an example of how to analyze a scheme from the GAED perspective (Box 4.5)

Box 3.5: An Example of Analysis of Scheme from GAD Perspective

In this context it becomes pertinent to analyze the impact created by the much acclaimed National Rural Employment Scheme (NREGS) of Government of India (recently renamed as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Scheme (MGREGS)). This unique government scheme which was introduced in 2005 aims to provide a legal guarantee for 100 days of assured employment per year to members of rural household willing to do unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage. As such, NREGA should work as a kind of safety net for rural people by enhancing their livelihood security and increasing their employment possibilities and purchasing power. Even

though women's empowerment is not the primary agenda of NREGS, provisions like priority for women in the ratio of one-third of total workers, equal wages for men and women and crèches for the children of women workers ensure the availability of opportunity for women to benefit in certain manner. This indeed is designed to enhance women's independent access to work opportunities and income. Increase in women's income is widely reported to improve the health and education outcomes of both the children and the entire households.

A study on the empowerment effects of the NREGS on women workers in States of Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh argues that women workers have gained from the scheme primarily because of paid employment opportunity, and benefits have been realized through income-consumption effects, intra-household effects, and the enhancement of choice and capability. Income consumption effects mean an increase in the paid income of a woman worker and consequently increases her ability to choose her consumption. This choice is very much important because if a woman earns but is unable to exercise any choice on how to spend her earnings and instead if she gives her entire earnings to the head of the household and does not influence the spending decision at all means the missing of empowerment. Women have also gained to some extent in terms of realization of equal wages under NREGS, with long-term implications for correcting skewness and gender discriminatory wages prevalent in the rural labour market of India.

But the study also stated that NREGS has brought some difficulties and obstacles for women in terms of increased working hours, vanishing of their leisure time and they have to bear with physical and emotional strains. Lactating women and women with young children work under emotional strain, as they remain separated from their children for long hours. Some adolescent girls are reported to have left their studies to avail of the job opportunity under NREGS. Apart from these, only minimum representation of women is there among the functionaries of NREGS like programme officers, Rozgar sevaks, ombudsmen, members of vigilance and monitoring committees etc.

Source: Ashok Pankaj and Rukmini Tankha, "Empowerment Effects of the NREGS on Women Workers: A Study in Four States", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.XLV No 30, July 24, 2010.

3.5 LET US SUM UP

Feminism in development discourse was discussed in detail in this Unit apart from stating the contribution made by few gender and development thinkers like Caroline Moser and Naila Kabeer. This final Unit of this Block has given you a comprehensive look into the GAD framework which makes easier for you to understand the following Units.

3.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the term “discourse coalitions” can be used in the context of feminisms in development? Explain.
2. Why is it important to focus on the agenda of empowering women in development intervention?
3. What are the paths to engendering organizations? Which path is usually followed? Which path should be followed? Give your own views.
4. Do you believe that rights-based approaches should be top-down? Contrast the views of scholars who believe in the rights- based approach to those who do not believe that such approaches can achieve substantial change.

3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Feminism no longer refers to a western-influenced, hegemonic set of ideas, but, rather, takes a series of forms operating at different scales, whether local, national, regional or transnational.

There is a need to foreground embedded local practices and the ‘imbrications’ of local gender relations and ideologies according to place and space.

It is important to link local understandings with strategic commonalities among women (and men) in order to effect change.

Northern and Southern feminists have called for a need to form alliances across space and place that draw on commonalities.

Within the broad GAD framework there is the emergence of the equality approach that promotes power sharing between women and men as a fundamental human right marking a shift from needs-based approaches.

However, rights conceptualized in western, individualistic terms may be at odds with many cultures in the South where communal or group rights may be more important.

Strategies are required that can transform rights into choices and concrete improvements in women’s lives.

3.8 REFERENCES AND FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 GENDER AND WORK*

*(Adopted from Unit 1, Block 1, MGSE-009)

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Changing Gender Composition of the Work Force
- 4.4 Gendered Segregation of Work
- 4.5 Gender Discrimination at Workplace
 - 4.5.1 Wage Gap: Income discrimination
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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of gender issues in work is complex and complicated because of a variety of reasons. When one looks at work from a gender perspective, defining what constitutes work becomes a contested area. Moreover, it is now widely accepted that work is not a gender-neutral space where qualifications, skills and performance determine an individual's entry and progress in any occupation/profession. In the real world, gender plays a crucial and critical role in the options available, choices made, wages earned, and opportunities for advancement available. The situation also dramatically varies across different parts of the world, different regions, economic classes, and sectors.

Gender issues in work gain significance, mainly as global economic restructuring due to rapid-paced technological progress, internationalism of products and trade, and growing informalization of work have seen an increase in women's participation in the labour force. In contrast, men's participation has decreased slightly.

Labour force participation is often seen as the prime indicator (and cause) of changes in women's status as employment determines their access to resources and their ability to make independent decisions. Work plays an essential part in determining women's and men's relative wealth, power and prestige, and health. It has, however, been segregated by gender, which has, in turn, generated gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, benefits and responsibilities. Generally speaking, work has been divided into 'men's work' and 'women's work'. This segregation of work by gender has been practised and accepted through the centuries in all cultures.

Within the labour market, gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels. However, much of women's work remains unrecognised, uncounted and unpaid, thus invisible: work in the home, in agriculture, food production and the marketing of home-made products, for example. This whole arena of unpaid work is often neglected because, first of all, until recently, most of it was not considered work; and secondly, because it is much more challenging to quantify in terms of time and value. Since women are doing a considerable percentage of all unpaid work, this has led to a severe undervaluation of women's contributions to the society and economy.

This unit tries to bring to the fore the world of work when viewed from a gender perspective.

4.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, You would be able to:

- Analyze the origin and implications of gender segregation of work;
- Discuss types of gender discrimination at the workplace;
- Explain the importance of redefining work from a gender perspective; and
- Discuss the importance of unpaid work.

4.3 THE CHANGING GENDER COMPOSITION OF THE WORK FORCE

Examining work through a gendered lens becomes vital with the advent of a new world of trans-bordered work and has seen a change in the composition of the labour force. Perhaps it could say that the most significant change in the relationship of gender and work is numerical—the enormous shift in the gender composition of the labour force. Women comprise an increasing share of the labour force in almost all regions of the world. During the last few decades, the proportion of economically active women has also increased in unprecedented numbers within the global workforce, while men's participation rate has decreased slightly.

Table 1: Labour force participation rates (percentage)

	Year	Men (%)	Women (%)
World Total	1980	87.5	57.4
	1995	86.0	60.1
	2000	85.5	60.7
	2010	84.6	61.5
	2021		

Source: *The World's Women 2000: Trends and Statistics*. United Nations

It can be observed from the table above that women's participation in the labour force has been steadily increasing from 57.4% in 1980 to 60.7% in 2000 while there has been a marginal decrease in men's participation rates during the same years. In what manner this decrease in participation has affected men's life is an important research area that requires attention as this trend is projected in 2010.

Women have entered every area of the workforce, and in unprecedented numbers at every level through all the major professions. The impact has been enormous and has altered women's labour market status in recent years. According to World Bank estimates, from 1960 to 1997, women have increased their numbers in the global labour force by 126% [1].

The United Nations statistics surveys indicate that wage and salaried work is the predominant form of employment for women and men in most regions except in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia [2]. India is one such country where women's participation in the workforce remains relatively low, both in absolute and relative terms. As per the recent estimates, 28.7 per cent of women, as against 54.7 per cent of men, participated in the workforce in 2004-05.

Table 2: Women Workforce Participation Rates in India, 1971-2005

Census		NSSO	
Year	%	Year	%
1971	13.9	1972-73	28.2
1981	19.8	1983	21.6
1991	22.3	1993-94	28.6
2001	25.7	2004-05	28.7

Sources: Visaria 1998, p. 24 for Census figures up to 1981, www.Censusindia.net for 2001 provisional figure and NSSO 2006, p. 76 for various years.

The table suggests that a little more than one-fourth of women (28.7 per cent) in India participate in the workforce. This is only marginally higher than the Women Workforce Participation Rates (WWPR) of 28.2 per cent in 1972-73

[3]. As a consequence of this low participation, Indian women continue to form a majority of the Indian poor.

Today, women make up about 42% of the estimated global working population, making them indispensable contributors to national and global economies. However, they are disproportionately engaged in non-standard forms, such as temporary and casual employment, part-time jobs, home-based work, self-employment and working in micro-enterprises.

The main factors leading to the rise in women's participation in the labour force have been: the availability of a wider choice for women; an increased pressure on them to contribute. However, there are many differences between the industrialized and the family income, and often survival; the need for economies for a type of labour that women are industrializing regions, especially in the reasons women work, and the reward they gain from it.

In most industrialized countries, opportunities for women, in general, were restricted until the Second World War and the two decades of rapid economic growth that followed. The expansion of both in services and part-time employment matched women's needs and experience, thereby encouraging their participation. The pattern of working life has seen a tremendous change: before the 1950s, most women workers were young and unmarried or were much older with grown-up children. In later years, economic activity became more continuous—that is, with fewer, and shorter, breaks for raising a family—and it is no longer unusual (or illegal) for married women to be employed [4].

In developing countries, industrialization tends to coexist with agriculture and family businesses. Except for some rapidly industrializing Asian countries, the change has been like women's work, rather than in the number of women working. There has been a significant movement of women from subsistence farming or other unpaid activity to labour in formal and informal sectors. For most women in developing countries, working life has always been longer and more continuous. Women, especially in rural areas, continuously work until the end of their lives, hardly taking a break from their work routine even to have a baby.

At the same time, pressure has increased on women everywhere to make up or provide the family wage. Women have been at the receiving end of the consequences of debt, inflation, economic stagnation and unemployment. Across the globe, as prices rise and incomes fall, women increase their working hours and diversify their activities to ensure the family's survival. There has been an undeniable 'feminization of poverty' more and more women are poor, and more are women. It is estimated that women make up at least 60 per cent of the world's working poor, and as long as there are inequalities in labour markets, women will find it harder than men to escape poverty.

4.4 GENDERED SEGREGATION OF WORK

In all cultures, society has traditionally divided work roles for women and men, and even though, in the last few decades, gender work demarcations have, to a marginal extent, changed, women and men commonly perform different tasks and work in different sectors.

Gender division of labour occurs because a precedent sanctioned by society exists where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men. Gender roles exist because communities and societies have created social norms of behaviour, values, and attitudes that are considered appropriate for women and men and their relations and are perceptions of sex differences. For example, childbearing is a female sex role because men cannot bear children. Although both men and women can rear children, these duties are socially assigned.

On the whole, research evidence on the validity of gender stereotypes suggests that they are often poor representations of individual men or women. For example,

male-female differences in most cognitive abilities and in most basic personality traits (except for traits such as masculinity vs. femininity, which are directly linked to sex and gender) are generally small, in comparison with the variability within genders. In areas where there are relatively large male-female differences (e.g., likelihood of working in child-care settings), it is likely that stereotypes and socially constructed definitions of what men and women should do are themselves significant causes of these differences. Although male-female differences in many areas are relatively small, reliance on stereotypes can lead people to exaggerate these differences and to perceive men's and women's behaviour quite differently, even if the behaviour itself is quite similar across gender lines [5].

There are numerous theories on why sex differences exist. Those who support biological factors argue that people behave as they do primarily because they are biologically male or female. But, especially within work, sex-role behaviour follows no logical pattern based on biological differences. For example, men are less likely than women to change diapers, even though they possess the necessary skills.

Similarly, it is difficult to explain away the hours that fully employed women spend cooking and washing dishes at home as a biological imperative. Gender segregation is a form of social segregation that biology cannot explain.

Gender segregation is the process in which women and men end up in different occupation types so that two different types of labour markets may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the

concept of Gender marking, which occurs by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions.

Gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels—horizontal, vertical and internal. Internal gender segregation is when women and men are employed in the same occupation (and in some cases by the same employers) but carry out different work functions. This means that even a gender-integrated occupation may be highly gender-segregated in practice [6].

Horizontal Segregation: Horizontal segregation is when women work in certain occupations and industries and men in others. For example, a large number of women work in services, especially the personal and caring services. In contrast, women's participation in the industrial sector is generally much lower than men's and concentrated in a relatively narrow range of labour-intensive light industries. This matches with the gender roles assigned to men and women by society.

Vertical Segregation: Within the same occupation, men occupy higher managerial positions and women comparatively lower positions; this hierarchical division is referred to as vertical segregation. Even where an occupation is mixed, women are usually in less responsible, less secure and less well-paid jobs. On the other hand, even in occupation numerically dominated by women, men are still often found in management positions, for example, the principal of a primary school.

Worldwide, the proportion of women in managerial and decision making positions is low, the rule being the higher you go up, the fewer the women. In 1994, Susan Bullock wrote that —Women make up less than 5 per cent of the world's heads of state, heads of major corporations and top executives in international organizations; of the top 1,000 corporations in the United States, women head two. Women represent, on average, under 10 per cent of parliament members and 20 per cent of middle-level managers [7]. This trend is pretty much the same today.

Gender segregation is the chief obstacle facing women who seek to enter the labour force. This is a form of discrimination that has led to gender inequality. Reflected in work as an unequal gender division of labour, it encompasses situations in which there is an unequal division of the rewards of labour by sex. The most noticeable pattern in such a division of labour is that women are mostly confined to unpaid domestic work and unpaid food production. In contrast, men dominate in cash crop production and wage employment.

Women are more likely to work in the informal sector within paid work, for example, in domestic work, street vending, and home-based work.

The Informal Sector

The informal sector is often spoken of as a female sector. The extent to which this holds varies across regions and over time. In most countries, women's possibilities for entering the formal sector remain even more limited than men's and the informal sector may be their only option. However, some women opt for or continue in the informal sector not necessarily because of a lack of choice, but because of the flexibility of working arrangements (especially in work timings) and a wider range of opportunities.

Women in self-employment rely on the skills and experience they already have, for example, in food processing and trading, sewing, domestic tasks etc. It is always a crucial balancing act for women where they cannot be abandoned their domestic responsibilities. This leads them to turn their homes into a workplace or their workplace into a home: small children may spend the whole day at a construction site where their mother is working.

It is important to note that gendered division of labour also exists within the informal sector. Women are especially numerous in the lowest-paid and most exploited categories of work: in small enterprises where they may work in sweatshop conditions or as outworkers; in the simplest types of self-employment, with minimal capital, tools, and raw materials; as unpaid family workers; in domestic work; and in commercial sex work. The range of jobs women perform is as limited in the informal sector as it is everywhere.

—It is not that women lack initiative or business ability; on the contrary, the way women can scrape an income together based on almost no inputs, but their labour and ingenuity inspire admiration and respect. But when the margins are too tight, it is almost impossible to turn survival activities into growth [8].

For many years certain assumptions existed, like women either could not do a job or did not need to do it. The consequence of this kind of thinking has been that sex segregation has affected women's and men's concentration in different occupations, industries and levels in workplace hierarchies. This has led to sex discrimination and has perpetuated gender inequality within the world of work.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Women's participation in the labour force has been steadily increasing. Discuss.

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2. What do we mean by gendered segregation of work?

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3. What is Gender marking? What do we mean by horizontal, vertical and internal segregation of work?

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4.5 GENDER DISCRIMINATION AT THE WORKPLACE

Gender discrimination includes behaviours occurring in the workplace that limit the target person’s ability to enter, remain in, succeed in, or progress in a job and that are primarily the result of the target person’s gender [9].

4.5.1 Wage Gap: Income Discrimination

One of the direct consequences of gender segregation in paid work is wage differentials. Gender in pay is a definitive sign of inequality at the workplace. In most countries, equal pay based difference legislation exists; however, the gender segregation of work allows the easy application of different remuneration rates to ‘men’s work’ and ‘women’s work’.

Women tend to be in jobs that are poorly paid and lack a career structure; even in mixed workforce jobs, women are more likely to be at lower responsibility levels. Further, there is a high percentage of women who work on a part-time or temporary basis. Some other factors that contribute to women’s lower wages include the constraints on women that do not allow them to do overtime, night shifts, interruption due to pregnancy that affects seniority, etc. Trade Unions have usually failed to take up these concerns because they have been male-dominated. These issues have not yet entered the mainstream of their plan.

Women's access to paid work is crucial to their efforts for economic equality and their sense of self and well being. But women's paid work is generally valued as less important than men's. Women still earn considerably less than men and often find themselves in low-status jobs with few benefits. Male-dominated professions tend to have higher wages; female-dominated professions tend to have lower wages.

It is only a matter of observing what happens to a particular occupation that faces a change in its gender composition to study the impact of gender segregation on wages. For example, clerical work was once a practically all-male labour force that paid reasonably well as it was considered a highly skilled occupation. Today the gender distribution has changed in many countries and, most clerical workers are female. As a result, clerical work was re-evaluated as less demanding of skill and less valuable to an organization; thus, workers' wages fell[10].

The exact opposite process may be observed with relations to the occupation of the computer programmer. When this occupation was in its nascent stage, women were hired as keypunch operators because the job seemed to resemble clerical work. After programming was recognized as —intellectually demanding, requiring complex skills in abstract logic, and mathematics etc., all of which, sociologist Katharine Donato observed, women used to perform in their work, it became attractive to men, who began to enter the field and thus drove wages up considerably[11].

4.5.2 GLASS CEILING

More women are hired at the lower rungs of an organization. The low status of this work means women exert less control over their work environment and have lower decision making powers. There is persistent discrimination against women in promotion which keeps women in low wage positions with little opportunities for upward mobility. Women thus face a double obstacle in attempting to achieve workplace equality. The first is that of centuries-old gender ideologies that bar them from entering well-paying occupations to be pushed into less-paying sectors of the economy. The second obstacle arises — ‘when they enter those well-paying fields, they are prevented from moving up. This is what is known as the glass-ceiling’[12].

Men sometimes resent assertive, unemotional women and perceive them to be acting like men. Yet, men also judge women who are passive and emotional as unsuitable for management. (Kanter 1977a). Women often have to walk a fine line and work towards being perceived as demanding and yet ‘feminine’ to be accepted as a ‘good manager’. It has been seen in several cases when men and women who started on a career path together find themselves in very different levels after ten years. In most cases, men will be at a more senior level than women.

Why are women underrepresented in management? Some reasons for women are under- representation in senior positions:

- Women themselves: Lack of education and training; lack of a continuous

career due to breaks for child-rearing, and a preference for part-time working; lack of the confidence or drive to succeed.

- Personnel policies and organizational career structures that are shaped by the traditions of a male career: lack of provision for career breaks and re-entry; lack of appropriate provision for women's management development; and lack of provision for flexible contracts at higher levels.
- Organizational climate and the attitudes of senior management: lack awareness of the pervasiveness of masculine assumptions; lack of interest in the need for strategic change to increase the utilization of female resources; and lack of support for the few women who do succeed. (Adapted from *The Journal of General Management*)

4.5.3 Sexual Harassment

According to the EEOC, sexual harassment is defined as follows[13]

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as a basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of substantially interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. (EEOC, 1980, p. 33).

While there are instances of female harassers, sexual harassment cases predominantly involve male harassers and female victims. Victims of sexual harassment may experience several negative consequences such as lowered productivity, lowered self-esteem, absenteeism, depression etc.

In India, the Supreme Court judgment of 1997, popularly known as the Vishakha Guidelines, was the landmark judgment. The court ruled that sexual harassment at the workplace is a human rights issue and not merely a criminal one. The judgement clearly states that sexual harassment includes physical contact, sexually coloured remarks, unwelcome verbal or non-verbal communications of a sexual nature, and so on. It also defined the workplace in a broader sense, rather than limiting it to a particular geographical area. However, even today, cases of sexual harassment essentially go unreported as women do not want to be seen as —trouble makers‖ or attract unnecessary attention. This is accentuated by the fact that the organisation rarely takes strict action, or in fact, any action against the perpetrator. Many times, women prefer to leave a job rather than register a complaint of sexual harassment.

4.5.4 Double Burden

The entry of women into the labour market has not meant any lessening of domestic chores. Most women are still solely or predominantly in charge of housework and child care. To fulfil all their responsibilities at the workplace and home, women end up working longer hours. This phenomenon is called 'double shift or double burden'.

Even though children are tomorrow's workers and citizens, they are seen today as the private and personal responsibility of their families. The fact that child care has been made widely available under certain circumstances shows that its provision is primarily a matter of employment policy and political will or lack of it. During the Second World War, for example, facilities became available as increasing numbers of women were needed to work in factories and essential services[14].

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. State some consequences of Gender segregation in paid work.

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2. Discuss the issue of income discrimination briefly.

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3. Why are women underrepresented in management?

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4.6 WOMEN AND WORK IN RURAL AREAS

Roughly 3 out of 4 women worldwide live in rural areas, the majority of them working in agriculture or related activities. Women grow crops and pick fruit and tea; look after cattle and poultry; weave, spin, and make pottery; and sell goods. This is usually unpaid workers on family farms or enterprises; in most cases where they are engaged in paid labour, it is casual, temporary or seasonal. Though women's waged employment has been increasing in many Asian countries, their wages remain much lower than those earned by men.

“Women directly produce about half the world's food, and they process and prepare almost all of it” [15]. The problem of balancing multiple tasks is accentuated in rural women, most of them being involved in food production for family consumption and sale or exchange. Many work on others' farms for wages. They also trade or make handicrafts, and of course, there is no respite from the daily domestic chores.

Rural women also bear the brunt of several other factors such as very early marriages, more children and poorer health. Both infant and maternal mortality are higher in rural areas. School enrolment is lower; In India, for example, the chances of a rural girl child being enrolled in a school and continuing education beyond class 8 are much lower than those of her urban counterpart. Rural women have more inadequate wages, more insecure employment, and longer hours of work. Customs and traditional practices often have a tighter hold—in some cases, directly threatening women's health, social status and freedom.

- Official statistics on the participation of women in food and agricultural production are still not available with the required amount of detail. This means that food and agricultural policies and rural development programmes are gender-neutral and do not adequately address the concerns and needs of women. Planners tend to underestimate or ignore. The nature and scope of women's separate and autonomous operations;
- the extent of the reliance of men on women's labour and inputs; and
- the uneven distribution of income and resources within the household [16].

4.7 REDEFINING WORK

In our discussion of work-related statistics, we must first of all define what constitutes work. Is work really only that which is done outside the home and that is paid for? What about those many tasks that women do in and near their homes? In rural areas, women and girls walk long distances to fetch water; but because this does not fall in the purview of 'economic activity,' it was not previously categorised as work.

Women, do both productive and reproductive work, and these categories often merge into each other. In fact their reproductive work contributes to production. The work that women put in subsidizes the production and

maintenance of the work-force. Because women 'labour for love', society in general and employers in particular are saved the expense of the upkeep of the workforce, either in terms of providing communal services— canteens, child care, laundries – or in terms of paying wages high enough to cover the real costs. Their 'non-productive' work in fact makes an enormous economic contribution[17].

It has now been acknowledged that by not recognising women's multiple activities, gender inequality is being institutionalized and perpetuated. It is important to recognize and value not only the economic contributions of women, but also their social contributions-child care, looking after the elderly and sick, and the numerous other tasks they perform on a daily basis for their family and community.

There is now a much wider acknowledgement of the scope and significance of women's work, and the need for rigorous gender analysis. The absence of sex disaggregated statistics for employment and unemployment; the use of occupational categories that overlook many of women's activities, skills and contributions; and broadening the definition of what constitutes economic activity (including cultural, regional and seasonal variations)—these issues have entered the mainstream consciousness of policy makers and planners, and are beginning to be addressed.

The undercounting of female economic activity and lack of mechanisms for measuring unpaid work has received deserved attention. Some of the steps that have been taken in this direction include: an International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention on labour statistic (1985); revising to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO); and efforts by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) to change the guidelines for the World Programme of Agricultural Censuses [18].

In India, in censuses prior to 2001, women's economic pursuits were not recorded/ reported adequately, resulting in low Female Work Participation Rate (FWPR). In the 2001 Census, several measures were taken to address the shortcomings by taking measures for gender sensitization of both the collectors of data and the people in general.

What defines valuable work?

Judgments about what is valuable, good, and important in a society usually reflect the preferences, biases, experiences, and values of the groups in society that have the most power and influence.... It should come as no surprise that the activities which are most valuable or seen as most important in the workplace (e.g., leading others, exercising authority, controlling resources, dealing with things rather than people) are all consistent with the male stereotype, whereas activities that are seen as less valuable (e.g., dealing with children, helping others) are often consistent with the female stereotype. The workplace has historically been the domain of males, and widely accepted definitions of the types of work that are more or less valuable are

value judgments that reflect the preferences, experiences, and biases of males.

Judgments about the value of different types of work are essentially subjective, and as societies change and evolve, these judgments may also change. There often is little about the work itself that determines its

value... Whether –women’s work will be perceived as more valuable in the future remains to be seen [19].

Since a lot of the work that women do is unpaid, it is important to understand what unpaid work is, and how it can be measured.

4.8 UNPAID WORK

All work is not paid for. All people who perform work, paid or unpaid are economically active, but this is only a recent understanding. A satisfactory definition for unpaid work is yet to emerge because much of what it comprises is not reflected in labour statistics and therefore is invisible.

The concern for developing an inclusive understanding of what comprised unpaid work is now reflected in the System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary as follows:

Unpaid work includes unpaid activities such as:

- **Work done in a family enterprise or agricultural holding on an unpaid basis**
- **Primary production of goods primarily for own-household consumption including subsistence farming**— example: preparing the soil, sowing, planting, and harvesting crops; gathering fruit, wild fruit, medicinal and other plants; tending, feeding or hunting animals mainly to obtain meat, milk, hair, skin or other products in or around a household compound; gathering firewood and fetching water; breeding or catching fish and cultivating or gathering other forms of aquatic life; and storing and carrying out some basic processing of products.
- Production of services for income and other production of goods that are not related to formal employment. Examples include: work done on a contractual basis on residential premises, as a pieceworker or outworker and assisting a family member or relative with such work; building shelters and making simple tools, clothes and utensils for household use;

What is still left out is:

- **Meal preparation, laundry and clothes care, household maintenance, management and shopping for own household**
- **Care of children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household**
- **Volunteer community services and help to other households or people**, which are provided on a ‘voluntary basis’ either directly or

4.8.1 Measuring Unpaid Work

An attempt has to be made to add value to all work that has been left out of labour statistics. But we lack universally accepted ways to measure and value unpaid work, without which governments continue to use incomplete information when making fiscal and policy decisions. Since unpaid work is mostly invisible, it is often excluded from money transactions. According to calculations by the World Bank, \$11 trillion –earned by women and \$5 trillion –earned by men are missing from the global economy each year, representing the value of unpaid work as well as the underpayment and undervaluing of women’s work[21].

Measuring and valuing unpaid work in national statistics was one of the main issues at the fourth world conference on women at Beijing in 1995. It became clear improving data on the full contribution of women and men to the economy required new accounting and the implementation of time- use data—that is measuring work by time allocation. Time- use data provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily or weekly basis. They reveal the details of an individual’s life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of social survey. Hirway[22] cited the key contributions of time-use data in fostering a better understanding of the economy and society. Time-use statistics can be useful because they move away from the vexed questions of economic contribution and occupational categories, and look at what people actually do: they measure time spent on all activities, productive and reproductive, and the classifications used are not based on occupational groupings.

A major breakthrough occurred when Canada’s 1996 Census became the first to collect data on unpaid work. It divided unpaid work into three categories: housework, care of children, and care and assistance to seniors but left out volunteer work with community or charity organizations. However, it was an important first step in measuring and recognizing women's unpaid work. One of the interesting findings of this census was that unpaid work is perhaps the biggest contribution that women make to the economy as most of it is performed by women.

A significant number of countries have chosen to adopt *time-use surveys* to measure unpaid work. Japan, Australia, Mali, Morocco, South Africa, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Palestine, Cuba, Ecuador, and many European countries have designed or undertaken surveys, while many other countries have expressed interest.

Efforts are now being made to improve the methodology: it has been recognized that it lacks precision in breaking down different activities, and that underestimation persists both of time spent and of the range of tasks undertaken.

4.8.2 Gender segregation of Labour in unpaid work

Gender division of labour is as evident within the household as it is within paid employment. It is true that not all women undertake paid work, but few can escape household labour. Irrespective of the biological or the patriarchal explanation for the gendered distribution of unpaid labour, the bulk of unpaid work is undertaken by women. (See table 3) and therefore has affected the well being of women more than men.

Unpaid work, such as domestic work or work based in homes, entails no protective legislation, no social security, and is assigned low social status. This lack of income seriously affects women's ability to improve their lives.

The lack of value assigned to unpaid work has serious implications both for policy and for quality of life, affecting the persistent gender wage gap, high poverty rates among single mothers and their children, the decreasing time parents spend with their own children, the decline in home-cooking and its health consequences, and the growing time stress that comes from the struggle to juggle job and household responsibilities.

Table 3 More women workers than men workers are unpaid: percentage of labour force who are contributing family worker (a), 1990/ 1997

	Women	Men
Africa		
Northern Africa	25	7
Southern Africa	27	14
Rest of sub-Saharan Africa (b)	35	18
Latin America and the Caribbean		
Caribbean	2	2
Central America	7	6
South America	7	3
Asia		
Eastern Asia	8	1
Southeastern Asia	25	9
Southern Asia	40	11
Western Asia (b)	34	7
Developed regions		
Eastern Europe	6	4
Western Europe	4	1
Other developed regions	3	1

Source: Prepared by the Statistics Division of the United Nations Secretariat from ILO, Key Indicators of the Labour Market (Geneva, 1999 table 3.)

a) Sometimes referred to as -unpaid family workers

b) Sparse data for this sub region: average should be interpreted with caution.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. What is Unpaid labour?

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2. How can we measure unpaid work?

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3. Discuss gender segregation in unpaid work.

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Society's perception of gender roles can influence the actual disparities in paid and unpaid work like the sharing or balancing of time allocation and rewards of labour between women and men. These perceptions impact the lives of men and women.

4.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the valuation women's work.
2. Define Work.
3. What is unpaid work?
4. What is paid work?
5. Discuss about the impact of Glass ceiling on women's work briefly.

4.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Examining work through a gendered lens becomes important with the advent of a new world of work that is trans-bordered and has seen a change in the composition of the labour force. Perhaps it could be said that the most significant change in the relationship of gender and work is numerical—the enormous shift in the gender composition of the labour force. Women comprise an increasing share of the labour force in almost all regions of the world. During the last few decades the proportion of economically active women has also increased in unparalleled numbers within the global workforce, while men's participation rate has been decreasing slightly.

It can be observed that women's participation in the labour force has been steadily increasing from 57.4% in 1980 to 60.7% in 2000 while there has been a marginal decrease in men's participation rates during the same years. In what manner this decrease in participation has affected men's life is an important research area that requires attention as this trend is projected in 2010 as well.

Women have entered every area of the work force, and in unprecedented numbers at every level through all the major professions. The impact has been enormous and has altered women's labour market status in recent years. According to World Bank estimates, from 1960 to 1997, women have increased their numbers in the global labour force by 126%.¹

The United Nations statistics surveys indicate that wage and salaried work is the predominant form of employment for both women and men in most regions except in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia.² India is one such country where women's participation in the workforce

continues to remain quite low, both in absolute and relative terms. As per the recent estimates, 28.7 percent of women as against 54.7 percent of men participated in workforce in 2004-05.

Today, women make up about 42% of the estimated global working population, making them indispensable as contributors to national and global economies. However, they are disproportionately engaged in non-standard forms of work, such as temporary and casual employment, part-time jobs, home-based work, self employment and working in micro-enterprises. The main factors leading to the rise in women's participation in the labour force have been: the availability of a wider choice for women; an increased pressure on them to contribute to the family income, and often survival; the need of economies for a type of labour that women can provide. However, there are many differences between the industrialized and industrializing regions, especially in the reasons why women work, and the reward they gain from it.

In most industrialized countries, opportunities for women in general were restricted until the Second World War and the two decades of rapid economic growth that followed. The expansion both in services and in part-time employment matched women's needs and experience, thereby encouraging their participation. The pattern of working life has seen a tremendous change: before the 1950s, most women workers were young and unmarried, or were much older with grown up children. In later years, economic activity became more continuous—that is, with fewer, and shorter, breaks for raising a family—and it is no longer unusual (or illegal) for married women to be employed.⁴

In developing countries, industrialization tends to coexist with agriculture, and family businesses. With the exception of some rapidly industrializing Asian countries, the change has been in the nature of women's work, rather than in the number of women working. There has been a significant movement of women from subsistence farming or other unpaid activity to labour in both the formal and informal sectors. For most women in developing countries, a working life has always been longer, and more continuous. Women, especially in rural areas, continuously work until the end of their lives, hardly taking a break from their work routine even to have a baby.

At the same time, pressure has increased on women everywhere to make up or provide the family wage. Women have been at the receiving end of the consequences of debt, inflation, economic stagnation and unemployment. Across the globe, as prices rise and incomes fall, women increase their working hours and diversify their activities to ensure the family's survival. There has been an undeniable 'feminization of poverty'; more and more women are poor, and more of the poor are women. It is estimated that women make up at least 60 per cent of the world's working poor and as long as there are inequalities in labour

markets, women will find it harder than men to escape poverty.

2. Gender segregation is the process in which women and men end up in different types of occupation, so that two different types of labour markets may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the concept of Gender marking which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions.
3. This segregation has evolved from the concept of Gender marking which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions. Gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels— horizontal, vertical and internal. Internal gender segregation is when women and men are employed in the same occupation (and in some cases by the same employers) but carry out different work functions. This means that even an apparently gender-integrated occupation may actually be highly gender- segregated in practice.⁶

Horizontal Segregation: Horizontal segregation is when women work in certain occupations and industries and men in others. For example, a large number of women work in services, especially the personal and caring services, while women's participation in the industrial sector is generally much lower than men's, and concentrated in a relatively narrow range of labour- intensive light industries. This matches with the gender roles assigned to men and women by society.

Vertical Segregation: Within the same occupation, men tend to occupy the higher managerial positions and women comparatively lower positions; this hierarchical division is referred to as vertical segregation. Even where an occupation is to some extent mixed, women are usually in the less responsible, less secure and less well- paid jobs. On the other hand, even in occupation numerically dominated by women, men are still often found in the management positions; for example, the principal of a primary school.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Wage Gap, Double burden, Glass Ceiling and Sexual Harassment
2. One of the direct consequences of gender segregation in paid work is

wage differentials. Gender based difference in pay is a definitive sign of inequality at the workplace. In most countries, equal pay legislation exists; however, the gender segregation of work makes allows the easy application of different remuneration rates to men's work' and women's work'. Women tend to be in jobs that are poorly paid and lack a career structure; even in mixed workforce jobs, women are more likely to be at the levels of lower responsibility. Further, there are a high percentage of women who work on a part-time or temporary basis. Some other factors that contribute to women's lower wages include the constraints on women that do not allow them to do overtime, night shifts etc., the interruption due to pregnancy that affects accumulation of seniority etc. Trade Unions have usually failed to take up these concerns because they have been male-dominated, and these issues have not yet entered the mainstream of their agenda.

3. The entry of women onto the labour market has not meant any lessening of domestic chores. Most women are still solely or mostly in charge of housework and child care. In order to fulfil all their responsibilities at the workplace and at home, women end up working longer hours. This phenomenon is called double shift' or double burden'. Due to this women are underrepresented.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. Unpaid work, such as domestic work or work based in homes, entails no protective legislation, no social security, and is assigned low social status. This lack of income seriously affects women's ability to improve their lives.
2. A major breakthrough occurred when Canada's 1996 Census became the first to collect data on unpaid work. It divided unpaid work into three categories: housework, care of children, and care and assistance to seniors but left out volunteer work with community or charity organizations. However, it was an important first step in measuring and recognizing women's unpaid work. One of the interesting findings of this census was that unpaid work is perhaps the biggest contribution that women make to the economy as most of it is performed by women. A significant number of countries have chosen to adopt *time-use surveys* to measure unpaid work. Japan, Australia, Mali, Morocco, South Africa, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Palestine, Cuba, Ecuador, and many European countries have designed or undertaken surveys. while many other countries have expressed interest. Efforts are now being made to improve the methodology: it has been recognized that it lacks precision in breaking down different activities, and that underestimation persists both of time spent and of the range of tasks undertaken.
3. Gender division of labour is as evident within the household as it is within paid employment. It is true that not all women undertake paid work, but few can escape household labour. Irrespective of the biological or the patriarchal explanation for the gendered distribution of unpaid

labour, the bulk of unpaid work is undertaken by women. (See table 3) and therefore has affected the well being of women more than men.

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UNIT 5 CARE ECONOMY AND FEMINIZATION OF LABOUR*

*Adopted from Unit 4, Block 2, MGSE-009

Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Women in the House Hold
 - 5.3.1 Concept of Work
 - 5.3.2 Women and Work
- 5.4 Gender and Domestic Work: A Critical Review
- 5.5 Introduction to Care Economy
 - 5.5.1 Concept of Care Economy
 - 5.5.2 Women as Care Providers
 - 5.5.3 Importance of Care Economy
- 5.6 Gender in Care Economy
- 5.7 Role of care economy in National Economy
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5.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit familiarises the reader with the basic concept of work at home and the role that women play in various capacities to make it comfortable for other family members. It dwells upon the need to quantify women's work at home and the process that can be followed for it.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you would be able to:

- Analyze household work in economic terms;
- Highlight the role of care economy in the household;

- Estimate the extent of women's contribution to household care economy; and
- Estimate contribution of care economy to the National economy.

5.3 WOMEN IN THE HOUSEHOLD

This section discusses the role of women in the context of household and family. It gives an account of the various tasks performed by women within the household.

5.3.1 Concept of work

For understanding the nature of care economy within the household, we must first understand the concept of work as it has been defined in economic context.

Work is any activity or expenditure of energy that produces services and products of value to other people (Fox 1984:2).

Work is an activity that has been related with production of goods or services.

Work is invariably associated with production, with the manufacture of some sort of goods or services for exchange in a market, in opposition to consumption which is defined as 'non-work' or 'leisure time activity' (McDowell & Pringle 1992:122).

Based on economic connotations, work or activities are divided into two kinds:

- Economic work /activity – All those activities which give an income are called economic activities. These are also referred to as production of goods and services.
- Non-economic work/activity – All those activities which do not give any income in return are called non-economic activities.

This division of work into economic and non-economic activities is strengthened in household and family when work performed outside the home. It brings an income that is considered economical and therefore important. However, it is not necessary that work would always fetch wages, salaries or income in cash. For instance, the work that a woman performs in the household is considered non-economic despite its importance for the smooth running of the household and work as enabling factors for the husband and other members to go out, work without any household worries and fetch an income required to meet the family expenses.

Within the economic framework, the definition of work gives no cognizance to cultural and emotional work performed by women along side with work that gives them economic returns.

5.3.2 Women and Work

The relation between women and work is multi-layered owing to its existence both within and outside the home. Women have always been a part of the informal cash economy that has traditionally existed in the communities. They have been managing the household economy by taking up the responsibility of the entire household work. Their role remained active even after the formal production in factories and other specialized workplaces started taking place. So the shift was not from leisure to work but from inter-familial to employer-employee-working relations. This changed their work patterns, and the work got sharply differentiated into wage –non-wage work or a paid - unpaid work. Their formal entry into the labour market fetched them wages in cash compared to their earlier work that fetched them no income in cash. Therefore, it has been argued that concept of work should be broadened to include the varied types of tasks performed by women in and outside the home either for self-consumption or for exchange and as unpaid or paid labour (Delphy, 1992:20).

Within the domestic sphere, work performed by women is characterized by the following:

- **Multiple nature of work** – The work scope ranges from reproductive to productive work activities which takes women from one role to another simultaneously.
- **Enabling environment for others** – The work performed by women at home comprises the basic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, washing, child care and looking after old and sick members of the family. It also includes looking after guests and maintaining kinship networks.
- **Invisibility** – Tasks performed by women at home are not noticed. It is assumed that the household equilibrium is maintained on its own.
- **Low status** – The household tasks are regarded low status since they do not fetch any income.

The economics of domestic work/life with a focus on relations between household work and productive work by women has been explained in terms of patriarchal relations and control within the household (Delphy: 1992 and Walby: 1986). It is argued that housework takes place within a domestic or patriarchal mode of production in which men exploit woman's labour. This argument is based on the following observations –

- 1) men gain a lot on consumption and leisure from women's household work;
- 2) while evading their share of housework and child-care, men receive services for which they do not have to pay;
- 3) since woman is not a dependent, men don't have to pay; and,

- 4) Woman produces his labour power which he exchanges for a wage which he controls.

In case of changes within the domestic productive relations (e.g single woman, changing husbands), Walby, sees them as a part of a shift from private to public patriarchy; with male control of individual woman in families and households giving way to public patriarchal control : the state and labour market. This indicates continuation and extension of patriarchal control over women's lives though in a different context.

5.4 GENDER AND DOMESTIC WORK: A CRITICAL REVIEW

There has been a very negative approach towards the labour of women. The planners have been completely ignoring the work done by women in the domestic sphere. The subsistence work and child care work which is unpaid is completely unaccounted. Similarly the enormous amount of labour that takes place in the informal sector remains completely invisible.

Many scholars believe that liberal philosophies tend to devalue labour and time devoted to the biological needs of human beings. They take the time spent on domestic chores for granted. There is no value for the time spent on cooking, cleaning, nurturing children, caring for old and disabled as these are not considered as productive work. Domestic sphere is taken to be governed by the instinct and is believed to be closer to nature than the social structure. These functions are seen as the natural duties of every woman, therefore women are being projected as the natural care giver. At the same time since the work is unpaid, it devalues and is not even considered as labour.

If we look at emancipating the women, we have to consider restructuring the private sphere also. Based on this logic, domestic sphere has not made a matter of policy intervention of any kind. The wider implication is that we fail to understand that limitations that women face in the public arena are naturally related to their roles in the household. Many feminist scholars argue that men can behave like disembodied rational agents because they have women to take care of their bodily and domestic needs. At the same time these women lead the lives of deprivation as their time is consumed in catering to their male folk. Many Marxist scholars see women's domestic labour as the basis of capital accumulation. German Feminist led by Maria Mies argues that men as well as capital benefitted from the women's demotion to unpaid subsistence work. The present oppression, subordination and subjugation of women is culmination of prolong domination of men over women, nature and colonies. For such scholars patriarchy and capitalism are interdependent and supplementary to each other.

Without downgrading the women's labour in care economy, we must emphasise that there is a need to create alternate society based on feminist understanding of labour.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Define work in the context of gender.

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2. What is domestic work?

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5.5 INTRODUCTION TO CARE ECONOMY

This section introduces the concept of care economy and its role in family well being. It dwells upon the role and contribution of women to care economy that constitutes the backbone of a family /household.

5.5.1 Concept of Care Economy

Care economy originates at home and is deeply embedded in the family welfare. The care economy is the work done, usually in the domestic sphere, which keeps the labour force fed and clothed, and raises the future labour force, therefore ensuring that society operates effectively. In simpler terms, it means working to make sure that other members including children, old and sick members of the family are well looked after and lead healthy lives. The idea of care economy was developed from the experiences of women, their role as consumers and as unpaid labour at home.

Care economy represents the time spent on unpaid care for members of their household and communities. It also consists of time spent to make up for the spatial deficiencies in public infrastructure, including in the health, energy, water and sanitation sectors. Such activities range from providing long term health care to the chronically ill to fetching water and firewood (Chakraborty, Lekha S, 2006, Financial Express).

Gilman argued that the unpaid care labour of women at home is not compensated for by the income earned by their husbands. She describes care as a basic human sphere and considers the valuing of the sympathy and care of a mother in market terms as unthinkable.

Economic analysis has a history of inclusion of women's since 1930s of the reasons for wage differentials between men and women to the work on household production and time allocation during the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1950s, neoclassical economics pioneered the work towards a better understanding of the reasons behind the labour force participation of women. The work of Jacob Mincer centred around economically analysing the household sphere. It was an important step towards inclusion of women's work in mainstream economics. This process was intensified in the 1960s with the work of Gary Becker and other human capital economists that built the New Home Economics. They applied the market oriented concepts and models to household production. Time allocation analysis was used to explain the sexual division of labour at home and the inequalities within were explained through individual choices made under the assumption of utility maximization. Boserup in 1970 pointed out the importance of women's subsistence activities in rural areas and their underestimation in national income accounting. An impetus from the international women's movement since 1970s, the demand to emphasise and analyse all aspects of the invisibility of women's work, including domestic production.

Since the 1980s, there have been efforts to integrate gender into macroeconomics through two avenues: inclusion of women's unpaid work in national income accounts and the shift from micro to macro issues with the perspective of gender and development. With repeated lobbying for the importance of women's work at home, there has now been consent that it is important to value unpaid work:

- To give visibility to women's work and
- To establish women's claim on the national exchequer based on their contribution.
- To recognize the care economy as a 'productive space'.

The following story is an excellent example of care economy being in control of economic process:

Ali, an immigrant shopkeeper in London, has a friend called Dona. Dona gets information about some racists planning to attack Ali and does not know how to warn him. Complaining to the police is not of any use as they dismiss Dona's story as a product of paranoid fantasy. Dona knows that Ali keeps Charles, a business contact informed about his movements. The only way she can warn Ali is by breaking into Charles' room and leaving a message about the planned attack. Under utilitarian thinking and justice reasoning there is no reason for breaking into Charles' room. Charles is a self-centered egoist, who will be more

disturbed by his room being broken into than by Ali getting beaten up. From a justice perspective, there is no justification as Ali's life is not in danger, only his health and dignity. From a utilitarian perspective Charles' utility will decrease and Ali's further utility loss as a consequence of the bashing will be less than the utility gains by ten racist attackers. Does the very idea appear preposterous? If so, you value care as an end in itself. Sen encourages Dona to follow her "deeply held and resilient conviction that she must save Ali". Care is one's responsibility toward the community that one feels part of. Without responsibility, negative external effects will rapidly restrain the economic process, says the author.....Amartya Sen.

Care economy remains significantly invisible in quantitative terms, or at best undervalued, because of the restricted definition of 'economic activity' in national income accounting. Only market-oriented activities are considered 'economic'. It is interesting to recall in this context the famous economist Pigou's comment that if a housemaid employed by a bachelor were to marry him, national income would fall, since her previously paid work would now be performed unpaid.

Adam Smith, the noted economist recognized the role of care economy at home in molding the labour force of the future. He recognized that labour, like capital, is a produced factor. The type of changes in the economy has a bearing of care economy. For instance, cuts in health budgets and the draining of capable doctors from public to the private sector will cause longer waiting lists and queues in clinics. People who cannot afford expensive healthcare need more care at home. This will mean that women have to divert more time to care at home and less to other activities.

5.5.2 Women as Care Providers

The relationship between women and their role as care providers may be explained as following:

- **Economic scenario:** The changing requirements of the macro-economy have a direct impact on the domestic, household context in the form of greater demand on the time and resources of women to shape the evolution of the care economy.
- **Social position and class:** The structuring of the particular role which different categories of women assume in the economy of care is, clearly, a function of their broader social position, a fact which makes the arena of the care economy a terrain of complex, interlocking gender and class equations.
- **Time poverty may affect income poverty:** The public infrastructure deficit in rural areas may enhance rural poverty due to the skewed time allocation of women towards unpaid care work, which is otherwise available for income-earning market work.

- **Well-being and development:** Care (whether paid or unpaid) is crucial to human well-being and to the pattern of economic development. Some analysts emphasize the significance of care for economic dynamism and growth. Others see care in much larger terms, as part of the fabric of society and integral to social development. To overcome the gender bias that is deeply entrenched in systems of social protection and to make citizenship truly inclusive, care must become a dimension of citizenship with rights that are equal to those that are attached to employment.

5.5.3 Importance of Care Economy

There have been important debates within feminist economics on how to conceptualize the connections between the sphere of market-based capital accumulation (the commodity economy), on the one hand, and that of non-market-based social reproduction (the unpaid care economy), on the other, while giving full recognition to the real divisions and differences between them. This has drawn attention to the distinctions between different components that constitute the unpaid economy, throwing the spotlight on care and its distinct characteristics (the difficulty of raising productivity and the associated –cost disease).

There is a growing recognition across globe in lifting the veil of statistical invisibility of care economy.

5.6 GENDER IN CARE ECONOMY

The magnitude of the contribution of women in the care economy is alarming. Global estimates suggest \$ 16 trillion of global output is invisible contribution by the care economy and within that \$ 11 trillion is the non-monetised, invisible contribution of women.

The women's involvement in care economy is a continued process as following:

- **Composition of the family:** For all countries, having a (young) child in the household tends to increase the amount of unpaid care work done.
- **Life cycle approach:** Marriage tends to increase the amount of unpaid care work to be done by the women. With increasing age and advancing stage in life, there is a decrease in the care work performed by women.
- **Household income:** The amount of unpaid care work tends to decrease with increase in income, while being employed tends to decrease the amount of unpaid care work done by women.

The exigencies of household welfare internal to the well-being of the members of the family constitute a permanent element in the structuring of the economy of care and the central role which women play in it. However, the household is seen as a *consumer* of goods and public services rather than a *producer* which provides valuable inputs and resources into both public and

private economies. Women's contribution to the economy is largely in this hidden area of production which includes *care work, voluntary or civil society activity, subsistence production and work in the informal sector*. The invisibility of this activity means not only that it is underestimated or inaccurately measured, but it is also excluded from Gross National Product (GNP) and usually ignored when making policy decisions.

In India, the Time Use Survey (TUS) conducted by CSO in about 18,600 households in selected six states during July 1998-June 1999 revealed that on an average, a female spent 34.6 hours a week compared to 3.6 hours by a male in the care economy. The data reiterates the involvement of women in the smooth conduct of care economy as it exists.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit

1. What is care economy?

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2. What is the role of women in care economy?

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5.7 ROLE OF CARE ECONOMY IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

This section evaluates the place of care economy within the context of domestic economy. It deals with care role of women in terms of its economic value and significance at the household and above levels.

5.7.1 Economics of Care Economy

Unpaid care work—the housework and care of persons that occurs in homes and communities of all societies on an unpaid basis—is an area that has

generally been neglected by economists, as well as by many development actors. CARE is a value that the modern economists have excluded from the sphere of the subject (Irene Van Staveren: 2001). In economics, the relevance of caring commitments was recognized by Amartya Sen (1981), Jon Elser (1983) and Robert Frank (1988). Feminist economists have also made contributions on caring labour. They have sought to demonstrate the critical function performed by women's unpaid labour – most of which pertains to the structuring of the system of care - in the politics of the wage relationship, urban settlement patterns, national productivity, competitiveness, and external (cross-border) trade.

The valuation of unpaid work and its inclusion into Gross Domestic Product (GDP), or into some measures of well-being, is a very complex and controversial matter. There have been many studies on valuation of unpaid work, particularly as they relate to gender issues, claiming that unpaid work is not valued and not included in the estimation of GDP. In developing countries, in particular, unpaid work/workers are grossly undervalued. Data from field work showed that supposedly non-worker women are on their feet for several hours for carrying out household duties. Their workday is often no shorter than that of a man who is recorded as a worker in principal capacity. This process revealed that methods that evaluate the value of each of the different tasks are not adequate to capture the total cumulative cost to women in terms of energy required for the multiple tasks they undertake.

The Census 1991, 2001 had special drive - sensitization and training of the enumerators - to probe and highlight the various dimension of 'work' that women undertake. Milk production (livestock care) even for purely household consumption, was included as economic activity for the first time; this inclusion is partly responsible for improvement in female Work Participation Rate (WPR) in Haryana as also in Punjab.

Studies indicate that where women do not have 'public' identifiable participation in gainful activities, the measurement through questionnaire even if done by women is not adequate. They may not be employed but they have a means of livelihood. As they may not be seeking work or willing to accept work except of certain kinds, suitable to cultural inhibitions, but these inhibitions are invisible in statistics. This indicates measurement failure. Given to understand that the conventional labour force surveys have not always been able to collect data from –difficult to measure sectors like unpaid work of women, it has been suggested that Time use surveys (TUS) should be used as a survey tool. Taking an initiative, the Government of India conducted its first national TUS covering six states in 1998-99. There is now a proposal to mainstream these surveys in the national statistical system. . The major sources of data - the Census of India and the National Sample Surveys have increased their attempts to recognize women's unpaid work.

There are usually two approaches to valuation of work:

- Input Method (valuation of the time spent on unpaid activities) and
- Output Method (valuation of the output generated from unpaid work).

It can be difficult to estimate monetary values for imputing prices to these (especially unpaid domestic work) services, given that there may be not suitable market prices for such outputs, incomes and expenditures.

Feminist scholars have long challenged the reluctance to measure or value women's unpaid work. Paradoxically, the female altruism exemplified by long hours of unpaid work has encouraged and enabled a masculine emphasis on more selfish pursuits such as the accumulation of financial wealth. Sometimes, the increase in women's unpaid labour results from -gender-blind policies, deigned to fulfil other social objectives. In addition, migration, stigma, culture/traditional practices, and engaging in supplementary work contribute towards increase in work burden for women or women's unpaid labour.

There is also a need to realize that under certain conditions, time devoted to 'non-market work' does raise family living standards, and failure to acknowledge this can lead to misleading comparisons of living standards among households of different composition.

There is recognition that women are mostly involved in the small enterprises and in non- market work (NMW), which makes their contribution to the overall economy invisible.

There is also a concern that the inclusion of unpaid labour in the GDP may have the 'perverse effect' of increasing the estimated incomes of households and societies, currently perceived as poor, and thereby reduce the concerns of policy makers at both national and global levels. The effort towards valuation of unpaid work must be to 'visibilise' women's economic contribution rather than to add it to estimates of GDP (and hence unnecessarily inflate the estimated incomes of the poorer households). The best way, as suggested, to 'visibilise' the type of work women do is through Time Use Surveys.

The parameters of inclusion of the unpaid labour in a national policy for inclusion are as following:

- Non-market work (NMW) has no visible wages so it is difficult, if not impossible, to link such work to GDP. There is a need to build a framework, including classification of different types of activities: both market work and NMW and quantify the total activity of a person; (give consideration to the possibility of movement from one type of activity to the other).
- Define the roles of women and types of contribution adding to the national economy, the compensation and the methodology,
- Move beyond simply counting hours and multiplying by an approximate hourly wage rate; look more systematically at household production

functions, which also include capital (houses and consumer durables and public investments in services such as water, electricity, and gas), human capital (education), and raw materials (including "intermediate inputs" such as convenience foods),

- Address the concept of opportunity cost in determining value of non-market work (use minimum wages to start with) and
- Calculate GDP by both including and excluding worth of unpaid labour.

5.7.2 Care Economy within National Economy

The amount of unpaid care work carried out, the way that the burden of this work is distributed among different actors, and the proportion and kinds of care work that are unpaid or paid, have important implications for the well-being of individuals and households, as well as for the economic growth and well-being of nations.

There is now a growing recognition across globe in lifting the veil of statistical invisibility of care economy. The magnitude of the contribution of women in the care economy is alarming. Global estimates suggest \$ 16 trillion of global output is invisible contribution by the care economy and within that \$ 11 trillion is the non-monetised, invisible contribution of women. It also shows that the value of unpaid work can be equivalent to at least half of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Therefore, if the care economy is neglected this can have serious consequences for society and its productivity as it is neglecting the care of its most important resource - people.

In 1985 Nairobi conference that marked the end of UN Decade for women, was expressed the need to recognize the fact there had been an undercounting of women's work at all levels. In 1993, The United Nations Statistical Division extended the production boundary of the Systems of

National Accounts (SNA), by including the activities of unpaid work into the national accounting system as satellite accounts. This has provided a better understanding of women's contribution to the economy. On the basis of Time Utilization Surveys, it has been found that in industrial countries, women spend a little more than half of the total work time in unpaid activities. In developing countries, the proportion of total time spent on the unpaid household activities by women ranges from 76% in urban Columbia to 52% in the mountainous region of Nepal. In India, women in Gujarat scored the highest time spent (39.08 hours per week) on care economy activities, followed by Madhya Pradesh (35.79 hours) and Orissa (35.70 hours). The gender gap is most marked in India, where women spend nearly 10 times as much time on unpaid care work than men. Since women are responsible for a greater share of unpaid work in the care economy, they enter the labour market already overburdened with work. This dual work burden or unequal sharing of work borne by women is neither recognized in the data nor considered adequately in socio-economic policy making.

Time Utilization Surveys can provide valuable insights in fiscal policy making, especially in terms of public investment in infrastructure. Public investment in infrastructure like water and fuel can have positive social externalities in terms of educating the girl child and improving the health and nutritional aspects of the household. A World Bank study noted that easy accessibility to drinking water might lead to an increase in school enrolment particularly girls; in Madagascar, 83 per cent of the girls who did not go to school spent their time collecting water, while only 58 per cent of the girls who attended school spent time collecting water. However, the point to be noted is that though infrastructure investment lessens the stress of time-poor women; complementary employment policies are also required to avoid forced leisure; that is, to ensure substitution effect of unpaid work with market work.

Historically, the amount of time spent in market economy has never consistently been greater than that spent in care economy. But the attention paid by the economists unidirectional to the market economy skews any paid to latter. Macroeconomic policy makers have to realize that the allocation and efficiency of time we spent in care economy might be more important to economic welfare than that of market economy. The inferences from Time Utilization surveys need to be integrated in the formulation of public investment policies and pro-poor alternative macroeconomic strategies.

There is a need for a gender sensitive economic system, which must include the following:

- Collect and analyze time budget on a regular basis and the information should be integrated in the Indian statistical system for getting better statistics on the size of labour force of our country as well as the contribution of women to the economy – whether paid or unpaid.
- The present "gender-neutral" / "gender blind" budgets need to take into consideration the fact that men and women have different roles, responsibilities and resources in society. One of the major failures of budgets is the neglect of the unpaid "care economy" and recommendations should be made as to how this work could be valued or measured, and included in the budget.
- The perspective to macro-economic models needs to change by re-thinking the relationships between different areas of economic life such as the public and private sectors, the domestic, and the formal and informal economies.
- A parallel budget or "satellite accounts" should be set up that would focus on measuring and trying to quantify the value of unpaid output in the care economy. These would view caring labour in terms of market price and would make the division of labour which underpins this more explicit. It would also contribute to viewing sustainability in terms of sustaining society as well as the economy.

- Investment should be made in the care economy. This should incorporate greater provision of free public services such as health care and education. It should also incorporate an understanding of women's role in this economy and adjust policy accordingly - for example by making key services available free at the point of delivery.
- Gender-disaggregated data should be compiled for all the economic activities and set out in a –Social Accounting Matrix. This would give a better picture of how and why women's economic activity often goes unmeasured and under-valued. Data should be collected on variations in income, expenditure, and government spending *within* and *between* households and businesses, and within government committees and departments.
- Initiate development interventions designed only after taking into cognizance the issues of gender equality and care economy. For instance, while addressing AIDS, interventions aimed at reversing the epidemic need to take into account the excessive work-load that members of the household, usually women, shoulder in responding to the needs of sick family members. Therefore, appropriate development policies that focus on issues such as treatment, prevention, education, economic empowerment and violence against women, should be designed.
- The society should recognize and value the importance of different forms of care, but without reinforcing care work as something that only women can or should do, given the well-known and adverse consequences of such gendering: women's financial precariousness and their exclusion from the public domain.

There is enormous diversity in currently existing policy responses to care—arguably greater than that found for other contingencies such as illness or unemployment, and with differing implications for gender equality. Gender advocates have put forward a range of proposals that attempt to overcome the many disadvantages endured by most women because of their responsibilities for care giving, and sometimes to entice men to contribute more time to it. There are tensions, however, between the different proposals that have been put forward in terms of a wish to support and value care and to liberate women from the confines of care giving so as to enable their more active presence in the public sphere. There is a wide range of possible policy interventions: cash payments in the form of caregivers' allowance or citizen's wage (more gender-neutral than a mothers' pension); taxation allowances; different types of paid and unpaid leave from employment; social security credits and social services.

There should be strong advocacy efforts for the inclusion of unpaid contribution of women into the national economy. Some of the suggestions for which are following:

- Conduct Time Use Surveys; integrate unpaid work into the national

database;

- Integrate unpaid work into national policies, as and when it is feasible. This should be done not only by compiling satellite accounts but also by underlining the links between macro policies and unpaid work;
- Tap the network of Self Help Groups (SHGs) in the villages, for initiating discussions and mobilizing masses for national level advocacy on the issue
- Public campaign to encourage men to share domestic work equally with women
- Draw adequate attention to market valuation of unpaid work by publicizing its inclusion in GDP

5.8 TERMS USED IN CARE ECONOMY

Care economy is represented by several terms. Some of them are:

5.8.1 Care Work

‘Carework refers, simply, to the work of caring for others, including unpaid care for family members and friends, as well as paid care for others. Caring work includes taking care of children, the elderly, the sick, and the disabled, as well as doing domestic work such as cleaning and cooking. As reproductive labor, carework is necessary to the continuation of every society. By deploying the term –carework, scholars and advocates emphasize the importance of recognizing that care is not simply a natural and uncomplicated response to those in need, but actually hard physical, mental, and emotional work, which is often unequally distributed through society (Meyer 2000). Because care tends to be economically devalued, many scholars who study carework emphasize the skill required for care, and the importance of valuing care.

Source: Misra, J. (2007). Care work. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*. Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online. Retrieved June 13, 2007.

5.8.2 Caregiver

Caregiver is a generic term referring to a person, either paid or voluntary, who helps an older person with the activities of daily living, health care, financial matters, guidance, companionship and social interaction. A caregiver can provide more than one aspect of care. Most often the term refers to a family member or friend who aids the older person

Family members or friends frequently provide this type of care. In the child care field, however, the term *caregiver* refers to people who are paid for providing child care services. (Stebbins, 2001, p. 232).

Source: Department of Health and Human Services. (2005). Glossary of aging terms. Retrieved March 1, 2007, from <http://eldercare.gov/eldercare/public/resources/glossary.asp>.

Stebbins, L.F. (2001). *Work and family in America*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

5.8.3 Care giving

"Care giving is the act of providing unpaid assistance and support to family members or acquaintances who have physical, psychological, or developmental needs. Caring for others generally takes on three forms: instrumental, emotional, and informational caring. Instrumental help includes activities such as shopping for someone who is disabled or cleaning for an elderly parent. Caregiving also involves a great deal of emotional support, which may include listening, counseling, and companionship. Finally, part of caring for others may be informational in nature, such as learning how to alter the living environment of someone in the first stages of dementia.

Sociologists generally limit their discussion of caregiving to unpaid workers. Caregivers are typically family members, friends, and neighbors. Sometimes caregiving is done by those affiliated with religious institutions. While caregiving of all types is also done by paid workers such as nurses, social workers, and counselors, this is paid work, and thus is not in the same category. Caregiving rarely refers to the daily care that parents provide for their children, because this is classified as parenting; however, caring for an adult disabled daughter would be considered caregiving because it is outside of the norm of expectations for older adults." (Drentea, 2007) **Source:** Drentea, P. (2007). Caregiving. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*. Blackwell Publishing. Blackwell Reference Online. Retrieved June 13, 2007, from

<http://www.blackwellreference.com>

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i. Use this space given below to answer the question.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this Unit.

1. Why women's work is has not been counted in national income?

.....
.....
.....

2. How can women's work be counted in national economy?

.....
.....

5.9 LET US SUM UP

Women have largely been responsible for the running of their households. Their primary role has been to nurture the family through labour which is assumed to be there without any monetary gains. The various tasks performed by women are repetitive, monotonous and devoid of appreciation. However the work performed by them is difficult to measure in concrete terms for their complex nature. It is physical labour, emotional support and psychological care which together makes the distinct nature of woman's work. Against the vivid arguments for/against unpaid labour of women, it has been realised that women's domestic labour contributes not only to the household economy but also to the domestic economy of a nation. Therefore, it needs to be monetised and included while calculating for total economic gains at the national level.

5.10 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. What is care economy? Elaborate the role of women in care economy.
2. Women contribute to the national income. Discuss this statement in the context of work performed by them at home.
3. Should the women's domestic work included in the national economy. Discuss.
4. Write short notes:
 - a. Women as caregivers
 - b. The gendered connotation of domestic work
 - c. The gender sensitive national economy

5.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Activities, tasks, economic return
2. Household, family, care

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Invisible work, household economy, drudgery
2. Nurturing, family sustenance, care of the members

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. Voluntary, social role, duty, family well being
2. Methods, approach, time spent survey

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