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M.A. ECONOMICS (First Year)

Gender Economics

(SECE21)

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Gender economics

Unit-I

1. Introduction

Women were for many years hidden from history and women's experience was invisible. They were confined to the "unchanging" domestic milieu. Gender difference was either simply taken for granted or considered to be irrelevant to whatever women's issues were being discussed. It was one of the most fundamental contributions of feminists to interpret posing many new questions related to women. Various concepts have been used to theorize the feminine condition. In the past decades a great deal of academic and research work has been devoted to documenting and seeking to identify the sources of gender inequalities and the way to combat them. Gender studies, especially of women, developed on a wave of recognition that females were marginal or completely absent from the sociological and other discourses, or were treated in ways that reflected common stereotypes of mother-housewife. Much research in sociology in setting uncritically women into paradigms developed on the basis of understandings about the lives of men. Historians, economists, anthropologists and psychologists are given critical attention by the sociologists of gender. Sociologist and other social scientists have had a lot to say about gender over the last three decades. Gender is a pervasive feature of social life that we seek to understand. Further, through its impact on social relations, on identities and institutions, gender is intricately connected to many social processes. This Unit will explore the contours of the gender system which is one of the organizing principles of social world.

1.1. Meaning of gender

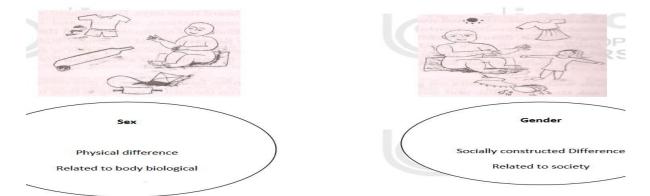
Gender is a term being frequently used and heard these days. Government organizations, voluntary organizations, developmental organizations, national and international developmental programmes, donor organizations, UN organizations – all these talk about gender, analyse programmes from a gender perspective and do gender budgeting. What is this gender? Why we should talk about gender – we realize that this is an importance issue, which has deep roots in our society, in our families and in our lives.

Let us see what it is.

Men and women are different. Society too treats them differently. These differences are evident in their way of dressing, in their work, in the roles they perform and in their behaviour. However, men and women are both human beings. Both have lot of similarities. Men and women may have different reproductive organs but both have other similar organs like heart, brain, liver, digestive system etc. While some of the reproductive organs are present outside, others are present inside the body.

Apart from these differences men and women do not have any differences by birth. This **physical difference is called 'sex**' we call men as "male sex" and women as "female sex" however **this is not 'gender'**.

Gender is the change brought about socially in women and men as they grow. This is a term used to understand the socially constructed differences between men and women. This is



not the same as the differences related to different reproductive organs. Boys and girls are brought up in a different way in the society as they grow. Parents, relatives, neighbours, every institution in the society like schools, police, courts etc have a fixed opinion about how men and women should be. So, gender refers to the socially constructed and culturally variable roles that women and men play in their daily lives. These are traits and characteristics. What are these social traits? For example, women are supposed to be slender, shy, sensitive, traditional, home bound, not to run or jump around, not to laugh loudly etc. Men are supposed to be bold, strong, tough, confident, talk loudly, not to be shy, not to cry etc. Men and women are not born with these traits. We bring up boys and girls in such a way that they acquire these traits. These are gender related traits. For example, the typical responses could be as follows

S. N	Girl child	Boy child
1	Takes care of parents	Takes forward family name
2	Listens to parents and others	Takes care in old age
3	Can be nicely dressed up	Performs the last rites for parents
4	"Light of the family"	"Heir of the family"

Each of these reasons should be analysed. For example, of a girl child is supposed to be light of the family does it mean that she has to dress up, bring good luck to the family etc? In reality, how many can afford to "dress up"? Can the child be held responsible for ill fortune in?

family business? In our society instead of educating girls and making them stand on their feet, they are made to take up household chores. At the same time, women are also looked down as inferior beings intellectually and that they are only interested in clothes and ornaments, which mean that society forces girls to be brought up in a way which again makes them inferior in society. In the case of men, it is believed that they take forward the family name. What is family? Should women change their surname after marriage? Don't they have a personality a recognition of their own? How can we assume that only a son would grow up to be a worthy human being to take forward the family name and take care of parents? Aren't there many sons who grow up to be thieves and other anti-social beings? Are they worthy of inheriting the family name? At the same time aren't there many daughters who grow up to be successful, well-educated persons who take care of their parents in their ole age? Aren't they true inheritors then? Now it should be clear that many of our misconceptions and misguided notions result in subjugation and suppression of girls and women and that these opinions could be changed. These are all socially and culturally constructed differences between male and female which have very negative impact on women and girls, which ultimately leads into discrimination against them.

1.2. Importance of gender studies

The issues involve identifying and challenging those elements in society which are gendered in nature and highly detrimental to women for developmental perspectives and which exclude or disadvantage women. They questioned how "universal" values are defined, how "truth" is distorted in directions that serve male interests.

The "women's question" often asks about the gender implications of social practice. Under these debates are broader issues of gender equality and sex differences. What is the significance of these sex differences? To answer this question sociologists, have to examine two related issues:

- a) The magnitude of sex differences; and
- b) The consistency of these differences across the global societies, time periods and situations.

The "Women Question" requires a thorough search for gender bias and demands gender justice. The basic things in the women's issues lies somewhere to uncover and find out the disadvantages based upon gender (for more details on this concept, please refer unit 4). The gendered condition in society is to be explored which facilitate certain institutions and to find out the ways in which women's experiences and interests have been overlooked. Gender inequality is a much discussed topic. Behind the scenes of the historical struggle for gender equality lies long standing and ongoing debate about the meaning of equality. Now the question is whether the achievement of equality require the provision of equality of opportunity or does it mean securing equality of outcome? What is the nature of the difference between men and women and how does this relate to the attainment of equality between them? What is the standard by which the achievement of gender equality is to be judged? Does equality mean that women have to take on masculine norms, values and lifestyles? How does gender equality relate to ethnicity and sexuality? Does equality mean "equal rights"?

The issues that are central to the gender studies mainly are two: a) whether equality requires all women to be treated the same way as all men, irrespective of their differences and, b) whether equality requires that differences between women and men be recognized and provided for. In the equality perspective gender is regarded as an attribute that should not be significant in the distribution of social values or social rights.

A group of scholars disagree that all women are equally oppressed and disadvantaged in modern societies. It is important to recognize the different experiences and problems faced by different groups of women. They emphasize on different experiences faced by groups of women of different age groups, occupations, caste, class and ethnic background. They believe that oppression of women exists, but this is not affecting all women to the same extent and manner.

1.3. Why do the Women's Issues need separate attention?

• To involve women in development programmes in order to tap their "productive usefulness". Gender issues are today regarded as very significant and of priority in development policy and planning.

• Men and women have different access and control over resources and in decisionmaking with a persistent inequality. Women's issues aim to reduce these gender gaps. • Women's issues aim to empower women from traditional economic and political disempowerment.

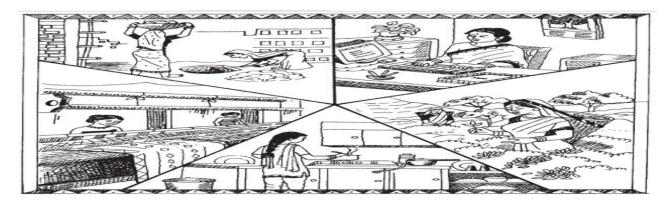
• Women's issues aim to overcome the "gender regimes" and "gendered work culture".

• Women's issues aim to stop differences, discriminations and inequality existing in society and finally to place her as an "equal citizen" in society.

• Women's issues also challenge those ideologies, institutions, rules and practices that are "gendered" in nature and do not take cognizance of women's experiences, which are different from that of men.

1.4. Women's Work

According to anthropologists and some historians, women were the major producer of food, textiles and handicrafts throughout human history and continue to provide a major labour input where production is still in the small scale subsistence sector. Defining the exact nature, scope and magnitude of women's work remains a problem area because a good deal of women's work is either invisible or is only partially accounted for in the data on workforce participation. Components of women's work include housework, paid and unpaid work related to home-based craft activities, family enterprise or business and paid work outside home. You must have observed differential work participation of men, women and children within the family both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The kind of work women do is determined by women's position in the society and family's location in the social hierarchy. Figure 2. shows various forms of women's work. The basic elements of women's work within the home are related to the division of labour between men and women. Activities included under 'housework' broadly differ according to age, gender, income, occupational group, location (rural/urban), size and structure of the family.





Debates around the concept 'work' have a long history which is almost as old as the history of women's movement. However, systematic and focused attention to women's economic role and economic differences based on gender started only in the 1960s. Work, or for that matter labour as a social science concept, evolved largely within the disciplinary boundaries of Economics. The mainstream economic definitions of terms such as 'work', 'labour' and 'economic activity' show how gendered these terms are, and how women are being excluded.

In common parlance work is defined as physical or mental effort or activity directed toward the production or accomplishment of something. However, societal definitions of 'work' are often associated with market oriented activity which is guided largely by the measurability of the concept. Here, work does not convey anything more than the fact that a monetary return is often associated with it and that the output which is the result of labour could be easily marketed and thus valued.

With the monetisation of the economy, the categories of work for which valuation is possible also increased, alongside a large section of the population entering into paid work outside home. This monetisation of the economy has not only marginalized the work that was not carried out for reward or for the market but also those who performed these activities. Given the social division of work in many societies this meant that most of the work that women perform is not acknowledged as work within the popular coverage of the term. Most of the work that women do, take place within the households and the goods and services so produced do not reach the market.

Work, labour and economic activity are all used interchangeably in mainstream economics which implies a market exchange of labour for wages. This in turn renders unpaid work largely performed by women in the household's invisible. Another hierarchical dualism within the concept of work is the conventional economic distinction between productive and 'unproductive' work. Activities that are performed within the household or for subsistence (and not for market) are considered to be 'unproductive' (i.e. they do not contribute to Gross Domestic Product). Women work mostly without wages in the household enterprise or by taking care of their children. By the mainstream definition, these activities are done 'at leisure' because there is no monetary transaction involved. Such conceptualisations lead to a narrow definition of the work force which excludes many women. Thus, devaluing of women's work is woven into the very fabric of contemporary economic theory and practice. Against this backdrop, feminist economists have challenged and exposed the rhetorical approach of mainstream economics. One prominent issue in this context is how the concept of work does not adequately measure unpaid labour predominantly performed by women.

1.5. Women and work: Theoretical foundations

As it is clear from the earlier context that women's work in the early years of analysis is confined to that of economic work analyzed under the concept 'women's labour'. Even the concept of women's labour as an important and influential variable in the study of labour markets, is of recent origin. The interest in gender analysis of work can be traced back to the late 1960s, which arose as an academic response to the second wave of feminism. Women's role as economic agents attracted much attention during this period and studies were taken up not only in the field of economics but also in disciplines like sociology, anthropology, history and so on. There have been a number of attempts to incorporate or integrate 'women's labour' by modifying or extending existing theories. some of the important analytical approaches to the studies on women and labour are discussed in the following

1.6. Theory of Patriarchy

Here, we will briefly summarize some significant aspects of this theory in relation to work. The theory of patriarchy, based on male dominance was the first in realising and exposing the gender biased theories of social sciences. Patriarchy came up as a strong analytical response to the wave of feminism in 1960s by highlighting the neglect of women and the prominence of male oriented models in all social sciences. In the sphere of labour and employment, gender neutral concepts such as capital and labour were criticised for covering up female oppression and excluding women from the analysis altogether. In addition to the exposing of existing theories, the theory of patriarchy maintains that the position of women in the labour market is governed by the forces of patriarchy, the theory of male dominance. Consequently, the theory of patriarchy became central to the study of women and labour market, not only in sociology but also in economics and political economy models. In economics and political economy models, the theory of patriarchy was used mainly as a ceiling or link to fill the gender vacuum of the existing models in social sciences. Models or analyses of women were added to the existing gender neutral models through the theory of patriarchy which resulted in dual systems theory, one theory dealing with labour market and the theory of patriarchy explaining women's position within that. Much of the developments in the dual systems theory were based on the Marxian concepts and frameworks. The theory of capitalist patriarchy assumes that patriarchy exists side by side with capitalism with one conditioning the other.

The theory of patriarchy was successful in exposing the male bias of the existing theories and also in bringing out the primacy of gender relations. It was used widely as a mode of investigation and framework for analysis by both, economists and political economists in dealing with gender aspects in the labour market.

1.7. Domestic Labour and Sexual Division of Labour:

Almost during the same period when the theory of patriarchy received attention, domestic labour and the sexual division of labour emerged as a separate analytical framework for dealing with women's oppression in the labour market. This approach assumes that domestic labour, work within the household, is the source of oppression of women in the labour market and that women are exploited by men. Like the theory of patriarchy, many of the developments within this theory were based on the Marxist framework. By drawing an analogy between class-conflict and man-woman relationship, the theory argues that women are exploited by men in the household as capitalist's exploit labour (predominantly male). Housework is thus seen as the major source of exploitation of women. The sexual division of labour within the household is assumed to extend beyond, to the market, leading to discrimination in the workplace too. This results in the double exploitation of women both within the household and in the market place.

1.8. Women's Work in Neo Classical Theory

Market forms the conceptual basis of economics and is based on the premise of rationality and similarity. Neo-classical theory presupposes that the fair or impersonal working of the market will bring about an efficient allocation of resources. Labour is just a factor of production in the neo classical model and the concept of gender was largely outside the realm of their theory. Economics, thus, has little or nothing to deal conceptually and methodologically with the issues of gender. As a result, the theoretical and empirical studies on labour market in Economics largely focused on male full time labour in the capitalist manufacturing sectors and were silent on the gender implications.

Implicit in the neo classical theory is the assumption of division of labour, where women work inside the household and men in the labour market. This is on the basis of an exogenously given biological difference. The participation of women in the labour market is viewed as a rational choice or decision of the household in its attempt to maximise utility. It is thus taken as an outcome of how family balances leisure and income. Occupational segmentation in the labour market is viewed in the neo classical theory as an extension of the biological division of labour. A strand of neo-classical theorists argues that as women's primary commitment is to the home and because of long and hard work at the home, women are less committed to Many models or changes were incorporated into the neo classical model to accommodate women. However, these models restricted the analysis entirely in terms of economic criteria and were always left with 'residual gap' which was left unexplained attributing it to the other than market forces. The unit of analysis of the neo classical theory is the individual unit or firm and household decisions on labour market are seen as the summation of individual's decisions determined by market forces. Gendered power relations within the household are taken as given in this framework, and thus largely ignored from the analysis. However, in reality, power relations and gender divisions are not given, but are fast changing and are determined and influenced by market outcomes and vice versa work outside home, and hence they are less rewarded.

1.9. Women's Work in Marxian Framework

Marxist thought views women's economic status as a direct result of the capitalist family structure. Since the primary concern of Marxian framework is class relations, the production relations, the social, economic and historical bearing of class relations to some extent reflect gender considerations. In the Marxist perspective gender issues are considered as a part of class problems. With the rise of the feminist movement, a number of studies have come up on women's labour using a Marxist feminist perspective. Accordingly, the perspectives of both feminism and Marxism are combined to build a theoretical framework, where the theory of patriarchy and the evolution of capitalism are harmonized.

Yet another development in synthesizing the theory of patriarchy and Marxism during the 1970s and 1980s was the domestic labour debate. Contrary to the traditional Marxist position about the unproductive nature of domestic labour, the debate emphasised that domestic labour involves production of simple use values for direct consumption, and more importantly the production and reproduction of special commodity, labour power. The central argument was that domestic labour produced surplus values, which were then transferred from the domestic to the capitalist sphere. The concept ignores the distinct nature of domestic work and the rationality that governs it. However, the debate had played a crucial role in opening up the importance of domestic labour as the source of discrimination of women. The debate on the prominence of housework and its importance in household economy has exposed the role of domestic work in the sexual division of labour and women's employment. These theoretical paradigms and frameworks continue to provide certain broad perspectives within which women's work is analysed and debated. This explains the marginal status and inadequate attention attached to women' work within studies on employment or work in general. Accordingly, unpaid work, both economic and care work, has largely remained outside the realm of major theoretical developments. This has resulted in the poor representation of issues of women workers in policy debates and thus in policy formulations across the globe. So far, you have read about some broad theoretical ideas and debates related to women work.

The major studies on women and labour market are mainly based on this fusion of the theory of patriarchy and Marxist ideology. The concept of women as a 'reserve army of labour' and the theory of labour market segmentation are important developments in this regard. In the Marxist framework, 'reserve army of labour' is the precondition and is the resultant of capitalist development, which is mainly due to the replacement of labour by machines. The disadvantaged position of women in the labour market (patriarchal theory) has led to the identification of women as 'reserve army of labour' automatically. Women labour, thus, were identified as the most volatile part of the labour force that would be thrown out or absorbed depending upon the conditions of the business cycle. The theory of patriarchy assigned lower or subordinate positions in the segmented labour market to women. These studies were successful in opening up the issue of gendering of work and women's subordinate position within the labour market. However, the conditions under which women enter the labour market were ignored. The importance of household as a unit and the role of women in the household were also not addressed due to over emphasis on labour process and capitalist production.

1.10. Sexual distinction between work and employment

As discussed not all 'work' is counted or considered productive. Economic theories often make a distinction between 'gainful'/ 'productive' and 'not gainful' and 'unproductive' work. Generally, it is assumed that work under capitalist conditions is identical to employment, i. e. gainful employment or work for a salary or a wage. It is further assumed that without such employment, people cannot survive- as employment gives them the income to buy their basic necessities. Only the labour spent in such gainful employment is counted as contributing to the Gross National Product. Feminist economists have pointed out the contradiction between work

and employment. They have pointed out a clear cut sexual division between "work", (which is often understood as unpaid subsistence work), and employment. Employment is a typically male dominated sphere. Work, particularly housework, is done primarily by women. Even when women are also engaged in gainful employment, the responsibility for the unpaid housework is still attached to them. Feminists have shown that such 'productive' labour would not even exist, without the so-called 'non- productive' unpaid work of women in the household. The reproduction and domestic labour of women form the foundation of economic survival of households. Given this, the mainstream economics models that do not reflect the value of non-marketwise work lead to policies that reinforce devaluation of women's work, which inter alia has negative consequences for women's socio-economic status. Let us now look more closely at the issue of unpaid work and its implications for women.

1.11. Unpaid work:

Unpaid work denotes all work that takes place outside the monetised economy. This includes:

• unpaid work in family farm or household enterprise;

• processing of agricultural products for self-consumption such as pickle making;

- activities such as collection of water and firewood for self-consumption;
- care of children, elderly or disabled or any person
- cooking, cleaning and other routine household work.

Further, unpaid work, which is largely performed by women, is not evenly distributed amongst women irrespective of their class categorisations. The burdens of unpaid labour fall heavier on poorer households, whereas the more affluent households are able to access market based substitutes for domestic labour.

The above categories of unpaid work are broadly divided into two:

- unpaid work within the production boundary and
- unpaid work outside the production boundary (social reproduction).

Both these categories where women are disproportionately concentrated have always fallen out of the monetized mainstream economics. Within feminist thinking, however, there is some dissonance between those who highlight and seek to make visible the unpaid economic work of women and those who lay emphasis on the unpaid care aspects of social reproduction. The former has a long history within the debates on gender and development going back to Women in Development (WID) debate and the work of Boserup (Boserup, 1970). After many years of struggle, unpaid work within the production has made some progress in terms of its visibility and acceptability. Some elements of unpaid work are captured by the data collection systems and thus broadly covered by the term work. Example of such unpaid are work in family farm or household enterprise and primary processing of agricultural products for self-consumption. Activities such as water and fuel collection and care services are yet to enter into the official definition of work in many countries, though water and fuel collection is now broadly agreed to be productive work.

Care services, however, are still classified under 'unproductive' activities and thus outside the realm of 'work' and continue to be dismissed as 'non- economic' within the mainstream economic thinking. The exclusion of this `non-productive' work from the production boundary in mainstream discourse has been often rationalised on the grounds of the difficulty in measuring or valuing such services. Though there has been broad consensus on what constitutes care work following the United National Statistics Division (UNSD, 1993) classification of activities, the term unpaid work, care work and unpaid care work are often used interchangeably.

• Unpaid work includes a range of activities that take place outside the monetised segment, which include activities which are counted as 'economic work' as well as 'non- economic' work. Care work involves care of persons, which could be either paid or unpaid.

• Unpaid care work on the other hand is care of persons for no explicit monetary reward.

However, some have followed a narrow approach to care work. The first limitation in this regard is on account of the common meaning of the word, where unpaid care work can be interpreted to relate only to 'care' of people. This interpretation would therefore focus on care of children, elderly, disabled and ill members of the household. However, in this approach, the other related activities such as cooking, cleaning etc. are ignored which are preconditions for direct care work. Another complication in respect of care work is that it is sometimes understood narrowly as the time spent physically feeding the child or aged person. This excludes, on the one hand, time during which one is supervising or responsible for the other person. It also might exclude the time spent on activities such as travelling connected with care. An alternative constricted interpretation and one which is commonly found is to focus only on 'domestic work'. This framing of the activity can implicitly or explicitly exclude activities such as child care or care of other persons, and also exclude activities such as shopping, or taking an ill household member to get medical attention. In countries like India, domestic work (cooking, cleaning etc.) and direct care work (care for children, adults etc.) are often not easily distinguishable. Besides the debates discussed above, specific types of paid work are also contested categories. In the next section, let us look at the debate surrounding one such category.

1.12. Paid Work

Women also work for wages in fields, forests, mines, factories, offices, small scale and household industries. The nature and extent of such work differs according to the location of family in the social hierarchy. In the rural sector the subsistence work burden falls heavily on women, while in higher castes and higher income groups 'non-work' of women is given more value. Many micro studies have reported inverse relationship between income level of the household and nature of women's work participation. Women in the subsistence sector have no option but to work. However, their options are limited as they are non-entrants or drop-outs from school. They are often the primary breadwinners of the family, but the ideological bias views men as the primary breadwinner of the family. Let us examine some other important aspects of women's paid employment as follows,

a) Education, Paid Employment and Household Responsibilities

The spread of education among the middle and upper class women has opened up new avenues of employment. However, we are to keep in mind here that education does not necessarily lead to employment. On the one hand, illiteracy among the majority of women in the lower socio-economic group constitutes a major barrier to increasing and diversifying work and training opportunities. On the other hand, pre-defined roles, ideology and labour market forces in a labour surplus economy effectively restrict women's work opportunity among educated women of certain sectors. (Studies have shown wastage of skill and ability among women scientists and degree holders).

In middle class families, women work for improving or maintaining the standard of living of the family or to provide a cushion against rising cost of living. Working outside home on the same terms and conditions, as men, does not absolve them from their domestic responsibilities. The **dual burden of work** creates physical, mental and emotional strain. Very few women may be lucky to get domestic help or kin-support. One of the consequences of double burden may be delayed promotions or sacrificing new job opportunities due to family responsibilities. Employment by itself does not guarantee equal sharing of work at home or better status of women.

b) Agricultural and Industrial Sectors

Gender inequalities exist in all sectors. Inequalities are reflected in distribution of women workers in different sectors, in job hierarchies and in wages and earnings between men and women. In the latter half of the twentieth century there was very little structural change in women's employment. The proportion of female agricultural workers which was less than one-third of the total workforce in 1951 rose to more than fifty per cent, which means greater dependence on agriculture sector.

Industrialisation has created more work opportunities for a small section of educated women but at the same time has reduced work opportunities for unskilled women workers who were the traditional workers in textiles, jute, mines etc. Women workers are concentrated in plantations, food products, tobacco and textiles, cane and bamboo work, silk worm, rearing coir products, domestic services, education and health services. The high concentration of women in household industries rather than factory-based production affects their status as workers with no control on their labour and earnings.

c) Women in Services and Professions

As far as women in services and professions are concerned there is no wage discrimination but they are concentrated in certain types of jobs like teachers, nurses, typists and stenographers and very few occupy higher positions in administration, business, technical jobs and professions. Despite impressive increase in the number of educated women in urban areas the gap between men and women in the services and professions is large. The reasons are many. Some of them are given below are,

a) Girls are generally socialised for their domestic roles

b) Less investment in the vocational and technical training of girls and female and male stereotypes determine attitude to work and differential expectations from girl's education, which is rarely seen as an investment for future. In the middle class families, it is seen as a contingency to be drawn on in times of need.

c) Higher concentration of girls is found in humanities and social sciences rather than vocational and technical courses.

d) There is less physical mobility among women after marriage.

D) Earning Differentials

Earning differential has been a crucial feature of women's paid employment. The division of labour between men and women works against women. An expression of discrimination against women in labour market is wage differential. They not only get unequal pay for equal work but many jobs that women do are categorised as low skilled jobs for which lower wages are paid. For example, men usually do weaving which is better paid while spinning, usually done by women, is low paid. In construction also men are supposed to do skilled jobs and women do unskilled work and get lower wages. Sexual divisions of labour and lower duration of women's work are reflected into lower wages for women. Women workers on an average are found to earn only sixty percent of male wage for full time work. Wage differentials exist in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. The ratio of male to female real wage rates in agriculture is calculated as around 1.3 in 1995, i.e. for every one rupee earned by a female, the male earns 1.3 (thirty-three percent) more (NSSO, 1996). Earning differentials also reflect differences in skill acquisition, education and training.

1.13. Determinants of women's work:

There are various factors, which determine women's work. We can classify them under two broad headings: structural factors and socio-cultural factors. In this section we shall be examining these factors in detail. Let us begin with the structural ones.

Structural Factors

The key structural variables, which determine women's work, are: i) the family, caste, class and community, ii) regional differences, iii) labour market iv) environmental changes; and v) the growth of unorganised sectors.

i) Family, Caste, Class and Community:

The inequalities in our social structure based on caste, class and community have a significant influence on women's work roles. As you have already noted the basic elements of women's work within the family are related to division of labour between men and women. Learning role ideology is not only confined to family but to the world of school, media and

work which also play an important role in perpetuating attitudes and beliefs regarding women's work roles. Women from upper caste in rural areas do not engage in out of home wage employment, as 'non-work' is linked to the notion of 'higher status' and prestige. There are some caste-based occupations also such as smithery, pottery, weaving, leather work etc. where there is a well-defined sexual division of labour.

There are different notions among different classes, castes and community about 'appropriateness' or 'suitability' of certain types of work for women. For example, teaching and nursing are considered to be suitable jobs for women. So also in agriculture the tasks of sowing, threshing, breeding transplanting etc. are women's job. Differential access of women to education, training, and resources and skills among different classes also determines the types of work women do.

Majority of the schedule castes and schedule tribes have been socially and economically deprived. The Indian Constitution has made special provision for them and government has followed the policy of reservation of seats in educational institutions and jobs. However, majority of them are not able to take advantage of these provisions. Within these groups women are more deprived. The enrolment of girls is far below that of boys. In the year 2000-01, out of 10,995 students enrolled in the primary school only 4665 were girls. The reasons are both socio-economic and environmental constraints. Large number of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women are landless labourers.

ii) Regional Differences:

Another structural factor affecting women work participation in India is the regional variation. In the South, North-East and Central tribal belt, women's work participation is high in comparison to North India. Women's work participation is higher in rice growing areas than in wheat growing areas. The reasons are both cultural and economic.

iii) Labour Market:

The family ideology which determines 'suitability' and 'unsuitability' of certain jobs for women is also reflected in job stereotyping in labour market. For example, in agriculture women do not plough, they do weeding, transplanting and harvesting. In industries like electronics women are mostly employed in assembly jobs. Similarly, in services women are concentrated in teaching, nursing and office jobs.

iv) Environmental Changes and Women's Work:

You have read earlier that women in poorer households spend a great deal of time in providing goods and services for family's needs. Many studies have shown that in the areas hit by water scarcity and deforestation, women spend long hours in collecting fuelwood for cooking, fodder for cattle and water for home consumption. In the hill areas of Uttar Pradesh women actively participate in the Chipko movement to prevent destruction of forest as it resulted in increasing difficulties in the collection of fuel, fodder and water and other daily requirements of their life.

B) Socio-cultural Factors

Values, institutions, norms, attitudes, customs, family ideology, process of socialisation, sexual division of labour, and self-perception are important socio-cultural variables affecting women's employment. Let us examine these variables briefly.

i) Values, Norms, Attitudes and Customs:

Values, norms, attitudes and customs governing women's work are not static and keep changing over time and space, however these exercise greater control over women's work than in the case of men. For example, agricultural development has brought significant changes in the life style of the villagers in many agricultural developed areas. It has changed the values and attitudes to work among certain caste groups. Hence the obvious result has been that of the withdrawal of women from manual agricultural activities among these caste groups. Similarly, the process of Sanskritisation leads to the withdrawal of women from manual activities in the families moving up in the social hierarchy. Besides change in the values, norms and attitudes, existing social customs also affect women's work. For example, purdah system restricts women's mobility and work pattern.

ii) Family Ideology and Socialisation of Girls:

Family ideology expresses itself in so many ways i.e. control over girls and women by defining sex roles, notions of family prestige/status, de-value women's work, girl's entitlement to family resources (health, nutrition, education) and structures of male dominance, supportiveness and conflict. Girls are socialised from their childhood to accept the family ideology. The traditional social isolation process introduces gender stereotyping. It not only affects the women's work roles, but also determines the self-perception and role expectation.

iii) Gender-based Division of Labour:

The gender-based of labour not only defines the nature of work to be done by the women, it also imposes discriminatory work norms for them. It is one of the important reasons for the high concentration of women workers in the low paid jobs.

iv) Self-Perception of Need to Work-choice vs. Compulsion:

Women internalise the ideology of gender roles. Their own perception of work and their attitude to work stems from the link seen between education, earnings and family's status and the importance of their economic contributions to the family. For middle class women in white-collar employment and for women in higher professions, work or employment has a different meaning than for agricultural labourers or factory workers or domestic workers. Clearly there is a difference in attitude to work depending on whether women are working for subsistence or for social mobility. The rationale for work is different in different sections. In poorer household's women have no options but to work, yet their choices are severely restricted.

1.14. Women in primary, secondary and service sectors

In the unorganised sector, women are engaged in almost all kinds of activities such as; livestock, forestry, fishing, plantation, construction, retailing, beedi making, bangle making, pottery, embroidery, stitching etc. Most of the women work as casual labourers in agriculture, construction, brick-making, coir, or as own account workers in handloom weaving, basket weaving and vending fish/ vegetables. Some of the newer activities are floriculture, poultry and livestock rearing, garment making, food processing and fish processing etc. In fisheries (marine and inland) women dominate the handling and processing activity accounting for about 70 per cent of the workforce and in brassware industry women constitute 50 per cent of the total workforce. As per available estimate there are about 50 lakhs scrap collectors in the country. Illiterate, unskilled persons and poorest of poor persons are pushed into this occupation.

Beedi rolling is a major source of employment for women which, however, remains low paid, insecure and has health implications. It is estimated that there are 4.5 million beedi workers in India of whom 80 per cent are women.

A large proportion of food processing in the unorganised sector in carried out by women using the traditional skills in many primary food processing areas. The informal or unorganised service sector is expanding too, generating large scale openings of opportunities for women. The largest increase in employment opportunities come from domestic service, education including home tuition, childcare and health services.

1.14.1. Occupation of women

a) Agriculture, Dairy Farming and Forestry

There was a time when agriculture was the primary source of employment, for both men and women. However, over time the proportion of male labour force has fallen as they move out in search of better opportunities and wages, leaving behind the women, who have no choice but to engage in agriculture, as and when they do get work. 'On an average, a woman gets three-and-half months of work in a year, indicating a state of severe under-employment in the agriculture sector'.

Women have been negatively impacted by the introduction of capital-intensive technologies, due to the lack of necessary skills and access to these technologies. These technological innovations have intensified the discriminatory division of agricultural labour, wherein men take up the mechanical functions such as operating the tractor, spraying insecticides etc., whereas women are wholly or partially confined to the more strenuous physical tasks such as weeding, harvesting, threshing etc.

Such hard physical labour leads to chronic skeletal-muscular problems which constitute a significant proportion of the health-related issues, which needs to be addressed on an urgent basis.

Apart from the inadequate number of working days available, there are a number of other reasons why women are unable to attend to work regularly, and these are 'ill-health, lack of support for child care, health problems of kids and members of the family, care of elders, household duties and child birth.' It is more often than not difficult for women with young children to balance their work with childcare, thereby limiting their income opportunities and their working days.

b) Fishing

Although not directly involved in fishing, women in India have been indirectly contributing to the fishing industry by way of net making, fish drying, harvesting, shell collection etc. As per the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation's findings, women fisherfolk engaged in the seafood industry in India are paid much lesser than their male

counterparts and are required to stay away from home for a long period of time, making it extremely difficult for them to simultaneously carry out their domestic work.

c) Mining and Quarrying

Women have played a significant role in the expansion of the coal mining industry. However, their participation has seen a decline due to the advent of newer technologies, operating which requires technical skills, which the female workers lack, thereby rendering them redundant.

The Indian Mines Act, 1952 restricts women's work in the surface, to day time only. "The prohibition from night work deprives women of the opportunity to participate in large open cut mines that are run on shift work and that pay better wages than many other industrial sector." Although Trade Unions have played a significant role in the extractive sector in India, they have not upheld the rights and interests of the female mine workers, as against their male counterparts.

Women mine workers face a number of occupational illnesses, some of which are reproductive, respiratory, arthritis, tuberculosis, silicosis etc. Many of them drop out of work owing to ill health, leaving them with the burden of large amounts of unpaid debt and medical expenses, forcing them to send their minor children to work as their replacement. Thus, the vicious circle of occupational bondage continues for these families.

d) Manufacturing

Women play a major role in the manufacturing industry, comprising of garment factories, handlooms, handicrafts, food items production, SHG activities, leather work, weaving, saw mills, oil mills, beedi rolling etc. Studies have shown that women have largely been confined to unskilled work in the garment industry, which comprise of most of the low paid jobs. They are engaged in checking, button stitching, embroidery, cleaning, tagging, packing etc., while men perform the key task of stitching, thereby reflecting a sexual division of labour.

Male workers are not comfortable taking orders from a female supervisor, owing to which majority of the supervisory work is carried out my men. It is only very recently that women have begun engaging in stitching work, which has been a male dominated work. The lack of adequate health services puts these women at risk of various health hazards such as arthritis, tuberculosis, muscular aches, infertility, exhaustion, swollen feet etc. Women in the beedi rolling business were found to roll beedis at home or on the pavements, by bending down low, for long hours. Similarly, women in the garment industry were found to perform their duties by standing for long hours, without an appropriate resting place, thereby leading to severe back and eyesight problems. Women in gold mines lack proper protective equipments, and handle chemicals such as mercury and cyanide without any protective gear on. Similarly, agarbatti workers have been found to be vulnerable to locomotive, postural and skin- related problems due to the repetitive nature of their work and exposure to chemicals.

e) Construction

Women form a significant part of the workforce in the construction industry. They work mainly as unskilled workers. Construction attracts both skilled workers (masons, carpenters) and unskilled workers and although there is some scope for upward mobility, the women tend to remain in low-paid unskilled jobs. This is because of discrimination which deprives them of opportunities to gain skills. Despite their huge participation, they are only seen as secondary and support workers, and not the mainstream workers. Contractors discriminate against male and female workers, by paying the latter lesser wages, even though they perform the same amount of work as their counterparts.

A significant portion of the women engaged in construction work are in the reproductive age group, and work through their pregnancy, with no adequate health care services. The long hours of tedious work, physical labour and pregnancy leave them in a very unhealthy state. Most studies have recorded that these women work till the very last day of their pregnancy, returning to work soon after their delivery, which serious affects their physical and mental wellbeing. Lactating mothers find it extremely difficult to balance their work and child care. They often hide from the contractors in order to take a break and feed their babies, who they are forced to leave unattended and uncared for in the ground floor of their construction sites, owing to the lack of crèches. These children are exposed to dust and other chemicals at the site, with very little that their parents can do to protect them.

f) Wholesale and Retail Trade, Personal and Household Goods

Trade is not considered an appropriate occupation for women, as it is believed that a chaste and a devout woman would not work outside, but instead carry out domestic work. Women in market trade are usually in the industry because their husbands died or are unable to work, is unemployed or for need of more income. They can usually be seen selling cheap and less profitable goods such as flowers, fruits and vegetables, alongside newcomers in the trade, old people and children, whereas men usually sell the more profitable and expensive goods, for e.g. meat.

Vendors is one of the most scattered category, which includes women engaged in selling different types of commodities, like broomsticks, cane baskets, utensils, petty cosmetics, bangles, vegetables and those running roadside tea stalls, etc. Nearly 40 of total vendors are women and 30 of these women are the sole earning members in their families.

The garment industry is a sub-sector of the textile industry and also generates many jobs for migrant workers. India's readymade garment exports increased significantly as a share of total exports. Those women work with some big drapers, boutiques and stores. Here too the same bias is evident. The women work as helpers to male/female tailors (called as masters). These workers include those involved in knitting clothes/woollens.

g) Hotels and Restaurants

Women are increasingly holding more positions of responsibility than ever before, in the hotel industry. They are highly qualified, skilled, and as capable as their male counterparts. However, they are mostly still confined to administrative and personnel management posts, with very less representation in the managerial posts. They "constitute majority of secretaries, front office assistant, housekeeping attendant, housekeeping supervisor, executive housekeeper, guest relation executive, in positions supportive of men, who comprise the majority of front office manager, shift manager, food & beverage manager, food & beverage controller, human resource manager, training manager respectively", pointing at gender-based work segregation.

h) Financial Intermediation

Financial intermediation in the form of micro-financing can bring about social empowerment of women by conferring on them the decision-making powers in carrying out economic activities. Especially in rural India, Self-Help Groups have helped women to become financially independent and assist those in grave financial distress.

However, studies have shown that in Northern states such as Chhattisgarh and Bihar sufficient capacity-building training for the SHG members was not carried out, resulting in their inability to make financial decisions relating to commercial trade, to the best of their potential. Therefore, the need of the hour is skills and expertise that must be imparted to ensure greater market opportunities to the members.

i) Education

Private tuitions are on the rise owing to the lack of teachers and quality teaching in schools. Female tutors fill the vacuum of formal education, by imparting lessons, either to individual students or groups.

j) Health and Social Work

The public healthcare sector has not been providing adequate services and lacks skilled professionals. A crucial role played by women in the unorganised medical sector is that of a birth attendant. The work of a midwife, in a rural set up is crucial since she is responsible for ensuring safe childbirth and survival of the mother. She also gives advices to the mothers on the nutritional needs of their child, breast- feeding, care during and after pregnancy etc. However, a report by WHO notes that there is a serious lack of skilled birth attendants. This lack of training coupled with unsanitary working Condition and poor financial incentives are pushing more and more midwives out of the profession, or deterring them from taking up the work at all. There is an urgent need to ensure retention of the existing birth attendants, and to impart adequate training in order to improve the quality of care.

k) Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities

Women in the unorganised sector are engaged in various occupations, the most crucial of them being domestic work. With the changing economic order, and more working women, the need for domestic workers is rampant. The paid domestic work involves floor cleaning, washing utensils, clothes, cleaning toilets, caring for children and the elderly, animal care etc. With the rise of the middle class in India, domestic work has emerged as an important new occupation for migrant women and girls. Some 20 million people (mainly women and girls) migrate for domestic work to Mumbai, Delhi and other large cities from the eastern states of Bihar, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Assam and Mizoram (Social Alert quoted in SCF 2005). Roughly 20 of these workers are under the age of 14. A study of domestic workers in Delhi (Neetha 2004) shows that although domestic work has brought higher incomes to many women and their families it is still far from decent work being characterised by long working hours, low wages and hardly any social security. Domestic workers are more vulnerable than other kinds of workers because they are not officially classified as workers at all and are

therefore not covered by laws that apply to workers. Certain safeguards must be put in place in order to ensure the domestic workers basic entitlements, to which they have a right.

Besides the domestic works, the women workers in the informal sector work as piece rate workers, self-employed workers, paid workers in informal enterprises, unpaid workers in family business, casual workers without fixed employers, sub-contract workers limited to formal enterprises. Home-based workers and street vendors are two of the largest sub-groups of the informal workforce: home-based workers are numerous but street vendors are more visible of the two. Taken together they represent an estimated 10-25 per cent of the non-agricultural workforce in developing countries and over 5 per cent of the total workforce in developed countries (World Bank, 2000).

1.15. Double burden of women workers

The problems of the women workers in the unorganised sector deserve special emphasis in particular because of their marginalized position within the class of unorganized workers. The double burden of work is even more arduous when they have to bear the reproductive role at home and devote long hours at work for bare subsistence wage earnings. The reproductive role of women is less visible and less recognized by the society. Unorganised women workers have dual role to perform. They perform their household duties as well as their unorganised economic activities. They have to take care of their children, cook food, wash clothes, clean utensils, look after cattle if any etc. Sharing of housework by their husband, son, daughter or others in the family is the only way of lessening the burden of these women workers They engage in multiple livelihood activities to fulfill their productive and reproductive role. The CSO Report-1998 (Government of India), acknowledged the double burden of work on the unorganized working women through a pilot study on 'time use' pattern by men and women in six states. The survey found that women spend nearly 35 hours a week on care of children, caring of aged and the sick at home and household work as compared to less than four hours spent by men for household work at home. Lack of education, ignorance and poverty compel the women to accept any kind of unskilled and labourious jobs against any amount of wage offered by an employer.

1.16. Gender discrimination at the work place

Gender discrimination at the workplace is subtle and is reflected in the nature of work performed, valuation of the skills and the technology used by men and women. Generally, lower paid wage work is assigned to women and higher wage rate jobs assigned to men. According to Jawahar Lal Singh (2002), women workers suffer vital disadvantages as compared to men in their search for employment opportunities, lower real wages, increased uncertainties and irregularities in employment. They do not possess much of skill, training and education for the type of work they perform.

Thus, women in the unorganised sector are oppressed sections of the society as they live under subdued Condition with family and children, devoid of proper living and working Condition, even they receive humiliating treatment from the contractors. Data on some unorganized garment industry shows that women workers were concentrated in the lowest paid category of workers receiving substantially lower wages than men.

Women are concentrated in embroidery, cleaning, finishing, tagging and packaging. Most recently, women are entering into stitching in large numbers. There is a clear gender division of labour and with the introduction of machines this has aggravated further. The fashion masters are the most skilled among the workers in stitching and this job is exclusively reserved for male workers.

Machine attendants carry out the actual process of knitting, control, adjust and monitor the process with the assistance of helpers. Female workers mostly work as helpers in these units and their chance of moving from helpers to attendants is remote, while the male workers enjoy the privilege of making this vertical movement. This very clear sexual division of labour has implications for the wages earned, permanency in the job and the possibilities for upward mobility in the industry.

Survey data also reveals that women receive lower wages and have limited job mobility in the hierarchy. During the survey it was observed sexual division of labour in garment export industry in Delhi where the hierarchy was such that men were the supervisors since men tailors 'do not like to receive orders from the women'. In the supervisory category, usually women supervise only women.

1.17. Invisibility of women's work:

Many maintain that women's economic dependence on men impacts their power within the family. With increased participation in income-earning activities, not only will there be more income for the family, but gender inequality could be reduced. This issue is particularly salient in India because studies show a very low level of female labour force participation. This under-reporting is attributed to the frequently held view that women's work is not economically productive. If all activities — including maintenance of kitchen gardens and poultry, grinding food grains, collecting water and firewood, etc. — are taken into account, then 88 percent of rural housewives and 66 percent of urban housewives can be considered as economically productive. Women's employment in family farms or businesses is rarely recognized as economically productive, either by men or women. And, any income generated from this work is generally controlled by the men. Such work is unlikely to increase women's participation in allocating family finances. In a 1992 study of family-based textile workers, male children who helped in a home-based handloom mill were given pocket money, but the adult women and girls were not.

The International Labour Organisation says that women in India represent:

- i) 50% of the population
- ii) 30% of the labour force
- iii) Perform 60% of all working hours
- iv) Receive only 10% of the country's income
- v) Own less than 1% of the Country's property

However, despite concerted efforts of the State, the economic status of women in the unorganised sector is lagging far behind their male counterparts, as their contribution to the economy is still largely unrecognised.

The difficulties faced by the women workers in the unorganised sector are numerous, with their vulnerability further, accentuated by their gender. Their work is characterised by irregular employment, uncertain terms and Condition, lack of clear- cut rights and obligations and inaccessibility to social security benefits. Though they constitute a majority of the workforce in this unorganised sector, they are subjected to different kinds of discrimination, inequitable pay and harassment, owing to their lack of education and technical skills. (Mohapatra, 2004) They are exploited, paid meagrely and forced to work for long hours, i.e. 10-12 hours in case of migrants, and 8-10 hours in case of local workers. Further, more, rebuking, cheating, threatening, beating and sexual abuse were common challenges reported by women working in this sector.

1.18. Factors responsible for discrimination

a) Less Physical Strength

Physical strength of women is a factor in unorganised sector responsible for discrimination. Most of the women workers lack physical strength and cannot do hard work like men. They cannot be engaged in jobs requiring great strength. They are employed only in light jobs. But, a few women workers, who possess exceptional physical strength can do heavy physical work like the male workers. Women with sound physical health are better paid than those with poor physical health. This prompts the employer to reduce wages and service benefits to women workers with poor physical strength resulting in discrimination. Hence, there always exists a wide variation in wages between male /women workers with sound physical health and others. So, physical strength of women workers always has become a factor causing discrimination.

B) Inefficiency

Efficiency marks ability to do things cleverly and clearly. Efficient workers work with perfection and take less time to do the work. Inefficient workers take much time and are not able to do the work efficiently. Efficient workers have a good name with their employer. Inefficient and weak workers do not command respect among their employers. Hence, employers do not equally treat efficient and weak workers. Many of the employers do not fairly remunerate inefficient women workers. On the contrary efficient women workers do not cling on to any particular employment. Whenever they feel that they are not well treated they quit their job immediately and switch over to another job. But the case of inefficient workers, it is not so. Even if they are not fairly treated, they have to cling on to their job. They cannot move on to other job. Hence, discrimination has been high among inefficient women workers.

1.19. Factor influencing exploitation

i) Less Education of the women workers

Education is the process of imparting knowledge in educational institutions like schools, colleges and universities. Education changes human behavior and socio economic Condition of women workers. Illiterate parents who are economically weak and socially suppressed do not give importance to education. Further, they do not give importance to education for female children. Hence, in rural areas many children do not attend schools. Due to their illiteracy, women workers are compelled to do work of any kind in unorganised sector. Similarly, women workers are not given proper facilities and payment in the work spot. Illiteracy coupled with ignorance makes the women workers unaware of their fundamental rights. This makes the women workers to accept any remuneration given by their employer. So education is a factor responsible for exploitation.

ii) Submissive Attitude of the women workers

An important factor which influences exploitation among women workers is the submissive attitude of the women workers. Women are basically submissive in nature. In most of the cases, women do not resist others even if they are suppressed. They are highly obedient and humble. Their ideas, thinking and even life style are simple. Women workers accept low wage offered by their employers. They carry out the work assigned to them without murmuring. But a few women are not as submissive as the others. They are authoritative. So they do not accept all the Condition of their employer. Similarly, whenever they are not paid a fair wage they resist that or resign their jobs and join other jobs. Hence, employers do not equally treat submissive women and authoritative women.

While the authoritative women are fairly treated, the submissive women are suppressed and exploited. Sector wise analysis also reveals that, in all sectors of unorganised sector women with submissive attitude have outnumbered the women with aggressive attitude.

iii) Low financial condition and family debts

The women from families with higher household income do not accept any job with low wage. Similarly, whenever they are not fairly remunerated in the present job they do not accept it. Instead they revolt against the employer. But the women hailing from families with low household income accept any job even for low wages. This is why the group of women workers with low household income is much exploited by their employers. Hence, low financial condition of the women workers has become a factor responsible for their exploitation.

Many of the families do not have sufficient income to meet their expenditure. So, in rural villages in India many families are living in debts. The reasons for their debts are the bad practices of the bread-winner, unemployment of the bread-winner, family bondedness, poor agricultural income, increasing expenditure pattern of the family and the like. Because of the debt, many families find it hard to live. Many families have ended their life in suicide because of their inability to pay up debts. Many families are unable to pay the exorbitant interest on the loan borrowed from the local many lenders. Hence, they always live in debts. Women from families with heavy debts accept any job even for low wages. Employers exploit this group of women workers with heavy debts. Women workers from this family are underpaid. Exploitation is high among women workers with heavy family debt. Hence, family debt of the women worker has become a factor causing exploitation among women workers.

iv. Ignorance about General Affairs

Many of the rural women in India confine their life within the four walls of their house. Similarly, they have lack of knowledge of general affairs. They do not have exposure to the latest developments around them. Even the employed women in unorganised sector in rural area have not broadened their knowledge. Contrary to this, the working women in white collar job in organised sector have a wider exposure.

Lack of exposure to general affairs makes the women in unorganised sector innocent. The innocent women workers who lack knowledge of general affairs are exploited by their employers. They do not relent their protest against them for fear of insecurity. But the women workers with knowledge of general affairs protest as soon as they are exploited. Hence, exploitation is high among women workers with low knowledge of general affairs alone.

iv) Lack of Knowledge about their (Women's) Rights

Women are granted equal rights as men in the Constitution of India, which includes right to equality, right to life, right to liberty, right to trade, and right to work with dignity. Further, many of the state and national level statutes have granted special rights to women. Many of the women workers are unaware of their fundamental rights. Absence of knowledge of fundamental rights makes the women workers to live in the darkness of ignorance. Such women workers who are unaware of their rights do not fight against exploitation. Because of the non-violent attitude of women workers, they are paid low wages and exploited in many means by their employer. Hence, absence of knowledge of women's rights is an important factor responsible for exploitation in unorganised sector.

v) Lack of Knowledge about Legislative Provisions

Various legislations have been framed in Parliament and State Legislatures to protect the welfare of women workers. The Maternity Benefit Act 1919, the Night work for Women Act 1919, the Underground Work for Women Act 1935, the Equal Remuneration Act 1951 are some of the Acts protecting the welfare of the women workers. There are sufficient provisions in various Acts to protect the rights of women workers. Women workers who are aware of their rights fight against their exploitation. Ignorant women workers, who are unaware of their rights, because of their ignorance of legislative provisions are exploited much by their employers. Hence, knowledge of legislative provisions of women workers has become a factor causing exploitation in unorganised sector.

vi) Temporary nature of their work

Women workers are employed temporarily or permanently in unorganised sector. In some institutions women workers are employed on temporary basis in the beginning and in course of time, they are made permanent. Permanent workers are eligible for all assistances as per statute. But, for the temporary workers the statutes are not very hard. Hence, the employers exploit the temporary workers. If the permanent workers are either denied any assistance granted in the statute or exploited, they seek legal remedy. Hence, permanent workers are not much exploited as the temporary workers. Thus, nature of the job of the women workers has become a factor leading to exploitation among women workers in unorganised sector.

1.20. Non recognition of women's work in national accounting

The problem of underestimation of women's work in labour force statistics and national income accounts has been pointed out repeatedly since the 1970s. This underestimation has been observed particu larly in four general areas of activity: (a) subsistence production; (b) informal paid work; (c) domestic production and related tasks; (d) volunteer work. Even by accepted definitions of labour force, there has been a tendency to underestimate female labour force participation rates in the first and second areas - as with the case of unpaid family workers in agriculture or with participants in the informal labour market; the main problem in this case consisted in designing more comprehensive and accurate methods of data collection although some conceptual issues regarding the definition of subsistence production also had to be dealt with. In the case of domestic production and related tasks. the problem has been more conceptual; in the conventional view, this type of production was not included in any national accounting statistics because it was defined as falling outside of the economic realm unless performed as some form of remunerated activity. Similarly, in the case of volunteer work the problem has also been conceptual and definitional.

Boserup (1970) was one of the first authors to point out the importance of women's subsistence activities, particularly in rural areas in the pre dominantly agricultural countries. and the under estimation of such activities in the conventional methods of national income

accounting. The influence of the international women's movement since the 1970s. however, and the subsequent work carried out in international organizations and academic institutions, has been instrumental in providing the impetus to analyse and emphasize all aspects of the invisibility of women's work, including domestic production.

These efforts have paved the way for the conceptual, methodological and empirical work examined in this paper, which represents progress toward new and more accurate methods of data collection as well as a more sophisticated conceptualization of the problem and its solutions. The purpose of the paper is to analyse the main aspects of these efforts and to evaluate its accomplishments as well as the work that remains to be done.

The need to deal with the undercounting of women's work at all levels was given important recognition in the 1985 Nairobi Conference that culminated the UN Decade for Women. as was reflected in its report Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. By strongly recommending appropriate efforts to measure the contribution of women's paid and unpaid work "to all aspects and sectors of development," the report officially sanctioned the process by which the underestimation of women's economic activities had been analysed while the conceptual and practical obstacles to overcome the problem had gradually weakened. Since then, strong support for a more systematic inclusion of statistics on women's work in national accounts has been expressed by other international organizations. many government officials, and non- governmental institutions (UN. 1989; UN Office at Vienna, 19XY). The effort has been undertaken at the two levels which are most relevant, that is, labour force and production statistics.

2. Assessing the problem

Labour force statistics and national income accounts were historically designed to gather information about the level of economic activity and changes overtime, and to provide a basis for economic policy and planning. In capitalist economies, the market has always been viewed as the core of economic activity. Similarly, participation in the labour force and the inclusion of production in national accounts have been defined in relation to their connection to the market or to the performance of some work "for pay or profit" (as defined by the International Conference of Labour Force Statisticians in 1954). The typical story about the decrease in GNP when a man marries his housekeeper is well known by readers of introductory economics textbooks even if. as a wife. her household activities might not have changed or might even have increased.

The reason for this is the notion that unremunerated work was not to be included in national income. and the person performing it not to be counted as a member of the labour force because they were not part of the market or paid exchanges of goods and services and therefore not viewed as economically significant. The notion, however, has been applied differently to various areas of economic activity.

(a) Subsistence production

An important exception to this rule was gradually introduced, at least in theory. Regarding the inclusion of subsistence production. As early as 1947, Kuznets had warned about the need to improve the then still quite young system of national income accounts to include subsistence production; methods to estimate its value and the proportion of people engaged in it were recommended by the UN system of national income accounts during the 1950s particularly for countries in which this sector had a relatively important weight in the economy. Thus, countries such as Nepal. Papua New Guinea, Tanzania and others developed methods of estimating subsistence production in varying degrees during this period. By 1960 a working party of African statisticians recommended that estimates of rural household activities would be useful and could be added to those of subsistence production in agriculture, forestry and fishing (Waring. 1988).

This effort was consolidated with the 1966 definition of labour force recommended by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians which included "all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of economic goods and services" (ILO.,1976 emphasis mine). Whether this supply was furnished through the market was not relevant. This exception to the market criterion was addressed particularly to the case of subsistence production although what constituted "economic goods and services" was not entirely clear. The justification of this inclusion had to do with the view that subsistence production was just a step short of being exchanged through the market: its exclusion from national accounts and labour force statistics undervalued a country's GNP and distorted economic information about its growth and living standards. the conceptual and practical progress made to include subsistence production in national accounting, the statistical information on women working in this sector was problematic for a variety of reasons having to do with methods of data collection, enumeration procedures as in cases of application of concepts such as "family labour," and the perception of respondents - men and women regarding women's work and their primary area of concentration. National income accounts likewise, differed in their definition of economic goods and service regarding unremunerated production. All of these factors resulted in a tendency to undercount the proportion of the population in the labour force and the value of goods and services included in national accounts. The problem has affected women in particular, given their high concentration in subsistence activities and their specific role in the domestic sphere which often makes difficult the drawing of a clear line between domestic and subsistence activities.

Over the years, this has resulted in significant statistical disparities between countries creating difficulties for comparative analysis. Given the general acceptance of the need to include subsistence production in labour' force and national income statistics, the problem presently could be identified as one of defining with greater clarity what are "economic goods and services," a task that has been taken up by experts and appropriate organizations.

(b) The informal sector

A different type of problem is represented by the lack of statistical information on workers engaged in the underground and informal sector of the economy or any form of paid work not registered statistically. In this case, the problem is not one of conceptualization given that we are dealing in principle with remunerated activities; the problem is one of lack of statistical information on the sector itself. The absence of appropriate and systematic data collection in this case can only be overcome through an effort to recognize the importance of this sector in many countries and, in the case of women, the high participation of the female population in it. Projects to collect data and many case studies for the sector have been undertaken, but they have been of an adhoc nature. Although very useful in providing relevant data and sectoral analysis, they have also provided evidence reinforcing the need for more systematic statistical information.

The difficulties of such a task, however, are not to be underestimated; they derive from the underground character of at least an important proportion of this sector as well as from its unstable, precarious and unregulated nature, which creates numerous obstacles for obtaining reliable data and elaborating sources of systematic data collection. Periodic and more systematic country surveys, however, could realistically be elaborated to provide estimates of this sector's weight in labour force and GNP statistics. In each case microeconomic survey data have been combined with macroeconomic data depending on data availability for each country.

(c) Domestic work

In the case of domestic production and related activities, the problem was of a different nature; unlike subsistence production, this type of work was not viewed as a substitute for market- oriented goods and services and not defined as an "economic activity." Until recently there was therefore no attempt to include it in national accounts and labour force statistics because it was seen as falling outside the production boundary of these accounts. Even an author such as Blades who argued that 'the production boundary should encompass non-monetary activities which are likely to be replaced by monetary activities as an economy becomes more specialized, " concluded that "Because of the practical difficulties of measurement the case for including housewives' general services is considerably weaker"(Blades, 1975).

The practice was not questioned until the late 1970s. Boserup (1970). for example, argued strongly for the inclusion in national accounts "of food items obtained by collecting and hunting, of output of home crafts such as clothing, footwear, sleeping and sitting mats, baskets. clay pots, calabashes, fuel collected by women, funeral services, haircuts, entertainment, and traditional administrative and medical services" together with "pounding, husking and grinding of food stuffs and the slaughtering of animals". As we look up these activities, however, mostly as subsistence production not as domestic work; although she mentioned the omission of the of the "domestic services of housewives" from nation accounts, she was less vociferous about it than in the case of subsistence production.

Thus, she emphasized the need to include production for own consumption, which she pointed out was larger in the economically less-developed and agricultural countries than in the more industrialized countries. Yet, as labour has become more expensive in the high-income countries, self-help activities such as construction, carpentry, and repairs have increased considerably; this is likely to result in an increase in the number of hours spent on unpaid household work. as was found in a survey carried out in France for 1975-85 (Chadeau, 1989). This trend is reinforced in these countries by the tendency toward a decreasing use of paid domestic work (Langfeldt. 1987). Production therefore shifts out of the household at some stages in the economic development process while at least part of it might return to the domestic sphere at later stages regardless of who performs it. If household production is not being accounted for, growth rates are likely to be overestimated when this production shifts to the market; on the contrary, they are likely to be underestimated when it shifts from the market to

the household. Given the predominant division of labour and women's role in the household, the problem affects women's work in particular Self-help work, however, such as construction and repairs also involves men. In any case, the problem of over, or underestimation would disappear if all domestic work and related activities were accounted for, this includes the need to account for tasks that are carried out simultaneously – as when a housewife cleans the house or goes shopping and takes care of children at the same time.

Since the late 1970s. the absence of statistical information about domestic work has been under scrutiny in many circles and for a variety of reasons. As will be examined below, progress has proceeded at different levels, to an extent that, what seemed to be a farfetched and quite unacceptable notion a decade earlier, has become a matter of serious and constructive work, with specific practical implications, even though much remains to be done.

D)Volunteer work

A different area of undercounted work by women is that of volunteer work. The wide range of tasks pertaining to this category creates both conceptual and methodological problems. Conceptually, it refers to work whose beneficiaries must not be members of the immediate family. In addition, there cannot be any direct payment, and the work must be part of an organized program. That is, volunteer work is different from domestic work even though there might be some close connections between the two such as in the case of voluntary work performed in one's neighbourhood which might make the boundaries difficult to draw. In addition, while some voluntary tasks might easily be viewed as production, such as that of free job training and voluntary home-building organizations, others are more difficult to classify. such as some of those associated with charitable work. Yet even in the latter case, some accounting of these tasks seems important, particularly if the tasks are free substitutes for what otherwise would be remunerated market work. Gender asymmetries with regard to volunteer work are abundant.

Using these arguments, the case for the inclusion of all "economic activities" in national accounts and labour force statistics has been made, particularly over the last IS years. Conceptually at least. The battle against the invisibility of women's work seems to have largely been won, at least among those working on these issues; the remaining difficulties at this point appear to be mostly of a practical nature.

Unit-II

Gender Inequality in Labour Market

2. The concept of labour market segmentation:

Labour market analysts are broadly classified into three groups- classical, neo-classical and segmented. The segmented labour market theorists point out that the labour market is neither perfectly competitive nor homogeneous; rather there exists considerable heterogeneity and stratification in the labour market. It is not one whole but divided into distinct submarkets. Entrance to each is controlled by a network of patronage that gives privileged access to certain categories of people and denies it to others. segmentation in the labour market occurs on account of differences in caste, gender and human capital acquirements.

It results in one group or individual being relegated to the secondary labour market and the other getting entry into the primary labour market. L.K.Deshpande (1970) defines labour market segmentation "as a historical process whereby political and economic forces encourage division of labour market into separate submarkets possessing different characteristic and behavioural rules". According to V.N. Kothari (1999), labour market segmentation refers to the distinctions in the nature of employment opportunities emanating from different sectors of the labour market. Different sectors of the economy generate jobs of varying qualities in terms of stability and security of employment. In a developing country like India vast majority of the labour force, say 92 percent (NCL, 2002) are employed in the informal sector and the informal sector is highly heterogeneous.

2.1. Disparity in work participation:

Market segmentation to a great extent has come about by gender based segmentation among other things like skill, caste etc. There is segmentation by gender when some jobs are classified as "male jobs" and some as" female jobs".

The problem of occupational segregation based on gender has been analysed by Arti Nanavati and B.C.Patel (1999). The authors make use of different methods of segregation based on gender. The different methods employed in their research include: measures of segregation like Marginal Matching, concentration ratio, Herfindahl Hirschman Index, index of dissimilarity, Sex Ratio Index.

2.2. Sexual division of labour in the informal economy:

Sexual division of labour in the informal economy has been researched by Nici Nelson (1988). The methods used in her research were participant observation, interviews, and surveys. The study was carried out in three of Mathare Valley''s ten named villages. In her survey of 153 business establishments, she noted that there were only 38 women entrepreneurs as opposed to 153 men. She examined the question: How do Women and men get by in different ways? Men are far less restricted compared to women in their choice of economic activity. There are number of reasons for this difference. Some of them are structural and others cultural. Women are not only less educated than men in Kenya, they have fewer skills with commercial value. This obviously limits the choice of occupations open to any individual woman when she has to choose an economic activity. This is a structural constraint arising out of a cultural constraint, namely the Kenyan view of what is feminine and what economic role women should and should not play. Women are also limited by the presence of young children who need care.

2.3. Concentration and segregation:

Labour market segmentation gets reflected in the concentration and segregation of labour in certain occupational structure. Segregation refers to separation of the two sexes; concentration refers to the representation of one sex within occupations (Maya Shah 153, 1999). The different methods of measuring gender based segregation are: 1) Index of Dissimilarity (ID), 2) Sex Ratio (SR), 3) Women and Employment (WE) Index, 4) Marginal Matching (Maya 1999). Maya Shah used all four measures for the district of Vadora using the data available in the District Census Handbook of 1991.

Despite the fact that women are active agents shaping the prospects for development of countries, consideration of their productive role in the informal economy is still lacking from development discourse, policy and practice. It is argued that that most women in India are participating in the labour market under precarious terms, irrespective of their rights as citizens and workers, during a heightened state of informalisation that is unlikely to recede. Although the Government of India has attempted to examine employment relationships, the number of promising initiatives backed by the state is limited. Women's civil society has been effective in organizing workers to assert their social, political and economic rights. It is contended/argued that economic empowerment strategies may be the most conducive to enhancing women's overall empowerment, and surmised that greater political will in support of such groups will lead to citizen-centered change.

2.4. Women in the Informal Economy

Women in the informal economy are more vulnerable due to their poor physical and human endowments and poor collateral base of the labour force. It has been established that impressive economic progress and technological progress has been made during the latter part of the last century and consequently many new economic opportunities have been created. But the pace of social progress has lagged behind the accelerated pace of the new global economy, as not everyone is able to reap the benefits of economic advancements. Women in the informal economy seem to be side lined more than men as far as being beneficiaries of this progress. The various global conferences and summits of the 1990s have placed gender equality on the priority agenda because, for economic efficiency and social efficiency to go hand in hand, all members of society- men and women alike, must realize their human potential to contribute to development and fully benefit from growth in this era of globalization.

2.5. Gender Based Segmentation- Post Reform

Integration of World economies into a single World system and allowing an unrestricted flow of capital are the central features of globalization. However, globalization does not offer such integration with regard to the labour market (Deshpande, 1984). Segmentation of labour force has become the prime strategy of this capitalist hegemony. Skills, gender, race and nationalities are important factors of segmentation by which some are denied the fruits of globalization. The most pervasive form of globalization is gender based. The employment department of ILO observed that there is considerable difference between the experience of men and women in the labour market and women continue to participate to a lesser degree than men.

A few post reform research studies show that economic role of women can also be critical in shaping household strategies of survival. Employment of women is yet another coping mechanism in the informal economy to face insecurity of income and vulnerability. Employment of women is yet another coping mechanism in the informal economy to face insecurity of income and vulnerability. Employment of women is yet another survival strategy followed by households in the informal economy at Shivajinagar. Besides being subjected to wage and occupational discrimination women are victims of limited access to education and employment. This is yet another indication of the informalisation of the urban economy. Feminization of the urban workforce therefore is yet another indirect manifestation of growth of poverty induced employment in the urban informal economy in recent years. Poor households in the informal sector households send their womenfolk to work in various low productive activities as part of their survival strategy. An interesting point that clearly emerges from the data is that poverty is the cause of a higher incidence of employment for poor households, because only by sending a larger number of family members to work are they able to survive in their trying circumstances. The field survey notes that the presence of young children and elderly persons in the household significantly reduces the probability of married women"s employment in Shivajinagar. In Shivajinagar, the survey reveals that the traditional gender division of labour and gender roles and expectations are still maintained. The household obligations and responsibilities affect realization of their potential in the labour market. The monthly income of female workers in Shivajinagar differs from that of male workers. Gender based discrimination is an attribute of the informal labour market in Shivajinagar. Economists, while explaining "pure discrimination", attribute the overcrowding of women in low paid, dead end jobs; insecure or bad jobs to their lower productivity relative to men. This is attributed to the lower investment in human capital or education acquired by women compared to men. That women are able to invest less in human capital (education and training) due to planned interruptions in participation in the labour force for child-rearing activities (Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Becker, 1973) conversely suggests that women can devote less energy to market because they must devote more energy to household responsibilities.

An important aspect that is often highlighted in the context of economic reforms is the translation of labour market changes into defining and redefining gender relations and empowerment of women in India. The Post reform period reveals that new opportunities for women are opening up in the Indian economy. The paper analyses women's employment through a disaggregate analysis of the last three rounds of quinquennial NSSO Employment and Unemployment surveys, 1993-94, 1999-00 and 2004-05. The analysis provided in the paper suggests that the growing social and economic crisis is sending vast sections of women workers into a downward spiral resulting in a gender based inequality in employment. The sectoral distribution shows women mainly concentrating in the primary sector as against other liberalized economies.

2.6. Nature f Segmentation of Labour Market:

Women have been participating in the labour force from time immemorial. But, today in the labour market they do not have the same standing as their male counterpart. Women workers are concentrated in the informal sector and are paid low wages. In the organized sector where women participation is low, promotions are few and far between. Women work in a segmented labour market. Their working conditions are pathetic and being in informal sector they are not covered by social security legislations. Segmentation of labour not only have detrimental effect on women as workers but also accrue loss to national economy.

2.7. Causes of Segmentation of the Labour Market:

Demand Side

Segmentation of the labour market is primarily the result of the patriarchal structure of the society. Employers, as well as workers, who are mostly men, assume that the primary role of women is inside the house, as wife and a mother. Here we discuss some of the important factors that lead to segmentation of force on the basis of gender.

• Secondary role: Whatever a woman does in the labour market is viewed as her secondary role. She is not looked upon as capable of providing household finance and her income is only viewed as marginal income or secondary income. However, at times, income of all the member is needed for the family's survival.

• Patriarchal nature of the society: We have a patriarchal society. Patriarchal attitude carried on for generations make it difficult for the employers to realize the reality and accept women as equal partners.

• Women's commitment towards work: There is a misconceived notion about women's sincerity towards work. Employers assume that women would be irregular for work. More of absenteeism and less of sincerity is anticipated from women. It is because of this attitude of men that the demand for women workers is confined to only low skill and low paid jobs.

• Effect of modernization: Along with this traditional attitude, the effect of modernization and mechanization has also worked against women. When new machines are employed for doing work earlier done by women, men are employed to run the machines. This leads to the replacement of women workers by men workforce. But, as women were not properly organized in the trade unions, there is not enough resistance. This gives us a picture of change in demand for women workers in the wake of modernization.

• Effect of legislation: Other factor causing reduction in demand for women workers, is the laws enacted to protect them. Certain benefits like maternity benefits and provision of crèches add expenditure to the employers existing cost. Principle of equal pay for equal work

also reduce the employer's inclination of paying a lower wage to women workers as cost of added benefits/provisions is over and above the wages. This also led to reduction in the demand for women workers.

In the following section you will read about the supply side of causes of segmentation of labour force.

2.8. Causes of Segmentation of the Labour Market:

Supply Side

The same patriarchal attitude which leads to the segmentation of the labour market on the demand side is also responsible for the segmentation on the supply side. Let us examine a few other prominent factors.

• **Patriarchal Attitude:** Patriarchal attitude of parents and of society in general, make women workers position weak in labour market. The girl child does not get the same attention in terms of nurturing and care. Their entitlement in terms of food or medical care is less than that of boys in the family. They are generally anaemic and bear more disease burden. A girl child normally is not allowed to continue in the secondary school. Even if they are allowed, they are not given equal opportunity as their brothers to choose a field of education that they prefer for career building. Patriarchal values expect women to concentrate on certain disciplines and professions that are said to be feminine. These patriarchal values are so internalized by the women themselves that very few of them aspire for education in the fields so called 'reserved for men'. Even after completing their education, often they are not in a position to decide whether to work or not and if at all, how long to remained employed. The situation now is changing, though we still find patriarchal mind set prevalent in some sections of Indian society.

• **Patriarchal Structures:** Patriarchal societal structure leads women to regard home keeping and rearing children as their primary duties. Hence, women often look for work which is near home and opt for work timings which can be adjusted with their domestic duties. They often give up opportunities of promotion which involve change of work place or additional responsibilities at the existing or a new work place.

Also, patriarchal structures along with patriarchal attitude is responsible for lack of geographical mobility of women. At the time of marriage, women migrate to live with their inlaws or their husband. They also follow their husbands when they migrate for work. This restricted mobility affects women's supply in the labour markets. • Strength of Bargaining: One more limiting factor on the supply side of women labour force is their inability to bargain. It is a known fact that bargaining power of labour depends upon the strength of their union. But, trade unionism among women workers is not easy as they find it difficult to spare time for union activities. Trade union activity involves active participation where they will be needed at different places for long span of time for different kinds of union activities. While the male members are able to spare their time for these women are not.

2.9. Effects of Segmentation of Labour Market

Segmentation of labour market is undesirable as it leads to discrimination against women workers. Segmentation results in lower payment being made to women workers in comparison to male workers. Let us cast a look on other effects that segmentation has on female labour force.

• Lack of Capital Intensive Technology: Segmentation keeps women workers concentrated in certain fields where less capital intensive technology is used. In those Indian industries where a significant percentage of workers are women, the capital/labour ratio and output/ labour ratio are both below the all-India all-industries-average.

• Vulnerability of Loss of Job: For women workers, employer's strategy remains 'last in, first out'. Segmentation makes women the most vulnerable workers. At the onset of depression, they are thus the first workers to be removed from the job. Unfortunately, they are the last to be taken back on the job when situation improves.

• Redundancy of Women workers: Another serious effect of segmentation is the greater extent of unemployment of women workers as a result of patriarchal social and economic structures.

In the following section you will read about some of the ways to mainstream women workforce and overcome segmentation.

2.10. Remedies to Integrate Women with the Labour Market

• To Overcome Patriarchal Attitude: As we have seen the root cause of segmentation of labour market, both on the demand and supply side, lies in the patriarchal attitude regarding women's role - as a housewife, mother and also as workers. Special efforts should be made to change this attitude. Women's organization should also make exceptional efforts to uproot the internalization of patriarchal attitude by women themselves. • Awareness about adverse effects of segmentation of Labour Market: Men should be made a were of the adverse effect labour market segmentation has not only on women but also on employers. Women also must be made aware of the ill effects of labour market segmentation who accept it as their destiny.

• **Role of civil society:** All organizations dealing with labour should be made receptive to the fact and there should be special measures taken to orient the employers in both the private and the public sector to encourage gainful employment for both men and women.

• **Gender Inclusive Policies:** Policies that are gender sensitive and promote gender equality should be promoted. Special incentives should be instituted to encourage members of both the sexes for achieving excellence in educational activities to performance at workplace.

• Advocacy by Government: There should be continuous effort, by governmental as well as the non-government organizations dealing with women, to remove misconceptions which regard 'home' as the only sphere of work for women. Imaginary adverse effects women's work will have on their children and other familial responsibilities should be discouraged. Research should be encouraged in this field to remove such misconceptions.

• Encouragement Formal Education: Special efforts should be made to see that girl children enroll for primary education in equal number and special attention should be paid to reduce the drop-out ratio. They should be encouraged to go in for higher studies by giving special scholarships. If women venture into untrodden areas of study previously not opted by women, they should be given special incentives.

• Childcare Facilities: Special facilities like maternity leave, crèche to take care of the children of working women etc, must be made available so that women can enter the organized sector of the labour market. Since individual employers will be unwilling to bear the cost, the State should shoulder the responsibility. This will minimize the resistance of employers to women employees.

• Equal Remuneration: Women should get equal remuneration as men in the same occupation. This has not been possible in spite of the fact that India has ratified the Equal Remuneration Convention. So, there is a need to modify the law and also effectively implement the same if women are to be integrated within the labour market.

2.11. Globalisation Processes and their Impacts

Within cross cultural perspectives, it is important to discuss the issue of globalisation and gender. The phenomenon of globalisation which has impacted our society in numerous ways, has particularly affected the everyday lives of women, especially from developing countries. In this unit we will study the implications of globalisation on gender, with special focus of women's work and poverty among women. Let us begin by first understanding what we mean by globalisation. Globalisation refers to a number of events that have been rapidly changing the world, especially since the 1980s. It is primarily driven by the global economy, mainly the policies of privatisation (selling government owned assets and businesses to private multinational companies) and deregulation (lifting trade restrictions, easing of government regulation, allowing foreign businesses to operate within our country, and floating of national currencies in the global market place).

The ultimate goal of globalisation processes is to have a privatised economy, which allows a healthy competition for goods and services within the free market (across national borders). It is believed that this enables people to have access to better services and products at lower prices, eventually leading to a better standard of living, or, human well-being. Along with the diffusion of goods, services, and capital, globalisation also involves diffusion of technology, information, culture, and people across national borders and all this has led to fundamental changes in human institutions in practically all societies across the globe.

Since the mid-1980s, many scholars in the social sciences have studied the causes, scope, and impact of globalisation. Along with economic integration of different countries, globalisation has also brought industrialisation to the developing countries, which has led to economic growth in these regions.

Since the 1980s, many Asian countries have emerged as significant manufacturers of products such as textiles, steel, cars, electronics, computer equipment, etc. This has led to the creation of jobs for millions of people in these countries.

As a result, one important trend worldwide has been that there has been an increase in the contribution of the secondary sector (manufactured products or material goods) and tertiary sector (essential services) to the gross domestic product (GDP) of most countries. This means that there has been an increase in jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Growth in tertiary sector, however, has been greater than the secondary sector. And the relative contribution of the primary sector (agriculture, mining, forestry, and fishing) to the GDP has been declining steadily.

This trend in the global economy is closely related to skill differentiation. The unskilled and semi-skilled jobs (mainly in the primary and secondary sectors) are primarily taken up by the less privileged sections of the society, whereas skilled jobs of the service sector are occupied by upper income groups of the society. Wage differences between the skilled and unskilled jobs have also grown sharply, creating heightened disparities between these groups. On a broader level, disparities between rural and urban areas, developed and developing countries have also increased. Effects of globalisation have also differed across groups of class, race, ethnicity and gender.

Many researchers have said that globalisation is a double-bladed phenomenon with unequal distribution of benefits and harms. Trade liberalisation is not inherently welfare producing; it can produce and re-produce inequality, social disparities and poverty at the same time as it expands wealth (Sen, 1996:132).

Today the global system is marked with widening income disparities, economic growth disparities, human capital disparities such as, life expectancy, nutrition, infant and child mortality, adult literacy and enrolment ratio. Along with this are disparities in the distribution of global economic resources and opportunities and globalisation adds to this. In such a scenario, it is the interests of the poor and under privileged that are most affected and amongst them of the women.

The dominance of rich nations, multinational corporations and international capital over markets, resources and labour in the developing countries through trade, aid and technology transfer has greatly weakened the capacity of nation states and governments to promote human development and offer protection to the poor people. Since the resources for the social sector come out of an ever- shrinking common pool, the burden on women is much more. The worst hit in this transformation is the unorganised or informal sector, marked with income disparity and dominated by the poor and under privileged. Apart from changes associated with global trade, the other facets of globalisation are increased migration, spread of global culture, development of the internet and easier communication and transportation around the world, accelerated development and transfer of technologies in all spheres (including reproductive technologies), tourism, etc. All these have both positive and negative dimensions and also differentiated impacts on men and women.

2.14. Globalisation and Gender Equality

While we stated in the beginning that the major transformation in global economy occurred around 1980s, we need to understand that the processes of globalisation are closely associated with colonialism and capitalism, which have transformed traditional economies over the last couple of centuries. "All scholars agree that colonialism and capitalism restructured traditional economies in a way which had a profound impact on women's economic activities, on the nature of sexual division of labour, and on the kinds of social and political options which remained open to women. However, there is considerable debate about the exact nature of the effects of these processes on women's lives. Scholars like Boserup (1970) and Rogers (1980) have suggested that capitalist exploitation combined with eurocentric ideas about the roles and activities proper to women led to the destruction of women's traditional rights in society, and undermined their economic autonomy. Other writers have pointed out that it may be wrong to imagine that the pre-colonial/ pre-capitalist world was one where women had a significant degree of independence. However, the penetration of capitalism into subsistence economies, through the growth of commercial agriculture and wage labour, is acknowledged as having generally deleterious effect on rural women. A number of authors have stressed that the development of intensive agriculture and the introduction of new forms of technology discriminated against women. An increasing market in land and labour, together with changes in land tenure systems and developing migrant labour, also worked against the interests of women" (Moore 1988:74).

The transformation of global economy around the 1980s has accentuated the disadvantaged position of women in developing countries. Feminist researchers and activists have repeatedly pointed to a variety of gender biases of structural adjustment policies. In the case of Morocco, Skalli (2001) mentions that the social effects and costs of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have proved to be specifically detrimental to women in low income households and made their status even more vulnerable. The situation is quite similar in other developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The differentiated impacts of globalisation processes on men and women are because of a number of reasons. Firstly, a discrepancy exists in almost all economies between women and men's access to resources, knowledge, ownership and control over assets. Patriarchal societies like the Indian society, where men have authority and control over property, men traditionally hold a privileged position as compared to women, who are seen as subordinate. Patriarchy also manifests itself in the social, legal, political, and economic organisations, and it is seen that globalisation has

heightened already existing biases in patriarchal societies. Discussing the case of Morocco, Skalli (2001:76) states that "the patriarchal structure of the society operates at all levels to position women in lower status than men. Patriarchal ideology and systemic gender biases have denied women not only equal educational and employment opportunities and treatment before the law, but also equal access to and control over resources, adequate health services, housing, social welfare, and support. These are important social indicators that have a direct bearing on the incidence of female poverty and reflect the different levels at which social exclusion is produced, justified and perpetuated."

Discrepancy also exists between men and women in terms of patterns of paid and unpaid work, wages, ability to generate income, educational patterns and political and economic power. Women's low educational opportunities and skill training have a direct bearing on female work pattern. Women get caught in the cycle of exploitation and underpayment as they increasingly occupy the low-paying unskilled jobs. There exists salary gap between working men and women, and many women continue to work below the minimum wage. In rural areas, female labour around the world continues to go unrecognised and unpaid, as it falls under the category of farm work or income- generating activities within home, in areas such as arts and crafts, weaving, and cottage industries. Mies (1982) describes in her study of lace-makers of Andhra Pradesh (India) that growing impoverishment of the peasant agricultural sector has led women in poorer agricultural households to take up lace-making (for private exporters) as a way of generating supplementary income. These women are invisible as workers because of the prevailing and overriding ideology that they are really only 'housewives' who happen to be using their leisure time in a profitable way. Thus, women generate supplementary income for the household without altering the sexual division of labour or the nature of gender relation in the society. Consequently, women's insertion into the global market production system has merely served to reinforce existing gender relations (Moore 1988:83-85).

2.15. Feminisation of Poverty and Female-headed Households

Research into the social impacts and gender-specific effects of structural adjustment policies and studies on the proliferation of female-headed households have led to increased attention to the notion of feminisation of poverty. There is a growing perception around the globe that poverty is becoming increasingly feminised, that is, an increasing proportion of the world's poor are female. A 1992 UN report found that the number of rural women living in

poverty in the developing countries increased by almost 50% between 1970 and 1990 (an awesome 565 million) and majority of them lived in Asia and in Sub-Saharan Africa.

There are different measures of poverty in economics, however, whether measured by income/consumption or the broader array of entitlements/capabilities indicators, the incidence of poverty among women appears to be on the increase (ibid: 4-5). Concept of feminisation of poverty is not only a consequence of lack of income, but is also the result of the deprivation of capabilities and gender biases present in both societies and governments (Chant 2006). The rise in female poverty is attributed to many factors such as population growth, the emigration of men, increasing family break-up, low productivity, a deteriorating environment, and structural adjustment policies (Moghadam 2005:4-5). As you will be able to understand by now, most of these are closely associated with globalisation processes.

Since impoverishment of women and children is closely associated with the striking increase in single-parent female-headed households, focus on such households is critical to addressing the problem of feminisation of poverty. Such households are at the highest risk of poverty for women due to lack of income and resources (Sara and Pramila 2007). According to a case study in Zimbabwe, households headed by widows have an income of approximately half that of male-headed households, and female-headed households have about three quarters of the income of male headed households (Brenner 1987).

There is a continuing increase in the number of female-headed households in the world. The main factors responsible for this increase in rural area are the rise in male out-migration, occurrences of illnesses and deaths of husbands. It is stated that 30-35 per cent of all rural households in India, for example, are female- headed households compared to 25 percent in Cambodia, 21.4 per cent in Mongolia and 15.7 per cent in Korea (Ng 2000).

It is also important to note that female-headed households are very common among urban poor as well, in both developed and developing countries. Moore (1988:63) states that a common feature of urban life is that many women are choosing not to marry and a significant number of married women are choosing to live separately from their husbands. Discussing the case of the US, Peterson (1987:334) mentions that "women are increasingly likely to carry the primary responsibility for supporting themselves because of rising divorce rates and non-marital childbearing. At the same time, many women remain locked into dead- end jobs with wages too low to support themselves and their families. Child- care responsibilities and lack of affordable child-care prohibit many women from participating in the labour market at all."

Skalli (2001:80-4) discusses the case of feminisation of poverty and female- headed households in Morocco in the context of structural adjustment policies. In Morocco, femaleheaded households are increasing in the urban and rural areas. A major proportion of such households are headed by widows or divorcees, where widows tend to be more vulnerable than divorcees, due to their advanced age. These women are generally employed in the low-paying jobs, mainly in the manufacturing industry. However, it is specifically the informal sector that employs these women, where they are engaged in little income-generating activities like needlework, sewing and knitting, from home. Work in non-formal sector exposes women to a number of constraints and prejudices, because of the absence of labour laws, social security regulations, as well as social welfare benefits. In Morocco, restructuring of the economy has resulted in the disengagement of the state from and reduction in its investments in the social services sector (health and education services). Cuts in public expenditure, and cancellation of subsidies on essential goods, worsened women's vulnerability and their exploitation. In particular, women's chances of securing employment in the formal sector decreased. This implied, an increased pressure to work in the informal sector at all ages, for longer hours, minimal wages, and a greater urgency to migrate within and outside the country in search of cash-earning activities some of which can be risky for their physical, mental, and psychological health. On the other hand, economic recession and restructuring, as well as socio- economic, demographic and cultural changes have also led to the breakdown of the traditional family support network. For women in low-income households, in both rural and urban settings, this directly translates into the burden of combining unpaid domestic labour with low-income, labour-intensive activities in the informal sector. Situations very similar to this one exist in other developing countries. Another issue closely related to poverty and female-headed households are the feminisation of subsistence agriculture.

As you know, globalisation has triggered industrialisation all over the world and one of the major consequences of this has been the increase in the production of cash crops. Moore (1988) states that commercialisation of agriculture has led to women in rural areas taking up the major responsibility for growing of subsistence crops. In Africa, commercialisation of agriculture forced women into working longer hours in the subsistence sector, in order to provide for the family, while men became involved in cash-cropping. Also, as industrialisation opened up job opportunities in urban areas, there was increased migration of men from rural to urban areas, which further heightened the responsibility of women to manage subsistence farming. In the case of Ghana (Africa), Bukh (1979, in Moore 1988:76) describes that during

the boom in cocoa production men took over the job of producing cocoa, while women took on responsibility for cultivating the basic food for the household. When the price of cocoa fell in the 1970s, many men migrated to look for work, leaving the women and children behind on the farm. Many women found it difficult to cover their household and personal expenses, so they supplemented their incomes by combining farming with petty trading, wage labour, craft work and food processing. As evident, this increased the workload of women enormously. While, similar situations are found in other communities in Africa, Moore (1988: 77-8) says that we should be cautious about setting up a straightforward equation between women and subsistence agriculture, and men and cash crops. There are plenty of examples of women growing cash crops, working as wage labourers and engaging in a wide variety of other marketoriented activities. And the overall effect of the commercialisation of agriculture has frequently been the impoverishment of the peasant agricultural sector as a whole, rather than a simple gain for men.

2.16. Women, Work and Globalisation

So, as we have seen in the last section, closely linked to the feminisation of poverty is the changing nature of women's work. Studies in this field have been dominated by the growing phenomenon of women's participation in non- agricultural employment. In this section we will study the issue of feminisation of work in the context of export-oriented manufacturing in developing countries.

Changes in occupational structure, and in the overall organisation of an individual country's economy are directly determined by the part the country's economy plays in the international arena. The level of industrialisation of a country is one of the major determinants of women's participation in non-agricultural employment. Industrialisation alters patterns of work, it changes the relationship between the workplace and the home, and it reorganises the distribution of employment opportunities within the different sectors of the economy, by creating new forms of employment and destroying others (Moore 1988:97-99). The rapid increase in the number of women engaged in non-agricultural employment in developing countries has not occurred uniformly in all regions. Also, the increase has not taken place in the same sectors of employment. While some women have gone into the industrial labour force, most have gone into light industrial manufacturing. In some countries, a significant proportion of women have gone into the tertiary sector of employment, where they are employed in personal services and government occupations, as well as in professions.

Let us discuss the case of light industrial manufacturing in detail.

2.17. World Market Factories / Export Processing Zones

Global capitalist development has led to the emergence of world-market factories in many parts of the developing world, particularly in Asia and Latin America. These world-market factories produce goods exclusively for export to the rich developed countries of the world. The companies that run these factories may be owned by local capitalists or they may be subsidiaries of large multinationals. In either case, their choice of location is determined by cheap and compliant labour, the advantages of tax concessions and by conveniently inadequate regulations governing health and safety provisions. World-market factories produce textiles, soft toys, sports equipment and ready-to-wear clothes, electrical goods and components for the electronics industry. In many instances, these factories play a very limited role in the manufacture of the product, which means that they are little more than a stage in a production process controlled by multinationals (Moore 1988:100).

The most interesting aspect of these world-market factories is that the vast majority (over 80 per cent) of the workers who are employed in them are young women between the ages of 13 and 25 years. These women, of course, are the assembly line operatives; the administrative and technical posts, which are far fewer in number, are occupied by men. A number of studies report that the preference for employing women by these companies is due to women's apparently innate capacities for the work, their docility, their disinclination to unionise, and the fact that women are cheap because, while men need an income to support a family, women do not (ibid:100-101). This shows that the gender biases inherent in social life are strategically used in employment of women, for the production of cheaper goods.

2.18. Impact of Wage Labour on Women's Lives

Many researchers have studied the impacts of such employment on the lives of women. It is interesting to note that these studies do not uniformly talk of the disadvantages and exploitation of women in such forms of employment. Many studies point to the benefits that some women in developing countries have gained from these employment opportunities (for e.g. Swantz 1995; Sen 1996; Joekes 1997). Studies on Caribbean region show that paid work is desirable because it provides women greater independence from men and their families. Among older married women in Puerto Rico, it was found that long-term employment in industrial production leads to a greater sense of self-worth, and greater class consciousness (Safa 1990). In addition, several studies of Latin American countries contend that when women

enter the labour force, more equitable patterns of resource sharing and decision-making within the household unit occur (Meyer 2006:88).

Ganguly-Sarcase (2003) also states that globalising processes of market liberalisation and SAPs may not necessarily have a negative impact on women. While new forms of inequality do result from economic reforms, there may be other opportunities for greater independence in certain societies, like the lower middle-class women in West Bengal, India. Other researchers like Omvedt (1997 in Ganguly-Scrase 2003) have stated that in light of democratisation in gender relations within the Indian family, the effects of structural adjustment on women have not been as much of a burden as its opponents claim. Feldman's study (1992 in ibid.) of women workers in export-processing enclaves in Bangladesh, shows that women from rural middle-strata families were able to increase their employment opportunities, thus challenging the traditional prohibitions on female mobility that were shaped by Bengali culture and a variant of Islamic doctrine. Salaff (1981) in her study of working women of Hong Kong, shows that in the low-wage economy of Hong Kong, each family depends on the wages of several family members in order to survive, and daughters' wages are increasingly crucial part of family income. While there are several advantages of the working daughter to the family, these women also see their employment as beneficial, as it opens up a number of opportunities for them. Most marriages are no longer arranged and women tend to meet their potential spouses through peer group activities.

Women save part of their earnings to buy household goods for their marital homes, and to make contributions to their dowries. Working daughters keep a small and regular amount for themselves from their earnings to use for personal effects and leisure activities. In this sense wage-labour makes leisure time activities with peers financially possible. In recognition of the money they put into the family, working daughters are usually exempt from household tasks such as cooking, child care and laundry. Working daughters are also given more say in family affairs, particularly in relation to the activities of younger siblings (Moore 1988:100-112).

Apart from improving women's position within home and providing greater independence, there are some other positive outcomes of women's employment. Research indicates that women's access to economic resources in the form of paid employment reduces their dependence on children for social status and economic security, thereby reducing levels of fertility. Relatedly, paid work has been found to positively influence women's own health as well as that of their children (Meyer 2006).

However, there are several scholars who adhere to the 'female marginalisation' hypothesis. These researchers contend that the studies discussed above are overly optimistic in regard to women's gains from employment. In today's world while information and communication technology has become a potent force for transforming social, economic, and political life in the globalised world, the gendered division of labour is already emerging. A large number of women tend to be concentrated in the end-user, lower skilled jobs and comprise a very small number among managerial, maintenance, and design personnel (Pande, 2006: 7).

According to Papps (1992), development has led to the displacement of women from traditional subsistence activities and restricted employment opportunities. Moreover, in many cultures, deeply held social traditions (such as housework as women's duty) have not changed as a result of women becoming breadwinners in the household. For those women who have found employment in the modern sector, they often face continuing gender exploitation in the form of hazardous working conditions, marginalisation into low paying jobs, barriers to promotion, and unequal pay (Meyer 2006: 89). This is also reflected in the examples that we discussed in the section on female-headed households. Both these kinds of studies illustrate the multi-faceted process of economic globalisation. While women may experience increased independence and power within the household when they enter the labour force, the conditions under which they gain employment and how they participate in the economy are crucial determinants of whether or not they improve their economic and social status (ibid).

2.19. Gender Inclusive Globalisation

With an understanding of the gender-differentiated impacts of globalisation, we now come to the issue of gender-inclusive globalisation. Ever since the concerns of negative impacts of globalisation processes have been raised by social scientists and feminist researchers, there have been discussions and efforts in the direction of making globalisation policies and processes gender-inclusive. Let us understand what this means.

As we know, globalisation is deemed beneficial to a country because it is supposed to lead to economic growth, resulting from a better allocation of resources in the world economy, exchange of knowledge, transfer of technologies and a consequent increase in productivity, as well as the development of human and physical capital. With the expansion of domestic production, income opportunities as a whole generally increase, benefitting a large number of people (UN 2008).

However, as we have seen in the last section, within the context of globalisation, women can be the winners or losers. Their multiple responsibilities and gender- related constraints, such as a lack of access to productive inputs and resources, can mean that they are not able to seize the opportunities provided by trade expansion to the same degree as men. Moreover, the opportunities provided to men may have negative consequences for women and they may even lose their livelihoods as a result of import competition. In order to promote a mutually supportive (high growth, low gender inequality) scenario, it is well-understood now that women's multiple roles, responsibilities and limitations need to be taken into account in globalisation policies and programmes (UN 2008).

The growing understanding on this issue has led to the emergence of the concept of gender mainstreaming. In July 1997, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part 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 of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality." Thus, gender mainstreaming is not only about adding a woman's component into an existing activity. Gender sensitivity must be integral to all planning and implementation processes.10 Some of the ways for ensuring gender mainstreaming include the gender mainstreaming plan of sectoral policies; targeted interventions by the state to reduce gender inequalities, equal participation of women (especially at decision-making levels of sectoral policies), and monitoring by women's organisations (UN 2008).

Let us take the case of gender mainstreaming in sectoral policies. In developing countries, every sector needs policies, which would increase employment opportunities for women in the unorganised sector because majority of poor unskilled women can primarily be occupied in this sector. Jhabvala and Sinha (2002) mentions that in India, forestry is a sector where women's employment can be increased manifold. They suggest that reforestation programmes of nursery growing, plantations and tending of plants, as also collection, processing and sale of minor forest produce, can be handed over to women's groups. One calculation has shown that if nursery growing for the forest department in Gujarat (west India) could be done through women's groups, it would increase employment among one lakh

women, for six months. In the health sector, policies which would link informal health providers, especially midwives, with the formal health system, would increase both employment and earnings of the health providers. Increasing micro-finance schemes would increase employment opportunities through livelihood development. Direct access to markets would increase employment opportunities as well as earnings. Training and skill development would also enhance productivity, earnings, and opportunities (Jhabvala and Sinha 2002:2042).

Another important way of gender mainstreaming is gender-budgeting. Since the mid-1980s, a variety of gender-budget initiatives have been undertaken with the purpose of rendering public budgets gender-equitable. It has been seen that in public spending and methods of raising revenue, there are inherent gender biases, and many of these biases appear to be commonly exacerbated by market liberalisation policies.

The budget is an important tool in the hands of state for affirmative action for improvement of gender relations through reduction of gender gap in the development process. It can help to reduce economic inequalities, between men and women as well as between the rich and the poor. As we have discussed previously, reductions in social programmes (such as health and education), due to structural adjustment policies, have been disproportionately harmful for women and girls. Since social programmes have a direct bearing on human capabilities, women have become more vulnerable due to these reductions. Gender-budget initiatives can ensure public provisioning of social programmes, and potentially reduce women's vulnerabilities. A positive example from Indonesia in this direction is that, during the Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s, which caused loss of employment among women in both formal and informal sectors, efforts were made in Indonesia to keep poor children, especially girl children, in school through scholarships, half of which were allocated to girls (ibid:18).

Women's participation, at the level of decision-making, planning and implementation of development programmes, is also central to ensuring gender mainstreaming. This involves seeking out grassroots women's organisation and NGOs – from small groups of producers and networks of small and medium- sized entrepreneurs, to gender activists and academics concerned with trade and development. Consultation and inclusion of this segment of civil society as key stakeholders is a necessary step towards ensuring the effective participation of women (UN 2008).

2.20. Wage Differentials

Wage differentials has been a practice that has been faced by women workers from the time of industrialization. Here, we will discuss various aspects of wage differentials between and men and women workers.

2.20.1 Nature of Wage Differentials

There are differences in the wages paid to the men and women workers. This is found around the world and is not something peculiar to India. This is generally done by reserving certain categories of work for women and other categories of work for men and by paying higher rate of wage for the categories of work reserved for men. A case study given below will illustrate this point clearly to you in the below box.

Studies by Nirmala Banarjee in West Bengal revealed that small industrial units paid lower wages to female employees compared to male members. She mentioned in another of her study that beedi rolling workers in Calcutta were paid different wages depending on whether they were male or female. Women workers were getting Rs. 3/- per 1000 beedis, while men were getting Rs. 10/- per 1000 beedis plus a daily allowance. This discrimination was because men were working in the factories while women were working from their home. Women have to sacrifice household work to finish the job in time. They also take the help of their young children and aged relatives to complete the work in time. After making all these adjustments and sacrifices they get lower wages. Since they do not work in the factory premises they do not get the protection of Labour laws. In view of the fact that they are doing the work from home, they do not get facilities like lunch break. And for all this they are paid lower wages than men doing the similar work in the formal sector.

Though Equal Remuneration Convention No. 1000 was passed by I.L.O. in 1951 and was ratified by India. Equal Remuneration Act passed in India in 1976, makes it obligatory on the employers to pay equal remuneration, but the female workers are till now paid less than the male workers. The NSSO (1996) Report shows that not only in agriculture but in all other areas of employment like industry, finance and services, women are paid lower wages. Thus, while women are paid 90.8% of male wages in agriculture the percentage is 67.8% in mining, 84.5% in finance sector and 72.0% in service sector. The wage differential is seen not only throughout different sectors of employment, but also in some profession. At the same educational level, women get 85.5% of men's salary in nursing, 71.4% in teaching and 87.4% in clerical jobs. If

this is the plight of educated women, one can well imagine the predicament of illiterate and semi-literate women in the below box.

The wage differential is seen in both public and private sectors but, it is marginally less in the public sector. Thus, the Male: Female wage ratio is 1.01, 1.28 and 1.27 respectively in agriculture, manufacturing and service in the public sector. The ratio is 1.47, 1.61 and 1.58 in the private sector in the respective fields.

With women's increased participation in paid work there is mixed evidence that, the gender-wage gap has shown a tendency to diminish. In some industrialized countries, such as, the United States of America, the gap appears to have narrowed. In others, such as, Japan, it has widened. Similarly, in developing countries, such as EI Salvador and Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Myanmar, Singapore, Taiwan, and Province of China, the wage gap has widened.

Even though the evidence is sparse, trade expansion and liberalization with Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows are likely to affect gender wage gaps in two ways: (a) through differential impact on the demand for female and male labours; and (b) through increase in bargaining power relative to organized workers in industries that are directly affected by the export of capital.

FDI flows might be expected to drive up the wages of women workers because they tend to stimulate demand for female labour. By contrast, the increased ability of businesses to relocate all or some segments of their production across national borders puts a downward pressure on the wages of workers in the affected industries. The little existing research suggests that the latter effect has been stronger. It is also argued that the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and concomitant threat of moving offshore, helped manufacturing employers in the United States of America to successfully resist the demands for wage increase. Likewise, FDIs by MNCs tend to move away from the newly industrialized economies, where wages and working conditions have improved, to less developed countries, such as India, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, and more recently Bangladesh, China and Viet Nam. Women's wages relative to men's might thus be unlikely to rise if women are more heavily concentrated than men in industries where capital is 'footloose' (i.e., where the threat by businesses to move offshore is highly credible). Indeed, that is likely to be the case in many low-wage sites in developing countries which attract FDIs. Not surprisingly, wage differentials

are especially marked in those developing countries or areas which pursue export-led industrialization or have Economic Processing Zones (EPZs).

By contrast, in some developed economies, such as the United States, the forces of globalization appear to have adversely affected men's wages more than women's. Over the last two decades, trade liberalization and capital mobility have eroded well-paying blue-collar wages in concentrated industries where men were the well-entrenched insiders. Increased international competition which reduces the bargaining power of male workers in such industries, may be one explanation for the decreasing gender wage gap. Three quarters of the decrease in the wage gap in the United States since late 1970s is estimated to stem from the decline in male real wages (Lawrence and Bernstein, 1994). At least in some counties, the narrowing of the gender wage gap reflects in part a 'downward harmonization' between men and women.

Other factors also have influenced gender wage differentials over the past decades. There have been significant changes in the patterns of occupational segregation by sex around the world. Although women still earn less than men at every level of education, increasing number of women in higher- level jobs, especially in developed countries, have effectively improved women's aggregate labour-market income relative to men. Other important factors, depending on the region and the country, have been the following:

- The type of wage settlement
- Technological change
- Pattern of industrial development
- Change in societal values with regard to gender inequality.

Male-female pay differentials tend to be lower in countries with centralized collective bargaining. The earnings gap is relatively small in Australia, Germany, Norway and Sweden, the countries where there is centralized collective bargaining which emphasizes egalitarian wage policies in general. In Canada and the United States, the earnings gap is relatively larger because wage negotiation process is decentralized, market-oriented and is at enterprise-level (Lim, 1996; Kucera, 1998), depending on the size of enterprise. Large enterprises tend to pay higher wages to women and are more likely to hire women.

2.20.2. Determinants of Wage Differentials

For identical work profile, women are paid less. And women are confined to relatively inferior tasks and more of contractual or casual work. Women employees get differential opportunities, differentials treatment and differential treatment.

• Causes of WD are gender gaps in education, skill, opportunities due to patriarchal attitude and myths about women's inferiority. Absence of affirmative action by the state and trade unions also perpetuate wage differentials.

• Effects of WD are subordination of women in the workplace, family, community and public life, son preference, man is treated as a 'bread winner' and Head of the Household. Despite the rapid and global increases in female paid employment in recent years, occupational segregation by sex remains a worldwide phenomenon.

It can be an important indicator of women's disadvantaged position in labour market. Indeed, higher levels of occupational segregation are generally associated with poorer labourmarket conditions for women, lower pay, lower status, and more limited career opportunities, among others. It can be also being a source of labour market rigidity and thus economic inefficiency.

Women are more likely to be working in 'men's job' than the opposite. But, as a rule, women are employed in a narrower range of occupations than men. Male-dominated, non-agricultural occupations are over seven times more numerous than female-dominated occupations. Women dominate in clerical and secretarial jobs and in low-end service occupations (as shop assistants, waitresses, maids, hairdressers, dressmakers), and as professionals they are most likely to be teachers or nurses. The 'female occupations' generally pay less and have lesser status and advancement prospects.

A distinction is usually made between two different forms of occupational segregation. Horizontal segregation, refers to the distribution of men and women across occupations (e.g., women as maids and men as truck drivers); while the other, termed as vertical segregation refers to the distribution of men and women in the job hierarchy in terms of status within an occupation (e.g. production workers versus production supervisors). Neither form of occupational segregation correlates well with the level of socio- economic development across countries. Both vary by region, however, which suggests that social, historical and cultural factors might be important in determining the extent of occupational segregation by sex. The level of horizontal segregation is lowest in the Asia and Pacific region and highest in the Middle East / North Africa. It is also relatively high in other developing regions, while of average magnitude in the OECD and transition economics in Eastern Europe. There are also large and significant differences in occupational segregation by sex across OECD sub regions. North America has the lowest level, while Scandinavia as a sub-region has the highest. The reason for the high level of segregation in the latter seems to be related to the way in which the welfare has created occupations that have remained 'female' (Anker and Melkas, 1998, p.9). Vertical segregation, by contrast, is higher in Asia and the Pacific than in other parts of the world. Export-led industrial development has apparently opened up many industrial occupations to women (thereby significantly reducing horizontal segregation) without however, decreasing gender inequalities within occupations in term of wage, authority and career advancement possibilities.

Occupational segregation by sex is often justified on the grounds that women have specific attributes which make them more suitable than men for particular types of work. It is argued that traditionally 'female' occupations involve caring types of work, manual dexterity and experience at typical household activities, all of which women are expected to possess. Similarly, subservience and docility, the other characteristics commonly associated with female workers, are thought to shape gender employment patterns.

2.20.3. Causes of Wage Differentials

Causes of wage differentials between men and women are deep rooted in the patriarchal attitude of the society. Let us read some more causes of wage differentials.

• Secondary wage earners: Justification for paying lower wages to women is that men work for supporting their families while women work only for extra income. Many socioeconomic surveys have shown that there is a large percentage of women who are sole supporters of their family. Census also records large number of women headed holds.

• Not skilled to use machinery: Wage differential is not always based on different wage rates. The difference between the average wage earnings of men and women can result from the fact that many women workers are working at a lower level in the same employment, or doing the same work in the unorganized sector as is the situation with the Beedi workers. It is also based on the fact that whenever machinery is introduced men are substituted for female labourers and are paid wages related to the increased productivity resulting from the

introduction of machines. The average wage earnings of women are also lower because they get less hours of work in comparison with men and they suffer from unemployment to a larger extent.

• Gendered division of labour: The bifurcation of work between men and women is also a cause of wage differentials. In agriculture, weeding is predominantly a female task and is largely an off-peak activity. On the other hand, ploughing, transplanting and harvesting are mainly men's activities and they are all peak season and time-bond activities. This job differential (weeding vis-à-vis ploughing, transplanting and harvesting) and time differential (off peak work vis-à-vis peak season time-bond activities) also lead to wage differences between men and women workers.

• Use of obsolete technology: In industry the tasks assigned to women are usually performed by using low capital intensive technology. The processes they participate in, tend to be more primitive, using crude tools, consuming more of manual/physical energy. As a result, production tends to be slow, the product non-standardized and the wages low.

• Engaged in dispersible labour: For example, with regard to handicrafts, women's skills mostly consist of capital and energy saving ingenuity. They are seldom found giving a definite distinctive character to the final products which leads to the survival of handicrafts. Women's skills are limited to helping with ancillaries and are therefore dispensable making women's wages low.

• Loose ties with labour market: The low wages are related to the loose ties of most of the women with the labour market. Having internalized the patriarchal values, they feel that their first responsibility is to look after their homes and their children. They give up a job after child birth and re-enter the job market when their children start going to full time school.

2.20.4. Measures to Remove Wage Differentials

Following measures can be instrumental in removing wage differentials.

• Remove Segmentation of Labour Market: Wage differentials lead to segmentation of labour market. Hence, remove segmentation of labour market by changing the factors on both the demand and the supply side.

•Entry into Organized Labour Market: Women must be encouraged and facilitated to enter the organized sector of the labour market.

• Participation in Union Activities: They should be encouraged to join trade unions in large numbers and to actively participate in the union so that they can fight wage discrimination.

• Equal Remuneration Act: The Equal Remuneration Act should be implemented and loop-holes should be plugged.

2.21. Gender Discrimination in Unorganised Sector

The labour force in all developing economics consists of two broad categories; the organized and the unorganised. The organized sector is those sector consisting of activities carried out by the corporate enterprises and the government at central, state and local levels, solely with the help of wage paid labour which, in a great measure, is unionized. The unorganized sector on the other hand covers most of the rural labour and a substantial part of urban labour. The size of the unorganised sector has been growing over the past few decades.

Almost 400 million people (more than 85% of the working population) work in unorganized sector and of these about 120 million are women. According to an estimate, by the National Commission on Self-Employed Women of the total number of women workers about 94 percent are in the informal or unorganized sector whereas just 6 percent are in the organized or formal sector. Thus there is no intensification in saying that the unorganized sector in India is the women's sector. Women workers play an essential and significant role in the economic structure of the country and have done so throughout its history but their efforts and accomplishments have not been acknowledged. Women have been invisible workers. Their labour and skills have been considered insignificant in relation to those of men. Problems of women working in unorganised sector have been increasing recently. A vast majority of working women population is in the unorganised sector and is consequently unprotected that is women are more prone to gender discrimination that refers to the acts of disfavour on grounds of sex.

If a female is discriminated against on the grounds of being a female either in recruitment or promotion or salary hike, then it is "gender discrimination". Sexual harassment can be used as a tool for gender discrimination for example: to prevent women from competing for a job, or promotion or prize winning/ career oriented competition so that the changes of men are brighter. But sexual harassment refers to misconduct by a male colleague or superiors or a subordinate or co- passenger towards a woman in the day to day functioning in the work place. Sexual harassment is an ugly or vulgar form of gender discrimination. If women is

harassed or discriminated against because she is a woman then it is gender discrimination. Gender equality for women and men to own land and assets, to earn money and to participate on working life, are essential for sustainable and democratic development. As a larger portion of women than men live in poverty, efforts to reduce poverty are inseparable from aspirations to greater equality between men and women. Women's economic participation can be mentioned in the field of production of goods and services accounted in the national income statistics.

Women work mainly for economic independence, for economic necessity, as some women are qualified enough to work, for a sense of achievement and to provide service to the society. Most Indian women by and large undertake "productive work" only under economic compulsion. The International Labour Organisation says that women represent:

- i) 50% of the population
- ii) 30% of the labour force
- iii) Perform 60% of all working hours
- iv) Receive 10% of the world's income
- v) Own less than 1% of the world's property.

Most of the women are found to be employed in the unorganised sector. The employment of women is high in the unorganised sector such as part time helpers in households, construction centres, tanneries (setting, parting and drying), match and beedi industries etc. An estimate by the World Bank shows that 90% of the women working in the informal sector are not included in the official statistics and their work is undocumented and considered as disguised wage work, unskilled, low paying and do not provide benefits to the workers. They work roughly twice as many as many hours as men. Woman has to work beyond working hours, even in advanced stages of pregnancy, and there is no leave facility. Due to their inability to work for long hours they are not employed in sensitive or crucial positions. Another problem that Women face in the unorganised sector is sexual harassment women have to work at night and are sexually physically abused. HIV AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases, respiratory problems, silicosis, tuberculosis, arthritis and reproductive problems are more prevalent among women workers. The problem of sexual harassment relates not so much to the actual biological differences between men and women, but to the gender or social roles, which are attributed to men and women in social and economic life, and perceptions about

male and female sexuality in society. Inequalities in the position of men and women exist in nearly all societies and sexual harassement at work is clear manifestation of unequal power relations.

2.22. Gender issues at work places:

2.22.1. Work environment and working condition:

Women are more likely to be working in men's jobs' than the contrary and this again increases the chances of sexual harassment of women at work. As a rule, women are employed in a narrow range of occupations than men. In occupations where women are determined, such as teaching, they are usually in lower hierarchical positions. They take over in clerical and secretarial jobs and in low-end occupations such as shop assistants, maids, hair dressers, and dress makers women are often seen in the lower categories of the job hierarchy. Women are given work which is often unskilled and low skilled. They have to work under very poor working and living condition. Women workers have very poor bargaining power and that is why they cannot pressurize the employers for their rights, which leads to exploitation.

2.22.2. Wage discrimination:

The women are paid lower and marginal wages than the male workers. Women are given work which is often low paid. Discrimination exists not only in terms of wage rates, as well as working conditions are poor and substandard. Low levels of skill on entry, lack of access to on-the- job training, bearing and raising children, time off to care for family members and the assumption that men are the primary earners all add to the embedded assumption that women should be paid less than men.

2.22.3. Sexual Harassment:

In a survey done by National Commission for Women of 1,200 women, nearly 50 percent complained of gender discrimination and physical and mental harassement at work. The life of unorganized sector worker is very tough. They are exploited in many ways. The exploitation is not only carried on the class lines but also on the lines of male domination over females. Many women as a result find them vulnerable and are caught between the glass ceiling of discrimination above and the landmines of sexual harassment below. There are growing numbers of complaints from women working in factories and offices, that they have to suffer affronts to their dignity ranging from verbal 'passes' to physical assaults, Large mass of problems remains sunken because of the unequal power situation of women in the workplace.

2.22.4. Lack of social security:

Women working persistently day in and day out, have no legislative protection, not even the guarantee of a minimum wages. The elements of job quality, job security, good working conditions and remuneration proportionate with the work, loyalty to worker's rights, social protection are missing for women working in the unorganized sector. Women work the year round with no regular employment and are not entitled to any social security benefits. They toil for more than eight hours a day, without the luxury of weekend holidays. They number in millions, yet they are not part of any list, register or master roll.

Unit III

Social Empowerment

3. Women in Higher Education

'To educate your women first and leave them to themselves, they will tell you what reforms are necessary'- Swami Vivekananda.

Since it was seen as an instrument of equal opportunity and upward social mobility as well as a supporter of economic progress and technical advancement, higher education has held a significant place in independent India. Many commissions and committees have discussed how important it is to the nation's social and economic development. The rise of Indian Institutes of Technology and Management, as well as the creation of unique institutions of national importance, all contribute to the rising importance and superiority of higher education in India. Prior to 1991, there was a direct correlation between the growth of higher education and the prominence of equal opportunity discourses and practises in the public sector organisations that offered both education and employment. This emphasis on equal opportunity reflected both the societal significance of higher education and the Indian government's desire to assure first-generation students' participation. Additionally, it was brought on by the growing significance of social justice in relation to caste, tribe, class, and gender issues. Since 1991, the Indian government's initiatives have included reorganising the country's financial institutions and educational system. The system was already too big and inefficient at that point. It was distinguished by a small number of elite institutions at the top and a vast majority of subpar institutions at the bottom. Additionally, it was not growing quickly enough to fulfil the growing social demand for higher education, particularly for professional education that was skilloriented. In order to address the rising demand for higher education and for some courses, the government permitted the private sector to create institutions that charge fees and are selfsufficient. Prior to this, the two provinces of Maharashtra and Karnataka permitted the opening of engineering and medical schools with the direct political support of the state legislators in the 1980s. These colleges attracted students from all over India because they met the gap in the supply of engineers and doctors. While they were affiliated with the local universities and subject to their laws, they were also well-known for demanding much more than the tuition fees and other costs set by the universities and state governments in order to get admittance. They are frequently referred to as "capitation fee colleges." Contrary to recent advances, they continued to be few in number and had little impact on the system as a whole. One of the

biggest higher education systems in the world is found in India. It is made up of colleges, universities, important national institutions (such the Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management, and Indian Institutes of Science, etc.), and autonomous institutions with the status of deemed universities. There were 300 universities in 2002-03, of which 183 were provincial, 18 federal, 71 were recognised universities, 5 were created by federal and state legislation, and 13 were institutes of national importance. 9,227,833 students were enrolled, or roughly 7.8% of the relevant age group. In 2002–03, there were 436,000 instructors, down from 457,000 in 2000–01. Nearly 83% of these students are enrolled in connected colleges, and 17% are in universities. The UGC does not publish data broken down by gender. But according to the 2001-02 MHRD (2001-02), there are 18.4% of female teachers in the 12 open universities and 21.5% in the institutions that offer correspondence courses. Universities can be either unitary or affiliating. Colleges are associated with unitary universities, which conduct teaching in the university departments. There were 15,343 connected colleges between 2002 and 23. 1,650 of these (10.75) are reserved solely for female pupils.

Despite an increase in the number from 1600 in 2000-01 to 1650, the proportion fell from 12.7% to 10.75%. Despite having a large number of students, India's higher education system is still somewhat modest. In higher education, there is a dichotomous distinction between universities and their constituent colleges on the one hand, and affiliating colleges on the other, in terms of the coverage of the appropriate age group, which is approximately 7-8%. Of the total number of students enrolled, 89.16% are undergraduate students, 9.17% are graduates or postgraduate students, 0.67% are research students, and 1% are taking diploma or certificate courses. 19.74% of research students are enrolled at universities, compared to 90.13% of undergraduate and 66.23% of graduate students who are enrolled in linked institutions.

Since 1991, a significant number of privately funded institutions have been established, and their numbers have grown quickly.

According to Anandkrishnan, India has the largest private technical education system in the world, and the private sector has dominated higher education expansion over the past 15 years (2004). They appear to meet the demand for undergraduate professional courses in management, computer and IT education, mass media and communication, teacher preparation, and other fields like as engineering and technology, medicine, including dentistry education, and the health sciences. The majority of these are located in the states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra, which are in the south and southwest. Provinces are starting to do the same. Though only in a few subjects, they are quick to adapt to the need for new programmes. As a result, they now make up the majority of undergraduate colleges in India due to their rising numbers. For instance, 764 (78.2%) of 977 undergraduate engineering colleges, 1028 (76.2%) of 1349 medical colleges, 324 (64.2%), and 1038 (67.4%) of 1521 teacher education colleges were private in 2002. (Bhattacharya 2004). The rise in undergraduate enrolment in higher education has been largely attributed to the applicationfocused science and professional disciplines that are being taught in the colleges of arts and sciences. In reality, they provide courses in microbiology, biochemistry, business administration, and computers that are referred to as emerging application-oriented scientific and management courses. For instance, in Tamil Nadu, the number of self-financing colleges in the arts and sciences went from 54 in 1993–1994 to 247 in 2000–2001, but only 56–60 in the government colleges and 132–133 in the aided colleges (Bhattacharya 2004:218). In the private colleges, the percentage of women rose from 42.89% to 51.07% over this time. In Tamil Nadu, the number of independently run engineering colleges rose from 71 in 1996–1997 to 212 in 2001–2002, while the number of government-sponsored (3) and aided (7) institutions stayed the same. The number of students enrolled in private colleges rose from 20,250 to 55,500.

3.1. Women in Higher Education

The years covered, 1950–1951 through 2002–2003, show disparities in the enrollment of women in general and professional education. Due to the lack of availability for later years, figures from 2001-002 have been used for specific examples. The 1990s' enrollment numbers are the main topic of discussion, and the data from the four decades before that are used to highlight patterns and changes. From 1950–1951, when the percentage of women was 10.9 percent, to 40.04 percent in 2002–2003, there has been a noticeable rise. In other words, the ratio of women to males increased from 14 to 67 from 1950 to 1951 to 2002 to 2003.

Thus, from 1,685,926 in 1991–1992 to 3,695,964 of all students, the proportion of women entering higher education today has climbed dramatically. In higher education, there have also been changes in the disciplines that women choose to study. Additionally, there are significant differences in enrolment by location, caste, tribe, and gender. The women from the underprivileged groups are impacted by these discrepancies.

3.2. Enrollment in General and Professional Education

The courses offered in higher education are split into two categories: professional programmes like engineering (which includes architecture), medical science, teacher preparation, agriculture, law, etc., and general courses like arts, which includes social sciences and humanities as well as pure sciences. They are separated into disciplines for men and women as well. For instance, feminine subjects including the arts, social sciences, humanities, and teacher education have been stigmatised. Conversely, fields like business, law, and engineering are dominated by men. In contrast to the west, medical science has not historically been a discipline dominated by men in India. Women doctors were required to treat patients who were female, as was the case across South Asia, including India. This made it necessary to train female doctors, allowing more women to pursue careers in medicine (Chanana 1990). With the exception of business, the percentage of women in various traditionally male-dominated fields was extremely low shortly after independence and remained so until the 1980s (Chanana 2000). For instance, the percentage of women working in commerce climbed from 0.5 percent in 1950–51 to 15.9 percent in 1980–81. After then, it continued to rise rapidly until it reached 36.7 percent in 2002–2003. Their share in engineering and technology courses increased from 0.2 percent in 1950–51 to 3.8 percent in 1980–81 to 22.3 percent today. In terms of the law, their share has grown from 2.1 to 20.8 percent. In 1950–1951, women made up 32.4% of the education workforce; today, they make up 50.6 percent. Their share in medicine increased from 16.3 percent in 1950–51 to 44.7 percent now.

Women's participation in science fell from 33.3 percent in 1950–51 to 28.8 percent in 1980–81. Natural science was in high demand during this time, particularly physics and chemistry. They were the top choice for male students up until the 1980s, and women were forced out as a result of competition with men. It's also possible that young women's parents prioritised marriage over higher education, so science was not necessarily their first choice. Any college degree merely benefited by elevating social status, which was the only benefit in the marriage market. A science degree was not preferred because it required a larger time and resource commitment. Additionally, the young women were taught to regard higher education from that perspective. These days, men do not favour natural science research because it does not lead to a high-paying profession. In addition, it takes a lot longer to complete than an engineering, IT, or management degree. Thus, more women are continuing to work in the field of natural sciences research (Bal 2004). As a result, over the past ten years, the percentages of men and women in "sciences" have nearly reached parity. To understand recent changes in

discipline preferences, it is necessary to understand the historical differences in the importance of general science for men and women. Since 1970–1971, the percentage of women in the arts has continuously increased, reaching 44.2 in 2002–2003. On the other hand, the percentage of men has gradually dropped from 83.9 percent to 54.6 percent over the same time period. The percentage of female students in teacher education, another field dominated by women, increased from 32.4 to 50.6 percent. Science, a traditionally male field, offers an intriguing window into the academic paths taken by both young men and women. For instance, in science, where the percentage of males was between 80 and 90 percent up to 1980–1981 but just 59.8 percent in 2002–2003? Young people today, all sexes, are impatient with merely pursuing "studies." Even while still in school, kids like to start earning money right away. Young people from high and middle strata also want to start earning money as soon as possible, demonstrating how the values revolution transcends social classes. Particularly if they don't have brothers, the daughters of urban professionals have undergone a significant socialisation adjustment. The parents expect their daughters to be independent and pursue careers while providing them with the best education possible. This shift in ideals contrasts with the values that were prevalent before the 1990s, in which education and its early connection to the job market were only for males who needed jobs and most definitely not for women. Women's priorities have also shifted in light of the situation's development. They are enrolling in the so-called male subjects because they, too, desire a professional education. If one were to look at their percentage distribution throughout other disciplines, this would be easier to understand.

3.3. Distribution of percentages by disciplines/subjects

It is interesting that fewer women than men in higher education choose to pursue careers in medical or teaching. For instance, the percentage has declined from 3.1 percent in 1950–1951 to 1.8 percent in 2002–2003 in teacher education, which is thought to be a female-dominated field. As was already said, the number has somewhat decreased during the past 12 months. There is a decrease from 5.8% to 3.6 percent in medicine as well. The growth chart for business is fascinating. From 0.4 percent in 1950–51 to 11.8 percent in 1980–81, their share has increased. In fact, the most of the growth appears to have occurred in the 1970s, when it started to serve as a stepping stone for careers in management, chartered accounting, etc.

It increases progressively after 1980–1981 to 16.5 percent in 2002–2003. Additionally, there has been a noticeable rise in law from 0.7 percent to 4.2 percent, and in engineering and technology from less than one percent in 1950–1951 to 4.2 percent in 2002–2003. The

participation of men and women in higher education exhibits two concurrent tendencies, namely clustering/concentration and dispersion. During the first three decades, men's participation was characterised by both clustering in the arts and sciences disciplines as well as being significantly dispersed in others like commerce, engineer/tech, and law, whereas women tended to be clustered in the general disciplines of arts and sciences (nearly 90%). However, in recent years, clustering and dispersion have both been seen in women's engagement.

3.4. Enrolment by Level/Stage

Do women continue on to the graduate and research levels when they enrol in higher education at the undergraduate level? In other words, their progression from one level to the next will demonstrate their tenacity. The distribution of men and women by educational level/stage Women enrolled in undergraduate programmes at a rate of 14,79,231 in 1991–1992, which rose to 3,285,544 in 2002–2003; at a rate of 169,267 in graduate programmes at a rate of 355,893 in 2002–2003; and at a rate of 19,894 in research programmes at a rate of 23,609 in 2002–2003. Their percentage increased from 32.8 percent to 39.9 percent in undergraduate programmes during this time period, from 34.7 percent to 42.0 percent in graduate programmes, and from 37.1 percent to 38.0 percent in M.Phil. and Ph.D. programmes. Their percentage is highest at the graduate level, while it slightly decreased from 39.2 percent in research programmes from 1995–1996 to 38.0 percent in 2002–2003. Only 20.2 women had applied for research degrees prior to 1950–1951, but over the next three decades, that number rose to 8,780 by 1980–1981. (Chanana 1993:12). In 1988–89, their number nearly increased to 15,018. Currently, it was 23,609 in 2002–2003. The somewhat larger percentage at the graduate level suggests that more women are moving up to courses at the next higher level after completing their undergraduate degrees. The popularity of master's programmes in management, computers and IT, media, advertising, fashion technology, etc., which are common in major cities, may also have a role. But it is challenging to draw conclusions without statistics.

3.5. Regional Inequalities

The Indian Union is divided into several provinces in part due to social, cultural, and economic disparities, which has affected the development of women's education over time (Chanana 1988). The government committees and commissions have repeatedly mentioned these inequalities. For instance, the Committee on Women's Education 1956–1958, the first to

examine women's education in detail, highlights the fact that the four southern provinces of Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala had higher rates of female literacy and education than the northern Hindi- speaking provinces. The Report of the Committee on the Status of Women from 1974, Towards Equality, also notes that low literacy rates were common in SC/ST and Muslim-heavy areas and cities.

These trends are regrettably still present, and enrollment rates for women vary from region to province. Kerala has the highest enrollment, and even now, there are 60% more women in higher education than men. The migration of young males to the Middle East may also have contributed to this gender disparity, in addition to pro-women cultural traditions and ideals, which I am unable to explain here. The other states with a higher than 50% proportion are Chandigarh (55.5), Pondicherry, Punjab, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Goa (58.5), and Punjab (52.68). (52.60). Bihar (23.81), Jharkhand (30.40), Chhatisgarh (36.70), Rajasthan (32.33), Uttar Pradesh (38.40), and Madhya Pradesh have the lowest share and are the most backward (37.20). The proportion in these provinces is lower than the national average of India, which is 40.05 percent. Province and professional education are closely related. The expansion of engineering and technology courses in the four southern states is one example of how regional variance can be observed. 4,419 (6.3%) of the 70,481 students enrolled in degree programmes in 1991 were female, up from 3.9 percent in 1983 (IAMR 1995). Students from the southern (1,989) and western (608) regions made up the majority of the student body (Chanana 2000: 1016-17). Even in 2001-2002, the four states with the greatest concentration of private institutions had the highest enrollment in undergraduate degree programmes such BE/BSc (Engg.)/B.Arch. In these states, where there are the most women (24,710 in Maharashtra, 22,287 in Karnataka, 22,615 in Andhra Pradesh, and 10,722 in Tamil Nadu), respectively, 20.6, 20.1, 30.4, and 18.7% of all students enrolled in the subject, respectively.

The greatest enrollment in medicine is found in Maharashtra, which is followed by Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, and Karnataka. These provinces also have high enrollment rates for women. In Maharashtra, women make up 48.0% of the population (17,471). In Tamil Nadu, it is 38.4 percent (6,206); in Andhra Pradesh, 46.3 (6,066); in Gujarat, 37.8 (4,173); and in Karnataka, 33 percent (2367). Despite the fact that there are almost as many students studying MBBS in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Karnataka, the proportion of women there is lower at 23.6 and 16.6 percent, respectively. The same states and a few others also have the greatest enrollment in commerce. For instance, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Bihar, and Tamilnadu have the highest enrollments in commerce.

Women enrol at higher rates in the same provinces, with Maharashtra having a 39.6 percent female enrollment rate, Andhra Pradesh 41.7 percent, Tamil Nadu 44.9 percent, and Karnataka 31.2 percent. These states contribute to the rise in the percentage of women across all of India. The same is true of engineering degree programmes. There are many causes for the geographic variations. One of these is that during the colonial era, formal schooling began earlier in the south than in the north. Additionally, even in the modern era, there are numerous private engineering colleges located here. Third, women's access to professional education is also influenced by sociocultural norms and parents' supportive attitudes towards their daughters' further education. This disparity is largely because of the practise of female isolation in the north, which I have already addressed, and its absence in the south (Chanana 1988).

3.6. Region, gender, and caste

The percentages of SC/ST students in 2001–02 were as follows: Scheduled Castes comprise 11.5 percent (1,016, 182) SC men, 8 percent (7,06, 769) SC women, and 3.5 percent (309,813). Men made up 2.7 percent (240,495) of the overall enrolment, while women made up 1.3 percent (351,880). (114,168). In the M.Phil./Ph.D. programmes, 53,119 students from all throughout the nation participated. Female students made up 36.3% of the total (19,299), SC students made up 5.9% (3,133), and ST students made up 1.80% (951). 824 SC women and 344 ST women, or 4.3% and 1.8%, respectively, of all female research students, were present. Despite a very well-crafted positive discrimination policy, it is commonly known that women make up a relatively small percentage of students and that SC/ST students are not adequately represented. They typically enrol in general education courses because top courses and institutions are closed to them. Additionally, socioeconomic variables have an impact on discipline decisions, particularly for students from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, whose participation in higher education is still very low. However, they are also more numerous in states where women are more numerous and where higher education facilities have been built recently. For instance, the percentage of women from Scheduled Castes who enrol in SC classes is 34.1% in Maharashtra, 39.7% in Tamil Nadu, 32.2% in Andhra Pradesh and 24.5 percent in Karnataka. The percentage of women from Scheduled Tribes is also 29.4% in Maharashtra, 22.6 in Karnataka, 32.0 in Andhra Pradesh, 41.2 in Gujarat, and 33.7 in Madhya Pradesh. In other academic fields, this trend is still present.

For instance, in 2001-2002, there were 24.8 percent of female students overall enrolled in BE/B.Sc. Engg. and B. Architecture programmes. 7.4 (38,935) percent of all pupils were

SC, and 3.5 percent of ST students (18,644). Additionally, ST women made up 0.4 of the overall population, compared to SC women's 1.9. (2035). Since 1995–1996 when there were 575 tribal women, the number has climbed by a factor of four. If we compare the percentage of SC/ST women to the overall number of women enrolled in engineering programmes, SC women make up 7.5% and ST women make up 1.6%. The percentage of women compared to SC/ST students overall likewise exhibits the similar pattern. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh, 28.2 percent of SC women were enrolled, compared to 29.2 percent in Karnataka, 24.6 percent in Tamil Nadu, and 39.4 percent in Kerala. In Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, 61.6% of SC women enrolled in engineering programmes are from these three states. The proportion would be substantially greater if data for Maharashtra had been available. In a similar vein, ST women make up large percentages in the same provinces, with 23.4 percent in Karnataka and 18.7 percent in Andhra Pradesh, respectively.

The 55.3 percent of women are enrolled in engineering programmes in the three states of Karnataka, Tamilnadu, and Andhra Pradesh, according to enrollment data. The situation is similar in medicine, where the four states of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh are home to 60.8 percent of SC women (4,035 out of 6,637). In Nagaland, a tribal dominated province in north eastern India, 68.2 percent (4,577 out of 6,849) ST women are enrolled in medical school. However, because there are so few ST students especially women the proportions must be viewed in that light.

3.7. Optional disciplines and career paths

Women's access to disciplinary options and their availability are not directly correlated with one another or dependent on women's academic success. When girls graduate from high school in India, their academic achievement is typically higher or on level with that of boys. This applies to those at the top, at least. Every year, press headlines highlight how much better girls performed in various provinces' school board exams. However, it may not necessarily be the subject of their choosing when they enrol in college. The lack of alignment between educational objectives and disciplinary decisions may have apparent causes, such as a lack of seats or admission capacity in particular academic programmes, yet these are insufficient justifications. The truth is that a sizable portion of women may be denied the opportunity to exercise their right to free choice in education (for instance, by having their families dissuade them from studying science) or from attending pricey private "high quality" schools. Because entrance tests are very expensive and women are not socially expected to work and earn before marriage, they may not be able to afford the financial investment in coaching or tuition after they have completed their education. For example, there is an entrance test for coaching classes for IIT entrance tests. Discipline restrictions don't just restrict alternatives; they also depend on women's potential "life chances" in the future. For instance, even if the top and middle classes in cities increasingly consider higher education for young women to be a given, it is still not seen as an instant investment in their careers. Most people believe that investing in education is a good backup plan in case their daughter becomes a widow or is abandoned (Chanana 1998). Even if they understand the value of education, the poor parents still face another issue. Since professional education takes longer periods of study and a greater financial commitment than general education, it does not accept students from low-income backgrounds.

However, general education does not guarantee employment, making it meaningless while professional education is out of reach. In addition, socialisation support and role models are lacking at home. The stratification of fields, programmes, and institutions has the greatest impact on women from these social groups. Additionally, the social and economic inequalities are seen not just in terms of caste and tribe but also at the local level, i.e. in various regions. Women's aspirations are also impacted by social role expectations in different ways. For instance, parents are not expected to use their daughters' income in the patriarchal social structure. As a result, even females with education are discouraged from working, and if they do, it is only briefly before getting married. The groom's family has the discretion to decide whether she will work or not. As a result, higher education is not associated with professions for the vast majority of young women in academics. Women enrol in arts and humanities because they are less rigorous, more affordable, and shorter than professional programmes. However, we have observed a rise in the number of people enrolling in professional fields. In fact, there is a broad tendency away from general education towards professional education that leads to occupations and employment. In the statistics, several of the well-liked new courses are not specifically highlighted. At the undergraduate level, there is also a significant demand for vocational courses. According to conversations with specialists, women appear to favour human resource management (HRM) and development out of the management specialities provided (HRD). In the corporate sector, including banks, IT firms, and BPO companies, occupations requiring public relations, personnel management, marketing, and advertising are probably becoming more and more feminine jobs and specialisations. The figures show a pattern that mirrors the tastes of today's young people, both men and women. It is possible to view the time following 1991 as having brought about a transition that raised the social demand for a particular type of professional education, particularly skill-oriented undergraduate degrees that lead to a career and a job. Prior to recently, an undergraduate degree was not a finishing degree, with the exception of engineering and medical. After completing their college studies, young men and women were not expected to start working and earning right away. Those who did so belonged to the lower middle class and needed to work and earn money in order to provide for their families and themselves. On the other hand, the middle and upper stratum may delay income generation until they completed their studies. The majority of women, regardless of strata, were more affected by this because they were not studying to make money and accept jobs. It served as both an investment in their social standing and a further need for marriage. There are changes in the expectations of parents and of young women in larger cities, even though this may still be true for the vast majority of women and their parents, who do not expect their daughters to earn after earning a degree. Parents' expectations and the aspirations of young women were therefore driving forces behind the change in disciplinary measures in the mid-1990s. It is connected to the earlier described shift in values and developed in reaction to market demands during the post-liberalization period.

Although more women are enrolled in law and engineering, management degrees and computer-related degrees and abilities are preferred. The rapidly growing private sector, which reacts quickly to the unmet demand for specialised skills, offers these disciplines. Informal conversations with influential people have shown that women are more likely to pursue computer applications and software engineering than other disciplines. There aren't many micro studies that can be used as a foundation for macro data to address this subject. However, as was already indicated, there are now distinctions in the specialisations within fields that have an impact on careers. For instance, HRM necessitates communication with the general public, among other instances.

Women have recently become more noticeable in call centres, telemarketing, front desk positions at multinational/private banks, hospitals, hotels, and other establishments. Many of these positions are temporary and contractual, which is in line with the social expectations of women. In terms of teaching, the most recent figures for universities and colleges only go back to 1993–1994 when the percentage of female teachers in higher education was 18%–21% in affiliated institutions and 11.6% in universities.

Distance learning's share, which in 2001-02 varied from 18 to 21%, isn't much better. Compared to their presence as students and researchers, which is close to 39%, their representation as teachers is significantly smaller. They continue to encounter obstacles that prevent gender equity in universities even after they entered. Both social and natural sciences have this characteristic (Chanana 2003; Bal 2004). Additionally, it is projected that the private schools that provide contractual, low paying, short-term employment will eventually hire a sizable proportion of women faculty, feminising teaching in the private higher education sector.

There are fewer permanent female faculty members than those who get research degrees, according to a study of female scientists in the biological sciences at the national labouratories and central universities. The researchers are said to join the faculty in their early thirties, when most women are either married or must get married shortly. After taking a vacation to care for their families, they are unable to compete with males in research and professional experience. Once more, there are more women than men in junior academic jobs. (Bal 2004). Women are becoming more prevalent among students studying technology and engineering, however a research of female engineers conducted by Parikh and Sukhatme in 1992 revealed that their favoured specialisations were electronics, electrical, and civil engineering. Engineering in the fields of chemical, mechanical, and computer science came next. They also claimed that there are less female students in prestigious schools like the IITs and local engineering institutes. Again, women are enrolling in expensive private institutes that offer management as a professional specialty. This private, independently funded college provides management and arts-related programmes. The undergraduate and graduate management programmes each year enrol roughly 60 new students. Nearly 250-300 pupils are enrolled at any given moment. Only around 30% of students, according to informal conversations with the college's principal and some of them, have career goals. Others find that having this degree enhances their chances of getting married or gives them a waiting period. This is due to the fact that young women and prospective brides within the urban middle and upper strata now take higher education, or at least the first degree, for granted.

In this case, either there is no gender-sensitive counselling provided in the institutions for topic selection and career options. Changes in discipline preferences thus appear to support tradition through the acquisition of contemporary knowledge and education. Although only available in the private sector, the new disciplines that are provided in public and private higher education appear to suit the desires of a minority of young women and their parents in major cities to be professionally qualified, to have a career, to earn, and to be independent. This indicates that having a career before getting married is now socially acceptable. In this instance, overcoming the historical obstacles to women's education involves both gender and class.

3.8. Gender issues: Health, Environment & Family Welfare measures

Major component of Health & Family Welfare Programme is related to Health problems of women and children, as they are more vulnerable to ill health and diseases. Since women folk constitute about half of population, it is essential to know the health status of women so that the causes of ill health are identified, discussed and misconceptions removed. Ill health of women is mainly due to poor nutrition, gender discrimination, low age at marriage, risk factors during pregnancy, unsafe, unplanned and multiple deliveries, limited access to family planning methods and unsafe abortion services.

In order to overcome these problems, the women need to be educated, motivate/persuaded to accept the Family Welfare Programme to increase demand for services. Accordingly, the Government seeks to provide services in a life cycle approach. Under the RCH Programme the need for improving women health in general and bringing down maternal mortality rate has been strongly stressed in the National Population Policy 2000. This policy recommends a holistic strategy for bringing about total inter-sectoral coordination at the grass root levels and involving the NGOs, Civil Societies, Panchayati Raj Institutions and Women's Group in bringing down Maternal Mortality Rate and Infant Mortality Rate.

Several new initiatives have been taken to make the maternal health programme broad based and client friendly to reduce maternal mortality. The major interventions include provisioning of additional ANMs and Public Health/Staff Nurses in certain sub-centres, PHCs/CHCs, Labouratory Technicians, Referral Transport, 24-Hours Delivery Services at PHCs/CHCs, Safe Motherhood Consultants, Safe Abortion Services, Essential Obstetric Care, Emergency Obstetric Care, Skilled Manpower on contractual and hiring basis, Training of Dais, Training of MBBS doctors in Anaesthetic Skills for emergency Obstetric Care operationalisation of FRUs through supply of drugs in the form of emergency obstetric drug kits, Blood Storage Centers (BSC) at FRUs and Prevention and management of RTI/STI. Details of these interventions are given in the Maternal Health Chapter of this Report. However, some points on these Programmes are given below:

3.8.1 Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY)

Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) is a safe motherhood intervention under the National Health Mission (NHM). It is one of the largest conditional schemes in the world and is being implemented with the objective of reducing maternal and neonatal mortality by promoting institutional delivery among pregnant women. Launched on 12 April 2005, JSY is being implemented in all States and Union Territories (UTs), with a special focus on Low Performing States (LPS). JSY is a centrally sponsored scheme, which integrates cash assistance with delivery and post-delivery care using Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) as an effective link between the government and pregnant women.

Important Features of JSY

The scheme focuses on pregnant woman with a special dispensation for States that have low institutional delivery rates, namely, the States of Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Assam, Rajasthan, Odisha and Jammu and Kashmir. While these States have been named Low Performing States (LPS), the remaining States have been named High Performing States (HPS).

Eligibility for Cash Assistance

The eligibility for cash assistance under the JSY is as shown below:

Low	All pregnant women delivering in government health centres,
Performing	such as Sub Centers (SCs)/Primary Health Centers
States (LPS)	(PHCs)/Community Health Centers (CHCs)/First Referral Units
	(FRUs)/general wards of district or State hospitals or accredited
	private institutions
High	All BPL/Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (SC/ST) women
Performing	delivering in a government health centre, such as
States (HPS)	SC/PHC/CHC/FRU/general wards of district or state hospital or
	accredited private institutions

Physical & Financial progress

The number of beneficiaries under the scheme has increased manifold i.e. from 7.38 lakhs in 2005-06 to 106.48 lakhs in 2013-14. Similarly, expenditure has increased from Rs. 38.29 crores in 2005-06 to Rs. 1762.82 crores in 2013-14.

Subsidizing cost of Caesarean Section

The Yojana subsidizes the cost of Caesarean Section or for the management of Obstetric complications, up to Rs. 1500/- per delivery to the Government Institutions, where Government specialists are not in position.

Cash assistance for Home Delivery

In addition to institutional delivery benefit, BPL pregnant women who prefer to deliver at home are entitled to a cash assistance of Rs. 500 per delivery under the JSY. The conditionality of age of pregnant women i.e. 19 years or above and only up to two children have been removed w.e.f. 8.5.2013.

3.8.2. Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK)

Free Service Guarantees at Public Health Facilities Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK):

• Building on the phenomenal progress of the JSY scheme, Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK), launched in 2011 provides service guarantee in the form of entitlements to pregnant women, sick new born and infants for free delivery including caesarean section and free treatment in public health institutions. This includes free to and for transport between home and institution, diet, diagnostics, drugs, other consumables and blood transfusion if required.

• The child health programme under the National health mission(NHM) comprehensively integrates interventions that improve child survival and addresses factors contributing to infant and under-five mortality. Since neonatal deaths are the biggest contributor to child deaths which is approximately 57% of the under five deaths, improving child survival hinges on improving new born health. It is now well recognised that child survival cannot be addressed in isolation as it is intricately linked to the health of the mother, which is further determined by her health and development as an adolescent.

Therefore, the concept of Continuum of Care, which emphasises care during critical life stages, in order to improve child survival, is being followed under the national programme. Another dimension of this approach is to ensure that essential services are made available at home, through community outreach and through health facilities at various levels (primary, first referral units and tertiary healthcare facilities). The new born and child health are key pillars of the Reproductive, Maternal, New born, Child and Adolescent Health (RMNCH+A) strategic approach, 2013.

• On 18th Sept 2014, India New Born Action Plan (INAP) was launched in response to Global New Born Action Plan. INAP lays out a vision and a plan for India to end preventable new born deaths, accelerate progress and scale up high-impact yet cost-effective interventions. INAP has a clear vision supported by goals, strategic intervention packages, priority actions and a monitoring framework. For the first time, INAP also articulates the Government of India's specific attention on preventing still births. With clearly marked timelines for implementation, monitoring and evaluation and scaling-up of proposed interventions, it is expected that all stakeholders working towards improving new born health in India will stridently work towards attainment of the goals of "Single Digit Neo-natal Mortality Rate (NMR) by 2030" and "Single Digit Still Birth Rate (SBR) by 2030". The efforts have been accelerated in identified 184 high priority districts in the country.

• In order to address new born health in high priority districts, New born Care Corners (NBCCs) are being established at delivery points to provide essential new born care at birth, while Special New Born Care Units (SNCUs) and New Born Stabilization Units (NBSUs) provide care for sick new born in these poorest priority districts with respect to health indicators. Complete elimination of out of pocket expenses with provision of free transport, drugs, diagnostics and diet to all sick new borns and infants is being ensured in the country through Janani Shishu Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK). All public and private health facilities are now guided to ensure single dose of Injection Vitamin K prophylaxis at birth even at the sub - center by ANM.

• More than Rs. 2000 crore have been allocated to the States for the year 2013-14 for providing the free entitlements under JSSK while Rs. 2107 crore was allocated during 2012-13 under RCH & NRHM Flexi pool.

3.8.3. Mother and Child Tracking System (MCTS)

MCTS has been implemented across the country in all the States. MCTS was started in December 2009. It has registered more than 7.6 crore Pregnant Women/Mother and more than 6.45 crore of Children and their Health Care Services record. More than 2.2 lakh ANMs and 9.2 lakh ASHAs have been registered on MCTS Portal. Out of above, 1.99 crore Pregnant Women and 1.78 crore children have been registered in 2014-15. MCTS was strengthened for Mother and Children Fact Sheets, Reporting and Seeding of Aadhaar Numbers for direct cash transfer to JSY beneficiaries and its monitoring. Potential JSY beneficiary's data was integrated with Public Financial Management System (PFMS) for making the direct payments. SMS were sent to potential JSY beneficiaries for getting the Aadhaar Numbers and opening of Bank Accounts. Technical support was provided for MCT Helpdesk. USSD based technology has been implemented for data updation by ANM.

3.8.4. Rasthriya Bal Swasthya Karyakram (RBSK)

This initiative was launched in February 2013 and provides for Child Health Screening and Early Intervention Services through early detection and management of four Diseases i.e. Defects at birth, Diseases, Deficiencies, Development delays including disability. In 2014-15, 12922 RBSK Mobile Health Teams and 266 Districts Early Intervention Centre have been approved. In the first quarter of 2014-15 (March to June 2014), about 1.33 crore children More than Rs. 2000 crore have been allocated have been screened, 8.44 lakhs children have been referred to health facilities for the treatment. About 4.36 lakhs children have received secondary tertiary care.

3.8.5. Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram (RKSK)

This initiative was launched in January 2014 to reach out to 253 million adolescents in the country in their own spaces and introduces peer-led interventions at the community level, supported by augmentation of facility based services. This initiative broadens the focus of the adolescent health programme beyond reproductive and sexual health and brings in focus on life skills, nutrition, injuries and violence (including gender based violence), noncommunicable diseases, mental health and substance misuse.

Pre-conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PNDT) (Prohibition of Sex Selection Act, 1994)

3.8.6. Adverse Child Sex Ratio (CBR) in India

The Child Sex Ratio (CBR) for the age group of 0-6 years as per the 2011 census has dipped further to 918 girls as against 927 per thousand boys recorded in 2001 Census. This negative trend reaffirms the fact that the girl child is more at risk than ever before. Except for the States/UTs viz. Puducherry (967), TamilNadu (943), Karnataka (948), Delhi (871), Goa (942), Kerala (964), Mizoram (970), Gujarat (890), Arunachal Pradesh (972), Andaman & Nicobar Islands (968), Himachal Pradesh (909), Haryana (834), Chandigarh (880) and Punjab (846), the CSR has shown a declining trend in 18 States and 3 UTs. The steepest fall of 79 points is in J&K and the largest increase of 48 points is in Punjab. Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra and Haryana have had the worst 30 years' decline in Child Sex Ratios. Among the larger States, Chhattisgarh has the highest Child Sex Ratio (CSR) of 969 followed by Kerala with 964. Haryana (834) is at the bottom followed by Punjab (846). This census saw a declining trend even in North Eastern States expect Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. Half of the districts

in the country showed decline in the CSR greater than national average. The number of districts with Child Sex Ratio of 950 and above has been reduced from 259 to 182.

Reasons for adverse Sex Ratio

Some of the reasons commonly put forward to explain the consistently low levels of sex ratio are son preference, neglect of the girl child resulting in higher mortality at younger age, female infanticide, female foeticide, higher maternal mortality and male bias in enumeration of population. Easy availability of the sex determination tests and abortion services may also be proving to be catalyst in the process, which may be further stimulated by pre-conception sex selection facilities. Sex determination techniques have been in use in India since 1975 primarily for the determination of genetic abnormalities. However, these techniques were widely misused to determine the sex of the foetus and subsequent elimination if the foetus was found to be female.

Punishment under the Act

- Imprisonment up to 3 years and fine up to Rs. 10,000;
- For any subsequent offences, he/she may be imprisoned up to 5 years and fine up to Rs. 50,000/1,00,000 and
- The name of the Registered Medical Practitioner is reported by the Appropriate Authority to the State Medical Council concerned for taking necessary action including suspension of the registration if the charges are framed by the court and till the case is disposed of and on conviction, for removal of his name for a period of 5 years for the first offence and permanently for the subsequent offence

Other Initiatives Taken by Ministry of Health & Family Welfare

- Ministry of Women and Child Development has been working in close coordination with the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare on "Beti Bachao-Beti Padhaao (BBBP)" campaign in 100 gender critical districts in the country.
- Instruction has been given to States/UTs for institutional strengthening at State and District level for strict and effective implementation of PC & PNDT Act.
- In addition to the Ministry's website (www.mohfw.nic.in), an independent website, 'pndt.gov.in' for PNDT Division has been launched by the Minister of Health & Family Welfare. This website contains all the relevant information relating to the Act and the Rules.

• Minister of Health & Family Welfare launched the Toll Free Telephone (1800 110 500) to facilitate the public to lodge complaint anonymously, if so desired, against any violation of the provisions of the Act by any authority or individual and to seek PNDT related general information.

3.9. Indecent Representation of Women in Media

In the modern world, the importance of the media cannot be underestimated. Media is the radar that captures the mood, pulse and ideologies of the age; it is the beacon light that illuminates the pathways of democracy especially in conflict situations. In this sense, it helps the civil society cohere. An enduring feature of public life in the recent years has been an enhanced interface between media and ordinary people. The media today matters more than at any other time. It is known as the Fourth Estate. Yet it's a very mixed bag, with enormous variations. It is true that the media plays the magic multiplier role in the process of development. The communication media accelerates the process of development by involving, persuading and transforming people. Media has proved to be one of the important instruments of social change in Indian society. In the corridors of the social change institutions, it is observed that media promotes consumer tastes and values, often alien to Indian culture and traditions. There is far too much sex and violence, portrayal of women is sexists and stereotypical.

3.9.1 Indecent Portrayal of Women by the Media:

In recent years it has been observed that the media has emerged in a big way as the major exploiter of woman, with changing times new ways of expression social power have been fashioned which target the weaker components of society. The most vulnerable target are women. In last few years, a large section of the media and particularly the leading ones have taken liberty to flout all norms related to obscenity. A systematic overdose of nudity and vulgarity is being forced into the brain of common viewer through Newspapers, Television, Films, Magazines, Hoardings and posters. Cable and satellite television have grown rapidly throughout the developing world. Of all the popular means of mass media, television has the greatest mass appeal and acceptance. The portrayal of gender as a product and the accompanying body politic in the media is well documented. The impact of visual media as a very powerful vehicle for communicating idea and images is known to be tremendous. Television creates a world which seems very real and viewers are unable to differentiate between the contrived world and the real one. The impact of television is more on the young

children and adolescents, who sit in front of the television and for hours, the succession of pictures become imprinted on minds and are still impressionable.

However, a major share of the space in the media is today occupied by advertisement. That is also one of the problem areas for women because advertisements are, by their very nature meant, to attract the attention of the consumer to the product advertised. If an attractive woman does this job of attracting attention, then she is going to be used for that purpose. With the emergence of women as consumers of products, there has been a subtle change in the nature of advertisements that are put out which appeal to women as consumers, rather than showing women for the purpose of attracting customers to the product.

Women play a very significant role in advertising today both as consumer and as influencers. The depiction of women in Indian advertising has been a topic of debate for a while now. The experts against the indecent representation of women in advertising strongly believe that the women's moral and social status is mainly determined on the basis of the degree of exposure of her physical form to public view. Women advertising redefine women attractiveness as something that is away from natural. There are advertisements where the females are shown in bad light. They are clad in skimpy clothes even when their presence in the advertisements have no relevance with the brand. There has been advertising campaigns where there has been a very decent portrayal of women and they have been very successful too like Titan, Raymond's, Jewellery advertisement, cosmetic advertisements like L'Oreal etc. On the other hand, few advertising gurus believe that in some of the brands the so called indecent representation of women plays an important role in brand recognition. For example, condom, inner-wears have more impact on the audience when such representation is done, as it is provocative.

Advertising frequently commodifies women by exploiting their sexuality or by fragmenting the female body into eroticized zones such as hair, face, legs and breasts. Thus, in the exchange between the 'commodity' and 'woman' in advertisements, a woman becomes a commodity, too. Women are portrayed as sex objects who are probably cast to titillate the viewers by exposing their body parts. Women are shown wearing revealing clothes and taken leaning and yearning postures-signs of incompleteness or lack of security. Women and their body parts sell everything - food, clothing, car, computers, men's shaving lotions and underwear. Even in commercials of the products consumed mostly by men—alcohol, Tobacco, cigarettes, briefs, women are used as models exposing their bodies. Glamour dolls in front of

the cameras and ace photographers do the same behind the lenses thus trapping thousands of teenagers to believe in the miracle of the product.

3.9.2. The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986

The act provides for the regulation of representation of women in the media. It prohibits indecent representation of women through advertisements, books, writings, paintings, figures or in any other manner. Section 4 prohibits the production, sale, hire, distribution, circulation, sending by post any books, pamphlets, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting etc., which contain indecent representation of women in any form. Yet advertisements showing women in an indecent way are aired day in and day out and hardly any action is taken. The National Commission of Women (NCW) has suggested modifications in the Act and elaborates upon ways to strengthen it and make it workable so that the objectives can be achieved. The NCW recommended that section 2(b) of the Act be modified to read as "Derogatory representation of women in any part thereof in such a way as to have the effect of being derogatory to or denigrating women and is also likely to deprive, corrupt or endanger public morality or morals." As per the above definition depiction in any manner of the figure of a woman, her form or her body or any part thereof would amount to indecent or derogatory representation if it has:

* The tendency to present a woman as a sexual object.

* The tendency to present a woman as a sexual commodity for man's pleasure, or

* The tendency to glorify woman's subordination to man as an attribute to womanhood or

* The tendency to glorify ignoble servility as an attribute to womanhood, or

* The effect of being indecent or being derogatory to or denigrating women or;

* It is likely to deprave, corrupt or injure public morality or morals.

In spite of the law, gender concerns in the media is a serious concern today as the problems of women's portrayal in the media, have been agitating the mind of the Civil Society and an attempt is being made to curb this growing problem continued incidences of obscene depiction of women in television and in the media in general call for a debate on the need for effective laws against them and proper implementation of the existing legal provisions.

Suggestions:

Since Media is considered as the Fourth Estate, its function is to act as a guardian of the public interest and as a watchdog. As an important agent of socialization, besides family and school, contributing to the shaping of gender roles, its mechanisms for checks and balances with respect to gender need to be strengthened.

The media authorities should therefore, assume equal responsibilities with parents in creating conditions that enable projection of women in a decent dignified way and promote violence free programmes. It is essential to enlist the support of policy makers and Parliamentarians on the appropriate policy and guidelines for the media to ensure that there is no negative portrayal of women.

The media professionals need to be sensitized on gender issues and a system of rewards may be developed for those who are able to portray women in positive manner. Likewise, stringent punitive action should be taken against those who defy the norms. New innovative decent presentation of women, based on Indian distinct culture and society through media must be introduced. Simultaneously, western culture should not be imitated despite accepting dynamic globalization process.

Depiction of women, when a product or advertisement does not warrant it should be avoided by all concerned like the advertisers, advertising agencies and the media. The depiction should be relevant to the products, message, lay- out, i.e. in general to the advertisement.

The advertisers, advertising agencies and the media should consider it as their corporate social responsibility to be truthful and honest in advertising. They should avoid indecency and vulgarity in the advertisements and should follow norms of fair competition. The models posing for advertisements should also be sensitive to what the public would consider indecent and avoid such portrayal. It is also necessary to draw up guidelines for policy makers regarding advertising agencies and commercial production houses to encourage positive and realistic portrayal of women.

3.10. Women in Difficult Circumstances

If one takes a look at the statistics mentioned earlier, it would not be wrong to conclude that women in most parts of the world live in difficult circumstances. However, for the purpose of development of policies towards the empowerment of women, certain groups of women are said to be living under difficult circumstances. These include:

- Women in extreme poverty/deprivation;
- Destitute women;
- Women affected by terrorist/militant violence;
- Women affected by natural calamities;
- Women affected by riots;
- Women in conflict situations;
- Women in inaccessible and underdeveloped regions;
- Women with disability/special ability;
- Widowed women;
- Divorced/separated women;
- Women heading households;
- Single women in difficult circumstances;
- Women displaced from employment;
- Migrant women;
- Deserted women;
- Women who are victims of domestic violence
- Commercial sex workers; and
- Women sold or trafficked or used for immoral purposes.

3.11. Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The CEDAW was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on 18th December 1979, however, it came into force as an international treaty on 3rd September 1981. Today, around 189 countries have ratified CEDAW & 165 have ratified CEDAW-OP (Optional Protocol). The work of the CSW has been instrumental in bringing to light all the areas in which women have been denied equality with men. These efforts for the advancement of women have resulted in several declarations and conventions, of which the CEDAW is the central and most comprehensive document. The text of the CEDAW was prepared by working groups of CSW during 1976 and extensive deliberations by a working group of the Third Committee of the General Assembly from 1977 to 1979.

The spirit of the CEDAW is rooted in the goals of the United Nations: to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity, and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women. The CEDAW spells out the meaning of equality and how it can be achieved. In doing so, the CEDAW establishes not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights. The Convention consists of a preamble and 30 articles. In its preamble, the CEDAW explicitly acknowledges that "extensive discrimination against women continues to exist", and emphasizes that such discrimination "violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity". In its approach, the Convention covers three dimensions of the situation of women. In addition, and unlike other human rights treaties, the CEDAW is also concerned with the dimension of human reproduction as well as with the impact of cultural factors on gender relations. At least every four years, the States Parties are expected to submit a national report to the Committee, indicating the measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the CEDAW. During its annual session, the Committee members discuss these reports with the Government representatives and explore with them areas for further action by the specific country. India ratified CEDAW on 9th July, 1993 committing a national agenda for the State Parties to end discrimination against women in India. However, India has not yet ratified the Optional Protocol to CEDAW. The CEDAW Committee considered the combined fourth and fifth periodic reports of India on 2nd July, 2014, during its 58th session. Let discuss with various articles covering of women difficulty of CEDAW.

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake: (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle; (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women; (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination; (d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation; (e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise; (f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women; (g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures: (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women; (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 12

Definition. —In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires, "the State" includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.

Article 14

Equality before law. —The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

Article 15

Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. — (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to— (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public. (3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children. 2 [(4) Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.]

3.12. Constitution:

Article 12: Definition. —In Part III of the Constitution dealing with Fundamental Rights, "the State" includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities.

Article 14: Ensures equality before the law and equal protection of the laws by the State.

Article 15: Prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth- (1) State not to discriminate on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or any of them. (2) No citizen to be subjected to any disability, liability, restriction or condition, on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or any of them with regard to access to

public spaces and facilities. (3) Empowers the State to make special provisions for women and children. (4) Empowers the State to make special provisions for the advancement of socially backward classes of citizens or Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Article 16: Equality of Opportunity in matters of Public Employment- (1) Ensures equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. (2): Prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, etc. in employment or appointment to any office under the State

3.13. Legislations:

- **1. Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993:** To provide for the constitution of NHRC for better protection of human rights.
- 2. National Commission for Women Act, 1990:

To provide for the constitution of NCW11 for the protection of women's rights.

3. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989: Legislation to check and deter crimes against SC/ST.

4. Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1989:

Prohibits indecent representation of women through advertisement or in publication, etc.

5. Maternity Benefit Act, 1861:

Regulates the employment of women for certain periods before and after childbirth and to provide maternity benefit. Maternity Benefit Act (MBA), 1961 and Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Act, 2019:

- a. S. 5: Provides all the maternity benefits available to a woman working in an organised sector and the amount of leave available to her.
- ▶ b. S. 9: Provides for paid leave in case of miscarriage.
- c. S. 12: States that it is unlawful to discharge/dismiss a woman absent from work due to her pregnancy in accordance with the Act.

6. Industrial Disputes Act, 1947:

Provided for same wages and other facilities to women workers and provision of creches, feeding intervals, etc. at the workplace.

7. Equal Remuneration Act (ERA), 1976:

S. 4: States that the employer has to pay equal remuneration to men and women workers for same work or work of a similar nature.

8. The Companies Act, 2013:

As per the second Proviso to Section 149(1) read with Rule 3 of the Companies (Appointment and Qualification of Directors) Rules, 2014, every listed company, every public company having paid-up share capital of Rs. 100 crore or more, and every public company having a minimum turnover of Rs. 300 crore or more, makes provision for at least one-woman director.

3.14. Policies and Reports:

1. The Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1971:

Undertook a comprehensive review of women's status in India in all spheres. 'Towards Equality,' its report made extensive recommendations to address discrimination and marginalization of women. and gave useful guidelines for the formulation of social policies and mechanisms to address gaps in equality for women. Committee looked into Constitutional, legal and administrative provisions and their impact on women, especially rural women and also suggested measures to enable women to play their role in building up the nation.

2. National Policy for the Empowerment of Women, 2001:

The goals of the policy are-

- Advancement, development and empowerment of women;
- Equal access to participation and decision making for women in social, political and economic life of the nation;
- Mainstreaming gender perspective in the development process.
- Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations.

3. Draft National Policy for Women, 2016:

Titled 'Articulating a Vision for Empowerment of Women,' the policy states that, the empowerment of women can only be achieved when advancement in the conditions of women is coupled with their ability to influence the direction of change through equal opportunities in all spheres of life, including political life.

4. Report of the High-Level Committee on Status of Women, 2015:

The Committee's mandate was to undertake a comprehensive study on the status of women since 1989, and to evolve appropriate policy interventions based on a contemporary assessment of women's economic, legal, political, educational, health and socio-cultural needs. One of the key recommendations includes ensuring at least 50 per cent reservation of seats for women in the local bodies, State Legislative Assemblies, Parliament, Ministerial levels and all decision-making bodies of the government.

Unit-IV

Economic Empowerment

4. Introduction of organised and unorganised sector:

In India, the terms 'formal sector' and 'informal sector' have not been used in the official statistics or in the National Account Statistics (NAS). Instead, our official agencies use the terms 'organised' and 'unorganised' sectors to denote two major segments, in the production of goods and services in the national economy. As per the conventional understanding, the 'organised sector' comprises enterprises for which the statistics are available from official documents and reports. On the other hand, the unorganised sector refers to those enterprises whose activities or collection of data is not regulated under any legal provision or those do not maintain any regular accounts. The informal sector units typically operate on a small scale with little or no division between labour and capital as factors of production. A major share of the informal sector can be distinguished from the unorganised by the presence of legal protection, size of establishments, capability of the workers to organise themselves in unions, and the systematic manner in which production processes are organised in perceptible patterns.

The terms 'organised' and 'unorganised' (and their definitional aspects) also attracted intensive debates, as they have been different from the internationally accepted and popular concepts of 'formal' and 'informal'. However, of late, there is a growing consensus that both these sets of terms (i.e. 'organised/ unorganised' and 'formal/informal') can be used interchangeably such that they are consistent with international definitions adopted by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians and the International Labour Organisation. For instance, two major National Commissions set up by the Government of India (National Commission on Labour 1998-2002, and National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) 2004-2009) treat the words 'unorganised sector' and 'informal sector' as denoting the same area and, therefore, regarded them as interchangeable terms. In 1996, the fifteenth international conference on labour statistics defined the informal sector as "all unregistered or unincorporated enterprises below a certain size, including microenterprises owned by informal employers who hire one or more employees on a continuous basis and own account operations owned by individuals who may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis.

The recent contributions of NCEUS in bringing conceptual clarity to the term 'unorganised sector' is worth discussing. The Commission which was mandated to: "review the status of unorganized/informal sector in India including the nature of enterprises, their size, spread and scope, and magnitude of employment," observed that the definitions being used by various agencies to identify the unorganised/informal sector are not uniform and it varied in certain cases even among different sub-sectors of the economy.

4.1. The role of women in economic development:

The Evolution of 'Women in Development' to 'Gender and Development' In the 1970s, research on African farmers noted that, far from being gender neutral, development was gender blind and could harm women. Out of this realization emerged the Women in Development (WID) approach, which constructed the problem of development as being women's exclusion from a benign process. Women's subordination was seen as having its roots in their exclusion from the market sphere and their limited access to, and control, over resources. The key was then to place women 'in' development by legislatively trying to limit discrimination and by promoting their involvement in education and employment.

The WID approach led to resources being targeted at women and made particularly women's significant productive or income generating contribution, more visible. Their reproductive contribution was less well emphasised. While WID advocated for greater gender equality, it did not tackle the real structural problem: the unequal gender roles and relations that are at the basis of gender subordination and women's exclusion. This approach also focussed on what have been termed practical gender needs, such as providing better access to water, which would reduce the amount of time women and girls must spend in domestic activities and thus allow them more time for education or employment. There was no questioning why collecting water has been constructed as a female responsibility, or why improved access to water is a need of women and girls only.

In the 1980s, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach arose out of the critique of WID. GAD recognised that gender roles and relations are key to improving women's lives, with the term 'gender' suggesting that a focus on both women and men is needed. More recently, the need to understand how gender intersects with other characteristics such as age, ethnicity and sexuality has been noted. The GAD approach recognises that it is not sufficient to add women and girls into existing processes of development but there is also a need to problematize why they are excluded, advocating that the focus should be on addressing the imbalances of power at the basis of that exclusion. GAD also questions the notion of 'development' and its benign nature, implying a need to shift from a narrow understanding of development as economic growth, to a more social or human centred development. GAD projects are more holistic and seek to address women's strategic gender interests by seeking the elimination of institutionalised forms of discrimination for instance around land rights, or ensuring the right of women and girls to live free from violence.

The 1990s witnessed the 'rise of rights' as many NGOs and agencies adopted a rightsbased approach to development. Rights increase the recognition that women's demands are legitimate claims. The most notable success for the women's movement has perhaps been the establishment of sexual and reproductive rights as such. Within this has been recognition of women's right to live free from violence, and a broadening of understanding of violence against women from 'domestic' to 'gender based'. There was also a shift in understanding development as meaning economic development to a more holistic social development focus, yet economic growth remains the main driver. For the majority of large development organisations and agencies, the WID approach has now largely been replaced by GAD, which has been institutionalised within the notion of gender mainstreaming.

Mainstreaming involves ensuring that a gendered perspective is central to all activities, including planning, implementation and monitoring of all programmes, projects, and legislation. While critiqued if undertaken merely as a 'tick box' exercise, gender mainstreaming offers a potential for placing gender at the heart of development. However, women's 'rights', particularly sexual and reproductive health rights, are not universally accepted as rights, and violence against women remains prevalent across the globe, and women still lack full and equal participation in economic and political life. Mainstreaming has yet to succeed and there is a need for a continued prioritisation of integrating women into development.

Understanding Economic Empowerment for Women Empowerment of women firstly involves the change of consciousness to change their fate. It is a critical aspect of the process of change. The second step involves the importance of valued resources, that is, material, human, and social resources and has a control over them in society. Thirdly, women should come together and understand the nature of institutionalized injustice and act to tackle these issues of injustice. Women do not form a homogenous group; other factors like race, class, caste, and ethnicity are also in play, which further exacerbates the injustice. Since the initiation of the debate on gender inequality, many attempts have been made to conceptualize women's empowerment. The Inter-American Development Bank (2010), defined 'women empowerment' in terms of "expanding the rights, resources and capacity of women to make decisions and act independently in social, economic and political sphere". The United Nations (2001) has defined women's empowerment in terms of five components: "women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and determine choices; their rights to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have power to control their own lives both inside and outside home; and their ability to influence the direction of social changes to create a more just and social and economic order, nationally and internationally". Economic empowerment encompasses the economic dimension, which has been visible in the policy paradigm in recent times. The Beijing Platform also spoke of the need to promote women's economic independence. It can be said that without economic independence the women cannot be empowered. Only social and political empowerment does not ensure economic empowerment unless the individual has access to the economic resources and opportunities. To realize women's rights and achieve broader development goals such as economic growth, poverty reduction, health, education, and welfare, it is important to empower women. The UNDP, sought to extend these five components outlined by UN Taskforce, where women empowerment can be achieved through diversifying women's economic opportunities, strengthen their legal rights and status and ensure their voice inclusion and participation in economic decision making. Women's economic empowerment can be achieved through equal access to control over critical economic resources and opportunities and elimination of structural gender inequalities in the labour market including a better share of unpaid care work. Emancipation and empowerment of women are widely talked of topics now, because women suffer from a number of disabilities gender prejudices, exploitation, discrimination and oppression. Women's development in terms of education, employment, health, quality of life and decision making capacity are linked to the question of women's empowerment; and empowerment does not necessarily mean getting elected to public offices, but essentially it would have to be empowerment of women at family level so that women are able to take their lives in their own hands and make decisions for themselves and their families. Empowerment of women is now regarded as one that includes the right to hold and dispose of property, right to education and political participation. The absolute right to property including land is an essential part of empowerment of women along with political participation and education. Yet, women from slum areas still face several problems. The development effect of putting more money in the hands of women is significant because women tend to spend a greater portion of their incomes on their families. Increasing

women's income and their control over family spending can lead to improvements in child nutrition, health, and education, and work to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty. As women are majority of the poor, improving their economic circumstances can also directly reduce female poverty and improve women's well-being. Higher levels of gender equality are also associated with lower rates of poverty and food insecurity in the general population, higher standing in the Human Development Index, and less environmental degradation. Economic empowerment is also a potent means to strengthen women's rights and achieve gender equality.

4.2. Female poverty:

Analysis of the structure and causes of poverty is, in simple terms, the study of who gets what and why. It is the study of access and of constraints to access. The flow of productive resources, the creation of capabilities, the consumption of goods, the use of services-all of the intertwined determinants and outcomes of socioeconomic differentiation among individuals within the family, groups within the community, and regions within the country-can be mapped in terms of access. This publication considers the effect of gender on access within the family and beyond. It is based on a more detailed study (World Bank 1991) of women's involvement in key sectors of the Indian economy, the returns they are getting, and the critical constraints they face in increasing their access to, and productivity in, these sectors. Three fundamental observations emerge.

First, women are vital and productive workers in India's national economy. They make up one-third of the labour force, though a "statistical purdah," imposed by current methods of measuring labour force participation, renders much of their work invisible.

Second, the poorer the family, the greater its dependence on women's economic productivity. There is an inverse correlation between household economic status on the one hand and women's labour force participation and their proportional contribution to total family income on the other. Thus, enhancing women's economic productivity is an important strategic necessity for improving the welfare of the estimated 60 million Indian households still below the poverty line. This strategy recognizes two critical facts. **First**, women's earnings increase the aggregate income levels of these poor households. **Second**, Indian women contribute a much larger share of their earnings to basic family maintenance than do men. Increases in women's income translate more directly into better health and nutrition for children. In the short term, women's earnings have an immediate positive effect on the incidence and severity of

poverty at the household level. In the long term, there are important intergenerational effects on the quality of human capital.

The third observation is that, as a society, India invests far less in its women workers than in its working men. Women also receive a smaller share of what society produces. Women are less endowed than men with education, health care, and productive assets that could increase their returns to labour. The disparity between male and female literacy and enrolment rates is vast: more than three-fourths of Indian women are illiterate-twice the proportion of illiterates among men. Ninety percent of rural women workers and 70 percent of urban women workers are unskilled. Women also generally lack the bureaucratic know-how that most men are able to acquire to make the system work for them. Women have little access to land and other productive assets. Their lack of land as collateral largely excludes them from institutional credit, rendering them unable to secure capital and tools for self-employment.

India's women also have less access than do men to health services and nutrition. Mortality rates among women are higher than those among men up to the age of 35. The two most dangerous periods for female survival are early childhood (between the age of one month and four years) and the peak child-bearing years (from age 15 to 35). The high mortality of female children reflects the cultural preference for sons and the related neglect of daughters. During adolescence and early adulthood, women's "triple burden" of reproduction, domestic work, and productive labour contributes to their lower survival rates. Despite women's higher morbidity, associated in turn with their inferior nutritional status, far fewer women than men use health services. These gender-based asymmetries in nutrition, morbidity, and access to health care are contributing factors in India's high child mortality rates and persistently high birth rates.

4.3. Different Approaches to Women in Development

1. Government Initiatives.

Government programs for women's development in India began as early as 1954. Their initial focus was on women's roles on the "inside," on motherhood and family care, and on social services such as primary health and education. The shift in women's development programs from providing only social welfare to encouraging full participation in mainstream economic activities began with the 1974 report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India. It gathered momentum with later measures. In the 1970s, the government dealt with women's development issues as part of wider categories of poverty alleviation. It was only in

the 1980s that the government began to acknowledge that women constitute not just a segment but the core of India's poor. It realized that women need special programs.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85) targeted women in mainstream poverty alleviation programs (for example, the Integrated Rural Development Program). Programs. also were specifically designed for them (for example, Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas or DWCRA). Concern for women's issues is often attenuated by the time programs are implemented. Women's components of development packages are prone to the normal ills of all government programs: misidentification of beneficiaries, inadequate coverage of remote areas, and loss of effectiveness due to corruption, collusion, and political favouritism. In addition, misperceptions of women's productive roles have lessened the benefits women receive. For example, the use of a "household" approach to poverty alleviation can stop women from receiving IRDP loans. Some government programs inadequately recognize women's special needs or promote only "traditional" economic activities for women. Some women's programs, however, have done well. These programs are relatively small. They operate at the level of a few districts or a state, and they concentrate on a few subsectors or functional activities.

Generally, the successful programs have worked in partnership with specialized parastatal or nongovernmental agencies that have a record of achievement in the economic subsector (the Cooperative Federations in dairying) or in a functional activity (NGOs in women's credit). The use of intermediary agencies has enabled programs to bypass some disabilities of traditional delivery systems. The limitation, however, is that such agencies exist in relatively few regions and subsectors. A nationwide program spanning many subsectors cannot be based on them. Numerous initiatives in the latter half of the 1980s demonstrated the Indian government's increasing concern about women. These initiatives include setting up the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (NCSW); formulating a National Perspective Plan for Women (NPPW); launching Support to Employment Programs for Women (STEP) and the pilot Mahila Samakya program to increase women's access to information and participation in development in ten districts of Gujarat, Karnataka, and Uttar Pradesh; and establishing the network of state-level Women's Development Corporations (WDCS). Also on the anvil is the proposal for a women's credit fund to lend to catalyst programs through governmental, parastatal, and nongovernmental organizations.

3. NGO Initiatives

One heartening feature of women's development during the 1980s was. the increasing role played by nongovernmental organizations. They helped to form grassroots women's organizations (Mahila Mandals) and DWACRA groups. Working with the state and central governments and commercial banks, they participated in several pilot projects. They also did field research and critiqued policy, as was the case with the NCSW, which had a majority membership from among NGOs. For all their good efforts, NGOs are very thinly spread in the country. One study (IDBI 1987) estimates that less than 15 percent of all NGOs have any activities focused on women, and the percentage of NGOs exclusively working with women is likely to be much smaller. On average, India cannot count even one NGO working with women per district. The poorest regions and rural areas suffer the greatest lack.

NGOs have problems in drawing and retaining high-quality personnel; that limits their influence over mainstream institutions. Another factor that constrains them is dependence on foreign funds or on government funds-either loans under the IRDP or grants to implement government programs. Often, however, local politicians and bureaucrats do not welcome NGO involvement with government programs. While government policymakers seek NGO cooperation in program implementation, they are less enthusiastic about NGO input in program design or evaluation. In spite of these obstacles, many NGOs collaborate closely with the government while retaining their independence, flexibility, and grassroots orientation. Any plan to foster a greater role for NGOs should be sensitive to these issues.

4. Group-Based Initiatives

A promising strategy for new initiatives is the organization of women into groups. Group formation is particularly powerful in weakening the inside/outside dichotomy. It gives women a legitimate forum beyond the private domestic sphere and a more audible voice in demanding services and inputs to which they previously lacked access. Membership in a group can help a woman compensate for lack of bureaucratic know-how and unfamiliarity with public discourse. It permits a gradual building of her capacity to interact effectively with the public and structures that are attempting to redistribute economic opportunity in contemporary India. Most important, groups can transform women from beneficiaries, passive recipients of other's largesse, into clients who participate in a long-term reciprocal relationship with the institutions that serve them. The creation of strong demand groups is the essential complement to supply-side efforts to improve delivery systems. But it will involve some uncomfortable changes. Those in the delivery system will be forced to become more responsive to local priorities. Centrally determined prescriptions must be replaced with more flexible planning of both the content and the mechanisms of delivery. Targets and messages from the top will have to give way to location-specific problem solving.

The changes recommended in this report for the agricultural research and extension system, dairy cooperatives, community health and family welfare programs, and education all call for an enlightened transfer of power that will make women more independent economic beings. The formation of genuinely self-determined local groups can be one of the most meaningful steps in that process. It also may be the only form of decentralization that can encompass those who are truly disadvantaged, both socially and economically.

4.4. Poverty Alleviation Programmes in India

1. Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS)

Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme is a social assistance scheme for old people above 60 years of age, living below poverty line. Pension amount is contributed by both central and state governments. Beneficiaries receive pension every month to their Bank accounts and receive cash at their door steps with the help of Business Correspondents of Banks. This scheme is a part of National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP).

2. National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

If sole earner (bread winner) aged between 18 to 60 years of a family dies, the family will get lump sum amount fixed by Government. This scheme is a part of National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP).

3. National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS)

National Maternity Benefit Scheme is launched in the year 1995, for below poverty line pregnant women. It provides financial assistance, pre delivery and postdelivery support to the beneficiaries and ensures that women deliver baby and go home safely. This scheme is a part of National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) and implemented by Department of family welfare.

4. Annapurna Yojana

Annapurna Yojana provides food security (10 kg of rice per month) to senior citizens who are eligible but uncovered under Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme.

5. Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana

Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana is a scheme launched for both urban and rural people (Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana), whose name is present in 2011 census. Preference is given to people who do not have own houses. Even people who have their own houses, due to poverty their houses are not in good condition, so, financial assistance is provided by Government for the eligible beneficiaries to purchase pucca houses.

6. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), also known as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MNREGS) is enacted on August 25, 2005, through legislation. This scheme provides employment guarantee for one hundred days in every financial year to adults willing to do unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage. The Ministry of Rural Development (MRD), Govt of India is monitoring the entire implementation of this scheme in association with state governments.

7. Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) was launched during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, was financed by Central Government. This scheme is almost similar to National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), but only landless people are eligible under this scheme and they can get guaranteed employment of 100 days. 25 per cent of funds earmarked for social forestry, 10 per cent for Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries and 20 per cent for housing under Indira Awaas Yojana. In the year 1989, this Programme was merged with Jawahar Rozgar Yojana.

8. Jawahar Rozgar Yojna

National Rural Employment Programme and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme were merged in the year 1989 and named the new scheme as Jawahar Rozgar Yojna. In urban areas, this scheme is called as Nehru Rozgar Yojana. Jawahar Rozgar Yojna was largest National Employment Program of India at that time, aim of this scheme is to provide employment of 90-100 days to below poverty line people in backward districts covered by Panchayati Raj Institutions. District Rural Development Authority is the authority for this scheme and expenditures were shared by central and state governments in the ratio 80:20.

9. Deendayal Antayodaya Yojana (DAY-NRLM)

Integrated Rural Development Programme(IRDP) was restructured in the tear 1999 by Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) and launched Swarnajayanti Grameen Swarojgar Yojana (SGSY) for promoting self-employment among rural poor. Later this scheme is restructured after removing shortfalls of SGSY and named as Aajevika - National Rural Livelohood Mission (NRLM) in the year 2011, supported by World Bank. Aim of this scheme is to create a platform for poor people in rural areas through self-managed Self Help Groups (SHGs) to increase their income, sustained livelihood and access to financial services. This program was renamed as Deendayal Antayodaya Yojana (DAY-NRLM) in the year 2015, with the aim of empowering rural people and provide them increased rights and access to public services and give them information, knowledge, skills and finance for their development and development of country.

4.5. Status women farmers and land rights

Women's economic empowerment is essential in promoting equality between women and men and a precondition for sustainable development and pro-poor growth. Women's economic empowerment can be achieved through equal access to and control over economic resources and opportunities and the elimination of structural gender inequalities. Women's unequal access to land and property is a key obstacle to women's economic empowerment and an area where is stepping up efforts. Access to land and tenure security is closely linked to other natural resources, such as water and forests, but the scope of this quick guide is restricted to women's access to land.

4.5.1. Challenges for women's access to land:

Women are responsible for between 60 and 80 percent of food production in developing countries. Yet they rarely own the land they are working on, have tenure security or control over the land. They often have limited decision making power and control over how to use the land or its outputs. Women and men's de jure access to land is regulated by the formal legal system, and in many developing countries similarly through customary law. There are many examples of how the two systems can both prevent and promote women's access to land. The formal legal systems in many countries have constitutions or land laws that grant gender

equality in access to land but where laws for marriage, divorce and inheritance contradict these laws by discriminating against women and daughters. While systems of customary law regarding land tenure in pre-colonial Africa often granted women access to land, this right was lost in many cases with the introduction of the idea of individual ownership. Customary systems today tend not to grant gender equality in access to land. Customary systems of property tenure account for at least 75 per cent of the land. Women's de facto access to land is restricted by lack of implementation of existing laws, by customary law, traditional and social practices, norms and power structures within communities and households, by lack of legal security systems to protect women against land grabbing, etc.

Women's access to land and property is central to women's economic empowerment, as land can serve as a base for food production and income generation, as collateral for credit and as a means of holding savings for the future. Land is also a social asset that is crucial for cultural identity, political power and participation in decision making. Women's equal access to land is a human rights issue. It also has other benefits. Evidence shows that women's land rights reduce domestic violence, that women who own land are more capable of exiting violent relationships and negotiating safe sex. Agricultural production and food security also increase when women are granted tenure security.

4.5.2. Land policy

Women's participation in the process of developing a land policy is fundamental to increasing women's access to land. Experience shows that women have been able to gain greater access to land through land reform in countries where the participation of rural women is a well-defined state policy. For a land policy to be able to ensure women's equal access to land, it needs to be based on the principle of gender equality in access to land, have clear objectives/goals on equal access to land, and indicators and base line data to enable follow-up.

• Supporting women's organizations and groups of rural women to participate in the formulation of land policy and land reforms through financial support, dialogue with the government and providing a space for civil society to meet with government representatives;

• In dialogue, holding the partner government accountable to commitments made on gender equality or women's economic empowerment and stress the importance of formulating objectives and targets for women's access to land.

• Supporting government or civil society research on the possible consequences of proposed agricultural and privatisation policies in terms of women's access to land.

• Facilitating informed policy making through supporting the production of sexdisaggregated data and statistics on land tenure in national statistical accounts and cadastre.

4.5.3. Land legislation

A number of different laws regulate women's access to land and ensuring equal access could begin with analysis of how existing land legislation, marital law and inheritance laws interact in terms of women's access to land and how statutory law can promote women's access irrespective of their marital status. The drafting of new laws on tenure, land redistribution, land reform (for example in post-conflict settings), divorce and inheritance laws, provides an opening toward a more gender equal legal framework of the formal legislative process by:

• Supporting local analysis on the effects of current legislation on land, divorce and inheritance for women's access to land and the consequences of proposed legal change. Assisting in building knowledge and capacity on gender equality in access to land and the upcoming legislative process among actors such as legislators, civil society, and land users;

• Facilitating the participation of civil society, gender experts, and female local leaders in order to ensure a critical mass of women's representation throughout the process, through e.g. financial support to key actors, providing fora for discussion and exchange, and through dialogue on the importance of women's participation

• Raising in dialogue, when a country undertakes legal reform, the need to safeguard women's de jure rights according to signed international legal frameworks such as CEDAW and stay clear from contradictions in statutory laws. Laws granting equality in access need to do so irrespective of ownership form e.g. marketing associations, cooperatives, community land. Customary law is not subject to a legislative process and efforts to improve women's land rights need to focus on the interpretation of customary law. The women's access to land in customary law by:

• Supporting change agents such as religious leaders, both men and women, who question discriminatory norms. This can be done through dialogue or by providing fora for these change agents to reach a larger audience.

• Supporting women's groups or organisations advocating gender equality within customary systems,

• Promoting, through dialogue, women's participation in bodies responsible for interpreting customary law.

4.5.4. Status of women farmers:

Women in India are among the most socially and economically marginalised in the world. Their position has only worsened in the wake of the global pandemic, as evidenced by India falling from rank 133 in 2019 to 148 in 2021 in the Women Peace and Security Index, which measures women's inclusion and security across the world. Existing data on women's land ownership in India isn't comprehensive, but it paints a rather dismal picture—although 80 percent of economically active women are in the agricultural sector, only 13 percent of them own agricultural land.

The importance of land rights as a means for women's empowerment is fairly evident, as it provides women with financial security, shelter, income, and livelihood opportunities. But how does the existing legal framework concern land in India further the cause of women's land rights? And what are the existing gaps that need to be addressed? Based on the experiences of the Centre for Social Justice and the Working Group for Women and Land Ownership, this article presents a closer look at three land laws and their impact on women's land rights.

4.5.5. Regulation of the distribution of land vested in the state

The Land Acquisition (Right to Fair Rehabilitation and Resettlement) Act, 2013, (LARR) and the Forest Rights Act, 2006, (FRA) are two integral laws in this realm. While the former involves the acquisition of land from citizens, the latter confers land rights upon them.

The LARR repealed the older Land Acquisition Act of 1984, which has been described as a draconian piece of legislation as it inflicted huge injustices on farmers in the name of development. The LARR instead made numerous progressive provisions, such as the need to obtain consent from affected families and a higher compensation rate.

The FRA is geared towards forest-dwelling Adivasi communities and recognises their right over forest land and resources, which they depend on for their livelihood, habitation, and other socio-cultural needs. These communities have been historically wronged by parties seeking

to exploit the resource-rich forests that they rely on. Therefore, the FRA was designed to safeguard them.

These laws promote women's land rights in a variety of ways.

1. The Land Acquisition (Right to Fair Rehabilitation and Resettlement) Act, 2013:

- In its definition of 'affected families', the LARR includes those who own the land being acquired and also those who depend on the land being acquired for their livelihood. Through its inclusion of those who rely on the land, the act brings within its ambit the significant percentage of landless women who earn their livelihood through farming, livestock rearing, etc. and entitles them to rehabilitation.
- Recognises widows, divorcees, and deserted women as separate families, which forwards the cause of women's land rights as it recognises the rights of single women.
- The procedure concerning the titling of compensatory land is also more inclusive, as the LARR states that the compensatory land can be given in the names of both the husband and the wife of the affected family. This facilitates the joint ownership of land even if the original land may have been solely in the name of the husband.

2. Forest Rights Act, 2006:

- Recognises women's right to land as equal to that of men by recognising individual forest rights through joint titles (that is, in the joint names of husband and wife).
- Grants individual forest rights to unmarried women, deserted women, and widows.
- Mandates that women be accorded a minimum of one-third representation in forest rights committees, which aid in the preparation of claims for forest rights and advise the gram sabha in the verification and approval of claims.

4.5.6. Regulation of the devolution of private land

Under India's current system, different inheritance laws apply to each of the nation's various religious communities in a bid to uphold religious freedom. The majority of Indian women fall within the ambit of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, (HSA) that governs Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains.

Before the HSA was amended in 2005, only sons could inherit ancestral property. The amendment mandated that married and unmarried daughters must also receive an equal share in the family's ancestral property. Additionally, it repealed the provision that only allowed female heirs to claim a partition of the dwelling if the male heirs decided to divide their share.

Prior to the amendment, the devolution of agricultural land was governed by archaic and highly discriminatory state wise tenurial laws. The amendment explicitly brought agricultural land within the ambit of the HSA as well.

4.5.7. Where the laws fall short

1. Inclusive, but not enough

Although the LARR recognises the rights of those who rely on but do not own land with regard to rehabilitation, it states that 70–80 percent of landowning families must consent to an acquisition for it to move forward. Thus, although the significant percentage of women who constitute non-landowning families would be rehabilitated, their consent is not sought in the first place. Landowning families are entitled to compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement. But families that do not own land are only entitled to rehabilitation and resettlement. Even under the rehabilitation package, which includes a nominal cash package, year-long subsistence grants, housing unit, etc., these families are not entitled to land.

The LARR recognises the rights of single women as separate units of entitlement, but the manner in which the act distinguishes between landowning and non-landowning families makes the interpretation confusing. The act considers an "adult of either gender with or without spouse or children or dependents" as a separate family. Therefore, the unmarried adult daughter in a landowning family may be considered as a separate non-landowning family and would thus not be entitled to the same benefits that her parents receive as a landowning family.

2. Changing how communities live

Through our work, we have observed that the recognition of individual forest rights in areas that were largely collective-oriented has contributed to the emergence of an individualised world view. Operating as a collective offers greater social security to the women of these communities. Therefore, the spread of individualism has had a negative impact on them.

Access to and control over land-based natural resources have also come into question due to the demarcation of boundaries. This has led to strife between communities that have traditionally shared resources. During the lockdown, we visited a village in Gujarat's Dang district that possessed a water resource traditionally used by all households around the village. Since the locals were instructed not to cross their village boundaries during the lockdown, people who had been accessing that water resource for generations were now told to go find water elsewhere.

4.5.8. Implementation challenges

Though a number of protections for women exist in the way the laws are currently framed, there are discrepancies in its implementation that hinder the cause of women's land rights.

1. Societal pressures

In our experience of speaking with rural women who were governed by the HSA, we found that most of them are aware of the rights accorded by the act, such as daughters being entitled to parental property. Nevertheless, the social factors that prevented women from claiming their share still persist. For instance, women may fear that staking their claim might cause disharmony within the family, or they may be told that they must forgo their inheritance because a dowry was paid for their marriage. The conditions are more favourable for women in regions where women's groups have a larger presence because of the time and energy that these groups have invested into changing prevailing patriarchal mind sets. But the women in these regions only account for a small proportion of those who are in need of better structural support.

2. Discretionary issues

The LARR states that compensatory land may be given in the joint names of husband and wife. However, the use of 'may' in the language of the provision leaves sufficient room for discretion and does not mandate that the wife's name will be entered into the land record. As a result, it is quite likely that the title will remain solely in the name of the husband.

India's scheduled tribes are governed by customary tribal law, which is more sensitive to the lived realities of the women of these tribes. For example, bigamy is permitted in the Adivasi community that we work with in southern Gujarat. Customary inheritance laws allow for the second wife to an equal share of the husband's property. The rights of the second wife, which would otherwise not be considered, are thus recognised by virtue of this pluralism. However, our experience indicates that officials on the ground—who were once sensitive to the customs of these communities—often attempt to apply the HSA to them. As a result, they refuse to record the second wife's name and deny her what she is entitled to.

3. State-specific agrarian laws vs the HSA amendment

Although the HSA amendment brought agricultural land within its ambit, it is in conflict with state-specific agrarian laws as the seventh schedule of the Constitution indicates that only states are empowered to legislate on agriculture. Although the Centre can legislate on succession, legislation on the succession of agricultural land remains disputed.

As a result, there have been conflicting high court and Supreme Court judgements on matters concerning the succession of agricultural land. While the Allahabad High Court held that the HSA would be superseded by state law, the Delhi High Court and Himachal Pradesh High Court recognised that state law would be overridden by the HSA. The Supreme Court also ruled that agricultural land would be covered by the HSA as per the amendment, but did not address the constitutional conflict between the act and tenurial laws.

Given that the exact legal position on this issue remains uncertain, agricultural property is still subject to being devolved as per archaic tenurial laws that are discriminatory towards women. Recognising the HSA's power over state-specific laws should thus be a legislative and judicial priority.

4.5.9. How can existing gaps be filled?

1. Training and sensitisation

Women's land rights are often not a priority for the bodies in charge of implementing land laws. For instance, the 2015 National Training Policy for Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, which guides the capacity-building programmes of the national and state institutes for rural development, does not contain material on women's land rights. Given that these departments are responsible for training village-level government officials and those in charge of land revenue matters, the exclusion of women's land rights from their training programmes is likely to influence whether women are able to receive their entitlements. A greater degree of sensitisation to the cause of women's land rights needs to also be engendered among officials. A review of the institution tasked with training judicial officers, the National Judicial Academy, reveals that although it conducted seven gender sensitisation training sessions and 130 workshops from 2018 to 2021, none included material on women's land rights.

The legal services authorities (LSAs) provide legal aid and training to marginalised groups, but their training manual only covers women's land rights as part of a small section on property rights. Thus, there is a distinct need for greater education on the issue among those who are tasked with ensuring that women receive their entitlements.

2. Data and targeted programmes

The lack of gender disaggregated data on women's land ownership is a significant barrier to determining the exact extent of women's landlessness in India. Although NITI Aayog is working on digitising land records, there is no mention of collecting gender disaggregated data on land ownership. Given that ascertaining the extent of women's landlessness is the first step in addressing the problem of women's land ownership, the lack of efforts to accumulate accurate data reflects a lack of commitment to the cause.

The inclusion of gender disaggregated data on land ownership in the national indicator framework developed by the ministry of statistics and programme implementation will compel states to work towards addressing this gap. In particular, the provision of gender disaggregated data for aspirational districts, combined with targeted work and continued monitoring, will go a long way in addressing women's landlessness in some of the most underdeveloped regions in the country. In Gujarat, we tagged along with a government programme on updating land records and advocated for women's names to be included in all of the land records that were being updated. If the LSAs were to similarly prioritise women's land rights and devote their significant resources to it, they will be able to champion the cause more effectively.

4.6. Women entrepreneurs

Meaning of Women Entrepreneur:

Women Entrepreneurs means the women or a group of women who initiate, organize and operate a business enterprise. A woman entrepreneur is therefore a confident, creative and innovative woman desiring economic independence individually and simultaneously creating employment opportunities for others. In the advanced countries of the world, there is a phenomenal increase in the number of self-employed women after the World War II.

4.6.1. Nature

The term "women entrepreneur" deals with that section of the female population who venture out into industrial activities i.e. manufacturing, assembling, job works, repairs/servicing and other businesses. The Government of India has treated women entrepreneurs of a different criteria-level of women participation in equity and employment position of the enterprise. Women entrepreneurs have taken initiative in promoting and running an enterprise by having a controlling interest in that particular enterprise.

4.6.2. Definition:

"An enterprise owned and controlled by woman having a minimum financial interest of 51% of the capital and giving at least 51% employment generated to women" -By Government of India

"Women who innovate initiate or adopt business actively are called women entrepreneurs." -J. Schumpeter

"Women entrepreneurship is based on women participation in equity and employment of a business enterprise." -Ruhani J. Alice

4.6.3. Women Entrepreneur- in Indian Perspectives:

Indian women are changing and they are fast emerging as potential entrepreneurs. Role modelling of women in non-traditional business sectors to break through traditional views on men's and women's sectors.

Women companies are fast-growing economies in almost all countries. The latent entrepreneurial potential of women has changed little by little by the growing awareness of the role and status of economic society. Skills, knowledge and adaptability of the economy led to a major reason for women in business. Women are coming forth to the business arena with ideas to start small and medium enterprises. They are willing to be inspired by role models- the experience of other women in the business arena. Women entrepreneurs can be broadly categorized into five categories: -

1) Affluent entrepreneurs – These are daughters and wives of wealthy businessmen. These women have the financial aid and the necessary resources to start a new enterprise and take business risks.

2) Pull factors – These are educated women living in urban areas with or without work experience who take the risk of a new enterprise with the help of financial institutions and commercial banks. These women take up a new business as a challenge in order to be financially independent.

3) Push factors – These women take up some business activity in order to overcome financial difficulties. Generally, widows and single women manage an existing family business or develop a new business due to difficult family situations.

4) Rural entrepreneurs – These women belong to rural areas and choose a business suiting their resources and knowledge. Business carried out involves low investment, minimum risk and does not require any special skills.

5) Self-employed entrepreneurs – They are uneducated women who fall below the poverty line. They choose tiny and small enterprise which are convenient to manage and adequate for the sustenance of her family.

4.6.4. Main Entrepreneurial Traits of Women Entrepreneurs:

The Following are main entrepreneurial traits of women entrepreneurs:

(i) Imagination: It refers to the imaginative approach or original ideas with competitive market. Well planned approach is needed to examine the existing situation and to identify the entrepreneurial opportunities. It further implies that women entrepreneurs have association with knowledgeable people and contracting the right organisations offering support and services.

- (ii) Attribute to Work Hard: Enterprising women have further ability to work hard. The imaginative ideas have to come to a fair play. Hard work is needed to build up an enterprise.
- (iii) Persistence: Women entrepreneurs must have an intention to fulfil their dreams. They have to make a dream translated into an enterprise. Studies show that successful women have worked hard. They persisted in getting loan from financial institutions and other inputs. They have persisted in adverse circumstances and in adversity.
- (iv) Ability and Desire to Take Risk: The desire refers to the willingness to take risk and ability to the proficiency in planning, making forecast, estimates and calculations. Profits are the reward of risk. Enterprising women take risk but the risk is well calculated. It offers challenges where chances of survival and failure are on equal footing.

4.6.5. Factors Influencing Women Entrepreneurship:

1. Family culture and traditions – Family culture and traditions influence entrepreneurship. Women entrepreneur will remain entrepreneur if its family tradition is so or if she belongs to a pioneer entrepreneur.

2. Geographical factors and social factors – The society the state and the area to which she belongs also influence the entrepreneurship. If she is a Punjabi or Gujrati belonging to their respective state, will become entrepreneurs.

3. Caste system – The caste system also influences as a woman who is Sindhi may start a business at an early stage as in their caste or communities it is a trend. Government aids and policies – Government can never increase entrepreneurship; it always helps an entrepreneur. A capable person only can become entrepreneur even if she gets aids or adopts policies to start a venture.

4. Government can help poor class people with reservations. Government help can be of significance if entrepreneur takes its help for logical conclusions. But for this, calibre of an entrepreneur is also seen. 5. Inherent capabilities and efficiency – Capabilities to withstand the competition with males requires guts and dare to become an entrepreneur. Females require same capabilities as that of males. They get benefit of being females only when the service has to be rendered to women only like in hospitals etc. Capabilities influence the entrepreneurship but efficiency is also required as if the person has capability to become an entrepreneur but if she is not efficient to run the venture she cannot become a better entrepreneurship.

i. Push Factors:

a. Death of bread winner

b. Permanent inadequacy in income of the family

c. Sudden fall in family income.

ii. Pull Factors:

- a. Need and perception of Women's Liberation, Equity etc.
- b. To gain recognition, importance and social status.
- c. To get economic independence
- d. To utilize their free time or education
- e. Women's desire to evaluate their talent

There are four motivating factors which influence a woman entrepreneur:

1. Recognition:

A woman entrepreneur is motivated by recognition in respect of admiration, regard, esteem and celebrity. It is communication tools that reinforces and rewards the most important outcomes entrepreneurs create for the business.

2. Influence:

It is the capacity or power of a person to be a compelling force on or produce effects on the actions, behaviour, opinions, etc., of others.

3. Internal:

It is the main factor which motivates businesswomen. It is the internal factors which are very much important for the motivation. It includes creativity, respect, and happiness of other people.

4. Profit:

It is not the true motivation which influences an entrepreneur. Welfare of the employees, payment of tax to the government, is indirectly improving the living conditions of the entrepreneur. Thus the real motivation for Apple to create and sell popular products like iPod, iPhone and iPad is probably not money, but the interest.

4.6.6. Role of Woman Entrepreneurs in Society:

According to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "When women moves forward, the family moves, the village moves, and the nation moves." Women entrepreneurship has been recognized as an important, untapped source of economic growth during the last decade. With the spread of education and awareness, Indian women have shifted from the extended kitchen, handicrafts, and traditional cottage industries to non-traditional, higher level of activities. In the new industrial policy, the government has laid special emphasis on the need of conducting special entrepreneurial training programs for women to enable them to start their own ventures. Financial banks and institutions have also set up special cells to assist women entrepreneurs. This has helped the women a lot in taking up the entrepreneurial activity in India. Estimates in Europe (both European Union countries and other), indicate that there exist more than 10 million self-employed women and in the United States 6.4 million self-employed women for 9.2 million people and creating significant sales. Women entrepreneurs not only create new jobs for themselves, but also provide jobs to others. However, the participation of women entrepreneurs is less than male entrepreneurs. The role of women entrepreneurs is explained in the following points:

i. **Employment Generation**: It implies that women entrepreneurs not only establish their enterprise, but provide job to others. Women entrepreneurship is about women's position in the society and their role as entrepreneurs in the same society. It can be understood in two ways, namely, at the individual level (number of self-employed) and at the firm level

(number of firms owned by women and their economic impact). In this way, woman entrepreneurs have an important impact on the economy in terms of their ability to create jobs for themselves as well as for others.

- ii. **Economic Development**: It signifies that women entrepreneurs contribute to the gross domestic product of the country by establishing enterprises and producing goods and services. Due to their entrepreneurial activity, women entrepreneurs bring dynamism in market. In this way, they also help in increasing the national income of the country.
- iii. **Better Utilization of Resources**: It implies that the involvement of women in industrial development ensure the effective utilization of all available resources (labour, raw materials, capital). The issue of women in the industrialization process has been emphasized only in the last decade when the 'Declaration of Mexico in July 1975', the equality of womanhood and their contribution to individual development became the center of attention.
- iv. Improved Quality of Life: It implies that women entrepreneurs are now economically independent and take decisions independently. They are now capable of upbringing their children according to their wish. They are providing quality education to their children and a better living standard to their family members. They not only improve their living standards, but also the living standards of others by providing them the means of earning.

4.6.7. Institutions Assisting Women Entrepreneurs:

In India, large numbers of institutions have been setup for the purpose of promoting women entrepreneurs. They initiated different programmes for the development of women with the partial or full support from the central government and state governments. They are:

1. Association of Women Entrepreneurs of Karnataka (AWAKE): AWAKE was established in 1983. The main objective of its establishment was to help women to start their own business. It is one of the premier institutions in India which is working in the areas of training and helping the women to become entrepreneurs. The basic idea of this association is to empower women and join them in the economic mainstream. AWAKE is focusing its attention on both rural and urban women who have social and economic backwardness to make them self-reliant AWAKE designs EDPs.

2. Federation of Indian Women Entrepreneurs (FIWE): This was founded in the year 1993 on the eve of 4th International Conference of Women Entrepreneurs held at Hyderabad. The objective of it is to interact with various women associations of the country through its network to help the members in different activities. Functions of FIWE: a. It provides network facilities to women entrepreneurs in the country and abroad to develop their ventures. b. It provides facilities to member associations in the field of marketing, quality control, export management, standardisation etc. c. It helps the member associations to participate in national and international seminars, trade fairs, exhibitions to offer new exposure. d. It helps member organization a better access to different business opportunities. e. It helps member organizations to expand their business.

3. Self-Help Groups (SHGs): A self-help group is a voluntary association of women in rural or urban areas formed to take care of group welfare. The group with the help of commercial banks and other NGOs get its needs satisfied. Each member of the group, according to byelaw, contributes little amount to cover seed money. The other part of Fund' will be taken care off by a financial institution or NGOs. Sometimes, governments also undertake to provide finance through financial institutions. In Karnataka, "Stree Shakti Sangh" scheme become very popular. It is providing funds to women entrepreneurs through financial institutions.

4. Mahila Udyog Nidhi (MUN): Mahila Udyog Nidhi and Mahila Vikas Nidhi (MVN) of SIDBI have been assisting women entrepreneurs. MUN is an exclusive scheme for providing equity (i.e. seed capital) and MUN offers developmental assistance for pursuit of income generating activities to women. SIDBI has also taken a step to setup an informal channel for credit needs on liberal terms giving special emphasis to women.

5. The Trade Related Entrepreneurship Assistance and Development (TREAD): This is a scheme envisaged by Ministry of small scale industries, Government of India. It helps women entrepreneurs to become economically strong. To achieve this objective, it provides trade related training, information, counselling and extension activities related to trades, products, services etc.

6. Bank of India's Priyadarshini Yojana: Under this scheme the banks provides long term and working capital assistance under various categories.

7. Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarojar Yojana: This scheme has been in operation since April, 1999. The main objective of this scheme is to provide proper self- employment opportunities to rural women who are living below poverty line. The idea behind this is to improve the social and economic standard of rural women. Under this programme, forming a group of 10-15 women was adopted and encouraged them to take up an economic activity accounting to their skills and locally available resources.

8. Rashtriya Mahila Kosha: This fund was setup on March 30, 1993 to facilitate credit support to poor women for uplifting their socio-economic status. The Support is being extended through NGOs, Women Development Corporations, Dairy Federations, Municipal Councils etc., Rashtriya Mahila Kosh is planned to extend loan facilities through these organisations at 8 percent per annum interest. The financial assistance from this fund is totally security free and it doesn't insist for any kind of collateral security from organisations taking loan from it.

9. Other Schemes: In addition to the above assistance, women entrepreneurs are also Untitled to financing under other government sponsored schemes where capital subsidy is available and the rate of interest is much lower. They are:

- (a) Indian Mahila Kendra
- (b) Mahila Samiti Yojana
- (c) Mahila Vikasnidhi
- (d) Indira Mahila Yoj ana
- (e) Working Women's Forum
- (f) Women's Development Corporations
- (g) Marketing of Non-Farm Products of Rural Women
- (h) Assistance to Rural Women in Non-Farm Development Schemes
- (i) Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (PMRY)
- (j) Self-Employment Programme for Urban Poor (SEPUP)

(k) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

4.7. Impact of globalization on working women:

The term 'globalization' has been used to define various aspects of global expansion in the past decade. It has been associated with key areas of change which have led to a marked transformation of the world order. It is centred on the integration of international markets for goods, services, technology, finance and labour. This essentially means opening up of national economies to global market forces and corresponding reduction in the scope of the state to shape macro-economic policies. The process of globalization has far reaching consequences and poses serious questions. The forces unleashed at the global level have repercussion that affect lives of Inen and women at the micro-level through macro-policies. However, these policies have specific gender effects. That is, women are affected differently because of preexisting inequities in the household, community and society. The patriarchal structure of power and control in the society make the women more vulnerable. Their capacity to cope with changes are circumscribed by their lack of political and economic bargaining power, organisation, information and assets. It is however simplistic to treat women as a homogeneous category. Differences due to ethnicity, class, caste, race creates differential impact on their lives. Women, especially in the developing countries, have been affected by globalization in the most diverse aspects of their lives and in the furthest reaches of the world. The effect has been multiple and contradictory, inclusionary and exclusionary. They have had to negotiate complex and rapid changes in diverse and contrasting circumstances.

It is a very difficult task to summarise the impact of globalisation on women. However, we will highlight only a limited aspect here.

1. Women and Employment

Women (especially, but not exclusively, in wage-earning household) will be affected in several ways by the macro-economic policies. The move from formal to informal employment and public to private sector typically favours the feminization of 'employment at the margin'. It would lead to much more insecure and poorly paid work conditions with minimum regards for labour standards. Women may be literally pushed into the labour force, usually on highly disadvantaged terms. This is due to the pressure to maintain minimum levels of household income. For example, reduction of subsidies to basic amenities such as energy sources,

sanitation and water supply and to basic services such as health, not only reduces household income but puts special burden on women who typically-bear the responsibility for provisioning these within the household. There is a growing casualization of female labour and the clear indication that growing use of female labour has been associated with greater insecurity of labour contracts and the generally inferior conditions and pay. The unorganised sector, the biggest source of female employment (94%) will be affected by foreign capital as well as trade liberalization in terms of availability of employment opportunities for women. The entry of MNC7s such as General Foods, Nestle, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola and Kellogg in agro-processing industries is going to affect women workers where their Globalization and Women: concentration is large. The import of modem technology will lead to a cut back in low skill jobs A Critique of women on the hand and push them into low wage regime or undertake more strenuous jobs for the same pay.

Another implicit change evident is the increasing importance of contractors/subcontractors and jobbers who emerge as important source ofjob access. Women working on wage either in small manufacturing units in the export-of domestic sector outside their houses or others who get work at home on piece rate would find that their dependence on middlemen would increase. This is inevitable as production would no longer be carried out under the same roof. Once again, this entails insecurity of employment and income, though other forms of abuse cannot be ruled out.

Thus, given the low levels of education and skills of women workers, the patriarchal structures of power and control, their obligatory domestic responsibility, the process of marginalisation of women workers will increase

2. Women and Health

The most visible and direct impact of the new climate ef liberalization and legitimization of profit maximization can be seen in the health sector. Health is basically a function of proper nutritional care of an infant beginning with pregnant mother's health, rational hours of work burden, cleaner environment, occupational safety. Under SAP policies, like all other sectors which influence women's entitlement, health sector has also come under the 'cost benefit' syndrome. The Eight plan, 1992-97, is a good indicator to understand the impact of SAP. The philosophy of economic growth and market efficiency is reflected in the whole plan document.

There are some 'new policy options' offered in the plan to make 'primary health care accessible, acceptable and affordable to all'. However, on a closer look, this does not appear so. The new options offered are:

- i) Re-organisation of the Indian system of medicine and homeopathy.
- Encouragement of private sector (hospital, dispensaries, clinics)
 through tax incentives and accreditations and other 'suitable returns'.
- iii) Lowering birth rates through Family Planning Programme (EPP).
- iv) Inclusion of non-communicable diseases in the priority list.

The primary healthcare infrastructure, the only affordable health delivery system for the poor is absent in these new options. The degradation of environment and biotic medical resources raise a question mark on the feasibility of the success of Indian system of medicine. Encouragement to private sector by relief diverts resources to the rich.

For women, health is not a simple issue of distributing pills (be they nutritive, curative or contraceptive). There are two basic prerequisites for women's health:

a) A multi-pronged attack on poverty, social injustice and cultural myths.

b) Identification of critical health needs and developing basic as well as secondary and tertiary support services of provide comprehensive PHC around them.

In all this, the real casualty is the women and their girl child who remains the most neglected. The cure lies in tackling the root causes of poverty, illiteracy, provision of safe drinking water, sanitary facilities and safe practices against occupational health hazard.

3. Women and Education

The productive base of Indian society as of world society is changing into more and technological orientation. Therefore, women's entitlement to educational for being prepared to play multiple roles -productive, reproductive and citizenship is essential.

The Programme of Action (POA) admits that if 10 to 12 years of basic education is the requirement for entrance to technical education, rural girls hardly have a chance, moreover these facilities are mostly located in urban centres. It is the urban middle class the rural well off who have used the opportunity offered by vast expansion of educational facilities.

The educational at the level of the State and the districts are quick to accord priority to the construction of classrooms than locating the para-teachers in the local community who could provide support to the enrolment, retention and performance aspect of school education. Non-formal education appears to have become a low priority programme. However, more research in the area of trends in public expenditure, per capita expenditure, enrolment rates at the primary level, rate of growth of enrolment at this level and vocational and technical education is required.

4.8. National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001)

1. Introduction

The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Constitution not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Within the framework of a democratic polity, our laws, development policies, Plans and programmes have aimed at women's advancement in different spheres. From the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-78) onwards has been a marked shift in the approach to women's issues from welfare to development. In recent years, the empowerment of women has been recognized as the central issue in determining the status of women. The National Commission for Women was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1990 to safeguard the rights and legal entitlements of women. The 73rd and 74th Amendments (1993) to the Constitution of India have provided for reservation of seats in the local bodies of Panchayats and Municipalities for women, laying a strong foundation for their participation in decision making at the local levels.

India has also ratified various international conventions and human rights instruments committing to secure equal rights of women. Key among them is the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1993. The Policy also takes note of the commitments of the Ninth Five Year Plan and the other Sectoral Policies relating to empowerment of Women. The women's movement and a widespread network of non-Government Organisations which have strong grass-roots presence and deep insight into women's concerns have contributed in inspiring initiatives for the empowerment of women.

However, there still exists a wide gap between the goals enunciated in the Constitution, legislation, policies, plans, programmes, and related mechanisms on the one hand and the situational reality of the status of women in India, on the other. This has been analysed extensively in the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, "Towards Equality", 1974 and highlighted in the National Perspective Plan for Women, 1988-2000, the Shramshakti Report, 1988 and the Platform for Action, Five Years After- An assessment"

Gender disparity manifests itself in various forms, the most obvious being the trend of continuously declining female ratio in the population in the last few decades. Social stereotyping and violence at the domestic and societal levels are some of the other manifestations. Discrimination against girl children, adolescent girls and women persists in parts of the country. The underlying causes of gender inequality are related to social and economic structure, which is based on informal and formal norms, and practices. Consequently, the access of women particularly those belonging to weaker sections including Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes/ Other backward Classes and minorities, majority of whom are in the rural areas and in the informal, unorganized sector – to education, health and productive resources, among others, is inadequate. Therefore, they remain largely marginalized, poor and socially excluded.

2. Goal and Objectives

The goal of this Policy is to bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. The Policy will be widely disseminated so as to encourage active participation of all stakeholders for achieving its goals. Specifically, the objectives of this Policy include

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

- (iii) Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation
- (iv) Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.
- (v) Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women
- (vi) Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.
- (vii) Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.
- (viii) Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child; and
- (ix) Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations.

4.9. Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in the Development Process

The Policies, programmes and systems will be established to ensure mainstreaming of women's perspectives in all developmental processes, as catalysts, participants and recipients. Wherever there are gaps in policies and programmes, women specific interventions would be undertaken to bridge these. Coordinating and monitoring mechanisms will also be devised to assess from time to time the progress of such mainstreaming mechanisms. Women's issues and concerns as a result will specially be addressed and reflected in all concerned laws, sectoral policies, plans and programmes of action.

4.9.1. Economic Empowerment of women

1. Poverty Eradication

Since women comprise the majority of the population below the poverty line and are very often in situations of extreme poverty, given the harsh realities of intrahousehold and social discrimination, macroeconomic policies and poverty eradication programmes will specifically address the needs and problems of such women. There will be improved implementation of programmes which are already women oriented with special targets for women. Steps will be taken for mobilization of poor women and convergence of services, by offering them a range of economic and social options, along with necessary support measures to enhance their capabilities

2. Micro Credit

In order to enhance women's access to credit for consumption and production, the establishment of new, and strengthening of existing micro-credit mechanisms and micro-finance institution will be undertaken so that the outreach of credit is enhanced. Other supportive measures would be taken to ensure adequate flow of credit through extant financial institutions and banks, so that all women below poverty line have easy access to credit.

3. Women and Economy

Women's perspectives will be included in designing and implementing macroeconomic and social policies by institutionalizing their participation in such processes. Their contribution to socio-economic development as producers and workers will be recognized in the formal and informal sectors (including home based workers) and appropriate policies relating to employment and to her working conditions will be drawn up. Such measures could include:

- (a) Reinterpretation and redefinition of conventional concepts of work wherever necessary e.g. in the Census records, to reflect women's contribution as producers and workers.
- (b) Preparation of satellite and national accounts.
- (c) Development of appropriate methodologies for undertaking (a) and (b) above.

4. Globalization

Globalization has presented new challenges for the realization of the goal of women's equality, the gender impact of which has not been systematically evaluated fully. However, from the micro-level studies that were commissioned by the Department of Women & Child Development, it is evident that there is a need for reframing policies for access to employment and quality of employment. Benefits of the growing global economy have been unevenly distributed leading to wider economic disparities, the feminization of poverty, increased gender inequality through often deteriorating working conditions and unsafe working environment especially in the informal economy and rural areas. Strategies will be designed to enhance the capacity of women and empower them to meet the negative social and economic impacts, which may flow from the globalization process.

5. Women and Agriculture

In view of the critical role of women in the agriculture and allied sectors, as producers, concentrated efforts will be made to ensure that benefits of training, extension and various programmes will reach them in proportion to their numbers. The programmes for training women in soil conservation, social forestry, dairy development and other occupations allied to agriculture like horticulture, livestock including small animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries etc. will be expanded to benefit women workers in the agriculture sector.

6. Women and Industry

The important role played by women in electronics, information technology and food processing and agro industry and textiles has been crucial to the development of these sectors. They would be given comprehensive support in terms of labour legislation, social security and other support services to participate in various industrial sectors. Women at present cannot work in night shift in factories even if they wish to. Suitable measures will be taken to enable women to work on the night shift in factories. This will be accompanied with support services for security, transportation etc.

7. Support Services.

The provision of support services for women, like child care facilities, including crèches at work places and educational institutions, homes for the aged and the disabled will be expanded and improved to create an enabling environment and to ensure their full cooperation in social, political and economic life. Women-friendly personnel policies will also be drawn up to encourage women to participate effectively in the developmental process.

4.9.2. Social Empowerment of Women

1. Education

Equal access to education for women and girls will be ensured. Special measures will be taken to eliminate discrimination, universalize education, eradicate illiteracy, create a gender-sensitive educational system, increase enrolment and retention rates of girls and improve the quality of education to facilitate life-long learning as well as development of occupation/vocation/technical skills by women.

Reducing the gender gap insecondary and higher education would be a focus area. Sectoral time targets in existing policies will be achieved, with a special focus on girls and women, particularly those belonging to weaker sections including the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes/Other Backward Classes/Minorities. Gender sensitive curricula would be developed at all levels of educational system in order to address sex stereotyping as one of the causes of gender discrimination.

2. Health

A holistic approach to women's health which includes both nutrition and health services will be adopted and special attention will be given to the needs of women and the girl at all stages of the life cycle. The reduction of infant mortality and maternal mortality, which are sensitive indicators of human development, is a priority concern. This policy reiterates the national demographic goals for Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) set out in the National Population Policy 2000. Women should have access to comprehensive, affordable and quality health care. Measures will be adopted that take into account the reproductive rights of women to enable them to exercise informed choices, their vulnerability to sexual and health problems together with endemic, infectious and communicable diseases such as malaria, TB, and water borne diseases as well as hypertension and cardio-pulmonary diseases. The social, developmental and health consequences of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases will be tackled from a gender perspective.

To effectively meet problems of infant and maternal mortality, and early marriage the availability of good and accurate data at micro level on deaths, birth and marriages is required. Strict implementation of registration of births and deaths would be ensured and registration of marriages would be made compulsory.

In accordance with the commitment of the National Population Policy (2000) to population stabilization, this Policy recognizes the critical need of men and women to have access to safe, effective and affordable methods of family planning of their choice and the need to suitably address the issues of early marriages and spacing of children. Interventions such as spread of education, compulsory registration of marriage and special programmes like BSY should impact on delaying the age of marriage so that by 2010 child marriages are eliminated.

Women's traditional knowledge about health care and nutrition will be recognized through proper documentation and its use will be encouraged. The use of Indian and alternative systems of medicine will be enhanced within the framework of overall health infrastructure available for women.

3. Nutrition

In view of the high risk of malnutrition and disease that women face at all the three critical stages viz., infancy and childhood, adolescent and reproductive phase, focussed attention would be paid to meeting the nutritional needs of women at all stages of the life cycle. This is also important in view of the critical link between the health of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women with the health of infant and young children. Special efforts will be made to tackle the problem of macro and micro nutrient deficiencies especially amongst pregnant and lactating women as it leads to various diseases and disabilities.

Intra-household discrimination in nutritional matters vis-à-vis girls and women will be sought to be ended through appropriate strategies. Widespread use of nutrition education would be made to address the issues of intra-household imbalances in nutrition and the special needs of pregnant and lactating women. Women's participation will also be ensured in the planning, superintendence and delivery of the system.

4. Drinking Water and Sanitation

Special attention will be given to the needs of women in the provision of safe drinking water, sewage disposal, toilet facilities and sanitation within accessible reach of households, especially in rural areas and urban slums. Women's participation will be ensured in the planning, delivery and maintenance of such services.

5. Housing and Shelter

Women's perspectives will be included in housing policies, planning of housing colonies and provision of shelter both in rural and urban areas. Special attention will be given for providing adequate and safe housing and accommodation for women including single women, heads of households, working women, students, apprentices and trainees.

6. Environment

Women will be involved and their perspectives reflected in the policies and programmes for environment, conservation and restoration. Considering the impact of environmental factors on their livelihoods, women's participation will be ensured in the conservation of the environment and control of environmental degradation. The vast majority of rural women still depend on the locally available non-commercial sources of energy such as animal dung, crop waste and fuel wood. In order to ensure the efficient use of these energy resources in an environmental friendly manner, the Policy will aim at promoting the programmes of non-conventional energy resources. Women will be involved in spreading the use of solar energy, biogas, smokeless and other rural application so as to have a visible impact of these measures in influencing eco system and in changing the life styles of rural women.

7. Science and Technology

Programmes will be strengthened to bring about a greater involvement of women in science and technology. These will include measures to motivate girls to take up science and technology for higher education and also ensure that development projects with scientific and technical inputs involve women fully. Efforts to develop a scientific temper and awareness will also be stepped up. Special measures would be taken for their training in areas where they have special skills like communication and information technology. Efforts to develop appropriate technologies suited to women's needs as well as to reduce their drudgery will be given a special focus too.

8. Women in Difficult Circumstances

In recognition of the diversity of women's situations and in acknowledgement of the needs of specially disadvantaged groups, measures and programmes will be undertaken to provide them with special assistance. These groups include women in extreme poverty, destitute women, women in conflict situations, women affected by natural calamities, women in less developed regions, the disabled widows, elderly women, single women in difficult circumstances, women heading households, those displaced from employment, migrants, women who are victims of marital violence, deserted women and prostitutes etc.

9. Violence against women

All forms of violence against women, physical and mental, whether at domestic or societal levels, including those arising from customs, traditions or accepted practices shall be dealt with effectively with a view to eliminate its incidence. Institutions and mechanisms/schemes for assistance will be created and strengthened for prevention of such violence, including sexual harassment at work place and customs like dowry; for the rehabilitation of the victims of violence and for taking effective action against the perpetrators of such violence. A special emphasis will also be laid on programmes and measures to deal with trafficking in women and girls.

10. Rights of the Girl Child

All forms of discrimination against the girl child and violation of her rights shall be eliminated by undertaking strong measures both preventive and punitive within and outside the family. These would relate specifically to strict enforcement of laws against prenatal sex selection and the practices of female foeticide, female infanticide, child marriage, child abuse and child prostitution etc. Removal of discrimination in the treatment of the girl child within the family and outside and projection of a positive image of the girl child will be actively fostered. There will be special emphasis on the needs of the girl child and earmarking of substantial investments in the areas relating to food and nutrition, health and education, and in vocational education. In implementing programmes for eliminating child labour, there will be a special focus on girl children.

11. Mass Media

Media will be used to portray images consistent with human dignity of girls and women. The Policy will specifically strive to remove demeaning, degrading and negative conventional stereotypical images of women and violence against women. Private sector partners and media networks will be involved at all levels to ensure equal access for women particularly in the area of information and communication technologies. The media would be encouraged to develop codes of conduct, professional guidelines and other self-regulatory mechanisms to remove gender stereotypes and promote balanced portrayals of women and men.

Unit-V

Social issues and women in Indian planning

5. Issues in the unorganized sector of employment

The gigantic workforces are engaged in huge informal sectors. They, by and large, face various types of problems in their regular life like they stay very close to their workplace; extending working hours is a regular practice, exploitation and hazardous workplace are very common as followings

1. Very low wages is the main problem for unorganized workers: Minimum wage act in most of the time applies for labours working under the purview of organized sectors or formal sectors.

2. Maximum workers do not have any perfect living areas near to their work place: Maximum workers working in organized sectors avail house rent allowance, in addition to that they get house from housing board and also get bank loan from various statutory banks for making their own particular house yet, unfortunately the workers from unorganized sectors are deprived form all these facilities, subsequently they have a propensity to make cluster inside the restricted space in their living region where they do not have appropriate washing facilities, because of that they regularly deal with the unbalanced circumstance particularly women workers. They likewise battle with various unhygienic conditions sewer seepage frameworks, overflowing drainage systems flooding amid storm.

3. They do not have any knowledge about work hazardous and occupational safety: Introduction of different hazardous machinery, high rise in construction, unguarded machinery, various toxic chemical, coal dust, lime dust, blazes crude materials for synthetic generation leads quantities of tragic deaths of man unorganized labours because the working condition is more severe as compared to that organized sectors furthermore the knowledge of occupational health and safety is negligible of the workers of unorganized sectors.

4. Overtime, paid holiday or sick leave are not provided to them: In spite of the fact that the overtime, paid holiday and sick leave go under the domain of labour laws still may casual labourers are denied from that rights however the use of those laws are normal in formal segments.

5. They do not have idea on Trade Union/ labour union: Maximum numbers of informal workers do not have any knowledge about the existence and rules of labour union. Many workers of unorganized sectors, like union of agricultural workers, brick workers, hosiery workers, construction rakes, fish and forest workers, domestic workers, bidi rollers, sex workers, liquor shop employees have joined Shramajivi Swikriti Manch and Asanghathit Kshetra Shramik Sangrami Manch a with unorganised sector assembled them under in one platform.

6. High level job insecurity is a common phenomenon unorganized sector: Social Security can be defined as "the provision of benefits to households and individuals through public or collective arrangements to protect against low or declining standard of living arising from a number of basic risks and needs. (Erewise .com)

7. Women and child workers are vulnerable and draw very low wages: It has observed that women and child labour are most vulnerable amongst the unorganized labour. A developing wonder is utilizing children and women as household labourers as a part of urban territories. The conditions in which children and women work is totally unregulated and they are regularly made to work without nourishment, and low wages, looking like circumstances of subjection. They are being paid wages low as compare to adult male labour despite their commitment of same working hours There are instances of physical, sexual and psychological mistreatment of women and child household labourers.

8. Maximum workers are leaving in a very deplorable condition: So far as living condition is concerned; they leave in cluster in a very unhygienic condition. They normally stay by making hut in a row.

9. Lack of quality employment due to fraudulent acting of contractor: Many unorganized sectors are not registered with the government and the employment term of workers is not regular. No act like Bonus act, Pension act, Provident fund act, Maternity act, Factories act are followed in unorganized sectors. Unorganized segment is not managed by the legal system and subsequently taxes are not collected. The working hours of workers are not settled. In addition, now and again they need to chip away at Sundays and occasions. They get day by day compensation for their work, which is nearly not exactly the compensation recommended by the Government.

10. Loss of employment due to silly reason is a natural incident: There are innumerable illustrations of losing employment in unorganized sectors because of immaterial reason. There are numerous lawful commitments have been outlined to stop the embarrassment in the occupation although the majority of those lawful conventions are connected only in organized sectors.

11. Numbers of harassment issues at work place for working Women: Issues of harassment are very frequent of women workers working in unorganized sectors. For illustration, five female salespersons at Kalyan Sarees in Thrissur had gone on strike in December 2013, demanding better working conditions. Management used to cut their salaries with very silly reason. Women workers are not allowed to sit and even not allowed to go to toilet for more than ten hours. A safe workplace is a woman's legal right but unfortunately, still many working women in the unorganized sectors experience a wide range of physical and psychological ailments due to eve teasing and sexual harassment.

12. Susceptible to diseases: Health problem is a very common happening of workers working in unorganized sectors. Occupational diseases like pneumoconiosis, tuberculosis, and asthmatic are out of control in informal sectors. In addition to that, problem in digestive system, circulatory system, urinary tract, blood pressure and affect the various sensory organs (like loss of eye sight, hearing etc.) are also very common happenings. They do not get proper facilities for treatment except the health center of Employees' State Insurance Scheme.

13. Bonded labour: Bonded labour is an obligatory bond between an employer and an employee. This type of relationship had begun since king's dynasty in India. There was a myth of slave traders in the history of world also but it had no proper reason except the muscle power. But in bonded labour, the force is derived from outstanding debt. Occasionally, few labours do not get job in unorganized sector so alternately they prefer to incline toward the security of any work once someone offers in bonded labour form. Though the bonded labour system is unlawful still it is making functional by force by few people. Sometime, it is also made live with help of different customs.

5.1. Work status and Problems of Women

Women have played just as important a role in the shaping of human history as men have. Higher status for women in terms of employment and work performed in society is, in reality, a key measure of a country's overall growth. There are numerous reasons and issues that have compelled Indian women to work. The financial pressures on Indian families are growing by the day. In India, the cost of life, expenses for children's education, and the cost of housing properties have all increased, forcing every family to look for ways to supplement their income. As a result, women in India who were previously known for being homemakers are being driven to do employment that is more acceptable for men, such as working at night.

Working women, or those who work for a living, confront challenges at work just because they are women. Due to the fact that they are female The public perception of women's roles lags far behind the law. The assumption that women are only suitable for specific tasks leads to discrimination among those who work with them. Employees should be recruited. As a result, women can readily find work as nurses, doctors, teachers, secretaries, or in other fields. Even when well-qualified women are available, a male candidate with equal qualifications is given preference. Gender bias poses a barrier during the recruitment process. Even while the law declares equality in remuneration, it is not always followed. The ingrained belief that women are incapable of doing difficult work and are less effective than males has an impact on the payment of differential salaries and compensation for the same job.

5.2. Women status in India

Since India's independence in 1947, the country's economy has seen significant changes. Agriculture currently accounts for only one-third of GDP, down from 59 percent in 1950, and a wide range of modern businesses and services are now available. There are currently support services available. Agriculture continues to dominate despite these changes. Two-thirds of all workers are employed by this industry. In the 1990s, India experienced economic difficulties. The Persian Gulf Crisis compounded the problems in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Beginning in, India began implementing trade liberalization measures in 1992. The economy has improved. During that time, the annual GDP growth rate was between 5% and 7%, and Significant progress has been achieved in easing government rules, particularly in the

financial sector. Private businesses are subject to regulations. Women's labour and contributions have been valued since time immemorial, but their worth has never been recognised. Because India is such a diverse society, no single generalization can be applied to all of the country's many geographical, religious, social, and economic groupings. Nonetheless, several general circumstances in which Indian women live have an impact on their economic participation. India's society is very hierarchical, with almost everyone ranked in relation to others based on their caste (or caste-like group), class, wealth, and power. This rating exists even in places where it is not explicitly acknowledged, such as some business environments.

Women have been side-lined in economic activities as a result of technical inputs introduced by globalization, while men have typically been afforded greater opportunities for learning and training. As a result, more women than ever before are entering the informal sector or casual labour force. For example, while new rice technology has boosted the usage of female labour, the increased workload for women is in unrecorded and frequently unpaid operations that fall under the category of home production activities. The weaker groups, particularly women, are denied the medical attention they require. As a result, the bulk of Indian women have little ability to undertake useful work; the "ability" to pick among alternatives is evident by its lack.

5.3. Problems of women at workplaces

The workplace is rife with many concerns and obstacles that must be tackled on a daily basis for the working Indian woman. While the scope and severity of these problems varies, the most common ones can be summarized as follows:

1. Gender Pay Gap

There is no country on the planet where women get paid equally to men for doing the same work. Even the Nordic countries, which have extremely high overall gender parity, cannot claim equal pay for equal work. India has the distinction of being the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) economy with the lowest gender parity, which includes wage parity. The Global Gender Gap Report from 2010 revealed this. For more than a century, salary

inequality between men and women has been a global problem. After the initial successes, however, progress has been modest.

According to the survey, India has a 25.4 percent pay difference between men and women. This means that a woman's median hourly wage is 25.4 percent lower than a man's median hourly wage. Some of the causes for the gender wage gap, according to the survey, could be a preference for male employees over female employees, a preference for male employees being promoted to supervisory roles, and career pauses for women owing to family duties and other socio-cultural issues.

2. Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is an abominable reality for Indian women on a daily basis. Every day, their greatest challenge is to retain their holiness in their homes, on the road, in their educational institutions, and at work.

Despite the increase in numbers, women are finding that their complaints are not being adequately addressed by their employers. Employers are either uninformed of the law's provisions or have only partially implemented them, and those that do set up internal panels have members who are poorly trained. According to the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition, and Redressal) Act of 2013, every commercial or public organisation with 10 or more employees must have an internal complaint commission (ICC).

3. Inadequate Sanitation Facilities

Women suffer as a result of a lack of sufficient sanitation facilities in the workplace. According to Indian Census figures from 2011, there are 587 million women in India, accounting for 48 percent of the population. Despite this, only 29% of women over the age of fifteen participate in the labour. At least part of the reason for this could be traced to women's lack of safety, which could be linked to their lack of access to bathrooms.

4. Gender based Discrimination

According to a report by recruiting agency Team Lease Services, five out of ten employees in India Inc. have experienced some form of discrimination. In terms of benefits, hours, leave, earnings, opportunities, and promotions, there is gender segregation in the workplace. According to the firm's recent poll, 'Bias@Workplace,' India Inc. (mostly in the top 8 cities) has yet to fully embrace the concept of equal opportunity. The survey revealed a high frequency of biased hiring and workplace practices. Pregnant women and women with young children are also at a disadvantage throughout the recruitment process and when competing for job prospects, according to the Team Lease survey.

5.4. Law related to women protections

1. The Indian Constitution

As a "Fundamental Right," the Constitution guarantees equality.

Article 15 includes provisions for women, children, and individuals who are socially and educationally disadvantaged. These provisions are not discriminatory in any way. In matters of public employment, Article 16 guarantees equal opportunity. Women are guaranteed one-third seats in Panchayats under the 73rd Amendment Act of the Constitution, and one-third seats in Municipalities under the 74th Amendment Act.

2. The National Commission for Women Act, 1990

Creates a National Commission for Women to review existing statutory protections for women, prepare periodic reports to the Central Government on matters relating to safeguards for women's rights, investigate complaints of deprivation of these rights, and provide financial assistance in the litigation of issues affecting women.

3. Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013

The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 is a legislative act in India that seeks to protect women from sexual harassment at their place of work. This statute superseded the Vishakha Guidelines for prevention of sexual harassment introduced by the Supreme Court of India. The Bill lays down the definition of sexual harassment and seeks to provide a mechanism for redressing complaints. It provides for the constitution of an 'Internal Complaints Committee' at the workplace and a 'Local Complaints Committee' at the district and block levels. A District Officer (District Collector or Deputy Collector), shall be responsible for facilitating and monitoring the activities under the Act. prohibits sexual harassment of women at work. The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition, and Redressal) Act, 2013 is an Indian law that aims to protect women at work from sexual harassment. The Supreme Court of India's Vishakha Guidelines for the Prevention of Sexual Harassment were superseded by this Act. The bill establishes a definition of sexual harassment as well as a procedure for dealing with complaints. It establishes a 'Internal Complaints Committee' within the workplace, as well as a 'Local Complaints Committee' at the district and block levels. A District Officer (District Collector or Deputy Collector) is in charge of facilitating and overseeing the Act's functions.

4. The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Bill, 2016

On March 9, 2017, the Indian Parliament passed a law offering women working in the organized sector compensated maternity leave of 26 weeks, up from the current 12 weeks, a decision that will benefit approximately 1.8 million women. The law will apply to all businesses with ten or more employees, and the benefit will be limited to the first two children. The entitlement for the third child will be 12 weeks. As a result, India now has the third-highest maternity leave in the world. Canada and Norway offer 50 weeks and 44 weeks of paid maternity leave, respectively.

5.5. Problems of Dalit women:

The Working Group on Women's Agency and Empowerment for the 12th Five Year Plan defines women's empowerment as "as a process, which enables women to have a notion of dignity and self-worth, bodily integrity, freedom from coercion and control over resources. It affirms that empowerment is achieved when, along with the condition of women, their position improves and their freedoms and choices are enlarged economically, socially and politically. Empowerment must enable all women to negotiate these freedoms and increase their capabilities." A brief overview of the condition of Dalit women in India affirms the fact that they perhaps constitute one of the most disempowered sections of the society. The issues faced by them are deep-rooted in the caste-based patriarchal social structure inherent in the society. Dalit women face triple deprivation by being poor, being women and being a Dalit (Scheduled Caste). The interface of the severely imbalanced (social, economic and political) power equations in caste and patriarchy impacts Dalit women uniquely; very distinct from the experience of other women and even Dalit men. Dalit women remain marginalised in all spheres of life, be it education, health, political participation, occupation, wages, assets, social mobility, extent of victimization through violence or access to justice. Incidence of violence against Dalit women is particularly high and assumes a dual nature of being both sexual as well as caste-based. Violence is often used against the women to 'keep them in their place' as a lesson for them to adhere to the existing feudal and patriarchal dominant-caste norms.

According to the National Commission for Women, "In the commission of offences against... [Dalit] women the [dominant caste] offenders try to establish their authority and humiliate the community by subjecting their women to indecent and inhuman treatment." 'Further, when they transgress caste norms such as those prescribing caste endogamy or untouchability practices, or assert their rights over resources or public spaces, violence is unleashed on them'. Dalit women have been subjected to rape, molestation, kidnapping, abduction, homicide, physical and mental torture, immoral traffic and sexual abuse. The National Crime Records Bureau data reveals that more than four Dalit women are raped every day in India. Dalit women report having faced one or more incidents of verbal abuse (62.4%), physical assault (54.8%), sexual harassment and assault (46.8%), domestic violence (43.0%) and rape (23.2%) (Irudayam, Mangubhai, Lee, (2006) as quoted in Violence Against Dalit Women, Input to the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women in connection with her visit to India between 22 April – 1 May 2013).

The violence against Dalit women is linked primarily to violation of their sexual or bodily integrity, gender inequality and 'natural' caste hierarchy, violation of their civil rights, economic exploitation, and resistance to the group's assertion of their political rights and when Dalit women seek justice and protection of the law. The incidence of violence against Dalit women is particularly high when they assert their political rights, contest in Panchayat elections or when they try and exercise their political authority as elected Panchayat representatives. Given such multiple disadvantages faced by Dalit women, especially the high incidence of violence targeted at them, it is of utmost importance to accord special attention to their overall development and empowerment. A number of policies and programmes have been introduced for the development of Dalits, however the extent to which their concerns have been integrated in the policy and planning processes of the country is a question worth assessing. Likewise, though there are a number of measures in place for women in general, to what extent have the Dalit women found a place in these, is also worth looking at. The idea is to try and assess the nature of social rank being accorded to 'Dalit women' in the government policies and programmes in recognition of the triple disadvantages that they face, and how far has the group been recognized as a separate category whose needs are different from those of poor men, Dalit men, and non-Dalit women.

National Policy for Women-2001: Recognizes that women belonging to the Scheduled Castes have inadequate access to education, health and productive resources. It also recognizes the need for targeted policies in the field of education to eliminate discrimination, universalize education, eradicate illiteracy, create a gender-sensitive educational system, increase enrolment and retention rates of girls and improve the quality of education to facilitate life-long learning as well as development of occupation/vocation/ technical skills by women, whereby it emphasizes the need to focus particularly on SC women and girls.

Union Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD): There is supposed to be a special emphasis in various schemes and programmes run by the Ministry on the benefits for SCs and STs. To ensure that at least 28.2 percent of the total allocation of the Ministry is utilized for the benefit of SCs and STs, the Ministry has earmarked funds for them under three major schemes, viz. ICDS, SABLA and IGMSY. During 2012-13, an amount of Rs. 5217 crores have been earmarked for the purpose.

5.5.1. Specific Interventions under the Union Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment8 (MSJE):

• Under Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP), at least 15% of the SCA should be utilized by States/UTs for SC women.

• Mahila Samriddhi Yojana under National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC): exclusive Micro-credit scheme for women beneficiaries • Mahila Kisan Yojana under NSFDC: Term Loans up to Rs. 50,000/- at an interest rate of 5% p.a., exclusively to women beneficiaries for taking up income generating ventures in Agriculture and/or Mixed Farming related economic activities

• **NSKFDC:** Women are a priority group under the economic development and rehabilitation measures under this.

• Several scholarships (Pre-Matric, Post Matric, National Overseas Scholarship, Top Class Education for Meritorious Students etc.) that have a provision for earmarking a certain percentage for girl students.

• Hostels for students, with special focus on Girls' Hostels (eg: Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana, Girls Hostels) Under Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana, under the girl's hostel component of the scheme, 100% Central Assistance is provided for new construction and expansion of existing girls' 'hostel building' to State Governments (as against 50% assistance for boy's hostels).

• Machinery for Implementation of PCR Act of 1995 and Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989: functioning and strengthening of SCs and STs Protection Cell and Special Police Stations, setting up and functioning of exclusive Special Courts, cash incentives for inter-caste marriage, relief and rehabilitation of atrocity victims and awareness generation.

• A number of studies sanctioned to various organisations to study the different forms of vulnerabilities faced by Dalit women.

5.6. Working Group on Women's Agency and Empowerment for the 12th FYP:

The working group acknowledges that Dalit women face multiple disadvantages, which are primarily a result of the dominant socio-cultural norms and practices. It recognises that the empowerment of SC women needs special attention in our development policies, and the need is to follow a rights-based approach, take steps to eliminate untouchability, ensure provision of subsidized food grains with outlets in SC (operated as far as possible by SC women), special intervention for migrant SC women and children, and provide assistance and infrastructure to carry out fishing operations and related activities.

5.6.1. 12th Five Year Plan (2012-17):

The observations and recommendations are along the same lines as the Working Group with special focus on the education of SC girls through scholarships, hostels, residential schools and other such measures. The approach is to ensure security and dignity especially of SC women, improve their development status, empower them for political participation and implement SCSP effectively to achieve inclusive growth. Priority is to be given for economic development and rehabilitation of manual scavengers (most of whom are SC women) through National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC).

5.6.2. The Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan Bill, 2013 (Draft Bill for the National Legislation):

Dalit women do not find a mention in this draft Bill except the clause to have at least three women members among the six social workers, as a part of the National Scheduled Castes Development Council. That is not to say that there should be separate earmarking for Dalit women within SCSP, however, the recognition of the fact that they have specific needs, distinct from Dalit men, and incorporation of the same in the overall planning process under the SCSP would have been welcome.

It is clear from a brief overview of the policies and programmes in place that the approach towards empowerment of Dalit women is either subsumed under their identity of being a Dalit or of being a woman. Recognition of the fact that women are a heterogeneous group with varying issues and needs and at the same time, concerns faced by Dalit women are different from those faced by Dalit men, is yet to be incorporated in our policy framework. What is lacking is a substantive approach to address the specific issues faced by Dalit women. Especially, given the high incidence of violence against the group, it is important that separate allocations be made for addressing this concern through strengthening the implementation of existing policies and legislations as well as designing new structured interventions. It is high time that Dalit women are treated as a distinct group and a comprehensive needs-based approach is adopted to address the disadvantages facing the SC women.

5.6.3. Invisibility of women in official data systems

More than in any other area, it is in the recording of the work done by women, that serious inaccuracies and measurement failures occur. As a result, their participation in the economy is undermined. Census after Census, women's contribution has been rendered invisible by failing to quantify their work inputs, especially in agriculture and the unorganised sector. There are basically two kinds of work. Work for which payment is received and work for which no payment is made. Women are known to work longer hours than men and to participate in the work force to a far greater extent than is measured by the data gathered in the census. But a lot of the work they do is unrecognised, leave alone rewarded with equal remuneration. Thus, our mechanisms of data collection cause a loss of significant information. This has an impact on the status of women in the society, their opportunities in public life and the gender blindness of development policies.

5.6.4. Some Reasons for Statistical Invisibility

The statistical invisibility of women's work or measurement failure could be due to several factors. The literature on the subject identifies the following among others:

- ➢ Bias of the interviewer.
- Bias of male head of household/ respondent.
- Poorly constructed questionnaires.
- Cultural bias regarding women working outside the home and under-reporting of it.
- The nature/style of women's work where they perform several tasks in a day for small amounts of time, so classification based on one main activity is difficult.
- > Dominance of domestic work leading to under reporting of other work.
- Mistaken perception of women's roles by respondents and interviewers.
- Intermingling of production for self-consumption with production for sale.
- Contribution to economic activity at pre-marketing, less visible or non-monetised stage.
- Contribution to 'family' occupations like agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving, cottage industries, where the contribution of women gets merged with that of the family and becomes invisible.

5.7. Initiatives towards recognition of women as agents of development from sixth fiveyear plan

Women empowerment and five year plans from 1947 to 2017 the Indian economy was premised on the concept of planning this was carried through the Five Year Plans, developed, executed, and monitored by the Planning Commission (1951-2014) and the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Aayog (2015-2017). With the Prime Minister as the ex-officio Chairman, the commission has a nominated Deputy Chairman, who holds the rank of Cabinet Minister. Montek Singh Ahluwalia is the last Deputy Chairman of the Commission (resigned on 26th May 2014). The Eleventh Five Year Plan completed its term in March 2012 and the Twelfth Plan is currently underway [4]. It is since the mid-1980s that this term became popular in the field of development, especially in reference to women. In India, it is the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85), which can be taken as a landmark for the cause of women. It is here that the concept of 'women and development' was introduced for the first time. It was realised that no more piecemeal strategies but an integrated approach would deliver the desired goods. The realistic and regenerative developmental efforts in the direction of progress, in terms of economic independence for women and educational advancement of them are what would answer the basic questions raised for empowering women. In the Five Year Plans major importance has been given to women. Various programmes and schemes made for women empowerment in various successive Five Year Plans are as follows:

1. First Five-Year Plan

Women's development began mainly as welfare oriented programme in the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56). To spearhead welfare measure, the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) was established in 1953, which symbolized the welfare approach to women's problems. This Board was also reflective of the community development approach, which envisaged for the first time, the need for organizing women into Mahila Mandals or Women's Clubs. Community development workers, worked closely with the rural elite. Rural women came within the purview of the Community Development Programmes.

2. Second Five-Year Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61) was closely linked with the overall approach of intensive agricultural development. The welfare approach to women's issues persisted. The plan organized women into Mahila Mandals to act as focal points at the grassroots levels for development of women. It recognized the need for the organization of women as workers. It perceived the social prejudices/ disabilities they suffered. The Plan stated that women should be protected against injurious work, should receive maternity benefits and crèches for children. It also suggested speedy implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work and provision for training to enable women to compete for higher jobs.

3. Third Five-Year Plan

The Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66) pinpointed female education as a major welfare strategy. In social welfare, the largest share was provided for expanding rural welfare services

and condensed course of education. The health programme concentrated mainly on the provision of services for maternal and child welfare, health education, nutrition and family planning.

4. Fourth Five-Year Plan

The Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74) gave emphasis on women's education. The basic policy of this Plan was to promote women's welfare within the family as the base of operation. High priority was accorded to immunization of preschool children and supplementary feeding for children, expectant and nursing mothers. During this period, Central Social Welfare Board adopted the following programmes for welfare of women.

1. Considered courses of education for adult women;

2. Socio-economic programmes.

5. Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79), saw a shift in the approach for women's development from 'welfare' to 'development' to cope up with several problems of the family and the role of women. The new approach aimed at an integration of welfare with development services. This plan emphasized the need to train women in need of income and protection. It also recommended a programme of functional literacy to equip women with skills and knowledge to reform the functions of housewife under the health programmes, the primary objective was to provide minimum public health facilities integrated with family planning and nutrition for vulnerable groups, children, pregnant and lactating mothers. This plan coincided with the International Women's Decade and the submission of the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI), "Towards Equality". The overall task of the CSWI was to undertake a comprehensive examination of all the questions relating to the rights and status of women in the context of changing social and economic conditions in the country and problems relating to the advancement of women. The report stressed that the dynamics of social change and development had adversely affected a large section of women and had created new imbalances and disparities such as:

- i) The declining sex ratio;
- ii) Lower expectancy of life;
- iii) Higher infant and maternal mortality;
- iv) Declining work participation; and

v) Illiteracy.

6. Sixth Five-Year Plan

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1980-85), marked a landmark in the history of women's development by including a separate chapter and adopting a multi-disciplinary approach with the three pronged thrust on health, education and employment. This Plan reviewed the status and situation of women in general and came to the conclusion that in spite of legal and constitutional guarantees; women had lagged behind men in all sectors. It stressed that the main strategy for women's development was three-fold education, employment and health. For the first time, it clearly spelt out that economic independence would accelerate improvement in the status of women and suggested the setting up of cells at the district level for increasing women's participation through self-employment. It also wanted the government to review the adequacy of the implementing machinery of various special legislations passed for the protection of women's right. It referred, as usual, to the need for increasing enrolment of the girls at the elementary level, thus encouraging the promotion of education for women in backward areas.

7. Seventh Five-Year Plan

The Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-90) operationalized the concern for equity and empowerment articulated by the International Decade for Women. During this Plan effort were made to provide welfare measures to all sections of society especially the underprivileged section-the women. A significant step in this direction was to identify/promote the 'beneficiaries-oriented programmes' for women in different developmental sectors, which extend direct benefits to women. Women Mahila Mandals were established. Many Art and Craft centres were opened for women in order to enhance their employment opportunities. Support to Training-cum Employment for Women (STEP) was launched in 1987 to strengthen the skills among women with a view to promote employment opportunities for women. Employment and income generating training-cum-production centres for women were started to train women in order to make them independent.

8. Eighth Five-Year Plan

The Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97), which was launched in 1992, marked a shift from development to empowerment in approach to women development schemes. It promised to "ensure that the benefits of development from different sectors do not bypass women" and women must be enabled to function as equal partners and participants in the development process.

9. Ninth Five-Year Plan

The Ninth Five-Year Plan came into effect from April 1, 1997. In the approach paper, the focus is on, among the other things, empowerment of women and people's participation in planning and implementation of strategies. An important objective in the approach paper is the empowerment of women. In planning process, empowerment at the outset, means choices for women and opportunities to avail of these choices. The supportive environment should be provided to women at all stages by the home, school, religion, government and work place. There is also a strong demand for vocational training for women. To enable women to participate outside the home, childcare services, hostels and affordable housing are essential. The Ninth Five-Year Plan is an attempt to bring in women's issues within the policy making sphere.

10. Tenth Five-Year Plan

The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) has set certain monitorable targets for women. These are: The Swyamsidha programme, a recast version of the Indira Mahila Yojna, organizes women into Self-Help Groups (SHGs) for income generation activities. It also facilitates access to services such as literacy, health, non-formal education, water-supply etc. One of the basic principles of governance laid down in the United Progressive Alliance Government's National Common Minimum Programme (NCMP) is to empower women politically, educationally, economically and legally. The Women's Component Plan (WCP) involved efforts to ensure that not less than 30 percent of funds/benefits were earmarked for women under the various schemes of the women-related ministries/departments. Women are under-represented in the process of the formulation and implementation of the Plan itself. WCP seems an afterthought, simply added on to pre-existing development programmes and projects.

The actual experiences of women in empowering themselves need to be first understood and those experiences used as a benchmark. To make women's grassroots political participation a living reality, they should be enabled to monitor and audit the various programmes and schemes at the level of Panchayat through a local committee. Given patriarchal domination and women's consequent lack of an independent voice in decision making, the elected women representatives to PRIs may be restrained in independently exercising their rights and fulfilling their duties. At every step, there is a need to increase the patricipation of women in the process of formulation and implementation of development planning so that gender equity issues are accounted for plans have a positive impact on women.

11. Eleventh Five-Year Plan

The Approach Paper to the Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) reads: "An important divide which compels immediate attention relates to gender. Special, focused efforts made to purge society of this malaise by creating an enabling environment for women to become economically, politically and socially empowered". However, past Plans have expressed similar concern with respect to the gender divide. The strategy for women is confined to three areas- violence against women, economic empowerment and women's health. A major challenge before the 11th Plan was to enable the creation of an environment for women that is safe and free from violence. Regular campaigns of issues such as female foeticide, physical abuse, trafficking, gender discrimination and domestic violence may be organized.

Finally, the 11th Plan recognised that a nation cannot be healthy unless its women are healthy. It strived to reduce the incidence of anaemia and malnutrition among the adolescent girls to break the cycle of ill-health and infant mortality. In a unique move, the government has constituted a committee of "feminist" economists to ensure gender sensitive allocation of public resources in the 11th Five Year Plan. Apart from identifying significant trends for women in economy and suggesting policy measures to integrate them into the growth agenda, the group looked at assessment standards being used to evaluate progress- both sector-wise and in micro-economic segments and offer suggestions which helped device more sensitive indicators to reflect gender issues.

12. Twelfth Five Year Plan

It is widely believed that men enjoy all the power and position; women were treated as second rate and lower human spheres. Twelfth Five Year Plan entitled as 'Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth'. This plan had decided at the growth rate 8.2%. The Planning Commission is pushing for special dispensation for single woman, particularly those who are single by choice. Women participation in favour related work, both in agriculture and animal husbandry. In framing policies/schemes for the Twelfth Five Year Plan, the special needs of women must be taken due care of. The focus of the Twelfth Five Year Plan is on the health, education, urbanization and governance.

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