Indira Gandhi National Open University
School of Extension and Development Studies

MDV-004
Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies

Block

1

CONCEPTS OF GENDER

UNIT 1
Basic Concepts of Gender 5

UNIT 2
Social Construction of Gender 20

UNIT 3
Gender and Development Indicators 34

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MDV-004 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT, CONCEPTS, APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES

Block 1 on 'Concepts of Gender' comprises of three units, i.e. Basic Concepts of Gender; Social Construction of Gender and Gender and Development Indicators**.** This block will give insights to the basic issues of gender. It will give ideas about gender and development.

Block 2 on 'Approaches to Gender and Development' consists of three units, namely: Trends in Feminism; WID-WAD-GAD part I and WID-WAD-GAD part II. This block will emphasise on the approaches to understanding gender.

Block 3 on 'Strategies in Gender and Development', consists of three units, i.e., Affirmative Action: Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality; Meeting Gender Needs through Planning and Engendering Governance. This block focuses on the needs and aspiration of women. The role of action and participation in enhancing their status in the society will be dealt with in this block.

Block 4 on 'Gender in Development Process-I', comprises of five units. They are Gender and Labour Market; Women and Entrepreneurship Development; Gender in Agriculture and Environment; Women in Informal Economy and Women in Work - Paid and Unpaid . This block will focus on the issues pertaining to women in the labour market, their income and their living conditions.

Block 5 on 'Gender in Development Process-II', consists of three units, Gender ,Democracy and Development ; Gender and Education and Gender , Health and Well Being. This block highlights the important issues of women in the field of health, education and politics. This block will discuss the effect of these issues on the development process.

BLOCK 1 CONCEPTS OF GENDER

BLOCK 1 consists of three units namely Basic Concepts of Gender; Social Construction of Gender and Gender and Development Indicators. These basic concepts will help us in our understanding about what gender is and its various facets. It addresses pertinent issues of gender like entitlement, rights, discrimination, empowerment and so on.

Unit 1 discusses the **Basic Concepts of Gender** . This unit will introduce you to the concept of gender needs, rights, and empowerment. It also discuses GDI (Gender Development Index), GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure), and entitlement. This unit will be the base for your understanding of gender.

Unit 2 is on **Social Construction of Gender.** This unit explains to us the meaning of social construction and gender in relation to sex segregation, work force participation and culture.

Unit 3 is about **Gender and Development Indicators.** It explains the meaning of Gender Development Index (GDI), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Social Institution and Gender index. It also gives in brief the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

UNIT 1 BASIC CONCEPTS OF GENDER

Structure

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Power, Subordination, Empowerment and Discrimination

1.3 Entitlement, Needs and Rights

1.4 Women in Development (WID), Gender Mainstreaming, Gender Parity Index (GPI)

1.5 Gender and Development, Gender Planning, Gender Budgeting and Gender Auditing

1.6 GDI and GEM

1.7 Gender Blind Approach, Rights Based Approach, Strategic Gender Needs and Practical Gender Needs

1.8 Gender Analysis, Gender Gap Index, Gender Policy and GII

1.9 Let Us Sum Up

1.10 References and Suggested Readings

1.11 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit introduces you to the basic concepts associated with Gender and Development. Wide ranges of concepts are discussed in this unit in order to familiarize you with those concepts and they will be used frequently in the subsequent units of this course.

After studying this Unit you will be able:

- Define the basic concepts with regard to gender and development;
- Explain the differences among the basic concepts; and
- Analyze the trends in the evolution of gender and development.

1.2 POWER, SUBORDINATION, EMPOWERMENT AND DISCRIMINATION

1.2.1 Power

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

- *power over:* This power involves an either or relationship of domination or subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance.

- *power to*: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling.

- *power with:* This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals.

- *power within:* This power refers to self confidence, self awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how power operates in their lives, and gain the confidence to act, to influence and change this.

1.2.2 Subordination

According to Webster dictionary Subordination means:

1) One who stands in order or rank below another; — distinguished from a principal.
2) Inferior in order, nature, dignity, power, importance, or the like.
3) To place in a lower order or class; to make or consider as of less value or importance; as to subordinate one creature to another.
4) To make subject; to subject or subdue; as to subordinate the passions to reason.
5) Placed in a lower order, class, or rank; holding a lower or inferior position.

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

1.2.3 Empowerment

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

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

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

1.2.4 Discrimination

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

This discrimination takes different forms in different context. In US, race structures plays an important role that too women from disadvantaged race are paid low, have low status, do menial jobs and they are mostly in domestic occupation. In Indian context, caste is also associated with this discrimination. The lower caste women have triple burden of being a woman, hailing from lower caste and being poor. Contact of any kind through touching, having sexual relation, dinning, drinking from the same well and so on between institutionally upper caste and lower caste is socially not accepted. According to Arjan De Haan these discriminations and deprivations are multi dimensional. For example, a landless female daily labourer of Scheduled Caste is very likely to be poor, illiterate, with poor health status, have little social capital and she finds it difficult to exercise her constitutional rights. Her quality of life is less because of discrimination. The lower castes are segregated on space and they are confined to the margins of village. This distance and social disadvantage make them socially, economically and culturally disadvantaged.

The Constitution of India guarantees to all Indian women equality (Article 14), no discrimination by the State (Article 15(1)), equality of opportunity (Article 16), and equal pay for equal work (Article 39(d)). In addition, it allows special provisions to be made by the State in favour of women and children (Article 15(3)), renounces practices derogatory to the dignity of women (Article 51(A)(e), and also allows for provisions to be made by the State for securing just and

humane conditions of work and for maternity relief (Article 42). In spite of these measures, women discrimination in India continues. Social commitment and political will has a significant role in uprooting the discriminatory practice against women.

1.3 ENTITLEMENT, NEEDS AND RIGHTS

1.3.1 Entitlement

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

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

- Legal recognition should be given to the economic value of the contribution made by the wife through household work for purposes of determining ownership of matrimonial property, instead of continuing the archaic test of actual financial contribution.
- On divorce or separation, the wife should be entitled to at least one-third of the assets acquired at the time of and during the marriage.
- Sections 15 and 16 of the Indian Succession Act 1925 to be amended, removing mandatory linkage of wife's domicile with that of the husband.
- Equal distribution of not only separate or self acquired properties of the diseased male, but also of undivided interests in co-parcenery property.

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

- Increase awareness of laws through education institutions, general awareness and legal awareness programmes;
- Sensitize judiciary, administrators and legislators about implementation of laws in letter and spirit;

- Consider long pending recommendations for amendments of legal provisions on inheritance; and
- Introduce compulsory registration of marriages and strengthen the administrative machinery for the purpose.

1.3.2 Needs

From 1970 onwards, low status and condition of women was brought into focus. To improve their status and conditions gender planning is an important tool. The gender planning concerns the fact that women and men not only play different roles in the society but also their strategic and practical needs are different. When identifying interest, it is useful to differentiate between "women interests", "strategic gender interest", and "practical gender interest" following the three fold conceptualization made by Maxine Molyneux.

After identifying different interest of women, this can be translated into planning needs and their concerns may be satisfied. Women's needs can be divided into strategic gender needs and practical gender needs. For example, the strategic needs concern themselves with the equality in the society. On the other hand practical gender needs talks about day to day survival like getting drinking water, fuel, fodder etc.

Strategic gender needs (SGN) are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in the society. SGN vary according to particular context. They relate to gender division of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting SGN helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position. Practical Gender Needs (PGN) is the need that women identify in their socially accepted roles in the society. PGN don't challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. PGN are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often concern with inadequacies in living condition such as water provision, health care and employment.

1.3.3 Rights

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

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

1.4 WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID), GENDER MAINSTREAMING, GENDER PARITY INDEX (GPI)

1.4.1 Women in Development

The WID approach aims to integrate women into the existing development process by targeting them, often in women-specific activities.

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

The biggest difference between WID and GAD is that WID projects traditionally were not grounded in a comprehensive gender analysis. The GAD approach is gender-analysis driven. There is definitely a need for women-specific and men-specific interventions at times. These complement gender initiatives.

1.4.2 Gender Mainstreaming

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

The concept of gender mainstreaming was first proposed at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi. The idea has been developed in the United Nations Development Community. The idea was formally featured in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Most definitions conform to the UN Economic and Social Council which formally defined the concept as given below:

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

United Nations has defined 'Gender Mainstreaming' as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. Gender mainstreaming is not only a question of social justice, but is necessary for ensuring equitable sustainable human development by the most effective and efficient means.

1.4.3 Gender Parity Index (GPI)

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

In this section you have read about power, subordination, empowerment and discrimination, entitlement, needs and rights, women in development (WID), gender mainstreaming, gender parity index (GPI). Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How does power operate in different ways?

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2) Define Subordination.

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1.5 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT, GENDER PLANNING, GENDER BUDGETING AND GENDER AUDITING

1.5.1 Gender and Development

GAD, which shares elements with the empowerment approach, gained popularity in the 1980s and attempts to address the loopholes of WID. It is rooted in post-development theory and post-structuralist critiques in feminism. GAD does not consider women as a uniform group. It maintains that women's situation should be seen in the context of the socio-economic, racial and other factors that shape a particular society. It points to the importance of understanding the relationship between women and men and how society influences their respective roles.

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

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

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

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

1.5.2 Gender Planning

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

1.5.3 Gender Budgeting

A budget is one of the most important instruments which reflect the economic policy of the government. It can also be a powerful tool in transforming the economy at different levels of State, District or Grassroots level of village Panchayats. It reflects the choices that the government chooses in order to achieve the economic and developmental goals. Of late, gender budgeting has emerged as a new process. This ensures the care for women's needs and priorities in the total budget. This has become an effective mechanism to bring about gender equity. A Gender Responsive Budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in the society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that changes these patterns in a way that moves towards a more gender-equal society. Gender budget initiatives are exercises that aim to move the country in the direction of a gender-responsive budget.

1.5.4 Gender Auditing

Gender auditing is the analysis of the system and process of finance of any government. Gender auditing implies auditing the income and expenditure of

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

1.6 GDI AND GEM

1.6.1 GDI

Inter-district, Inter-state and Cross country comparisons of women's empowerment are obtained from Gender Development Index (GDI). GDI owes its origin to its precursor, the HDI (Human Development Index), three main components of which are per capita income, educational attainment and life-expectancy which is a proxy for health attainment.

1.6.2 GEM

Gender disparities are measured keeping these three indicators into consideration. An additional measure, gender empowerment measure (GEM) has been formulated to take into account aspects relating to economic participation and decision-making by women. The indicators used in GEM are share in income, share in parliamentary seats and an index that includes share in administrative and managerial jobs and share in professional and technical posts. It was in 1995 that the UNDP brought out the Gender-related Development Index as a method for assessing gender inequality. The variables used in GDI are similar to those used for the Human Development Index; these being education, health and income.

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

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

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

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

1.7 GENDER BLIND APPROACH, RIGHTS BASED APPROACH, STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS AND PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS

1.7.1 Gender Blind Approach

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

1.7.2 Rights Based Approach

Rights based approach aims at promoting and protecting human rights based on international human rights standards. It serves as a conceptual framework in the process of human development. Discriminatory practices, inequalities, unjust distribution of power are some of the factors which serve as hurdles in the holistic and inclusive development process. A Rights Based Approach seeks to analyze these problems which impede progress of development. Under a Human Rights-Based Approach, the plans, policies and processes of development are anchored in a system of rights and corresponding obligations are established by international law.

This helps to promote the sustainability of development work, empowering people themselves especially the most marginalized to participate in policy formulation and hold accountable those who have a duty to act. While there's no universal recipe for a rights-based approach, international organizations and rights-based organizations have come together to fight for the rights of deprived and marginalized communities.

1.7.3 Strategic Gender Needs

It is defined that "strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to the particular context. They relate gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their body. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater gender equality. It also changes existing gender roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position". Strategic gender needs are those needs that are formulated from the analysis of women's

subordination to men. While formulating strategic gender needs it also considers the nature and structure of relationship between men and women in the society. It also considers socio-political cultural context. By deriving from these analyses, strategic gender needs provide equality in the society. On this, advocacy is being done to develop policies and programmes to fulfill human rights.

1.7.4 Practical Gender Needs

It is defined that "practical Gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in the society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in the society although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment".

Unlike strategic gender needs, practical gender needs are formulated from the experiences of women. It includes their day-to-day survival like food, fuel, fodder, water, access to health, etc. The practical gender needs can be sorted out at the grassroots level if local governments and the decision making structure closest to the society are sensitive towards women's issues.

As Molyneux has written they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality nor do they challenge the prevailing forms of subordination even though they arise directly out of them. As women they have dual roles by managing household chores as well as earning. When the planners make policies to meet practical gender needs they have to consider both women's needs with reference to the domestic as well as income earning activities and also requirements of the community like access to health and sanitation, access to education, proper connectivity to basic services, opportunities to participate in community life. These needs concern not only the women, but also for the entire community needs. Yet, due to the gender division of labour, society imposes these activities on women. So planners consider these issues and effectively implement practical gender needs at the grassroots level.

1.8 GENDER ANALYSIS, GENDER GAP INDEX, GENDER POLICY AND GII

1.8.1 Gender Analysis

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

A gender analysis is an essential component of an overall analytical process that a successful development program of social change requires. It is a simple equation, really: if we do not fully understand the trends and dynamics that define and perpetuate gender inequality , a core dimension of labor exploitation, we will be unable to mount a successful strategy to promote gender equality and

women rights. Knowing key facts, labour market trends in the organized and unorganized sector, power dynamics of women within the family, institutions and society, are critical factors for grounding the analytical and strategic work of gender equality and development programming in reality. It also helps develop a snapshot of that reality against which the impact of development programs and strategies can be measured.

Gender analysis is a way of seeing or analyzing problems, situations and solutions with awareness of gender relations and in order to identify gender issues. The key elements of a gender analysis should include identification of similarities and differences between men and women and amongst women.

1.8.2 Gender Gap Index

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

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

1.8.3 Gender Policy

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

1.8.4 GII

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

In the 20th anniversary edition of the *Human Development Report*, the Gender Inequality Index has been introduced as an experimental index. It is not a perfect

measure. Just as the HDI continues to evolve, the Gender Inequality Index will also be refined.

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

In this section you have studied gender and development, gender planning, gender budgeting, gender auditing, GDI,GEM, gender blind approach, rights based approach, strategic gender needs and practical gender needs, gender analysis, gender gap index , gender policy and GII. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you mean by Strategic Gender Needs?

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2) What is Gender Gap Index?

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1.9 LET US SUM UP

This Unit has given you an introduction about various concepts in Gender and Development Studies. You have also read about the various measures and indices of gender empowerment and development. This unit also introduces you to the two kinds of approaches that the policy makers may adopt while dealing with the gender issues. You have also been sensitised to the different kinds of gender needs. These concepts are discussed in detail with suitable theoretical framework and examples in the following blocks.

1.10 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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1.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1. How does power operate in different ways?

Ans. *power over:* This power involves an either/or relationship of domination/ subordination. Ultimately, it is based on socially sanctioned threats of violence and intimidation, it requires constant vigilance to maintain, and it invites active and passive resistance;

- *power to*: This power relates to having decision-making authority, power to solve problems and can be creative and enabling;
- *power with:* This power involves people organising with a common purpose or common understanding to achieve collective goals;
- *power within:* This power refers to self confidence, self awareness and assertiveness. It relates to how can individuals can recognise through analysing their experience how

2) Define Subordination.

Ans. One who stands in order or rank below another; — distinguished from a principal.

- Inferior in order, nature, dignity, power, importance, or the like.
- To place in a lower order or class; to make or consider as of less value or importance; as, to subordinate one creature to another.
- To make subject; to subject or subdue; as, to subordinate the passions to reason.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What do you mean by Strategic Gender Needs?

Ans. "Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to the particular context. They relate gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their body.

2) What is Gender Gap Index?

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

UNIT 2 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

Structure

2.1 Introduction
2.2 What is Social Construction?
2.3 Social Construction and Gender
2.4 Construction of a Girl Child
2.5 Sex Segregation
2.6 Division of Labour and Sphere of Work
2.7 Let Us Sum Up
2.8 Glossary
2.9 References and Suggested Readings
2.10 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The social construction of gender speaks about the relationship of gender with various institutions like caste, kinship, marriage and so on. From the perspective of gender and development, the process of gender construction can be explained in relation to the aspects of women's lives like work, decision-making, honour killing, and the notion of autonomy and freedom. Gender construction operates both at the macro and micro level and is very much embedded in the institutional arrangements of society. In this course, the gender construction will be explained from both sociological and development perspectives to understand the complex phenomenon of women's discrimination and inequality faced by women on account of their sex and socially constructed gender.

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

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the processes of gender construction in relation to culture and ordering of society;
- Examine the implications of gender construction in relation to development indicators like sex segregation, division of labour, decision-making, and socialization;

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

2.2 WHAT IS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION?

It is very often said that there is no such thing as a social reality. Further the question is asked! What are 'social constructions'? Rejecting intrinsically 'good' or 'bad' categories, these are described as social constructions. In other words, morality is the acquired vision of a society. How is the vision of a society or its social construction shaped? Is it shaped automatically? Is it culture - specific? Let us examine this process of social construction. Everyday we observe various objects, experience several events and related with various social interactions. These entire phenomena that are experienced individually help to develop an image of society or the world. Indeed, we filter everything that happens to us every day through the lens or screen of our understanding of our world. This everyday sense of the world or things forms the basis of social reality or construction of social reality.

Social construction is a social process in which both individual and other social processes are intrinsically related. Every construction or image of the world is influenced by the individual's experience of society and his/her interaction with various social processes. Therefore, it is often argued that social construction itself carries subjective biases as it is shaped by individual experience. Social construction is also influenced and dominated by the interests of a particular group or class of people. For instance, in some developing countries power and education rest with a few elite who do not take interest in the development of the human resources of the majority? In this sense, the culture, norms, ideologies, and values of the dominant group are used to justify and sustain a particular form of social construction. Hence social constructions through which we understand everyday life try to classify people on the basis of caste, class, religion, community, kinship, gender and so on. The classification of people is the product of social construction and also forms an integral part of the social processes. Social processes such as primary socialization and the presence of social institutions help to produce an accepted kind of social construction. Hence, gender is the product of such social construction.

2.3 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND GENDER

As we explore social construction of gender, we will focus on aspects such as the distinction between sex and gender as well as cultural construction of gender.

2.3.1 Sex and Gender

Understanding of the social construction of gender starts with explaining two concepts, i.e., gender and sex. Often these two terms have been used interchangeably; however, they bear different meanings as concepts. Gender refers to differences, hierarchies, rankings which exist between the two sexes. Gender explains cultural constructions of various roles that are played by women and men in the society. Further, gender analyzes the aspect of shaping women's behaviour according to the normative order of the society. Gender as a conceptual

tool is used to analyze the structural relationships of inequality existing between women and men, as reflected in various aspects of life such as household, labour market, education and political institutions. Sex, on the other hand, refers to the biological differences between female and male which are the same across time and place. Gender can, therefore, be defined as a notion that offers a set of frameworks within which the social and ideological construction and representation of differences between the sexes are explained. For instance, gender explains the structured relations between women and men within the society. Gender socialisation is a process through which children come to acquire the position of a social being by identifying themselves with definite gender role and exhibit clusters of socially appropriate behaviours and attributes for females and males differently Therefore, women's identification with universal mothering role, their subjective experiences as embodiment of love, care, support, and men's proximity with public domain characterised by impersonal and professional nature are the products of socio-cultural contexts of feminity and masculinity. Further, institutions and social practices such as family and the internalisation of mother and daughter relationship as identical create the notion of separation and difference among people belonging to different gender worlds. Social expectations from women as natural mothers, wives, daughters, and homemakers not only exist at the patriarchal constructions, but also operate in the material environment of the society. Some feminist geographers have argued that space and gender are socially constructed and women's bodies, their activities, and mobility are limited to certain physical territories and structures. For instance, home is thought to be constructed through women's gender roles at the same time restricts women' access to freedom. According to Patel, gendered notion of womanhood and place are both symbolised, therefore; the interplay between space, time, and gender identification leads to negative depiction of women. Therefore, middle-class women who work outside the household and travel at night to work in call centres' often meet with sexual harassment, rape, and murder. Patel brought a different discourse in the theory of feminisation of labour which sees both time-space geography of call center industries as gendered in nature and product of capitalism. Sex, on the other hand, connects the individual with her or his sex categorization and eventually restricts the individual with the social notion of femininity and masculinity. The process of gender socialisation is enabling the person to retain and sustain her or his sex categorisation; hence needs critical understanding in this unit.

2.3.2 Cultural Construction of Gender

Gender is the outcome of complex phenomena and is socially constructed and culturally determined. Culture can be described as a web of relationships that expresses the meaning, pattern of living, and values of institutions. Culture covers almost every aspect of life ranging from organization of production, structure of family and institutions, ideologies and normative patterns of the society and forms of interactions or relations. Cultural construction of gender talks about the construction of masculinity and femininity in the context of socialization, i.e., the individual acquires the gendered bodies of being feminine or masculine in the course of social development. The construction of femininity and masculinity plays an important role in shaping the institutions of family, economic, political, and religious organization. The understanding of gender in relation to society reflects the structure of hierarchy and differentiation, existing power relations between women and men, and the process of acquiring the accepted roles and

behaviours. Gender construction in relation to culture can be explained through the following points:

i) **Gender construction supports the system of dominance:** Gender categories are never neutral nor are they equal. This construction of gender perpetuates the system of dominance across the society. Gender as a system of unequal relations provides a range of choices to women and men in spheres of work, production processes, access to resources and power, accepting the specific gender roles, and sex segregation in work and labour market.

ii) **Gender construction vis-a-vis individual expression of gender:** Feminist psycho-analysts assess that gender cannot be seen as an exclusively cultural, linguistic, and political construction. Therefore, we need to make a distinction between prescriptive construction of gender and individual reflections of these constructions. Prescriptive construction of gender refers to those images which are socially, historically, culturally determined. For example, socializing a girl child to become a homemaker in future is deep rooted in the society and manifested through socially accepted behaviour ranging from dress code and good conduct to care and nurture. In addition to the socio-cultural construction of gender behaviour according to sex identity there is the individual's notion of expressing gender behaviour. Individual inflections are made by the interaction of an individual psyche with socio-political or cultural or historical norms. For example, if a boy or girl undergoes sex transformation, there are a couple of questions to be addressed such as: How do societies respond to variations in an individual's expression of gender identity? To what extent do members of societies internalize various gender roles and behaviours? This point brings us to the discussion of "doing gender'' as a concept within the social construction of gender. Doing gender involves a complex set of socially governed perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities that cast a particular action as an expression of masculine or feminine nature .Gender is an ascribed status, which is sustained and maintained only through socially accepted behaviour located in a particular social situation. Therefore, it is inherent to social situations, i.e., gender is both 'product of' and 'produced by' social arrangements. For example, the newborn only carries the sex identity that is imposed upon the individual by the society. Eventually, through continuous interaction with the parents or primary caretakers, the infant accomplishes gender identity. Often, the unequal treatment of parents towards boys' vis-à-vis girls creates gender difference and turn into gender discrimination. Doing gender is a process that legitimizes the fundamental division of the society.

Box: 1 The Case of Agnes: A Transsexual Boy

West and Zimmerman discuss the three analytical categories such as sex, sex category, and gender to understand the notion of doing gender. Garfinkel's case study of Agnes, a transsexual boy would be an apt example for understanding gender construction. Agnes adopted a female identity at the age of seventeen and underwent sex reassignment surgery some years later to understand gender construction. She possessed male genitals and required to project herself as a woman. She was obliged to learn the feminine features and analyze the conception of femininity within the socially structured situation. She did not possesses the socially agreed attributes of the biological

category to be classified as the female sex. More central to this argument is Kessler and McKenna's position, i.e., the biological criterion (sex) is hidden from the public perception and the individual continues to behave according to the socially agreed criteria of male or female. Male or female are the products of the gender attribution process and form an important part of gender accomplishment/activities. For example, if a child sees a picture of a person with suit and tie, immediately the child connects the picture with the image of a man. The sex category is socially situated and acquired by the individual through everyday interaction. People perceive the activity of an individual and deduce the category of sex. In this context, gender is understood to be the product of culture and society.

The above-mentioned example shows that the categories of masculinity and femininity are socially constructed and the gender identity can only be established in conformation with the biological identity. Femininity and masculinity is nothing but accepting and showing conformity with socially accepted gender behaviours and roles. Gender identity is subjective in nature. Therefore, these categories do not stay static in the history and culture of the society.

2.3.3 Socialization

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

In this section, you have studied about social construction, social construction and gender. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is social construction of Gender?

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2) What is cultural construction of gender?

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2.4 CONSTRUCTION OF A GIRL CHILD

The construction of a girl child discusses the processes of growing a girl into a female in patrilineal and patriarchal societies in India. It will reflect on the issue of constraints that a girl faces in the process of socializing herself as a female, adhering to differential values attached with the male vis-à-vis female child, how does she acquire appropriate roles to her gender identity, and what are the mechanisms which help her in internalizing cultural values and visualizing images of her future. Dube refers to the process of socialization as a form of gender socialisation in which women and men are produced as gendered subjects. She further discusses the process to create gendered subjects through the medium of language, rituals, ceremonies and practices. The construction of a gender subject, i.e., carrying the identity of femininity or masculinity is both socially and culturally produced. For example, in every culture the notion of gender difference is thought to be rooted in biology or preordained nature. In Indian Hindu families, the notion of gender difference begins with the sphere of reproduction both mother and father share different roles in relation to procreation. It is culturally considered that the father is the provider of seeds and mother provides the respectable to receive the seeds and nurture it further. These role differences are culturally imagined, and get reflected in other social institutions like family, marriage, and kinship. The social construction of gender questions the preconceived idea to assign unequal roles to male and female, and to analyze how other gender roles are learnt within the complex web of relationships and institutions. It is evident that gender identity is created through learning gender roles and therefore, it becomes essential to understand the process of gender construction in the wider context of family and kinship structure. Family and kinship are central to the understanding of socialization. In the process of socialization, the family plays two major roles such as i) Rules of recruitment of members in the family; and ii) Configuration of roles on the basis of gender and age divisions and providing training in acquisition of future roles. These roles of family have become agencies in imparting the characteristics of growing up female in Indian society.

2.4.1 Girl Child and the Natal Home

The construction of femininity is a continuous and complex process and is conveyed through language, proverbs, and rituals. The context of natal home for both married and unmarried daughters is widely used in the form of proverbs in the process of socialization. The desire for a boy child is explicit in the day- to-day conversation in forms of ‘speech’ ‘saying’. For instance, parents who are having only daughters are often perceived in a situation where the ‘future is black as they are not having any support’, according to Dube. Similarly, in regions like Maharashtra, girls are honoured with accomplishments since girls are always associated with home

and household works. In the process of acquiring femininity, the parental home is always referred to as a temporary shelter. Therefore, girls grow up with the notion of having their own home in future. Girls grow up with the desire to have their own house and orient and instruct their lives to learning socially appropriate behaviours. Proverbs and rituals give the realization of this inevitable fact of transferring the girl's membership from her natal home to the home of the husband. Dube in her book documented some of the proverbs spoken in various parts of India which will be described in subsequent paragraphs. In Orissa, there is a saying that equates "daughter with ghee". The meaning of the proverb that is both are valuable; however both start to stink if not disposed of in time. Similarly, there are festivals like Durga puja and Gauri puja which reiterate the idea of 'home coming' in the context of the goddess. These festivals are full of rituals which convey the message to young girls of their reality to leave their mother's home and that they will be invited to the natal home in these festivals. In this context, the girls' socialization takes place through rituals, proverbs and festivities that emphasize the need to learn adequate feminine behaviours of obedience, submissiveness, accommodation and so on. The construction of a girl child begins with the feeling of getting temporary membership at the parental place, and the inevitability of learning some of the ideal feminine characters.

The process of socialization of the girl child involves the inherent steps of construction of femininity at the pre-pubertal and post-pubertal phases. In the pre-pubertal phase, there is differential value attached to the sons vis-à-vis daughters. Sons are preferred for continuation of descent and daughters are valued to maintain the sense of pre-pubertal purity in the society. The importance of pre-pubertal purity amongst the girls has been given special recognition in rituals of various regions of India like Maharashtra, West Bengal, Karnataka and North states in India. In these regions, a little girl is associated with ceremonies during marriage, name giving ceremony, observing seclusion during menstruation and celebrating Navaratra by feeding pre-pubertal girls. These celebrations implicitly emphasize the auspiciousness and purity of the girl child or virgin woman.

Box 2: Case Analysis

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

The onset of puberty is the phase, which is marked by changes and transformation in a woman's life. This phase is associated with several pubertal rituals, dietary prescriptions and seclusion of girls for certain days and these are practiced widely across India in various forms. These pubertal rituals are expressing the significance

of sexuality and motherhood for a girl child and the notion of controlled sexuality in this phase of women's vulnerability and adulthood. Marriage and motherhood are two goals highly valued for the girls in this age and often made obvious to them through allocating specific roles to young girls, observance of complete seclusion and imposing food restrictions during menstruation and so on. The construction of a girl in a Hindu family is indicative of the fact of learning feminine behaviour and socializing by adopting the structured role of an imaginary wife and mother.

2.5 SEX SEGREGATION

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

In the labour market, there is a wide division between men and women in terms of differential wages, access to MGNREGS job card, nature of work and the amount of work. Traditionally, women have been perceived to be dependent as far as employment is concerned. For instance, within the family women have access to resources through their male counterparts; similarly women in the labour market go through the male channels in accessing wage and other job opportunities. The employment figures of Census 1991 shows severe male-female disparities in accessing the available opportunities. In the labour market, a predominant number of women are non-workers belonging to marginal position. Further, majority of women are concentrated in the unorganized sector as compared to the male workforce. The ratio of female to male workers in the unorganized sectors seems unfavourable to women. In the case of the unorganized sector, 95.79 per cent of females are concentrated in the sector as compared to 89.77 per cent of male workers. In the organized sector, there is a larger concentration of women in the public sector as compared to the private sector. There is segregation on the basis of gender within the labour market and this division has led to rising socio-economic insecurities for women working in the unorganized and private sectors. The author indicated that the states having low female status are into low paid and hazardous employment. The proportion of women in the central government

services is extremely low as compared to men. Having an understanding of women's employment in all sectors of the labour market, it can be argued that women are mostly concentrated in low paid jobs and they are low in status hierarchies. Similarly, women's participation in the field of political and technical employment is very low. In the agricultural sector, women have substantial contribution; however they are mostly employed as marginal workers. With agriculture, there is sex segregation with regard to nature of work assigned to women and men. In most of the states in India, men are engaged in ploughing and irrigation related activities and women have exclusively engaged in tasks like sowing, nurturing of plants, and harvesting. It is seen that men are mostly associated with marketing operations of the agricultural produce, and the control of resource and surplus is considered to be the domain of men. Therefore, the benefits of the new government schemes and the new improvised farming practices do not percolate down to women. Women's low access to monetary resources and new schemes has led them to resort to low wages and has deprived their labour benefits. Further, the role of women as primary caretaker made them to negotiate with flexible and temporary jobs. As rightly pointed out, married women are always been considered as 'reserve army' which could be kept outside the labour market to be used during labour crises. The structure of patriarchy of the private domain gets manifested in the structures of public domain through the practice of exclusion. The social construction of gender reveals the discrimination and inequality existing in the domain of family, work and employment.

Over the past 20 years, globalization has led to an export- oriented economy in countries like India, which in turn created a number of manufacturing jobs and brought a majority of women into the paid workforce. Women engaged in manufacturing jobs to some extent have increased their quality of life and have received higher authority by earning money. However, in developing countries like India, the sex segregation within the labour market has remained the sole determinant in the process of women's decision making and wage negotiation. In the developing countries, women are less educated compared to the men. Therefore, the women have always gone for temporary, part-time, and risk- prone jobs without having labour and health benefits. Within the unorganized sector, women are resorting to jobs which are low in hierarchy as compared to the men. For instance, in Bangladesh and Cambodia, 85 percent and 90 percent of factory jobs are held by the women, particularly in the garment industry. In Colombia and Zimbabwe, 65 percent and 87 percent of jobs in the cut flower industry are held by women, respectively. In the fruit industry of South Africa, women comprise 69 percent of temporary and seasonal workers (all these data were accessed from http://www.siyanda.org/docs/core_labour_standard_gender.pdf, 19/02/2011). The data shows that women are substantially concentrated in the unorganized workforce. However, they have no formal contract as employees and are exposed to poor safety conditions and other vulnerabilities. Women as the workforce are of primary importance to the global economy and at the same time devoid of health and labour protection.

2.6 DIVISION OF LABOUR AND SPHERE OF WORK

Gender relations are situated within the sexual division of labour and often create gender conflict. African agriculture is often perceived to be female system of

farming. African women carry out agricultural work independent of their household and family. Within agriculture, the sphere of work is divided along gender lines. Women's and men's work was located within the sexual division of labour that is the product of existing domestic and kinship arrangements. In Africa, the separation of the sphere of work between women and men implies the social exchange of labour between women and men. However, women's sphere of work is surrounded by a complex set of claims and obligations. As Whitehead argued, two different kinds of social environment govern women's economic activity in Africa. In women's sphere of work, they have access to resources like land and the produce was shared with their children, husband, and other family members. On the contrary, women have the obligation to work for their husbands and other family members, but there is no direct return for the women's labour. Here, women's sphere of work is independent of domesticity. At the same time women's labour is constructed within the social climate of rights and obligations. Women's work in the husband's field is conceptualized under her general rights to welfare and maintenance as a household member. In the African female system of farming, women have autonomy in contributing their labour. However, other activities related to production like disposal of food crops and access to land are embedded in the social environment and structural arrangements.

Boserup's book on women's role in economic development was widely acknowledged within the field of women's work. The model explicitly discussed the notion of sexual division of labour in the context agriculture. To begin with, the author describes African farming as 'female system of farming' that clearly relegated to periphery in the wake of modernization and economic development. As Whitehead argued, this mode of dichotomy can well explain forms of dualism in African agriculture based on gender, i.e., the cash crop sector is managed by the men folk and the food crop sector is organized through women's labour and their traditional methods of farming. This model emphasized the feminine nature of subsistence farming and women's inability to participate in the modern farming sector in the African context. Though this model had shown a clear cut sexual division of labour that exists in the agricultural sector, it was criticized on the ground that it completely neglected women's contribution in modern food production. Whitehead argues, to meet the increasing cash needs of the African households, women have significantly contributed in family labour for cash cropping or increased trading. Women's contribution towards the cash crop sector is also conceptualized according to household arrangements. For instance, in Africa the assumption is that the well-being of women is dependent on the well-being of the household. Therefore, in spite of women having an independent domain of work, their activities, claims, and obligations are tied with the structural arrangements.

Work is often understood to be physical and mental labour. Hochschild (cited by Redfern and Aune) coined the term 'emotional labour' that reflects a particular kind of work associated with care and nurture. Emotional labour is associated with female occupation both in the domain of family and work sphere; therefore needs to be accepted as a particular forms of skill to be paid in future. Within family, women's unpaid work is described as a labour of love that has been unremunerated, however, accountable under patriarchy.

Box 3: Labour of Love

Have you many children? The doctor asked.

God has not been kind to me. Of fifteen born, only nine live.

Does your wife work?

No, she stays at home.

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

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

You come home at midday?

No no, she brings the meal to me in the fields— about three kilometres from home. And after that?.

Well, she takes care of the hens and pigs, and of course she looks after the children all day…... then she prepares the supper so it is ready when I come home.

Does she go to bed after supper?

No, I do. She has things to do around the house until about nine o'clock.

But of course you say wife doesn't work?

Of course she doesn't work. I told you, she stays at home.

(source: ILO ,1977, quoted by Mitter, 2002)

This above-mentioned extract describes the nature of labour associated with females and considered not only to be feminine in nature but also invisible and unremunerated. Ironically, the invisible labour of women which comes with the women's body has hardly unrecognised women as 'workers' in the productive domain of the society. Therefore, in the context of world economy, women continue to work in low-paid wages and bear the image of casual or temporary labourers. The image of peripheral workers or causal workers reflects the notion of job insecurity for women and women's inaccessibility to any other form of benefits, career progression, resistance and organised struggle.

In this section, you have studied about construction of a girl child, sex segregation, division of labour and sphere of work. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

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

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2) What do you understand by division of labour and sphere of work?

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2.7 LET US SUM UP

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

2.8 GLOSSARY

Kinship : Kinship is a relationship between individuals who share a genealogical origin, through biological, cultural, or historical descent.

Honour Killing : Honour killing is the killing of a member of a family or social group by other members, due to the belief of the perpetrators (and potentially the wider community) that the victim has brought dishonour upon the family or community. Honour killings are directed mostly against women and girls.

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2.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is social construction of Gender?

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

2) What is cultural construction of gender?

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

Check Your Progress 2

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

Ans. There is a linear relationship between economic structure and sex segregation. The notion of sex segregation has become apparent with the advancement of industrialization and the capitalist economy. Sex segregation is mostly observed and studied within the occupational and economic structure, which reflects women entering into a particular kind of profession

in the regime of any economic reform. Purdah or the practice of female seclusion is widely followed across countries and communities and it prescribes obvious gender segregation in rural tasks and activities.

2) What do you understand by division of labour and sphere of work?

Ans. Gender relations are situated within the sexual division of labour and often create gender conflict. Within agriculture, the sphere of work is divided along gender lines. Women's and men's work was located within the sexual division of labour that is the product of existing domestic and kinship arrangements.. However, women's sphere of work is surrounded by a complex set of claims and obligations.

UNIT 3 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Background to Gender and Development Indicators

3.3 Why look at Gender Development Indicators and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

3.4 Types of Gender Development Indicators

3.5 Areas and Indicators of Gender Empowerment

3.6 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI)

3.7 Let Us Sum up

3.8 Glossary

3.9 References and Suggested Readings

3.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

To ensure that women and men will equally contribute and benefit from the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental development of the country, appropriate measures must be undertaken to provide them with equal conditions for realizing their full rights to participate in the development process and at the same time gain from it.

However, in many countries of the world, gender discrimination and resulting gender inequality in economic, social and political spheres is a fact of life. Understanding where, why and how gender inequality arises is a vital step in addressing gender and development problems and issues. Efforts aimed at advancing the status of women require timely and accurate information on their situation as compared to that of men. Gender disaggregated data and statistics is needed to enhance the level of women's and men's awareness and capabilities leading to greater participation, decision making, power and control.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Analyze the linkage between gender and development;
- Discuss gender development indicators including GDI and GEM; and
- Describe various indices and indicators used in measuring gender development

3.2 BACKGROUND TO GENDER AND DEVELOPEMENT INDICATORS

Conventional indicators of 'development' are economic growth', rise in national and per capita income and GDP, rapid pace of urbanisation, high mobility of labour and capital, expansion of industrial base, agrarian growth and growth of

foreign trade. This thinking has been challenged by gender economists as these indicators have not taken into consideration just distribution of resources, opportunities and material wellbeing to majority of human beings, especially women. This resulted in the development of the Women in Development Approach which signifies awareness about marginalisation of women in society in general and in the economy in particular. Towards Equality Report, Government of India, published in 1974 and The UN Charter on Equality, Development and Peace adopted in 1975 were influenced by this approach.

It is also worthwhile to note here that the Women and Development approach that believes in integration of women in the mainstream through education, health and economic development of women is a guiding force for National Perspective Plan (1988-2000), GOI.

Women and Development Approach is committed to bending the existing power structure in favour of women through empowerment of women in the apex bodies of decision making. Convention on Elimination of (All Forms of) Discrimination Against women (CEDAW) espouses this approach.

The four global Women's Conferences (Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980, Nairobi 1985 and Beijing 1995) were instrumental in bringing women's issues at the center-stage in country after country by raising awareness, spreading ideas, creating important alliances and increasing confidence. These conferences also provided the mandate for CEDAW (the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) which was in turn responsible for the creation of UNIFEM (the UN Development Fund for Women) and INSTRAW (the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women). In addition , MDGs – gender inclusive 2000, INSTRAW-UN, visibility of women in statistics and indicators (1988), GDI and GEM by the United Nations as well as development radars developed by various countries including India.

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

3.2.1 Meaningful Indicators of Women and Development

Comparative data of 130 countries regarding gender-related development index (GDI) reveals that gender-equality does not depend entirely on the income level of society. The Human Development Approach which focuses on demographic, health, educational and human rights profiles have revealed that there is an urgent need to re-examine this approach by conducting participatory action research and rapid rural appraisal not by social scientists alone, but in collaboration with other professionals such as scientists, doctors,occupational health and safety

experts, engineers and lawyers who believe that like them, citizens from subsistence sector also have right to enjoy fruits of modern science and technology in terms of food security, safe transport, clean environment, secure housing and healthy life. India ranks 114 in GDI and 134 in the HDI in the year 2008-2009 as, the Indian women enjoy nearly 1/5th of the total earned income, life expectancy of 63.4 years (female 64.9, male 62) and 66 % adult literacy (female 54.5 %, male 76.9 %) rate and combined primary, secondary and tertiary Gross enrolment ratio (GER) of 61% (female 57.4 % and male 64.3%). HDI for India is 0. 612 and GDI for India is 0.594. As compared to their male counterparts, women in India have higher life expectancy because women from the middle and upper classes live in a secure environment, produce one or two children and control food (kitchen) of the household.

3.3 WHY LOOK AT GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS)

3.3.1 Gender Development Indicators

The gender development indicators are useful because what is measured is more likely to be prioritised and evidence gathered against indicators can help make the case that gender issues should be taken seriously. Indicators can be used for advocacy and can help make the case for action by highlighting key issues, backed up with statistics and other evidence. Some of the usefulness of gender development indicators is discussed below:

i) They enable better planning and actions: Gender indicators can be used to evaluate the outcomes of gender-focused and mainstream interventions and policies and help reveal barriers to achieving success. They can provide vital information for adjusting programmes and activities so that they better achieve gender equality goals and do not create adverse impacts on women and men. They can also be used to measure gender mainstreaming within organisations.

ii) They can be used for holding institutions accountable for their commitments on gender equality: Gender indicators and relevant data can make visible the gaps between the commitments many governments and other institutions have made at all levels , for example, by ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) – and their actual implementation and impact. They can be used to hold policy-makers accountable for their actions, or lack of action.

iii) They can help to stimulate change through data collection processes: Gathering of information regarding various gender issues will not only help the organization dealing with gender development, but also will be useful to the interviewees. For example, discussions in focus groups or in individual interviews can help raise awareness of particular issues. They can stimulate discussion and inspire recognition among participants of common experiences related to sensitive topics such as Gender Based Violence (GBV).

3.3.2 The Sustainable Evelopment Goals (SDGS)

On 1 January 2016, the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development — adopted by world leaders in September 2015 at an historic UN Summit — officially came into force. Over the next fifteen years, with these new Goals that universally apply to all, countries will mobilize efforts to end all forms of poverty, fight inequalities and tackle climate change, while ensuring that no one is left behind.

The SDGs, also known as Global Goals, build on the success of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and aim to go further to end all forms of poverty. The new Goals are unique in that they call for action by all countries, poor, rich and middle-income to promote prosperity while protecting the planet. They recognize that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and addresses a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection.

While the SDGs are not legally binding, governments are expected to take ownership and establish national frameworks for the achievement of the 17 Goals. Countries have the primary responsibility for follow-up and review of the progress made in implementing the Goals, which will require quality, accessible and timely data collection. Regional follow-up and review will be based on national-level analyses and contribute to follow-up and review at the global level.

These 17 goals are:

1) No Poverty
2) Zero Hunger
3) Good Health and Well Being
4) Quality Education
5) Gender Equality
6) Clean Water and Sanitation
7) Affordable and Clean Energy
8) Decent Work and Economic Growth
9) Industry,Innovation and Infrastructure
10) Reduced Inequalities
11) Sustainable Cities and Communities
12) Responsible Consumption and Production
13) Clomate Action
14) Life Below Water
15) Life on Land
16) Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions
17) Patnerships for the Goals

3.4 TYPES OF GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS

There have been a few significant attempts at developing indicators for measuring gender related issues. Of these, three important ones are discussed here:

3.4.1 UNDP's, GDI and GEM

On the occasion of the UN World Conference in Beijing, the UNDP Human Development Bureau prepared and released The Human Development Report 1995 subtitled Gender and Human Development. The report highlighted the disparities among men and women in various indicators of Human Development around the world. The most important contribution of the report is the introduction of two special indices for measuring gender inequality, the GDI (Gender-related Development Index) and the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure).

3.4.2 The Gender-related Development Index (GDI)

It was in 1995, the UNDP brought out the Gender-related Development Index as a method for assessing gender inequality. The variables used in GDI are similar to those used for the Human Development Index; these being education, health and income. While the HDI measures average achievement, the GDI adjust the average achievement to reflect the inequalities between men and women in the following dimensions:

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

3.4.3 The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

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

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

3.4.4 Some Facts from the Human Development Report 2009

HDR 2009 ranks 155 countries on a global scale in terms of their GDI. It is clear from the GDI estimates that in no society do women enjoy the same opportunities as men. The top rank is enjoyed by Australia with a GDI value of 0.966 – compared with a maximum possible value of 1.000 showing perfect equality. Most of the countries with a high GDI are also countries with high HDI since GDI is discounted

(for gender inequality) HDI. Therefore an interesting data to analyse is the gap between a country‘s GDI rank and its HDI rank since this shows how equitably basic human capabilities are distributed between men and women. The countries showing GDI ranks markedly higher than their HDI ranks include – Belgium, Spain, Finland, Denmark, Barbados among the countries with Very High Human development (HDI >0.8) and Bulgaria, Romania, Trinidad and Tobago among the High Human Development and only Mangolia and Tonga among the countries with Medium Human Development (0.8>HDI >0.5) and none from the countries with Low Human Development (HDI < 0.5). So we may say that poverty is bad for gender equity but the reverse is not true meaning not all countries with High Human Development have small gaps in their HDI and GDI ranks. It is -9 for Austria, -6 for USA, Kuwait and UAE, -5 in case of Ireland and Luxembourg which are among the very High Human Development list. Among high Human Development list Saudi Arabia is worst at -7, among Medium Human Development countries Jordan and Syrian Arab Republic has -8 and none of the low human development countries have less than -1. Therefore as mentioned by the HDR 1995, income is not the decisive factor. The decision to invest in the health and education of people, irrespective of gender, seems to cut across income levels, political ideologies, cultures and stages of development.

The report also ranks the countries on their GEMs of 109 countries for which data is available. The top four countries in this list are in the Nordic belt – Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, in that order. This is hardly surprising. These countries have adopted gender equality and women’s empowerment as conscious national policies in order to end the relative deprivation of women. GEM brings out the gender inequity more sharply. Japan with only 12% women in industrial positions and a similar percentage of women in parliament and 0.45 as the ratio of estimated female to male earned income (which are some of the components of GEM) has the dubious distinction of having the 57th rank in terms of GEM in-spite of a much higher rank for HDI (10th).

Source: UNDP (2009) Human Development Report

3.4.5 Critique of GDI and GEM

The GDI has been criticized for failing to take into account important aspects such as the quality of community life, human rights and access to basic amenities. Issues such as violence against women or restrictions placed on women’s capacity to be mobile or household allocation of resources do not get any reflection in the GDI. Income or education levels cannot fully capture the specific disadvantages experienced by women.Recognizing the importance of gender based power imbalances, the UNDP has recognised the fact that movement to gender equality is a political process. For this the Gender Empowerment Measure has been formulated to reflect variables that take into consideration women’s political participation, their access to professional positions and their earning power.

The GEM is also criticized because it too is based only on three variables and therefore defines empowerment very narrowly. It ignores legal and human rights and does not take into account cultural constructions and related practices that disempower women.

The GEM has also been criticized on the grounds that its components were related to characteristics of power more appropriate to the developed countries. The argument was that there would not be professional associations of women and there would be few women in parliament in developing countries, but in these countries participation of women in other types of organisations such as cooperatives, trade associations and community organizations may indicate empowerment which is not reflected in the statistics on which GEM is based.It has been argued that majority of women in underdeveloped countries are doing work that is invisible to valuation in the mainstream male-defined world of statistics relating to work and income. The GDI and GEM indices based on per capita income and work participations rates therefore, are not accurate measures for the developing countries.

In this section you have studied about background to GAD indicators, why look at gender development indicators, the millennium development goals (MDGS), types of gender indicators. Now, answer questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the importance of gender indicators.

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2) Explain the major differences between GDI and GEM.

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3.5 AREAS AND INDICATORS OF GENDER EMPOWERMENT

In October 1999, ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) of the UN (United Nations), organized the High-level Intergovernmental Meeting to review regional implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. The meeting was convened to review the progress made and the obstacles encountered in implementing the 12 critical areas of the Platform for Action. Subsequently at its twenty-third special session entitled ¯Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century in Beijing, the

General Assembly adopted a political declaration and an outcome document on further actions and initiatives to implement the Platform. The political declaration recognised that governments have primary responsibility for implementation of the twelve critical areas of concern. The Platform specifically recommends the designing of gender-sensitive indicators with special reference to the issues of poverty, economic activity and violence. Governments agreed to regularly assess further implementation of the Platform with a view to bringing together in 2005 all parties involved to assess progress and consider new initiatives. In this context, the need for a road map of indicators to inform policy makers on the progress or reverses in the situation of women in the countries was acutely felt.

A set of guidelines for developing gender-based indicators (both quantitative and qualitative) in the ESCAP region was developed and proposed by the expert group that met for this purpose from December 2 to 4, 2002 with the objective of providing accurate measurements of change in the situation of women occurring over time and for comparisons between countries in the region. The proposed indicators are briefly explained below:

3.5.1 Women and Poverty

Important Indicators:

- Population below the National Poverty line (Percentage)
- Population living on Less than US $1 per day (Percentage)
- Public assistance beneficiary rate (Percentage, by sex)
- Female-headed households below poverty line (Percentage)
- Policies and programmes supporting female household heads with low income (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Legislation ensuring equal inheritance rights to women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Legislation ensuring equal property ownership rights to women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Credit programmes for women in poverty (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Policies and programmes on gender-based research on poverty, including social security systems (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Production and distribution of sex-disaggregated statistics on poverty (Yes/No, List Key Statistics)

3.5.2 Education and Training of Women

Important indicators:

- Gender difference in average years of schooling (By sex)
- Gross and net enrolment ratio (Percentage, by sex, level of education)
- Female students in tertiary education (Percentage by field of education)
- Ratification of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Yes/No, Year of Ratification)
- Adult illiteracy rate (Percentage, by sex, age group, rural/urban)

- Vocational training enrolment rate (Percentage by sex, field of study)
- Policies and programmes for women in science and technology (Yes/No, Key Features)
- Women in information and communication technology (ICT) (Percentage by industry, level)
- Access to computers, Internet (Percentage by sex, urban/rural)
- National programmes to reduce gender stereotypes in school curricular and textbooks (Yes/No, Key Features)

3.5.3 Women and Health

Important indicators:

- Life expectancy at birth (By sex)
- Calorie intake (By sex, age, group)
- Pregnant women with anaemia (Percentage)
- Deliveries attended by skilled health personnel (Percentage)
- Maternal mortality rate (Percentage)
- Induced abortion rate (Percentage)
- Contraception practice rate (Percentage, by sex, methods)
- Health education for women (Yes/No)
- Gender sensitive policies and programmes to prevent HIV/AIDS. (Yes/No, Key features)
- Medical research fund for women's health issues (Percentage of total, Key features)

3.5.4 Violence against Women

Important indicators:

- Incidences of domestic violence (Per 100,000 people, graph of reported and convicted cases)
- Incidences of sexual violence (Per 100,000 people, graph of reported and convicted cases)
- Legislation against gender based violence (yes/No, types of violence covered and enforcement situation)
- Support system for female victims of violence (yes/no, list available services and budget)
- Production of statistics on gender-based violence (Yes/No, List key statistics)
- Fund for research on violence against women (Yes/No, Amount of funds)
- Ratification of international conventions on trafficking in and enslavement of people (Yes/No, Year of ratification)
- Legislation combating sex tourism and trafficking of women (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)

Incidences of prostitution and trafficking (Numbers of cases filed and convicted)

- Services for female victims of exploitations by prostitution and trafficking (Yes/No, Key features)

3.5.5 Women and Armed Conflict

Important indicators:

- Women in peace-related decision-making (Percentage, background of women)
- Policies and programmes ensuring women's participation in peace process (Yes/No, Key features)
- Ratification of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of Certain Conventional Weapons, which may be deemed to be Excessively Injurious and the Protocol on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of Mines, Booby traps and other Devices (Yes/No, year of Ratification)
- Military expenditure (Percentage of the total government expenditure and GDP)
- Ratification of Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Yes/No, year of Ratification)
- Policies and programmes preventing human rights abuses of women in conflict situation (Yes/No, Key features)
- Gender sensitive peace education (Yes/No, Key features of programme and participants)
- Programmes for refugee and displaced women (Yes/No. Key features)

3.5.6 Women and the Economy

Important indicators:

- Labour force, economic participation and unemployment rates (Percentage by sex)
- Policies and programmes to implement the 1993 United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA) (Yes/No, Key features)
- Equal employment opportunity Law and Legislation ensuring equal pay for work of equal value and Legislation for prevention of sexual harassment at workplace (Yes/No. Key features and enforcement situation)
- Programmes to enhance women's income generating potential and to support women entrepreneurs (Yes/No, By rural, urban, Key features)
- Vocational training, counselling and placement services for women (Yes/No, percentage received service by sex, by training)
- Legislation protecting women in the informal sector (Yes/No, coverage)
- Ratification of ILO conventions (Yes/No, List ratified conventions and year of ratification)
- Women in managerial positions (Percentage, by occupation and subsector)
- Participation of women in labour unions (Percentage, by position)
- Lengths of paid maternity leave (days, List state and public payment provisions)

3.5.7 Women in Power and Decision making

Important indicators:

- Women in parliament (Percentage)
- Women in ministerial posts (Percentage)
- Women in political parties (Percentage by level of position)
- Women in government committees (Percentage)
- Women in central government (Percentage, by rank)
- Women in local government (Percentage, by rank, elected/non-elected)
- Affirmative action for women in political parties (Yes/No, Key features)
- Women voters (Percentage)
- Training for women political candidates and for female government officials (Yes/No, Key features)
- Leadership training for women in NGOs, trade unions and business organizations (Yes/No, list programmes)

3.5.8 Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women

Important indicators:

- National machinery for women's advancement and gender equality (Yes/No, by level, list mandates, numbers of staff and budget)
- Gender focal points in different ministries (Yes/No, level of position, list mandates)
- Gender – sensitivity training for government officials (Yes/No, key features)
- Institutionalization of gender analysis of government policies (Yes/No)
- Inter-ministerial gender policy coordinating body (Yes/No, Key features including mandates)
- Gender caucus in the parliament (Yes/No, Key features including mandates)
- Publication of gender statistics and indicators on regular basis (Yes/No, Specify type of Publication)
- Time use survey (Yes/No, Year of Survey)

3.5.9 Human Rights of Women

- Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and optional protocols (Yes/No, Year of ratification)
- Number of reservations to CEDAW (Number, list articles/paragraphs and reservations removed)
- Legislation protecting women's human rights (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- National action plans to protect women's human rights (Yes/No, key features, including monitoring mechanisms)

- National Commission on Human Rights (Yes/No, Existence of women's division percentage of women commissioners)
- Revision of gender discriminatory laws in accordance with CEDAW (Yes/No, list revised laws)
- Gender – sensitivity training for people in legislative, judiciary and law enforcement system (Yes/No, Key features)
- Legal literacy education for women (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grass roots are included)
- Education on women's human rights. (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)

3.5.10 Women and the Media

Important indicators:

- Women professionals in electronic and print media (percentage, by type of media, level of position, women in decision making positions)
- Training for women in new communication technologies (Yes/No, list measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)
- Media literacy education for women and the general public (Yes/No)
- Institutionalization of gender sensitivity training for media professionals (Yes/No)
- Legislation against pornography, violence, portrayal of women as sex objects, and commercial exploitation in media (Yes/No, Key features including monitoring mechanisms)
- Codes of conduct and guidelines on balanced portrayal of women (Yes/No, Key features including monitoring mechanisms)
- Support for women's media monitoring activities (Yes/No, key features including level of funding)

3.5.11 Women and the Environment

Important indicators:

- Women in environmental decision-making bodies (Percentage, by types)
- Leadership training for women on environmental and resource management (Yes/No, list key features and measures taken to ensure women at the grassroots are included)
- Gender analysis of environmental policies and programmes (Yes/No)
- Programmes promoting women's role in environmentally sound production (Yes/No, list programmes)
- Database of women's indigenous knowledge on resource management and environment preservation (Yes/No, Key features)
- Implementation of Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 (Yes/No, monitoring mechanisms)

3.5.12 The Girl Child

Important Indicators:

- Legislation ensuring equal inheritance rights of the girl child (Yes/No)
- Legislation ensuring the minimum legal age for marriage (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Sex ratio at birth (By Birth order)
- Policies to promote girl's access to education (Yes/No, List Key features)
- Infant and under age 5 mortality rate (Per 1,000 live births by sex)
- Infant with low birth weight and malnutrition of children under 5 (Percentage, by Sex)
- Education for girls and boys on sexual behaviour and reproductive health (Yes/No)
- Children aged between 10 and 14 in employment (Percentage, by Sex)
- Legislation preventing child abuse, female infanticide, prenatal sex selection, incest, child prostitution and child pornography (Yes/No, Key features and enforcement situation)
- Parental education and counselling on gender-sensitive parenting. (Yes/No)

3.6 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND GENDER INDEX (SIGI)

The Gender, Institutions and Development Database (GID-DB) was introduced by the OECD on the International Women's Day 2006 to determine and analyze obstacles to realization of gender equality. The SIGI was constructed as a new measure of gender equality. While the conventional indicators focused on the outcomes of inequality, the SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions like norms, traditions and informal laws.

The index of social institutions is a tool for capturing the underlying reasons for the gender gaps in 102 non-OECD countries.

SIGI has introduced 12 indicators on social institutions which are grouped into five categories: Family Code, Physical Integrity, Son Preference, Civil Liberties and Ownership Rights

i) **Family Code:** includes institutions that influence the decision making power of the women in the household as given below-

- **Early marriage** measures the percentage of girls between the ages of 15 and 19 who are married, divorced or widowed. This provides an indication of forced or arranged marriages as a gender related variable.
- **Polygamy** refers to the acceptance within a society of men having multiple wives.
- **Parental authority** measures whether women have same rights to be legal guardians of their children and whether they have custody rights after divorce.

- **Inheritance** measures whether widows and daughters have equal rights as heirs

ii) **Physical Integrity:** consists of two variables on violence against women:

- **Violence against women** measures the existence of legal protection for women against rape, assault and sexual harassment.
- **Female genital mutilation** measures the extent and incidences of this practice.

iii) **Son Preference** measures gender bias in mortality due to the practice of sex selective abortions and inadequate care given to girls.

iv) **Civil Liberties** refers to the freedom of social participation of women.

- **Freedom of movement** measures the restrictions women face in moving freely outside their household without being escorted by male family members.
- **Freedom of dress** measures the obligations to observe a certain dress code in public.

v) **Ownership Rights** include three variables:

- **Women's access to land**
- **Women's access to property other than land**
- **Women's access to credit**

In this section you have studied about areas and indicators of gender empowerment, social institutions and gender index (SIGI). Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Write the important indicators to understand the interlinkages between women and the economy as well as women and the environment.

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2) What is SIGI and how can it be an important tool for achieving women's equality?

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3.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have read about various gender indicators. It also introduces you to the Millennium Development Goals. The choice of what to measure will be different for different actors. Governments might be concerned with monitoring progress for women and men, development agencies might focus on evaluating the impact of their gender programmes, while gender equality activists may be measuring gender (in)equality or (in)justice.

3.8 GLOSSARY

United Nations : The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights.

OECD : Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. OECD brings together the governments of countries committed to democracy and the market economy from around the world to:

1) Support sustainable economic growth
2) Boost employment
3) Raise living standards
4) Maintain financial stability
5) Assist other countries' economic development
6) Contribute to growth in world trade

UNESCAP : The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific UNESCAP) is the regional development arm of the United Nations for the Asia-Pacific region. With a membership of 62 Governments, 58 of which are in the region, and a geographical scope that stretches from Turkey in the west to the Pacific island nation of Kiribati in the east, and from the Russian Federation in the north to New Zealand in the south, UNESCAP is the most comprehensive of the United Nations five regional commissions.. It carries out work in the following areas:

1) Macroeconomic Policy and Development
2) Statistics
3) Sub regional activities for development
4) Trade and Investment
5) Transport

6) Environment and sustainable development

7) Information and Communications Technology and Disaster Risk Reduction

8) Social Development

Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) : PPP is a theory of long-term equilibrium exchange rates based on relative price levels of two countries. In its "absolute" version, the purchasing power of different currencies is equalized for a given basket of goods. In the "relative" version, the difference in the rate of change in prices at home and abroad—the difference in the inflation rates—is equal to the percentage depreciation or appreciation of the exchange rate.

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3.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Explain the importance of gender indicators.

Ans. Gender indicators can be used for advocacy and can help make the case for action by highlighting key issues, backed up with statistics and other evidence. They enable better planning and actions. Gender indicators can be used to evaluate the outcomes of gender-focused and mainstream interventions and policies and help reveal barriers to achieving success.

2) Explain the major differences between GDI and GEM.

Ans. The GDI adjust the average achievement to reflect the inequalities between men and women in the following dimensions:

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

GEM captures gender inequality in three key areas:

- Political participation and decision making power, as measured by women's and men's percentage share of parliamentary seats.
- Economic participation and decision-making power, as measured by two indicators –
- Power over economic resources, as measured by women's and men's estimated earned income (PPP US$).

Check Your Progress 2

1) Write the important indicators to understand the interlinkages between women and the economy as well as women and the environment.

Ans. Labour Force, Economic Participation, Unemployment rate, equal employment opportunity, laws and legislations, policies and programmes, women position in occupation and subsector wise, participation of women in labour unions and lengths of paid maternity leave.

2) What is SIGI and how can it be an important tool for achieving women's equality?

Ans. SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions like norms, traditions and informal laws. SIGI has 12 indicators on social institutions which are grouped into five categories. The Gender institutions and development data base (GID-DB) was introduced by the OECD on the international women's day 2006 to determine and analyse obstacles to realization of gender equality. It is a new measure. Unlike conventional indicators which are focused on the outcomes of inequality the SIGI measures inequalities based on social institutions.

MDV-004: Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies (6 CREDITS)

BLOCK 1	**CONCEPTS OF GENDER**
Unit 1	Basic Concepts of Gender
Unit 2	Social Construction of Gender
Unit 3	Gender and Development Indicators
BLOCK 2	**APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Trends in Feminism
Unit 2	WID-WAD-GAD-Part I
Unit 3	WID-WAD-GAD-Part II
BLOCK 3	**STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Affirmative Action:Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality
Unit 2	Meeting Gender Needs through Planning
Unit 3	Engendering Governance
BLOCK 4	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-1**
Unit 1	Gender and Labour Market
Unit 2	Women and Entrepreneurship Development
Unit 3	Gender in Agriculture and Environment
Unit 4	Women in Informal economy
Unit 5	Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid
BLOCK 5	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II**
Unit 1	Gender , Denocracy and Development
Unit 2	Gender and education
Unit 3	Gender, Health and Well-Being

Indira Gandhi National Open University
School of Extension and Development Studies

MDV-004
Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies

Block

2

APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 1
Trends in Feminism 5

UNIT 2
WID-WAD-GAD Part-I 29

UNIT 3
WID-WAD-GAD Part-II 45

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BLOCK 2 APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

BLOCK 2 consists of three units namely Trends in Feminism; Women in Development (WID)- Women and Development (WAD)-Gender and Development (GAD), part 1 and Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD), part 11.

Unit 1 discusses **Trends in Feminism**. This unit introduces to forms of feminism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, post modern feminism and black feminism. This unit will be the base for our understanding of feminist movement.

Unit 2 is on **Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD), part 1**. This unit discusses concepts of development and underdevelopment, Boserup's Thesis, emergence of Women in Development (WID) approach, Three World Conferences on women, Women and Development (WAD) approach, critique of WID and Gender and Development (GAD) approach.

Unit 3 is the second part which discusses **Women in Development (WID); Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD).** It also discusses empowerment, gender mainstreaming, gender planning, gender budgeting and gender auditing.

UNIT 1 TRENDS IN FEMINISM

Structure

1.1 Introduction
1.2 Liberal Feminism
1.3 Marxist Feminism
1.4 Radical Feminism
1.5 Post Modern Feminism
1.6 Black Feminism
1.7 Let Us Sum Up
1.8 References and Suggested Readings
1.9 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The second half of the twentieth century has seen a new impetus to the women's movement. There are many factors responsible for this. One of the main factors, however, has been the recognition of a common experience of marginalization between various groups of subjugated people, and the development of various subaltern voices and movements that articulate, analyze and protest against the various forms of oppressive power that have left them outside of the mainstream of culture, tradition and life in each situation. The subaltern has realized that it has been perceived as the other, the different, the deviant. This attitude has been the source of its marginalization, the rationalization that justifies the inhuman treatment of human beings by other human beings. At the initial stages of any subaltern movement, the tendency is to accept the value-systems of the dominant group, the mainstream, even while one recognizes that one has been excluded from that mainstream. At this stage, the values of the oppressor remain the yardstick, the paradigm that is the norm, and the subaltern endeavour is to prove itself of value *in those terms*. Anything you can do, I can do just as well, might well be the slogan of this stage: the subaltern is struggling at this stage to prove that, despite the difference in colour, race, sex, caste, economic situation etc, there is no *essential* difference between the oppressor and the oppressed. The same humanness characterizes both groups, and given the same opportunities, both would be equally capable of achievement.

The next stage is, perhaps, a more positive one. The subaltern has reached a stage of being able to look more objectively at both sets of value systems, the dominant and the dominated. At this stage, it is possible for the subaltern to appreciate and value even those facets of its culture and tradition in which it most differs from the dominant. This stage involves, then, a recognition and a celebration of what is viewed as the *intrinsic* value of the subaltern, *on its own terms*. This, by challenging the monopoly of the dominant value-system, subtly subverts its authority, creating a space for an alternative *weltanschauung*, an alternative mode of existence and of relating. From margin to center, Bell Hook's famous phrase (cited in Warhol and Herndl, 1991: 687) might well be the *leitmotif* of this stage, for with the legitimizing of the alternatives, the peripheries are now centre-stage, the subaltern is now dictating the terms of political correctness.

Together with other subaltern movements, the women's movement has moved through these stages. When we think of feminism today, we imply three levels of activity:

1) A description of the oppression and subjugation experienced by women and an analysis of its causes.

2) An action-plan or prescription that suggests ways of transforming the situation, so as to liberate and empower women.

3) A celebration of the strengths and gifts of womanhood and an exploration of the alternative ways of functioning that are part of the modus operandi of women. (This point with its suggestion of essentialism in its understanding of woman is hotly debated by feminists of various schools of thought.)

This unit gives an overview of feminism and after reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of classical and new wave liberalism
- Explain Marxist feminism
- Describe radical feminism
- Analyze post modern feminism

1.2 LIBERAL FEMINISM

1.2.1 Liberal Thought

Liberal feminism draws heavily upon the world-view presented by the liberal humanist philosophy . Very simply, liberal philosophy and liberal political thought hold the opinion that human beings are characterized by the use of reason: liberals tend to define the use in either moral or prudential terms. When the moral aspect is emphasized, the focus is on the value of individual autonomy; when reason is perceived as the best means to a desired end, the value of self-fulfillment is highlighted. A just society then is one, which allows individuals to exercise their autonomy and to fulfill themselves: the ideal state maintains and preserves a system of individual rights, which allows each person to pursue his or her own understanding of the desirable good, provided the rights of no other individual are thereby restricted. Within the liberal framework, there is a distinction between the classical liberals and the welfare liberals. The former expect the state to concentrate on protecting the civil liberties of each citizen, and without interfering with the free market, to provide all individuals with an equal opportunity to function within that market. The latter focus more on the need for positive intervention from the state in order to correct situations of gross injustice that are the legacy of past injustice – e.g. reservations for SC/ST students and candidates for jobs. Welfare liberals assert that without such positive intervention from the state, these individuals would not be able to compete on the open market with even a remote semblance of an equal chance.

1.2.2 Classical Liberal Feminism

This extremely simplistic understanding of liberal political thought gives us a framework for our understanding of the workings of liberal feminism. There has been a shift from the classical position of the early liberal feminists of the 19th century to the welfare liberalism of the 20th century liberal feminists, who are

more concerned with equality of opportunity which would then lead to a redistribution of wealth and thus a further equalization of opportunity for all people.

The Classical Liberal Feminist text is, of course, coined in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). In this truly revolutionary work, Wollstonecraft asserts that much of what is perceived as "feminine" and biologically determined, is rather a social construct, viz. Gender. While Wollstonecraft does not use these terms, she denies that women are by nature more focused on pleasure and less capable of rationality than men.

She reasoned that if men were confined to the same cages women find themselves locked in, they would develop the same characters. If denied the chance to develop their rational powers, to become moral persons who have concerns, causes and commitments beyond personal pleasure, men would become overly "emotional"…. (Tong, 1989)

Wollstonecraft is outraged by the trend in 18th century society to trivialize and de-rationalize the life and education of the affluent middle-class woman. She demands that girls and women be given an education that sharpens and focuses the mind, enabling them to develop their rational and moral capacities. She posits this need not just for utilitarian purposes (women need to be equipped to perform their wifely and motherly duties in a sensible and satisfactory manner!) but also because if rationality is what distinguishes human beings from animals, then, as human beings, girls are entitled to an education that would enable them to develop their human potential to the fullest.Contending for the rights of woman, the main argument is built on this simple principle, that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue; for truth must be common to all, or it will be inefficacious with respect to its influence on general practice.

What Wollstonecraft wanted for women was the right to be fully human, fully autonomous persons. She rebelled against a frame of mind that saw women as mere appendages, created as a means to the end of masculine fulfillment, and she spoke out fiercely against both masculine and feminine reinforcement of this perspective. But though she demands an equal education for women, she seems to overlook the fact that the socio-economic condition of women at the time did not afford them the opportunity to exercise that education in any sphere other than the strictly domestic.

Other liberal thinkers, who spoke out against the subjection particularly of the middle-class woman of the 18th and 19th centuries, were John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill. Writing nearly a hundred years after Wollstonecraft, they join her in celebrating reason. Their liberalism is more conditioned by the utilitarian approach to life, however, and they insist that equality between men and women is only possible if women are accorded the same civil liberties and economic opportunities that men enjoy. Though the two wrote several joint essays, notably on the subject of marriage and the divorce laws of the time, they differed on a number of subjects, especially on issues relating to working women. For instance, while Mill believed that full liberation would be visible when women were allowed to enter and leave the workforce at will, Taylor believed that liberation was only possible when all women were actually working, regardless of financial necessity. Where J S Mill emphasized on the need for education and for collegiality in the formation and administration of laws, Taylor frequently stressed on the

aspect of an equal partnership in the area of productive work; only so can women be the partners rather than the servants of their husbands. Here both Wollstonecraft and Taylor concentrate on the ordinary woman, tending to downplay the exceptional woman, Mill uses the exceptional woman as proof that makes nonsense of the patriarchal claim that all men are more intelligent, rational and capable than all women. At the same time, all three recognize and seek to counter the double standard that has been set up in society. It is interesting to note that of the three it is Mill who, in *The Subjection of Women* (1869) makes the most radical claims for woman's intellect and gifts (attention to detail, use of concrete examples, intuitiveness). It is Mill who makes the most revolutionary assertions about the effects of education and social conditioning on the development of women in psychological and moral terms. It is Mill who analysed in clear- sighted terms, the position of the wife under English law. Yet, oddly, it is Mill who believed that given the possibility of choice, given every opportunity, both educational and economic that would make the choice a viable one, liberated women would still opt to make a career of being a wife and mothering:

> *Like a man when he chooses a profession, so, when a woman marries, it may in general be understood that she makes choice of the management of a household, and the bringing up of a family, as the first call upon her exertions, during as many years of her life as may be required for the purpose; and that she renounces, not all other objects and occupations, but all which are not consistent with the requirements of this. (Mill, 1982)*

The arguments of Wollstonecraft, Taylor and Mill shaped and oriented the women's movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The suffragette movement, the struggle for women's education, the efforts to change the legal system in order to achieve a greater equality between men and women, all speak eloquently of the impact of liberal humanism on the women's movement.

1.2.3 Second Wave Liberal Feminism

The second wave of liberal feminism prevailed during 1950s and 1960s. Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (1957) with its uncompromising demand for a room, a space that a woman can call her own, in which she can choose to do whatever *she* wants, and her belief that real creativity can only take place away from the domestic preoccupations that seem a woman's lot, expressed something of a sense of dissatisfaction with the achievements won so far. This dissatisfaction is underlined by the caustic comparison between the austerity of Fernham (the fictional women's college described in the essay) and the almost sybaritic luxury of the neighbouring Cantabrigian colleges for men.

In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Betty Friedan points out that the assumption that women can find fulfillment exclusively in the traditional roles/functions of wife and mother is fallacious, leaving middle-class urban housewives with an inner wasteland of emptiness and frustration. This inner misery will inevitably affect their relationships with their husbands and children, creating either resentment and rebellion or an excessive and unhealthy dependence.

Friedan insists that the only way out of this bind is for all women to be equipped with educational and professional qualifications that will enable them to find some meaningful work outside of the home, even if it is only part-time: this is necessary for the physical and emotional health of the women themselves as well

as for their families. While Friedan is not asking women to give up marriage and families of their own in favour of careers, she is combating the assumption that all "normal" women, all "good" women, would choose marriage and motherhood over a career. It is, according to Friedan, possible to combine a commitment to both marriage and motherhood and to a career. Indeed, for many women, both commitments exercise an equal attraction.

This concept she stresses in her book *The Second Stage*(1981):

> *In our reaction against the feminine mystique, which defined women solely in terms of their relation to men as wives, mothers and homemakers, we sometimes seemed to fall into a feminist mystique which denied that core of women's personhood that is fulfilled through love, nurture, home. (Friedan, 1981)*

In recommending that women can and should opt for both family and career, she recommends that concepts like flexi time be introduced in the workplace. At the same time, however, she still continues to perceive the tasks of homemaking and childrearing as being the responsibility of women. Like her predecessors, Friedan too had sent women out into the public sphere before an adequate sharing out of domestic responsibilities between men and women. This tendency she tries to correct in her second book by balancing "women's assimilation into the workplace with a counter assimilation of men into the family" (Tong,1989).Liberal feminists today occupy various positions, ranging from the classical liberal to the welfare liberal, both of which rely heavily on legal interventions and remedies to redress the inequalities between sexes/genders.

1.2.4 Limitations of the Liberal Approach

One criticism leveled against the liberal feminists is that all too often their interiorization of masculine ideals and value-systems has resulted in their substituting masculine for human. By insisting that women are just as capable of rationality and efficiency as men, they are reinforcing a value-system that valorizes these qualities over and above the so-called feminine qualities of sensitivity, nurturing and tenderness. The liberals seem to believe that women want to be like men. Instead, claim other feminists, there is a value and powers to the "roles" of mother and wife that transcend the patriarchal attempt to institutionalize them and thus control the exercise of these functions and identities.

Mothering is *not* a "role" on par with being a file clerk, a scientist, or a member of the Air Force. Mothering is a complicated, rich, ambivalent, vexing, joyous activity which is biological, natural, social, symbolic and emotional. It carries profoundly resonant emotional and sexual imperatives. A tendency to downplay the differences that pertain between, say, mothering and holding a job, not only drains our private relations of much of their significance, but also over-simplifies what can or should be done to alter things for women, who are frequently urged to change roles in order to solve their problems. (Elshtain, 1981)

The socialist feminists level yet another criticism against the liberals. Not only have liberal feminists been too ready to accept and own masculine values, their very idea of the self as an autonomous, rational agent is a fundamentally male concept. Other ways of perceiving and defining the human person could use the framework of relationships and kinship, could valorize qualities other than rationality, could stress "being" rather than "agency" as the key condition of humanness.

Western liberal thought has accepted a dualistic view of the world, which creates a problem for feminists, since this tends to devalue activities and functions related to the body, at the expense of those related to the mind. (The former are usually associated with women, where the latter are associated with men.) At the same time, the liberal view of the world can lead to two questionable assumptions:

- The rational, autonomous person is seen as being isolated, with needs and interests separate from, and even in opposition to, those of every other individual.
- By placing such a premium on human liberty and the individual's rights, the liberals seem to believe that there is no common answer to the fundamental questions of political philosophy.

Socialist feminists assert that all persons are in community and it is the network of relatedness in these communities that shape the individual.

1.2.5 Contribution to the Women's Movement

However, in spite of its limitations, liberal feminism has contributed much to the women's movement. It was the liberal feminists who agitated for and won educational and legal reforms that have changed life so drastically for women, who enabled women to attain a professional and occupational stature within the workplace. That there is more to feminism in undeniable, but we cannot afford to trivialize their efforts, or even to relegate them to the past, for the struggle to ensure that all women benefit from educational, legal and professional reforms, still continues.

In this section you studied liberal feminism . Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by liberal feminism?

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2) What is the contribution of liberal feminism to women's movement?

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1.3 MARXIST FEMINISM

1.3.1 Foundations of Marxist Feminism

The parallels between Marxism and feminism are immediately apparent. Where Marxism offers the working-classes or the proletariat, first, the tools for analysis of the causes of and reasons for their oppression, and second, the means whereby they can redress these inequalities and exploitation, feminism offers women a similar agenda: analysis, followed by strategies for empowerment.In its articulation of "historical materialism", Marxism fosters the development of a "class consciousness" that draws together similarly situated people with the same needs, problems and aspirations, through an arduous process of shared reflection and struggle. The class consciousness enables workers to recognize that their interests, concerns and problems are shared by all their fellow-workers, and the best interests of all would be served by mutual support and solidarity, rather than by competing against each other. Feminism, too, makes evident that, while patriarchy is not a monolith (its manifestations vary from society to society, from community to community), yet all women experience subjugation and oppression in one form or another, and our best interests will be served by sisterhood and solidarity rather than by rivalry and antagonism inspired and reinforced by patriarchal structures.

Though Marxists in general treat women's oppression as part of and secondary to their primary concern – the oppression of the worker – Engels addressed the problem of why women are oppressed in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884). He traces the origins of the family and its subsequent development through complex and highly cohesive clan and joint family systems to the splintered nuclear family of his time (and of the present day). He ascribes the movement from one stage to the next to changes in the mode of production. From the earliest and most primitive form of subsistence, when the work of each member of the tribe was essential for the survival of all, and gender relations were characterized by what he calls "promiscuous intercourse", the human race moved to a state of pairing-for-life, or marriage, because of the biological need to exclude the possibility of intercourse with various kinds of blood relatives and the subsequent reduction in the number of women available to each man. In the earlier stages, this pairing-for-life meant that the man would go into the woman's house and live there with her: societies at this stage, Engels suggests, tend to be matrilineal and even matriarchal in organization, with much economic, social and political power invested in women.

With the domestication of animals and the breeding of herds, the site of production shifted from the household to outside. New wealth was generated, this time controlled by men, and women lost much of the power they once had. As the work of men gained in economic importance and prestige, there was a concomitant decrease in the value and importance ascribed to women's work. More important, with the generation of an actual surplus controlled by men, they suddenly wanted to ensure that their wealth was transmitted to *their* children. As Engels put it, "mother-right had to be overthrown, and overthrown it was".

This move was pivotal and constituted "the world-historic defeat of the female sex", according to Engels. Man took charge of the household by virtue of his economic power: "he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat".

Further, since biologically, motherhood is easily proved, while paternity – until the days of DNA testing – remained a belief, it was necessary to curtail and control women's sexuality, so that men could ensure that only their own children would inherit their wealth. So sprang up an ideological superstructure, with many accretions of mythic prescriptions and scriptural dicta through the centuries: a superstructure that valorized chastity and fidelity, equating these with virtue among women.

As societies move from the pastoral/nomadic to slave societies and thence to the feudal system, as wealth is concentrated more and more in the hands of men, as ideological and institutional superstructures continue to buttress men's power, women's inferior position is reinforced, and over the years, internalized and transmitted to future generations by women themselves. However, as Engels points out, while societies remained agrarian, women's work was still of direct economic value and they retained a degree of importance in the community. It is only with industrialization and capitalism that the devaluation of women is complete. Once workplace and home are separated, once women's work no longer brings in direct economic advantage to family and community, women are reduced to nonentities. Interestingly, Engels holds that this devaluation is more acute among bourgeois women than among proletarian women, whose labour is visibly necessary for the survival of the family. In fact, he compares the bourgeois marriage to "the crassest prostitution" in which the wife "sells her body into slavery once and for all".

Tracing much of the evil of women's position to the institution of private property and the consequent development of the monogamous marriage, Engels argues that women's liberation can only take place with the abolition of private property, and with women gaining economic independence from men. He posits the need for, first, the reintroduction of women into public industry and, second, the socialization of housework and child-rearing.

1.3.2 Other Key Elements in Marxist Feminism

Other key elements in the Marxist concepts are also crucial in shaping the Marxist feminists understanding of the oppressive forces at work in patriarchy. Marxists believe that the supremely humanizing activity is work, i.e. the transformation of our environment in order to produce our means of subsistence. Men and women through their work create a society that then shapes them. Not consciousness but material existence determines our perceptions and patterns of living.The forces of production and the relations of production generate a superstructure that in turn supports and sanctions the mode of production that has generated it. This concept is taken up and emphasized by Marxist feminists who point out that the nature of woman's work and her role both in family and at workplace reinforce her social and economic subordination to men.

According to Marxist theory, capitalism is not a system of voluntary exchange relations, as the Liberal view has it. Rather, it is a system of exploitative power relations. The employers' monopoly over the means of production enables them to exploit the workers. The surplus value generated by the worker, i.e. the difference between the wage he is paid and the value that is actually created by his work, forms the capitalists profit. Workers may be free in that there is no overt coercion forcing them to work at a particular job (as there would be in slavery). But is the worker really free? If the choice is between accepting the job offered by the capitalist or starving, what becomes of the freedom?

Apart from the monopoly capitalists exercise over the means of production, they also exercise another tactic to bolster their exploitation of the workers. By presenting the view that all life is a colossal network of exchange relations, capitalist ideologues lead workers and employers to accept what Marx termed "the fetishism of commodities" as one of the imponderable givens in life. Thus the exercise of power that underlies the surface exchange transaction is obscured. Marxist feminists claim that even as this fetishism of commodities deludes the worker, it provides a theoretical underpinning for the easy acquiescence of society in such

relations as prostitution and surrogate motherhood, seeing them as being an exercise in free choice. How free is the woman who "decides" to sell her sexual or reproductive services only because she has nothing else to offer in the marketplace?

Marxist class analysis, too, has enabled feminists to understand their own oppression better, while at the same time raising the pertinent question of whether women in themselves constitute a class. There is, assert Marxist feminists, a vertical division of gender that cuts across the horizontal stratification of class; an oppression and a marginalization experienced by all women regardless of their economic condition (or rather, the economic condition of father, husband, son). Though the ways in which this is experienced may differ, the fact of its existence is universal. It is this that enables women to perceive themselves as a class. The feminist struggle, both for equal wages and in campaigns like the one for "Wages for Housework" has helped women move towards a class consciousness that rejects as consciousness all attempts to convince them that wifely and motherly duties cannot be recompensed as work because they are undertaken out of love. Marxist feminists also point out that though women's work under capitalism is trivialized and women seen primarily as consumers rather than producers, they are in fact primarily producers.

Alienation is yet another concept that gained special significance in Marxist ideology and has served Marxist and Socialist feminists well as a unifying concept. Marxist thought identifies multiple levels of alienation experienced by workers under capitalism:

- Alienation from the product of their labour which is no longer determined or controlled by themselves
- Alienation from themselves, since the supremely humanizing activity has been reduced to a monotonous, repetitive, soul-deadening exercise on the assembly-line
- Alienation from other human beings who could have been colleagues and friends, but have been turned into competitors and enemies
- Alienation from nature since the very process of industrialization has resulted in a perception of nature as a threat or an obstacle to survival.

Marxist and Socialist feminists, like Ann Foreman and Alison Jaggar, show that not only does all this apply to woman as worker, it also applies to her very being as woman. The reification of woman and especially of the female body, as a result of the combination of patriarchy and capitalism, has created multiple layers of alienation experienced by woman. She is alienated from her own body, from herself, from other women and from nature, as she works away at her body, struggling to make it conform to an externally-imposed standard of perfection.

Motherhood, too, becomes institutionalized, and often becomes an alienating experience in a similar manner, as does the attempt to exercise her intellectual capabilities in the academic world.

1.3.3 Limitations of Marxist Feminism

Convincing as Engels argument appears, it has been challenged by feminists. As Millett points out:

Engels ignores the fact that woman is viewed, emotionally and psychologically, as chattel property by the poor as well as, and often even more than, the rich. Lacking other claims to status a working class male is still more prone to seek them in sexual rank, often brutally asserted. (Millett, 1990)

Simone de Beauvoir, tracing the oppression of women to their position as the Other in her book *The Second Sex*, insists that the relations between men and women will not automatically change with the change from capitalism to socialism, for women are just as likely to remain the Other in the latter as in the former. Engels's assertion that men's will to power may be traced to the institution of private property is erroneous, she claims: "If the human consciousness had not included …an original aspiration to dominate the Other, the invention of the bronze tool could not have caused the oppression of women." (de Beauvoir, 1986)

Marxist feminists themselves raise objections to Engels's theory. In an article entitled "Do Feminists Need Marxism?" (Flax, 1981), Jane Flax holds that Engels has stressed the importance of production at the expense of reproduction. She is convinced that the overthrow of mother-right probably reflected a change in the perception of reproduction ("such as men discovering their role in reproduction and/or asserting control over reproduction") as much as in the method of production.

Another flaw in Engels theory is that he does not in any way explain why women were charged with household work while men engaged in productive work, the sexual division of labour, for Engels as for Marx, seems to originate with "the division of labour in the sexual act". However, Socialist feminists like Alison Jaggar protest that this would seem to imply that there is no hope of abolishing the sexual division of labour as long as the "division of labour in the sex act" remains unchanged. (Jaggar, 1983)

1.3.4 Contribution to the Women's Movement

While classical Marxist ideology would suggest that women's oppression is but one aspect of the exploitation of the worker and that both would be redressed when capitalism is replaced by socialism, feminists have disagreed with this from the earliest days. Marching side by side with their brothers in protest against injustice, they found that even the champions of workers' rights were unable at times to perceive the nature of the injustice experienced by women. From the earliest revolutionaries in Russia – Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and others – to the present day Socialists, feminists realized that there is a real need for women to understand the forms that oppression takes in the "private" as well as the "public" domain. Recognizing that patriarchy has predated capitalism and will probably outlive it, Socialist feminists combine the firm material base offered by Marxist analysis with the insights offered by psychoanalytical and radical feminists to arrive at a more holistic understanding of an oppression and injustice that touches every aspect of women's lives. Yet, by grounding the discourse in a

solid material base, Marxism has rooted the feminist movement in reality and enabled it to join hands with all other liberation movements.

In this section you studied Marxist feminism. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by Marxist feminism?

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2) What are the limitations of Marxist feminism?

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1.4 RADICAL FEMINISM

1.4.1 Definition

Radical feminism is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men.

Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men. (Jone Johnson Lewis). The "Feminists", a group of radical feminist formed in New York in October 1968, said in their manifesto: "women", or "female", were the first class to be separated out from humanity and thus denied their humanity".

The "Second wave" radical feminism has from the beginning been concerned with forms of oppression which affect the life chances and human dignity of women, that is, with all forms of oppression. By attributing all forms of oppression to male domination, the early radical feminist accounts linked these together, and provided the beginning of framework for understanding all forms of invidious hierarchical distinctions between categories of human beings. Denise Thompson asserts that this early radical feminist account was never challenged, despite its intrinsic faults.

One of those problems was a tendency to locate the primacy of male domination in "history". The oppression of women, it was argued, provided the model for all

other forms of oppression because it happened first in human history. Women were the first social group to be enslaved. Once men learned that other human beings, namely women, could be enslaved, they applied that model to other groups of men.

Shulamith Firestone said:

"The natural reproductive difference between the sexes led directly to the first division of labour at the origins of class, as well as furnishing the paradigm of caste (discrimination based on biological characteristics)…[Radical feminism] see feminist issues not only as women's first priority, but as central to any larger revolutionary analysis…the current leftist analysis…does not relate the structures of the economic class system to its origins in the sexual class system, the model for all other exploitive systems, and thus the tapeworm which must to be eliminated first by any true revolution." (Firestone, 1981)

A poster for Radical Feminism

Fight porn culture!

Feminists were not convinced by the rationale that was repeatedly provided by male politicos that the liberation of women could wait until after the socialist revolution, that, because women's subordination was connected to the private ownership of the means of production, the abolition of that private ownership would automatically mean the abolition of women's subordination.

For radical feminists the aim was not simply to establish political priorities, although it was certainly that. It was also a radically different way of looking at the world, from the male dominant status quo. It placed the interests of women first, and from that standpoint spoke in the name of the universal human by asserting that the overcoming of women's subordination

would mean the overcoming of all other forms of subordination as well. For Ti-Grace Atkinson, for example, the oppression of women by men created a world where no one could be free:

> *A human being is not born from the womb; it must create itself. It must be free, self- generative. A human being must feel that it can grow in a world where injustice, inequality, hatred, sadism are not directed at it. No person can grow into a life within these conditions: it is enough of a miracle to survive as a functioning organism.*

Radical feminism does not accept existing political and social organization in general because they are tied to patriarchy. Instead, it supports cultural change

that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures. Radical feminism opposes patriarchy, not men. To equate radical feminism to man-hating is to assume that patriarchy and men are inseparable, philosophically and politically.

Where liberal feminism focused on the issue of equal opportunities for women, in law, in education, etc., and Marxist feminism concentrated on the issue of the economic exploitation of women and the systematic devaluation of women's work, radical feminism explores a number of different topics – art, religion, literature, ecology, reproduction and mothering, sexuality and so on. The work of radical feminists has illumined a number of areas, and has transformed our perceptions of many things that we have hitherto taken for granted. But whatever area of human life the radical feminist discusses, each of them agrees on one thing: *the oppression of women is "the first, the most widespread and the deepest form of human oppression"*

Liberal feminist thinking is a more reasoned, intellectual perspective than the radical feminist position, which has both emotional and political centering in its logical expressions. It has been said about the radical feminists that their tactics and their philosophy are inseparable.

This is understandable, since their focus is on widespread cultural awakening rather than on scholarly debate. Their political vibrancy comes in part from the fact that (1) they are saying something relevant and true about men that can almost universally be appreciated by women, and (2) their logical standards are predicated on politics rather than precise theory and thus they become the be-all and end-all for a diversity of people.

Gerda Lerner defines the radical position in the following manner:

> *"Reforms and legal changes, while ameliorating the condition of women and an essential part of the process of emancipating them, will not basically change patriarchy. Such reforms need to be integrated within a vast cultural revolution in order to transform patriarchy and thus abolish it."*

Symbol of Radical Feminism

The oppression of women by men is assumed to be of the same intensity among all men, yet obviously as Imelda Whelehan has pointed out, "Men have different degrees of access to [the] mechanisms of oppression". Radical feminism focuses on men as oppressors, yet says little about the possibility of the woman being an oppressor of other women or of men. Radical feminists do not view prostitution as a harmless private transaction. On the contrary, they believe that it reinforces and perpetuates the objectification, subordination, and exploitation of women. They see men as universally believing myths regarding their own sexuality. Two myths are: (1) that men need more sex than women and (2) that they are genetically the stronger sex and therefore should be dominant in relationships with women. Feminist writer Alison M. Jaggar describes the radical feminist view as one in which "almost every man/woman encounter has sexual overtones and typically is designed to reinforce the sexual dominance of men".According to the radical

feminist view, "men are socialized to have sexual desires and to feel entitled to have those desires met, whereas women are socialized to meet those desires and to internalize accepted definitions of femininity and sexual objectification."As men cling to the idea that their sexuality is an absolute expression of their need and dominance, they prevent women from effecting new attitudes, self-realizations, and behaviors.

As discussed earlier, when radical feminists speak of "degradation," they inappropriately apply the term in ethical statements setting forth right or wrong behaviour. What they mainly are talking about is degradation in a social sense and not a moral sense, although they allude to their ideas as morally sound. In a social sense, they seem to see degradation as existing over a broad spectrum of society in which everything that men do, from opening doors for women to sexual assault, reinforces their view of men as "dominating."

In spite of the fact that radical feminists tend to overemphasize concepts such as degradation, they appear to be more than compensate for it by making several assertions that have high credibility. One of these assertions is that human sexuality derives essentially from culture and not from biology. This idea is reasonable and consistent with contemporary biological theories which emphasize the role of culture rather than genetics in viewing the evolution of human societies. For example, zoologist Theodosius Dobzhansky would recognize the radical feminist assertion framed in biological and genetic terms. He views "culture as an instrument of human adaptation that is virtually inseparable from biology. "Dobzhansky separates biological and cultural theories into three categories: ectogenic, autogenic, and biological." Thus, there is a certain degree of support for the radical feminist view that people are not necessarily responding to biological forces that are exclusive of cultural influences. In the same way that biological knowledge can expand the ground of support for the arguments of feminists, so too can the study of ethics. The exploitation and oppression of human being is considered to be an immoral act. Once women's oppression is framed in moral terms, it becomes easier to understand that there are other moral influences that can cause and exacerbate oppression.

1.4.2 The Influences That Have Shaped Radical Feminism

Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex was a pioneering work that shaped many of the thought processes that influenced several other feminist scholars, like Kate Millett, who took up De Beauvoir's ideas.

As Rosi Braidotti lucidly points out in her book *Nomadic Subjects* this description of the difference between men and women resulted in a dichotomy were 'normal subjectivity' is masculine subjectivity which is then phallogocentric, universal, rational, capable of transcendence, self-regulating, conscious and denying bodily origins, whereas the female is then conceived as the lack, the other-than-the-subject (which is then seen as an automatical devaluation), irrational, uncontrolled, immanent and identified with the body. De Beauvoir thus thought that the best feminist political and theoretical thing to do for women was to gain the same entitlement to subjectivity as men. Women thus had to go for transcendence and rationality in order to bring their existence, which De Beauvoir thought as being yet unrepresented, into representation.

This idea of 'woman' as lack is closely connected to the model of power as developed by Marx and which was also taken over by various feminist scholars

in order to describe the oppression of women in a patriarchal society and the feminist answer to this. In Marx' view, power consisted of the binary "oppressors versus oppressed". The oppressors are then the groups who have something (power that is) and the oppressed group are the mere victims of the oppressors. In her ground-breaking article De Lauretis states that thinking of gender as sexual difference now keep feminist theory stuck in a patriarchal dichotomy which therefore gets universalized: woman as the difference from man. This concept prohibits analyzing differences among women, let alone differences within women, says De Lauretis; feminist theory is thus complicit to the sustaining of a binary that is invoked by patriarchal ideology. She gives a critique of feminist theory working with the Marxist notion of power relations, as it relies on a universal and homogeneous oppression of women prior to their entry in the social and historical field. Furthermore, this concept of gender as sexual difference keeps attempts of radical feminist thinking of conceiving the subject in a totally different way, in this case other than the dominant 'masculine' notion of rational and unified subjectivity, at a long distance. De Lauretis thus draws attention to the epistemological framework with which feminist theory was working. Women are not the mere victims of patriarchal oppression as their historical and cultural backgrounds give them a certain amount of agency in their specific patriarchal ideologies for as we can see with the Foucaulian model of power, power has also a positive side to it as you are not only subjected to it but it also gives you a potency for certain entitlements. In other words, because of ideology and power structures you can make an investment to work out your subjectivity. The next question then will be, of course, whose investments yield more relative power.

A shift rather similar to De Lauretis' one, only on a different field, is taken up by Chandra Mohanty in her article "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses". In short, she uses this De Lauretis-shift not only on gender, but also on ethnicity, thus proposing an anti-white-centrism (as De Lauretis was proposing an anti-hetero-centrism). In this article Mohanty wants to give a criticism of hegemonic Western scholarship on the big scale and of the colonialism in Western feminist scholarship in particular. In fact, she does a renaming of the feminist position coming from the post-colonialist other.

This project as well as De Lauretis' project are typical for feminist theory in the eighties which was a reaction to certain ideas in feminist theory in the seventies The 19th Amendment, which was passed in 1920, is seen as the marking point of the separation between liberal feminists and radical feminists. Some aspects of its philosophy might be seen to have their roots in the American cultural feminist tradition in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There seem to be particular links with the works of Charlotte PerkinsGilman, and her woman-identified utopia Herland (1911).

The locus of radical activism has traditionally been the consciousness-raising (CR) group. In the early 70's, these consensus-based groups concluded that the linchpin of patriarchy is the institution of heterosexuality and the nuclear family. As long as society eroticizes male dominance and female subordination and thinks women's unpaid family labour is a fair deal, we're not going to have real justice. With such startling insights, no wonder both the FBI and the Socialist Workers Party planted provocateurs in these groups. However, most radicals will admit that other problems also weakened the movement.

1.4.3 What Are the Variations of Radical Feminism?

Radical feminism is known for its activism. It popularized the slogan, "Personal is the Political". Some of those actions can be seen as staged sit-ins, acted out dramatizations, and marches. There are essentially two forms of radical feminism: radical-libertarian and radical- cultural feminists.

i) Radical-Libertarian Feminism

According to Tong, Radical-Libertarian feminists tend to hold the Radical feminist views of the 1960's and 1970's. They often argue that women's reproductive capabilities and sexual roles and responsibilities serve to oppress them in a patriarchal society, and limit their ability to be full human persons. They long for androgyny and hence embrace reproductive technologies as they can help women escape from the chains of motherhood and childbirth. As we shall see, radical-libertarian feminists are convinced the fewer women are involved in the reproductive process, the more time and energy they will have to engage in society's productive processes. Beliefs stem from the idea that gender is an aspect that is separated from sex, and that male dominated societies place unyielding gender rules to control women. Patriarchy is the primary oppressor, not individual men. They believe that deconstruction of the nuclear family in favour of the communal family and contracted motherhood would also break chains of mothering stereotypes.

ii) Radical-Cultural Feminism

This group of feminists sees femaleness as empowering and therefore believe women should embrace the values traditionally associated with femininity such as community, sharing, and body to name a few. Radical-cultural feminists see women's power to create new life as the ultimate source of our power and believe it is in women's best interests to procreate naturally.

Radical-cultural feminists theorize that women's oppression is not caused by female biology and reproductive possibilities but rather by men's jealousy of women's reproductive abilities and their desire to control them through new reproductive technologies. Many earlier Radical feminists believed that reproduction was at the root of women's oppression and that we would be emancipated if we could free ourselves from "the tyranny of reproduction". At that point in time, "Technology was viewed as liberating women". Things have changed since those days, and today the more popular consensus is that technology is not the liberation Radical feminists thought it would be. Instead of freeing women, our bodies are simply being controlled by men in even greater capacities in the areas of in-vitro fertilization, artificial insemination and other technological methods of reproduction by predominantly male doctors and scientists. This however cannot be said for all Radical feminists.

Radical-cultural feminists conclude that the idea of heterosexuality is male domination over females, and it sets the stage for a number of vices such as rape, sexual harassment, abuse, and prostitution. They also believe that men should be educated about women, and shown that their attitudes are detrimental to women. Only after this could men and women band together to change patriarchy. Susan Brownmiller in her book, "*Against Our Will*" has done a threadbare analysis of rape.

1.4.4 The Outcomes of This Movement

Radical feminists chose both theory and practice and a combination of the personal and political as a means by which women might transform their lifestyles. They were also militant in their approach for social transformation. The belief that radical feminism needs to question every single aspect of our lives that we have previously accepted as normal/given/standard/acceptable and to find new ways of doing things , resulted in a speech for alternative lifestyles removed from the stifling effects of patriarchy. Communes, businesses, cafes, women's festivals and other women-only concerns were established to allow women to pursue and construct their own identities unfettered by pre- given social institutions such as the family, marriage and domestic labour. Womyn is one of a number of alternative spellings of the word "women". "Womyn" will be used for simplicity, although there are many alternative spellings, including "womon" and"womin". The term has been used in modern times tied to the concept of feminism, as a form of the word without the connotations of a patriarchal society.

Betty Frieden was a leading figure in the "Second Wave" of the U.S. Women's Movement. Her book *The Feminine Mystique* published in 1963 is sometimes credited with sparking the "second wave" of feminism. Friedan co-founded National Organization for Women in 1966 which aimed to bring women "into the mainstream of American society now [in] fully equal partnership with men". In 1970, Friedan organized the nation-wide Women's Strike for Equality on August 26, the 50th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution granting women the right to vote. The national strike was successful beyond expectations in broadening the feminist movement. The New York City march alone attracted over 50,000 women. Friedan joined other leading feminists (including Gloria Steinem, Shirley Chisholm, Fannie Lou Hamer, Bella Abzug, and Myrlie Evers-Williams) in founding the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971.

All radical feminists agreed upon the need for separatism, but the scale of separatism varied considerably, ranging from political separatism (women-only discussion groups, dealing purely with issues that affect women), to complete separatism (communes, etc.) – or as complete as was economically or practically viable. Separatism is one of the most lambasted features of radical feminist policy.

1.4.5 Critiques of Radical Feminism

The most common criticism of radical feminism is that its view of patriarchy remains un-interrogated. Critiques feel that many of its arguments lapse into biologics of a reductive kind, and its focus on women's personal experiences makes it politically ineffectual, or at worst prescriptive – if, for example, it is seen to argue that "lesbian sexuality does serve as a paradigm for female sexuality". It lacks meta-theory but does not question subordination – domination relationship between women of different classes, castes, race, religions and ethnic backgrounds.

1.4.6 Contribution to the Women's Movement

We cannot deny however, that the contribution of redical feminism to the women's movement has been immense. They have transformed perceptions of our own bodies, our sexuality, our understanding of the ways in which we have been shaped and conditioned by the patriarchal society we inhabit; they have highlighted the connections between these and pornography, rape, wife-battering, child-abuse, as

well as the impact of the technological invasion into the area of reproduction on the role and status of women. One of their most important contributions has been to bring the issue of violence against women in the public domain. Rape is shown as a patriarchal way to keep women in a perpetual state of terrorization, humiliation, degradation and subjugation.

Radical feminists have pushed for many women's rights we know today, such as contraceptives, improvements to the Pill, legalization of abortion, and in-vitro fertilization. Radical feminists gained a lot of ground and respect from the LGBT movements, in helping to ease the fear and hate of homosexuality.

1.5 POST MODERN FEMINISM

Postmodern feminism has often been termed French feminism, since most of its significant practitioners have been French. However, today it is a term that is applicable to all those who use a certain methodology – deconstruction – and who share a philosophical perspective that is characterized by certain features that were first articulated by theorists like Derrida, Foucault and others.

1.5.1 Postmodern Feminists

For the postmodern feminists, the basic premise is that woman, 'the Other', the feminine, has been left unthematized and silent in the gap that blocks the union between language and reality. The three main figures – Cixous, Irigaray and Kristeva – who have been responsible for postmodern feminism as we know it today, though the ideas and the orientation have been taken over and further developed by later feminists.

Helene Cixous is a novelist experimenting with literary style as well as a literary theorist. She applies Derrida's notion of *difference* to writing, and contrasts *literatur*, which she associates with white, European, ruling class and patriarchal structures, with *lecriture feminine*. She objects to the binary oppositions and the dichotomies that abound in masculine writing and thought. These "dual hierarchized oppositions," as she terms them in "Sorties" (Lodge, 1990:287) find their inspiration in the fundamental opposition between man and woman in which the first is the concept and the second, the deviation. Man is the self, she claims, in the same essay, woman is his Other. Thus woman exists in man's world on his terms. She is either the Other for man, or she is unthought. After man is done thinking about woman, "what is left of her is unthinkable, unthought." (Lodge, 1990: 288)

Cixous challenges women to write themselves out of the world men have constructed by putting into words, the unthinkable, the unthought. According to her, men's writing, in being canonised, has been petrified. It cannot move or change. Women's writing is characterized by marking, scratching, scribbling, jotting, which makes of it a Heraclitean ever changing river. In "The Laugh of the Medusa", she asserts that women's writing holds within itself "the very possibility of change, the space that can serve as a springboard for subversive thought, the precursory movement of a transformation of social and cultural standards" (Warhol and Herndl, 1991: 337)

Cixous also draws analogies between male sexuality and masculine writing, on the one hand, and female sexuality and feminine writing, on the other. The former

are both characterized by a pointedness and singularity which is, for Cixous, ultimately limited and boring. The latter are open and multiple, varied and rhythmic, full of pleasures and possibilities. "Her writing can only keep going, without ever inscribing or discerning contours….Her language does not contain, it carries; it does not hold back, it makes possible." (Warhol and Herndl,

1991). Cixous's own writings are characterized by optimism and a joy that are lacking in both Derrida (who believed that logocentrism is inevitable) and Lacan (for whom the phallus will always dominate). Cixous, in contrast, believes that we can escape our dichotomous prisons, and that women can lead the revolt that will liberate men and women alike. "Now women return from afar, from always: from "without", from the heath where witches are kept alive; from beneath, from beyond culture." (Warhol and Herndl, 1991: 335)

The next key figure in this school is Luce Irigaray, who further developed and challenged Lacanian ideals. For her, the feminist enterprise was to empower women to move into the subject position – becoming "subjects and protagonists of their own reality, rather than objects and antagonists in the Father's drama." The quest is to discover the feminine feminine (as opposed to a patriarchal construct of femininity) that has been entrapped in an Imaginary stage full of untapped possibilities; to enable mothers and daughters and wives to become women.

Irigaray suggests three strategies of subversion. First, she invites women to develop and deepen their awareness of language and to discover a language that is neither masculine nor "neutral" (there is no such stance, it merely gives one the illusion of objectivity). Next, she invites us to an exploration of the multi-faceted terrain of the human body in order that we may find ways of expressing women's experience, and learn to speak words, think thoughts, that will blow the phallus over and set the feminine feminine free. And finally, she suggests that we mime – and exaggerate – the roles men have imposed upon women. This subtle secular move, mirroring the mimicry of all women, subverts the effects and the authority of phallocentric discourse, simply by making the process conscious through exaggeration.

At the same time, there is a tension between the conviction that we must end the process of labeling and categorizing, and the antithetical conviction that we cannot help but engage in this.

The third feminist in this group is Julia Kristeva, who shares similar orientation with the other two, but at the same time disagrees with them. Primarily, she disagrees with the collapse of language into biology as being part of the patriarchal straitjacket. The equation of male author and *literatur,* female author and *l ecriture feminin* is rejected, for Kristeva insists that boys can identify with mothers and girls with fathers. Boys can exist and write in a feminine mode and girls in a masculine mode.

Another point of difference between the other two and Kristeva is that the latter adheres radically to the notion that even if the feminine exists, it must not be. "Woman, as such, does not exist," she proclaims. Concepts like "woman" and "the feminine" are rooted in the essentialist philosophy that deconstruction seeks to deconstruct. At the same time, the fact that woman cannot be on this deeper level – always becoming, never being – allies her with other marginalized "misfit" groups: minorities, Jews, homosexuals, etc. Kristeva was preoccupied with the scapegoating of such groups, which she held was grounded in the "abject" – a

sense of irrational disgust traceable to pre-Oedipal experiences of excrement, blood and mucus. As a sense of sex difference develops, this becomes associated with "the feminine". Society's fundamental problem is with the abject: the feminine is just one angle of it.

Kristeva wants society to come to terms with the abject. All that has been marginalized, repressed by culture - the discourses of madness, of the maternal, the sexual, the irrational – must release their energies into language. She links social revolution to poetic revolution: "the historical and political experiences of the twentieth century have demonstrated that one cannot be transformed without the other," she asserts in *Revolution in Poetic Languages* (1982).

Using Lacan's framework, Kristeva posits a contrast between the "semiotic" and the "symbolic". Phallogocentric thought is based on a repression of the semiotic (and by extension, of the sexually unidentified pre-Oedipal maternal body). Maternal space is characterized by a different perception of time. Where symbolic time is historical, linear, pointing to a goal, semiotic time is cyclic, monumental, rhythmic and eternal. Symbolic writing, too is linear, rational, objective, repressed, decent, with normal syntax. Semiotic writing emphasizes rhythm, sound, colour, with breaks in syntax and grammar; unrepressed, it has room for the repugnant, the horrific. A truly liberated person is able to acknowledge the interplay of the semiotic and the symbolic, the continual vacillation between chaos and order, and is able to avail of both with equal facility.

1.5.2 Limitations of Postmodern Feminism

The postmodern feminists have been criticized on several grounds. They seem to delight in their own opacity and are often dismissed as ivory-tower academicians, irrelevant to the majority of women who cannot even access their work.

The content of their work seems to border on a kind of biological essentialism, preaching the salvation of women through women's bodies. However, this may be a matter of inadequate translation, since most postmodern feminists do maintain that there is a difference between woman as a biological entity and woman as a social construct. Further there seems to be a valorization of female and feminine over male and masculine which could result in a fascistic matriarchy replacing the fascistic patriarchy that feminists are challenging.

And finally, the philosophical underpinnings of postmodernism can lead us to chaos. Can we sustain any sort of community in total multiplicity, diversity, profusion? The issue here is a profoundly philosophical, political and personal one. Is difference a threat or an opportunity? Postmodern feminists have thematized the "many", but the problem of creating community is as much ours as theirs. In "Women's Time", Kristeva herself points out that "The reality of a world that is provisional in meanings, where logic is denigrated as a mode of thought, where all interpretations are valid and values are upset but not replaced, would be impossible." (Warhol and Herndl,1991). Deconstructing our world, our codes, is one thing, but it will not provide us with new conceptual frameworks, new values and priorities, new boundaries. However different in scope and nature to the ones with which we are familiar, these things have to be for a society or a community to survive.

1.5.3 Contribution to the Women's Movement

However, the basic contribution of postmodern feminism to the women's movement is undeniable. They have given us an appreciation for the latent possibilities in nothingness, absence, the marginal, the peripheral, the repressed. They have also challenged us to think in non-binary, non-oppositional terms: no word (*logos*) but a myriad voices open to any number of interpretations. And with their celebration of multiplicity they have provided a new conceptual start that includes the ostracized and alienated, the abnormal and the deviant. They have reminded us that even if we cannot be One, we can be Many.

1.6 BLACK FEMINISM

1.6.1 The Beginnings of Black Feminism

Black feminism argues that sexism, class oppression, and racism are inextricably bound together. The way these relate to each other is called intersectionality. Forms of feminism that strive to overcome sexism and class oppression but ignore race can discriminate against many people, including women, through racial bias. The Combahee River Collective argued in 1974 that the liberation of black women entails freedom for all people, since it would require the end of racism, sexism, and class oppression.

One of the theories that evolved out of the Black feminist movement was Alice Walker's Womanism. Alice Walker and other womanists pointed out that black woman experienced a different and more intense kind of oppression from that of white women. They point to the emergence black feminism after earlier movements led by white middle-class women which they regard as having largely ignored oppression based on race and class. Patricia Hill Collins defined Black feminism, in *Black Feminist Thought* (1991), as including "women who theorize the experiences and ideas shared by ordinary black women that provide a unique angle of vision on self, community, and society". There is a long-standing and important alliance between postcolonial feminists, which overlaps with transnational feminism and third-world feminism, and black feminists. Both have struggled for recognition, not only from men in their own culture, but also from Western feminists. Black Feminism in America began with Delta Sigma Theta participation in the Women's Suffrage March where they were the only black organization to take part in the Suffrage march. Black feminist theory has argued that black women are positioned within structures of power in fundamentally different ways than white women. Black feminist organizations emerged during the 1970s and face many difficulties from both the white feminist and also from the Black Nationalist political organizations they were confronting. These women fought against suppression from the larger movements in which many of its members came from.

Black feminist organizations had to overcome three different challenges that no other feminist organization had to face. The first challenge these women faced was to "prove to other black women that feminism was not only for white women." They also had to demand that white women "share power with them and affirm diversity" and "fight the misogynist tendencies of Black Nationalism". With all the challenges these women had to face many activists referred to black feminists as "war weary warriors".

In this section you studied radical, post modern feminism and black feminism. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in *Check Your Progress 3*.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by radical feminism?

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2) What is post modern feminism? Briefly explain?

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1.7 LET US SUM UP

'Feminism' is a collection of movements and ideologies aimed at defining, establishing, and defending equal political, economic, and social rights for women. This includes seeking to establish equal opportunities for women in education and employment. A feminist advocates or supports the rights and equality of women.

Feminist theory, which emerged from these feminist movements, aims to understand the nature of gender inequality by examining women's social roles and lived experience; it has developed theories in a variety of disciplines in order to respond to issues such as the social construction of sex and gender. Some of the earlier forms of feminism have been criticized for taking into account only white, middle-class, educated perspectives. This led to the creation of ethnically specific or multiculturalists forms of feminism.

1.8 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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1.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What do you understand by liberal feminism?

Ans. Liberal feminism draws heavily upon the world-view presented by the liberal humanist philosophy in which it has its roots. Very simply, liberal philosophy and liberal political thought hold the opinion that human beings are characterized by the use of reason: liberals tend to define the use in either moral or prudential terms. When the moral aspect is emphasized, the focus is on the value of individual autonomy; when reason is perceived as the best means to a desired end, the value of self-fulfillment is highlighted. A just society then is one which allows individuals to exercise their autonomy and to fulfill themselves

2) What is the contribution of liberal feminism to women's movement?

Ans. liberal feminism has contributed much to the women's movement. It was the liberal feminists who agitated for and won educational and legal reforms that have changed life so drastically for women, who enabled women to attain a professional and occupational stature within the workplace.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What do you understand by Marxist feminism?

Ans. Marxists believe that the supremely humanizing activity is work, i.e. the transformation of our environment in order to produce our means of subsistence. Men and women through their work create a society that then shapes them. This concept is taken up and emphasized by Marxist feminists who point out that the nature of woman's work and her role both in family and at workplace reinforce her social and economic subordination to men.

2) What are the limitations of Marxist feminism?

Ans. Engels ignores the fact that woman is viewed, emotionally and psychologically, as chattel property by the poor as well as, and often even more than, the rich. Lacking other claims to status a working class male is still more prone to seek them in sexual rank, often brutally asserted. Simone de Beauvoir, insists that the relations between men and women will not automatically change with the change from capitalism to socialism, for women are just as likely to remain the Other in the latter as in the former.

Check Your Progress 3

1) What do you understand by radical feminism?

Ans. Radical feminism (radical as "getting to the root") is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or, more specifically, social dominance of women by men.Radical feminism views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power primarily by gender, and as a result oppressing women and privileging men.

2) What is post modern feminism? Briefly explain?

Ans. For the postmodern feminists, the basic premise is that woman, the Other, the feminine, has been left unthematised and silent in the gap that blocks the union between language and reality.

UNIT 2 WID-WAD-GAD – PART-I

Structure

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Boserup's Thesis and Status of Women
2.3 Women in Development (WID) Approach
2.4 Women and Development (WAD) Approach
2.5 Critique of WID (Women in Development)
2.6 Gender and Development (GAD) Approach
2.7 Let Us Sum Up
2.8 Glossary
2.9 References and Suggested Readings
2.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the formation of the United Nations Commission on the Status for Women in 1946, it had been proposing a U. N. Women's Conference with little success. Gradually with pressure from the American Women's Movement, the U.N. General Assembly declared 1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-1985 as the International Decade for Women. This declaration led to a growing awareness of women's issues and an acceptance of their demands as legitimate issues for policy making, both at the national and international level. The major themes of the International Women's Year and Conference were Equality, Development and Peace. Equality, however, had been a dominant issue for the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women and it came primarily from the feminist movement of the Western industrialized nations. Peace was increasingly considered to be a women's issue by the countries of the Eastern bloc. Development, on the other hand, was a recent issue put forward mainly by the newly independent "Third World" nations as a key to improving women's lives.

During the Decade, the important but previously invisible role of women in the social and economic development of the poorer countries was highlighted. The declaration of the International Decade for Women (1975-85) signified the new visibility of Women in Development (WID) in international forums.

The WID approach was adopted pointing to the fact that women's contribution for development is not recognized by the policy makers. Women are treated as "beneficiaries" of development, not as active agents of development. Prior to this, however, women were brought into "development" policy on very sex-specific terms. Men were seen as the heads of households and productive agents. Women were seen as housewives, mothers and reproducers. Therefore development efforts targeted the male population, while women were relegated to the marginal welfare sector.

In this Unit, we will trace the emergence of a gender-sensitive development debate. But before we examine the details of the term "Women in Development" and the U.N. Women's Conferences, we need to understand the concept of "development", who defines it and how it is defined within the context of international politics.

After studying this Unit you should be able to

- discuss the feminist critiques of development; and
- analyze the different approaches to women in development, women and development and gender and development.

2.2 BOSERUP'S THESIS AND STATUS OF WOMEN

The publication of Ester Boserup's book in 1970, coincided with the growing wave of feminist consciousness in Europe and USA and youth radicalization all over the world. Boserup argues that a change in the density of population results in the change of techniques in farming, which requires a higher labour input resulting in a change in the division of labour between men and women. She distinguished between two systems of subsistence agriculture. One is characterized by shifting cultivation, done mainly by female farmers, as in Africa. The other, characterized by plough cultivation, done mainly by male farmers as in South Asia. Boserup criticized the "dubious generalization" according to which males were considered to be the providers of food. With her comparative analysis, she pointed out the differences in women's work, emphasizing the important role women played in African agriculture as compared to the lesser role women played in Asian and Latin American countries.

The reasons for such a difference– in Africa were a low density of population, absence of agrarian technologies and shortage of domestic animals for agrarian task. Land was easily accessible and there was less class differentiation. Thus the men were mainly occupied with clearing the land, while the women cultivated subsistence crops.

In her analysis, Boserup points to the existence of a strong correlation between economic conditions and polygamy. In areas of plough cultivation, where there is a small minority of polygamous marriages, the women are totally dependent on their husbands for economic support and they are valued only as mothers.

Boserup went on to analyze and point out the adverse effects that European colonialism and the capitalist penetration of subsistence economies often had on women. The European colonial rulers were largely responsible for the neglect of the female farming systems of Africa and the resulting loss of status of the African women. They were unsympathetic to the female farming systems that they found in many of their colonies and believed in the superiority of the male farming system. Hence, when they introduced modern technology, cash crops, and so forth, Boserup argues that they trained only the males to the neglect of the female farmers. This benefited the men, enhancing their prestige and lowering that of women. The discriminatory policies followed in education and training created a technical, cultural and productivity gap between men and women. Women were increasingly relegated to the subsistence sector of food production using the traditional methods of cultivation. The "land reforms introduced by the European administrators", also resulted in the loss of land rights for the women. From being cultivators themselves, women were increasingly marginalized from agriculture and reduced to being "unpaid helpers in the production of crops belonging to their husbands". Thus, women lost income and status in comparison to men.

Boserup also analyzed the status of women and the sexual divisions of labour that existed in non-agricultural activities particularly in the urban areas. She divides towns into predominantly female or male towns. Her thesis challenged the commonly held notion that women's status and their rights automatically improve with modernization. Despite Boserup's path breaking contribution to the field of women in development, her work has also led to a great deal of debate and controversy.

2.2.1 Critique of Boserup

One of the earliest critics of Boserup's thesis, Suellen Huntington, argued that the division of farming systems into male and female, ignored important aspects of male domination which could not be explained only by developments in agricultural technology. Besides this, Huntington pointed out that in female farming systems, women may have had an important role in agricultural production. However, it did not mean that they enjoyed equal status or greater power in relation to men. Claims for women's equality should be argued for on their own merits and not depend on historical evidence that is refutable.

Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen, argued that Boserup's thesis was "essentially empirical and descriptive" and that it "lacked a clearly defined theoretical framework". They criticized her for accepting the capitalist model of development as given. Women's economic marginalization was due to their incorporation into the worldwide capitalist system which exploited their labour and not because they were excluded from productive labour. Further, they argued that Boserup concentrates on women's role outside the household and thus ignores women's role in reproduction and domestic production. Hence, it is argued that, Boserup's analysis lacks a feminist perspective on women's subordination (For a detailed critique of Boserup's thesis, see L. Beneria and G. Sen, 1981). Boserup's thesis, however, justified the efforts to influence government policy and development on the basis of both justice and efficiency. The debate on Boserup's thesis can be located in a larger debate which can be largely labeled as the "Decolonization of the Mind" or in other words the issue of development and the politics of knowledge. For the modernization theorists, decolonization had come to mean westernization and the very idea of decolonization assumed a model similar to the child development model. While Carol Gilligan pointed out to the implicit male bias in the model, Nandy had pointed out the implicit imperialistic bias in these models of decolonization. Debates on the western model as environmentally destructive and spiritually lacking were in focus. Tariq Banuri has summarized this in his work "Modernization and its Discontents – A Cultural Perspective on the Theories of Development". Tariq Banuri points out, that in order to understand the problems of development and progress one needs to look at the cultural context within which they arose. He argues that the theories of modernization are placed in a unique kind of culture, where "the impersonal is superior to the personal". The modernization theories argue that due to this existence of personal relations in traditional societies, development is impeded. The neo-classical economic theory too, Banuri argues, looks upon the individual as separate from the environment.

Banuri suggests that many of the problems in society that seem insoluble are "based on the assumption of a dichotomy and a hierarchy between the impersonal and the personal spheres of culture". The solution for it is to supplant the idea of hierarchy with that of a "tension" or "dialectic" between the two. What is needed is a

change in the basic assumption of economic theory that all actions can be reduced to the impersonal sphere and to see human actions as a result of the tension between conflicting obligations and commitments.

The search for an alternative vision thus, begins with the idea of "progress as being the expansion of the awareness of oppression in society". The existence of a positive relation between impersonality and progress, as claimed by modernization theorists is disqualified. The debate on the meaning of development, it is argued, is highly technocratized and therefore it should be replaced with a "broader social definition". The oppressed on realization of their oppression, will outline their own priorities and take the required social and political action. The social scientist should take responsibility for the long term consequences of their prescription. The indigenous ways of knowing, based on direct personal relationships, should be strengthened. Decentralization is needed in the polity, economy and society. Finally, however, this alternate vision must differ from place to place according to the cultural characteristics of the place. However, even in these debates on alternative models, gender is not accorded the status of a structural component. The fact that women had not benefited from the new productive opportunities, new technology and market forces, resulted in doubts over the presumed neutrality of the development agencies. This led to the emergence of the WID critique of development. The WID scholars, however, retained the fundamental premise of the liberal world view. The problem was how to integrate women into development.

In this section you have studied about Boserup's thesis and status of women. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do we mean by Underdevelopment?

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2) Whose writings highlighted women's contribution to economic development?

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2.3 WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID) APPROACH

The various approaches relating to women in development are discussed below:

2.3.1 Welfare Approach

Initially, during the First Development Decade 1961-70, there was no mention of women specifically. WID was characterized by the **Welfare Approach**. It was assumed that social and economic development in general, would bring about the desired changes for women. Women were seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on their reproductive role. However, at this early stage, the emphasis was on equal rights for women rather than on economic development.

2.3.2 Equity Approach

During the Second Development Decade, 1971-80, the importance of the "full integration of women in the total development efforts," was emphasized. The **Equity Approach** aimed at gaining equity for women in the development process. Women were seen as active participants in development. The main goal was to integrate women into the development process more productively. The key route through this could be achieved which was equality of opportunity through education and training. A number of committees within professional associations, new women's groups and others were formed. They came together on important issues like equal pay for equal work, greater visibility of women within professional organizations, equal rights amendment, and so on. This led to the formation of many women's pressure groups especially the ones concerning Women in Development (WID). The advocates of WID pointed out to the phenomena that many scholars had observed, particularly in the developing countries i.e. the adverse impact that development seemed to have on women. The feminization of poverty and the growing number of women- headed households as a result of the development policies was also highlighted. With pressure from the American women's movement, the United Nations declared1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-1985 as the International Women's Decade. With this there was a growing awareness of women's issues and an acceptance of their demands as legitimate issues for policy making, both at the national and international level. The major themes of the Decade were – Equality, Development and Peace. The UN Decade for Women and the international conferences gave impetus to the gender component in development debates.

2.3.3 Three World Conferences on Women

In 1975, the World Conference for the International Women's Year was held in Mexico City. The Conference highlighted the differences in the needs of women from the Western industrialized nations and those from the agricultural nations. This frequently led to debates on what embodied "women's issues". The equity approach was identified as "developmental", but mainly reflected "First world" feminist pre-occupations with equality. The "Second World" delegates were concerned with peace. They argued that capitalism and militarism was responsible for women's problems. The "Third World" delegates were concerned with development. They argued that development was the key to improving women's lives. While the women from the underdeveloped nations were concerned mainly with the survival of the family unit, employment opportunities and legal and

economic roles of women; those from the developed nations emphasized the symbolic expressions of authority, status, and control over one's own body, discrimination against women, etc. It also meant the adoption of different strategies for change in the status of women.

Scholars like Ester Boserup, Elise Boulding and others, have noted that often, economic development in the underdeveloped countries leads to structural changes that dislocate women from income generating occupations, or place a greater load on women who continue with subsistence agriculture, while men move into mechanized agriculture, grow cash crops or migrate to the cities. It was also pointed out that there are a growing number of female headed-households. It was recommended that these women should also be given priority for employment on par with men with family responsibilities. Stress was also laid on the fact that peace also could be achieved only by realizing that women, who consisted of half the world's population, were also human beings with equal rights in civil, political, economic and social fields.

2.3.4 Anti- Poverty Approach

The Equity approach, however, was considered threatening and not popular with governments. It was criticized as Western feminism. Hence there was a shift to the **Anti-Poverty Approach.** This approach toned down equality because of criticism. It was more concerned with redistribution along with growth and basic needs. Its purpose was to ensure poor women increase their productivity, since women's poverty was seen as a problem of underdevelopment not their subordination. However this approach isolated poor women as a separate category with a tendency to recognize only their productive role. It was more popular among the NGOs and developed at a small scale.

2.3.5 Efficiency Approach

With the UN Mid-decade Conference on Women held at Copenhagen in 1980, the concept of WID had shifted from the equity to **efficiency approach** and was articulated in economic terms. The conference was dominated by debates on trade, development and politics. There were heated debates over the Palestinian issue, the effects of apartheid on women in South Africa, of women refugees all over the world. Despite the highly publicized arguments, women from different parts of the world endeavored to understand one another and create a more congruent perspective. At this conference it was recognized that women were both participants and victims in political struggles. Irene Tinker in her review of the Copenhagen conference asked -- "How do you take one tune and encourage variation while eliciting orchestral support?" The response and comments to it by a number of scholars showed that many people were looking at various women's issues that had not been mentioned recognized or clarified before the decade began. One of the main functions of the Mexico City and Copenhagen conference was consciousness rising.

The emergence of the efficiency approach in this period should be seen in the context of a declining world economy and accompanying stabilization and adjustment policies. With serious cuts in welfare spending, the focus on efficient development meant that women became crucial actors in the development scenario. It recognized women's resilience and ability to adjust to crisis. In the formal sector women are prepared to work for longer hours for less pay, they are usually

hired later and fired earlier. Given these disadvantages in the formal sector, women are willing to accept worse conditions than men in the informal sector. All these qualities attracted development planners to focus their programmes on women. These approaches recognize that women play a significant economic role both within and outside the families. The efficiency approach focused on credit for women, supplementary income generating projects for women, micro-enterprise for women and so on. It focused only on economic aspects of women in development and it was designed to suit the interests of bigger agents of development rather than the women themselves. This approach is still the most popular WID approach for many national governments, state machineries for women and aid agencies, as well as NGOs who are keen to maintain the status quo in the name of economic development without having to question the underlying power relations in the communities in which they work.

At the third and final conference of the international decade for women at Nairobi, the various dimensions of women's needs came up. It was at this conference that the needs of the "Third World" women gained recognition and were highlighted. The main concerns of women living in subsistence societies were environmental issues, methods in forest and water management, sustainable agriculture, etc. These issues were combined with environmental issues on a world scale. The demands of "Third World" countries for techniques to limit the drudgery of everyday work were also put forward. Divisive and political issues such as the debt crises and its effects on countries of the "Third World", the issue of apartheid in South Africa were debated upon. There was growing recognition of the fact that one-third of the families of the world were headed by women. The women worked to support their families and were also charged with bringing up the children.

In this section you have read about emergence of women in development (WID) approach and three world conferences on women. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Trace the emergence of the WID approach.

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2) List the first three international women's conferences.

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2.4 WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT (WAD) APPROACH

The Women and Development (WAD) approach pointed out that women are already integrated into the development process in an exploitative way. This is due to the fact that planners hold imprecise assumptions about women's specific activities leading to the neglect of women's real needs and over-exploitation of their labour. Proponents of the WAD approach are mainly activists and theorists from the South and few from the North who saw the limitations of WID and argued that women would never get their equal share of development benefits unless patriarchy and global inequality are addressed.Women from the developed nations were slowly realizing that the concerns of "Third World" women were also legitimate. They began to identify with them and their earlier patronizing attitude towards "Third World" women diminished. Efforts were made to link issues of the family with that of politics at the local, national and international levels. The Third World feminist movement increasingly incorporated struggles against sexual inequality with political struggles. The gathering at Nairobi provided women of the "Third World" as well as the "First World" the chance to combine forces to fight against injustice. The WAD approach provides a more critical view of women's position than WID. It is assumed that women's position will improve once international structures become more equitable. However how these could change is not clearly explained. According to this perspective, women were not a neglected resource but overburdened and undervalued. Their substantial contribution to development needs to be recognized, along with a redistribution of its benefits and burdens between men and women. The WAD approach also demanded "affirmative action" by the State as "Laissez Faire" in the market worsened already existing inequalities.

2.4.1 Empowerment Approach

Unlike the previous approaches, the empowerment approach is a direct result of "Third World" women's social and grassroots movements and their realities and experiences of mainstream "development". Its roots were in Latin American social movements where educationists such as Paulo Frire and Evan Ilich used conseintization as a tool of mobilizing oppressed sections.

The approach emerged out of a critique of all other approaches, which were based on the expert analysis of how and what "Third World" women need to develop themselves and their communities. This approach gained momentum in the 1980s and continues to be popular among social activists, feminist researchers, NGOs and Aid agencies who are genuinely interested in the transformatory potential of development initiatives. The empowerment approach questions the notion that "women" can be addressed as a universal category. Further, for the first time women's subordination was seen as a men's problem as well. The empowerment approach broadened the scope of development theory by addressing issues hitherto not considered relevant. These included oppressive gender relations, ecological destruction, and the ethics of multinational control over the developing countries and so on. Thus the empowerment approach became most threatening to government and international agencies. The Self- Employed Women's Organization (SEWA) started in Ahmedabad, India; the Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), are examples of the success of the strategy of empowerment through organization.

At the Nairobi conference, 1985 some Third World Women formed a group DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) which interpreted development issues from the woman's perspective. They pointed out that the concept of development followed in the post-colonial world has been guided by a western patriarchal and capitalist idea of economic development which believed that change is linear. They rejected the aggressiveness of the dominant system and advocated the values of nurturance and openness, discarded hierarchy and recognized the diverse but equally genuine meanings of feminism of every area.

The UN decade for women brought to light the fact that women still perform two-thirds of the world's work, but earn one tenth of its income and own only one hundredth of its property. There was recognition of the fact that the feminization of poverty was on the increase. Women's participation in the goals and strategies for change and their empowerment, both within and outside the home, were stressed if change was to occur.

The conferences of the International Decade for Women brought about greater interaction and mobilization of women from various countries. They provided the motive to investigate the common concerns of women worldwide. Conventional indicators of development-modernization, urbanization, per capita income, growth of the economy, mechanization, white-green-blue revolution were questioned. During the conferences, the various meanings of the term "women in development" predominated. Besides economic development, it also signified "legal equality, education, health, employment and empowerment". Equal rights for women and men before law were stressed in the early years. During the International Women's Decade a number of conventions were passed, important among them is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Later on, legal rights were not given great importance. Though most countries had granted women's equality, they were not enforced. It was argued that women's status could be improved by educating them. However, the earlier literacy programme had failed because classes were held at the time when the women were busy with economic activities. No formal education systems were advocated and emphasis was laid on reducing gender biases within the education system. Emphasis was laid on employing women especially in the development agencies as an effective method of ensuring that development programme reach and involve women. Consciousness raising and empowerment of women was emphasized. Economic development remained the main focus of "women in development". The attempt was to remove the gender bias in development planning that over-looked women's role in economic activities.

2.4.2 The Indian Context

The U.N. decade for women generated a lot of data on the status of women the world over. In India, political emergency was declared in 1975. Yet in this period, the UN sponsored International Women's Decade provided the space for women's organizations to meet and discuss issues, organize seminars and so on. It was during this period that an important and significant report on the status of women in India was published entitled the Towards Equality" Report (in 1974 it was tabled in the Parliament). The Committee on the Status of Women was appointed by the Government of India in 1971 to look into the changes – legal, constitutional, administrative, political, social and economic, -- that had occurred in the status of women since Independence. The Committee submitted its report in December 1974. Its investigations revealed the dismal reality of declining sex ratios,

decreasing participation of women in employment and political activities. Illiteracy and lack of vocational training prevented women from being absorbed into the modern economy. Development itself was very uneven between different regions, communities and sections of society. The low status of women in society was indicated by a number of factors such as – the age of marriage of girls was below 15 years in more than 1/3 of the districts of India. The life expectation for females was 45 years as compared to 47 years for males in 1961-71. The gap in male and female life expectation was in fact increasing. The female mortality rate was much higher than that of males especially in the age group of 15-44 years. Though there has been an increase in the female population, the number of females per thousand males has been declining. In 1901, it was 972 females per thousand males, but by 1971, it had declined to 930 females per thousand males and in 1991 it had declined further to 929 women per thousand males. One of the reasons for the low sex ratio, it is observed, is the high maternal mortality. In 1964, it was 252 per 1,00,000 live births in the whole country, and in 1968, it went up to 573 for 1,00,000 live births in rural areas. Maternal mortality has been mainly due to frequent pregnancies, abortions, malnutrition, etc. another reason is rampant female feticide and infanticide. The literacy rate among women was much lower than for males – 18.4% and 39.5%respectively. The number of women in the labour force came down from 34.4% in 1911 to 17.35% in 1971. 94% of the women workers are found in the unorganized sector and the rest 6% in the organized sector. It was also noted that a majority of women did not make use of the rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution. There has been an increase in the incidence of dowry in the urban as well as rural areas and also among communities which did not follow this practice earlier. This report demystified the popular belief that equality between the sexes had been guaranteed by the Constitution. The mid-sixties witnessed an economic crisis, stagnation, inflation and increasing lawlessness. There was general discontentment and displeasure in society, especially among the youth and working class. All over the world there were strong protests by students, trade unions and anti-price rise movements as well as anti-war and colonial liberation movements.

In India too, in the seventies, there were student protests, anti-price rise *morchas*, tribal revolts, and the Naxalbari movement. Women participated in large numbers in these movements. A number of radical activists started autonomous groups involved with education, popular science (KSSP – Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad), health, environmental protection, civil liberties, women's issues, tribal issues. Involvement with the anti-price rise protests, student and tribal movements, made the women realize the importance of taking up issues related to the oppression of women, violence in the family, dowry, alcoholism, sexual discrimination against women. It was in the decade of the 1970s that the "Third World" began to emerge as a challenge and a force to reckon with. This heralded the critiques of "development" and "under-development" in the "Third World" countries from both feminist and others.

2.5 CRITIQUE OF WID (WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT)

The main critique of Women in Development came from three sources: - Marxist feminists, women from the developing countries and scholars who sympathized with the female sphere approach. In their effort to influence the development

experts, the advocate practitioners and scholars of the WID approach did not raise basic theoretical issues, but instead, sought to adjust the contemporary development practices to include and benefitwomen. As the field developed, the pragmatic approach of the WID practitioners and advocates and the detail of women's lives coming from WID scholars began to influence the theorists. The theorists then raised questions about the global power structures, values etc. which were more relevant.

The Marxist feminists have questioned the constitution of women as a "category". They argue that biological sex has been misunderstood as gender relations through social, cultural, political and economic forces. However, women's interests vary by class. But one common factor, among women of all classes and in all societies, is their subordinate position in society. The main cause of this is class and patriarchy. While Marxists and other feminists would try to change this situation and fight for equality, the feminists who argue for a female sphere, would emphasize the difference. Over the years, other factors of subordination of women have come up like race in the USA, colonialism, underdevelopment and dependency in the "Third World" and the intricacies of caste, religion and ethnicity in India.

Development programmes that are supposed to help women with their practical and material problems and to address the causes of their subordination often end up perpetuating it. What is required, therefore, is feminism that provides a political basis for bringing women of all classes together despite their differences. Throughout the Decade, the effort was to associate value and status to women's work. But often, the emphasis has been on economic activities. Though women have worked for long hours, be it in subsistence societies or the new industries of developing societies, their work has not been valued and they have not got high status. The effort now is to decrease the woman's work and simultaneously empower her. This would need an examination of the controls on woman's labour and hence an examination of the household and the issue of patriarchy.

The female sphere theorists argue that the demand for equality of work for a just and egalitarian society may be disadvantageous for women. In a society where women enjoyed autonomy in the private sphere, for the sake of family however, they are withdrawn from the visible public labour force and are made economically dependent. However, many women have chosen to retain their economic independence. Yet another perspective is put forward by scholars like Elise Boulding, who argue that women have developed the quality of nurturing, survival and peace. It is these feminine values that will save the earth and not the male values of ruling and conquering. The need is for environment-friendly technology and efforts towards peace. The DAWN report points out the connection between global economic policies and women at the local, national and international levels. The economic crises, ecological degradation, increasing militarism and so on are all linked to the global policies. Scholars have pointed out how the debt crises, the structural adjustment policies and the macro-level development policies have had differential effects on male and female work, and how they perpetuate gender bias in market policies. Rae Blumberg argues that the African food crisis was the result of macro-level development policies that overlooked the importance of women's contribution to economic development.

Kathryn Ward, in her work "Women in the Global Economy", argues that women's economic status has stagnated due to underdevelopment processes. Increasingly, women are pushed into subsistence agriculture or the service or informal sectors.

Until the coming of transnational corporations, women did not get industrial employment. However, even this employment is not permanent and they are once again displaced into the service sectors.

Ward argues that women's status has been structured both directly and indirectly by the global capitalist system. She highlights three processes of trade dependency, dependent development, and debt dependency as being particularly important in shaping women's status. As a result of this global capitalist system, the peripheral regions within this system experience socio-economic dependence on the core nations along with underdevelopment.

The major problems with the WID approach are as follows.

- WID considers women as a homogeneous group. It ignores the fact that women are not a single uniform category. Women are differentiated by racial, economic and other factors which are not considered important.
- WID projects the myth that women's development can be achieved by addressing economic issues alone. Yet in a context where women are not allowed to own property and do not have control over resources, it is questionable how income generating projects can lead to women's development.
- It does not question the kind of development that is being imposed on the developing countries. WID does not have any scope for change and transformation. It does not challenge existing power relations in the society. Hence it has remained popular.

However, since the early 1980s WID came under severe attack, mainly from "Third World" women's movements, who are questioning the relevance of such development programmes in the context of continuing poverty and oppression. This has led to a rethinking of the WID approach and resulted in the emergence of the Gender and Development Approach or GAD.

2.6 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT (GAD) APPROACH

GAD, which shares elements with the empowerment approach, gained popularity in the 1980s and attempts to address the loopholes of WID. It is rooted in post-development theory and post-structuralist critiques in feminism. GAD does not consider women as a uniform group. It maintains that women's situation should be seen in the context of the socio-economic, racial and other factors that shape a particular society. It points to the importance of understanding the relationship between women and men and how society influences their respective roles. Development to be meaningful will have to take all these factors into consideration.

This approach rejects the dichotomy between the public and the private. It focuses attention on the oppression of women in the family, within the private sphere of the household. It emphasizes the state's role in providing social services to promote women's emancipation. Women are seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development. The focus is on strengthening women's legal rights. It also talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society. Gender is an issue that cuts across all economic, social and political processes. The GAD

approach attempts to identify both the practical gender needs of women as well as the strategic gender needs that are closely related. The problem with GAD is that it is easy in the name of gender, to disguise and even side track real issues that affect women. Gender can rise above the personal, which means the personal can remain behind the scene, despite all the efforts that go into the analysis of "social construction of gender". Most often, however, GAD is seen as just a new label for the same old women's programmes which do not address power relations in society or women's oppression. Though it is popular among funding agencies and NGOs and has the potential to be different, it has become institutionalized like WID.

In this section you have read about Women and Development (WAD), critique of WID approach and Gender and Development (GAD) approach. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 3*.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Is the Empowerment approach drawn from WAD?

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2) What was the outcome of the Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing?

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2.7 LET US SUM UP

In conclusion, the significant issues that emerge are: In the 60's and 70's women voiced their dissent and protest through the mass movements as well as autonomous feminist groups. The "Western" model of development as the role-model was not only questioned but women activists in the Third World refused the label of "always and already victims" that the Western feminists had accorded them. This translated into viewing women, not as passive recipients of development but as active agents in the process. The issues of gender, nationality and ethnicity within the context of the global political economy came into focus; rightly questioning thereby the "woman" as subject of feminist debates. The increasing marginalization of women in the economy, their increasing landlessness and lack of access to resources had resulted in feminization of poverty. A significant relationship between the feminization of poverty and female-headed households was brought into focus.

2.8 GLOSSARY

Economic Development : The progress of the economy in means of quality and quantity is known as economic development. It also means the development and adoption of new technologies, transition from agricultural economy to industrial economy and improvement in the standard of living of people.

Marginalization : Marginalization is a social process which pushes some sections of the population outside the mainstream or being made to be at the margins of society. They are excluded or ignored in the mainstream development process.

Laissez Faire : It is policy or practice of Government letting people act without interference or direction of government to have their industry, business etc. which lead to economic growth. There would not be any conditions imposed by government and no regulation and control.

Decolonization : Decolonization is being free from the colonial status. It is getting independence status from the country which has control over them and treats them as their colony.

GNP : GNP means Gross National Product. It is the total value of final goods and services produced within a country in a particular year by its citizens. It is one of the measures of economic conditions in the country.

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2.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What do you mean by underdevelopment?

Ans. Lack of economic growth is considered as under development. This is measured in terms of GDP.

2) Whose writings highlighted women's contribution to economic development?

Ans. Esther Boserup's writings argues that a change in the density of population results in the change of techniques in farming, which requires a higher labour input resulting in a change in the division of labour between men and women. With her comparative analysis, she pointed out the differences in women's work, emphasizing the important role women played in African agriculture as compared to the lesser role women played in Asian and Latin American countries.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Trace the emergence of the WID approach.

Ans. The pressure from the Third World women group led to the emergence of WID approach. In this approach the status of women on par with men was discussed in terms of equality. This emerged in the year 1975.

2) List the first three international women's conferences.

Ans. The first three international women's conferences which took place are as given below:

1) Mexico – 1975
2) Nairobi – 1980
3) Copenhagen – 1985

Check Your Progress 3

1) Is the Empowerment approach drawn from WAD?

Ans. Yes, in WAD period, the Empowerment approach was adopted**.** Unlike the previous approaches, the empowerment approach is a direct result of "Third World" women's social and grassroots movements and their realities and experiences of mainstream "development". Its roots were in Latin American social movements where educationists such as Paulo Frire and Evan Ilich used conseintization as a tool of mobilizing oppressed sections.

2) What was the outcome of the Fourth Women's Conference in Beijing?

Ans. The important outcome at Beijing was the new recognition by both NGOs and governments that macro-economic policy is also an issue of critical importance for women and therefore a feminist concern. Furthermore, it was important not just to be reactive after policies have done their damage, but to be creative in framing alternatives. The "Beijing Platform for Action" recognizes the link between the economic and the political. Eradication of poverty cannot be accomplished through anti-poverty programmes alone, but will require democratic participation and changes in economic structures to ensure access for all women to resources, opportunities and public services.

UNIT 3 WID, WAD, GAD PART-II

Structure

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Empowerment
3.3 Gender Mainstreaming
3.4 Gender Planning
3.5 Gender Budgeting
3.6 Gender Auditing
3.7 Let Us Sum Up
3.8 Glossary
3.9 References and Suggested Readings
3.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

For the past three decades international organizations and national governments have focused on gender equality. The last two UN conferences on women analyzed the state of gender equality and the impact of public policy and action. They developed the prospective of gender equality as a human right and social justice among nation states. With the efforts of bodies like UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform for Action was developed. In spite of more achievements based on WID,

Under WAD and GAD perspectives, more efforts are needed to achieve improvements in overall well-being of women and reduce the gender gap. In order to accelerate development intervention and to address challenges to engender all development issues, new perspectives have to be developed. Through the analysis of developments of the past, new approaches have emerged. Based on the approach many tools were developed. This Unit will deal with the tools and country specific examples.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to

- explain the GAD approach;
- discuss the tools of Gender and Development; and
- describe the applications of GAD tools in programmes and policy making.

3.2 EMPOWERMENT

Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, approaches and implications for policy:

According to Zoë Oxaal and Sally Baden empowerment is a process whereby women critically reflect on the condition of their own lives and acquire the knowledge skills and consciousness to change or transform that condition. It is a condition where women's self reliance and inner strength are enhanced and thereby gain control over assets and resources and subsequently are able to control all aspects of their lives. This empowerment can be reflected in four ways namely,

economic, political, social and cultural. The word 'empowerment' is used in many different contexts and by many different organizations. For example, literature about 'empowerment' is found in the fields of education, social work, psychology, in US radical politics in the 1960s and community development groups in the North and South, as well as in the work of feminist and development organizations.

The idea of 'power' is at the root of the term empowerment. Power can be understood as operating in a number of different ways:

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

Box 1: Perspectives on empowerment

The Human Development Report 1995, stresses that empowerment is about participation:

Empowerment- Development must be *by* people, not only *for* them. People must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives (UN, 1995). At the same time this promotes a rather instrumentalist view of empowerment; Investing in women's capabilities and empowering them to exercise their choices is not only valuable in itself but is also the surest way to contribute to economic growth and overall development (UN, 1995)

For Oxfam, empowerment is about challenging oppression and inequality:

Empowerment involves challenging the forms of oppression which compel millions of people to play a part in their society on terms which are inequitable, or in ways which deny their human rights.Feminist activists stress that women's empowerment is not about replacing one form of empowerment with another: Women's empowerment should lead to the liberation of men from false value systems and ideologies of oppression. It should lead to a situation where each one can become a whole being regardless of gender, and use their fullest potential to construct a more humane society for all (Akhtar 1992 quoted in Batliwala ,1994: 131).

3.2.1 UNIFEM

UNIFEM includes the following factors in its definition of women's empowerment:

- acquiring understanding of gender relations and the ways in which these relations can be changed.
- Developing a sense of self-worth, a belief in one's ability to secure desired changes and the right to control one's own life.

- Gaining the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power.
- Developing the ability to organize and influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally.

The current popularity of the term empowerment in development coincides with recent questioning of the efficacy of central planning and the role of 'the state', and moves by donor governments and multilateral funding agencies to embrace NGOs as partners in development. Political and institutional problems have gained prominence on the development agenda with a focus on human rights, good governance and participation. Recent UN conferences have advocated that women's empowerment is central to development. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) Agenda 21 mentions women's advancement and empowerment in decision-making, including women's participation in national and international ecosystem management and control of environment degradation as a key area for sustainable development.

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, discussed the population issue not just as a technical, demographic problem, but as a choice that women should be empowered to take within the context of their health and reproductive rights. The Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD), called for the recognition that empowering people, particularly women, to strengthen their own capacities is a major objective of development, and that empowerment requires the full participation of people in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of decisions determining the functioning and well-being of societies. The Report of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women called its Platform for Action an agenda for women's empowerment meaning that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities.

Box 2: Empowerment as a Feminist Vision of Development

Development Alternatives for Women in New Era (DAWN) is a network of Southern activists, researchers and policymakers, which is closely associated with the development of ideas about women's empowerment. Founded in the mid-1980s, DAWN has questioned the impact of development on the poor, especially women, and advocated the need for alternative development processes that would give primary emphasis to the basic needs and survival of the majority of the world's people. DAWN has sought to link micro-level activities from the experience of grassroots initiatives at community level, to a macro-level perspective. They challenge the assumption behind many projects and programmes targeting women, that the main problem for Third World women is insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development. DAWN argue the need for a new vision of development based on the perspective of poor Third World women. This perspective focuses attention on the related problems of poverty and inequality and the critical dimensions of resource use and abuse.

3.2.2 Economic Empowerment

Empowerment is often envisaged as individual rather than as collective, and focused on Entrepreneurship and individual self-reliance, rather than on co-operation to challenge power structures which subordinate women (or other

marginalized groups). This individualistic approach to empowerment fits together with the belief in entrepreneurial capitalism and market forces as the main saviours of sickly or backward economies, and with the current trend for limiting state provision of welfare, services and employment. It is also consonant with a liberal approach to democracy, emphasizing individual rights and participation in decision-making, through the electoral process.

3.2.3 Economic Empowerment through Credit Programmes

Microcredit programmes, many targeting women and claiming to empower them, have become extremely popular among donors and NGOs in recent years. The change in development policies from the focus on women's active role in production as a means to more efficient development, to the approach of women's empowerment through women organizing for greater self-reliance, has also meant a change in policies for the enhancement of women's economic role. The focus has changed from providing grants to financial assistance to women through the establishment of special credit schemes.

Credit schemes are seen as having the potential to link women with the formal banking sector and thereby integrating women in mainstream development. Many credit schemes aimed at women attempt to follow the model of well-known micro-credit providers such as the Grameen Bank. The problems of high administration costs and lack of collateral of small-scale women borrowers are overcome by establishing borrower solidarity groups based on joint liability.

The ability of credit schemes to promote women's empowerment has come under close scrutiny. Research on credit programmes has shown that apparently successful credit programmes targeting credit to women cannot be taken at face value without a more careful

Box 3: Credit for Women in Rural Bangladesh

A study of rural credit programmes in Bangladesh highlighted the problems of ascertaining who actually had control over credit, as research showed that a significant proportion of women's loans were in fact controlled by male relatives . High repayment rates of loans by women cannot be taken as clear evidence that women have made effective loan investments, or that they have been empowered through the loan. Where men take control of loans and invest them badly, women's position may even be worsened, as women may be forced to mobilise repayment funds from resources which would otherwise be used for consumption or savings. The control of loans and repayment are also potential sources of gender-related tension within rural households . Improving women's access to credit is a positive step, but is by no means enough to secure their 'economic empowerment'. examination of the social context in which women live.

3.2.4 Empowerment through Political Participation

One important approach to supporting women's empowerment is the promotion of the participation of women in formal politics, alongside support to broad programmes of democratization and good governance with a strong focus on developing civil society. This includes promoting women in government and national and local party politics as well as supporting women's involvement in NGOs and women's movements. In 1994, only 5.7 per cent of the world's cabinet

ministers were women. In government, women in decision- making positions tend to be concentrated in social, law and justice ministries. Fewer women are to be found in chief executive and economic areas. This poor representation is in spite of the fact that women are found in large numbers in lower-level positions in public administration, political parties, trade unions and business, who could potentially serve as representatives at higher levels .

There are a range of possible mechanisms to increase women's participation in political life which have had varying degrees of success including:

- reform of political parties, quotas and other forms of affirmative action;
- training to develop women's skills and gender sensitivity;
- work with women's sections of political parties; and
- development of women's political organizations.

Quotas have been used to increase women's participation in the leadership of political parties and in party lists for elections. They may be one of the only ways to ensure some representation of women in countries where this is very low, and they can be effective where women already have some degree of political power, such as in the Nordic countries or South Africa. For example the Norwegian Labour Party stipulates that at least 40 percent of candidates for election must be women. In Norway, quotas proved an effective way of increasing the number of women in parliament. In order that women's perspectives are placed on the political agenda a critical mass of women is required, with 30 per cent often cited as a figure above which women begin to make an impact on political life. However, quotas for women in elections have proved a very controversial measure meeting much resistance and requiring a good deal of political will. They are a mechanism more frequently used by political parties than by governments. A number of parliaments have operated a mechanism of reserved seats for women, e.g. in Bangladesh, Egypt, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. The drawbacks of this system are that token women may be appointed who in actual fact have little power and lack appropriate skills, and that reserved seats may be interpreted as a ceiling for the number of women in parliament. The transfer of power to local government through decentralization strategies which form part of democratization and governance agendas, has the potential to create spaces at the local level for women as political actors. However, efforts to increase women's representation in local politics through affirmative action or reserved seats in India and Bangladesh have shown that female councilors elected under this system may have little impact, tending not to speak in meetings, and lacking knowledge about the problems faced by women in their constituencies. Increasing the numbers of women in decision-making positions in formal political power does not in itself translate into greater empowerment for women. Quantitative measures of women's participation in politics are inadequate as measures of women's empowerment. Measures to increase the quantity of women representatives need to be accompanied by measures to improve the quality of participation in order to support women's empowerment. More attention is needed to assess qualitatively women's empowerment through political systems.

3.2.5 Empowerment as a Process

Empowerment is essentially a bottom-up process rather than something that can be formulated as a top-down strategy. Understanding empowerment in this way

means that development agencies cannot claim to 'empower women'. Women must empower themselves. Devising coherent policies and programmes for women's empowerment requires careful attention, because external agencies/ bodies tend to be positioned with 'power-over' target populations. The training of development professionals, in government, NGOs or donor agencies does not always equip them to consult and involve others, which is necessary for supporting empowerment. Appropriate external support and intervention, however, can be important to foster and support the process of empowerment. Development organizations can, under some circumstances, play an enabling or facilitating role. They can ensure that their programmes work to support women's individual empowerment by encouraging women's participation, acquisition of skills, decision-making capacity, and control over resources. Agencies can support women's collective empowerment by funding women's organizations which work to address the causes of gender subordination, by promoting women's participation in political systems, and by fostering dialogue between those in positions of power and organizations with women's empowerment goals.

3.2.6 Implications for Policy and Strategy

Adopting women's 'empowerment' as a policy goal in development organizations implies a commitment to encouraging a process of more equitable distribution of power in society on personal, economic and political levels. It implies increasing women's control over their lives both individually and collectively and their participation and influence in institutional decision making. However, unless empowerment is clearly defined and the strategies or processes whereby it is to be translated from policy to practice specified, empowerment becomes a vague goal or meaningless buzzword. Without clear definition of the term, in the particular contexts in which they are working, development organizations run the danger of merely renaming old top-down approaches as part of an empowerment policy, without altering the content and character of their programmes or examining the need for changes in organizational culture and process required. The analysis here suggests a number of strategic considerations for development organizations in adopting a women's empowerment approach:

1) Where women's empowerment is stated as a policy goal it should be defined or explained.

2) Strategies for promoting women's empowerment need to be integrated into development programmes.

3) Empowerment is relevant to all programmes/projects and should not be confined to one area of development activity.

4) Different aspects of empowerment (e.g. political, economic, legal, physical) should not be addressed in isolation.

5) The participation of women in planning at all stages is essential if development programmes are to be empowering.

6) Since the context is crucial to understanding processes of empowerment, indicators of empowerment need to be devised specific to programmes.

7) Mainstreaming policies within agencies and policies/programmes to support empowerment in the work of agencies should be linked.

8) Support for women's organizations is a key strategy in promoting women's empowerment.

9) Promoting empowerment also involves examining organizational culture, structures and processes and identifying where these may conflict with empowerment goals, e.g. in terms of accountability.

3.3 GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the status of men and women in all policies and programmes of Government and other organizations and also its implications. The concept of gender mainstreaming was first proposed at the 1985 Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi. The idea has been developed in the United Nations development community. The idea was formally featured in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Most definitions conform to the UN Economic and Social Council formally defined concept: *Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.*

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

Gender Mainstreaming makes a gender dimension explicit in all policy sectors. Gender equality is no longer viewed as a separate question, but becomes a concern for all policies and programmes. Furthermore, a gender mainstreaming approach does not look at women in isolation but looks at women and men – both actors in the development process, and as its beneficiaries. Significantly gender mainstreaming differs from the women in development approach in that it takes as its starting point a thorough and rigorous analysis of the development situation, rather than a priori assumptions about women's roles and problems. Experiences have shown that gender issues differ by country, region and concrete situation. At the same time, experiences have also shown that rigorous, gender- sensitive analysis invariably reveals gender-differentiated needs and priorities, as well as gender inequalities in terms of opportunities and outcomes. Gender mainstreaming seeks to redress these problems.

In this section, you have studied empowerment and gender mainstreaming. Now, answer the question given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by empowerment of women?

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2) What do you understand by gender mainstreaming.

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Box 4: Case Study

Promoting gender equality through empowerment: The Centre for Development and Population Activities established the global better life options programme. The programme promotes opportunities for adolescent girls and boys to make better life choices concerning their health, economic status, civic participation, education, employment, decision making abilities and family planning. The programme is based on an empowerment model and combines elements of education family life education, life skills vocational training, health services and personality development. It initiated the BLT for girls based on the belief that early intervention will be most effective in improving their long-term status and empowering them to later take their place as full and equal partners with men in Indian society. It perceived that through women‘s empowerment would be possible and sustainable only if male support and behaviour change was forthcoming for women‘s issues. This shows that the need for a similar empowerment programme for adolescent boys to effectively challenge gender inequalities was also expressed by the communities and by the boys themselves.

2. A collective approach to sustainable economic development: Himalayan Action Research Centre enables the local people to organize into community-based institutions for collective action to increase their food security, socioeconomic security, promotion of livelihoods and rural market linkages. Uttarakhad is a land of rich natural and cultural heritage. The Uttarakhand people live mainly on agriculture and dairy farming. Uttarkhasi district of Uttarakhand is a Rawain valley. On an average, 23 per cent of the population of Rawain is Scheduled Caste. Rawain Valley also had a rich tradition and culture of community-based institutions and practices of collective planning and resource management. Over the past decades these practices have declined

because of the modern top-down approach. As a result, the communities's sense of ownership of decision making decreased and people become more dependent on government development programmes. The government sponsored Mahila Mangal Dals are also inactive due to lack of vision, guidance and future plan of action. By empowering mountain women through collective action HARC developed an economic development model addressing priority needs. The establishment of women's cooperatives is the major outcome of the whole process. Rawain Mahila Multipurpose Autonomous Cooperative Society Limited is the only women's federation engaged in trading activities in the state of Uttarakhand. This society built confidence among women, increased social acceptance and enhanced their decision making capacity.

3.4 GENDER PLANNING

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

3.5 GENDER BUDGETING

Gender budget is one of the most important instruments which reflect the economic policy of the government. It can also be a powerful tool in transforming the economy at different levels of State, District or Grassroots level of village Panchayats. It reflects the choices that the government chooses in order to achieve the economic and developmental goals. Of late, Gender budgeting has emerged as a new process. This ensures the care for women's needs and priorities in the total budget. This has become an effective mechanism to bring about gender equity. A Gender Responsive Budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in the society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that changes these patterns in a way that moves towards a more gender-equal society. Gender budget initiatives are exercises that aim to move the country in the direction of a gender-responsive budget.

Box 5: Women's Component Plan in Kerala

It aims to provide a mechanism for special activities to ensure gender equity in society and within the family. At least 10 percent of the plan budget is mandated to be set apart to meet the specific needs of women. The government of Kerala initiated people's plan campaign during ninth plan period. In this campaign Women's Component Plan is also included. Long-term and short-term strategic needs of women can be addressed through Women's Component Plan to ensure overall empowerment of women. Studies revealed that the last two decades of the Women's Component Plan in the decentralized plan process in Kerala met the needs of the women and it increased women's income and enhanced the status of women through adoption of non-traditional

projects carried out in some areas. Women's groups formed as transport cooperatives of women, training of women as masons, collectives for repairing of household tools, manufacture of electric equipment, paramedical training, gender education, karate and self defense training, cycling training, sport and cultural competitions. The Women's Component Plan has paved the way for women to enter the small-scale industry sector. It has also helped women in participating in the local planning process and improved their organizational ability. As part of the plan, the government of Kerala introduced 'Kudumbashree' scheme which helped women to organize collectively and involve themselves in development activities.

Box 6: Gender Responsive Government at the Grass Roots Governance:

The enactment of 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment of India during 1993 has enabled significant changes in the grassroots governance. As a result more than a million leaders are at the local government level as decision makers of whom one third are women. These leaders having ample opportunities to develop budgets with a gender perspective. These grassroots leaders are managing the affairs of the Gram Panchayats during the last twenty years with grants received from various sources like allocation from the government, funds for different schemes etc. With the help of these funds the leaders undertake a number of development activities in their respective local government. Some women have taken initiatives to have gender-responsive budget in their sphere of Governance. Efforts have been taken in Karnataka with the help of UNIFEM to develop gender-responsive budget in selected Gram Panchayats.

3.6 GENDER AUDITING

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

3.6.1 Case study: Social Audit

Over the last two decades, civil society organizations, academics, and researchers have debated different methods for measuring and improving transparency and accountability in development programmes meant for the poor. Social audits have emerged as a powerful method — one which is able to reach those areas of information reserve and bring it in the public domain, which conventional audit mechanisms and agencies have been unable to. Unlike traditional audits, a social audit is not a one-time, but a continuous exercise, that audits expenditure, its usefulness, and its impact. It thereby tries to ensure that the activity or project is designed and implemented in a manner that is most suited for the prevailing (local) conditions, appropriately reflects the priorities and preferences of those affected by it, and most effectively serves public interest. Such a process provides for effective people's participation in monitoring expenditure and influencing decision making in the formulation and implementation development programmes. Accessing relevant information, consolidating it in a manner that people can easily

comprehend, and facilitating a verification process by the stakeholders are some of the basic steps undertaken in a Social Audit. In doing so, the process also helps create awareness about people's rights and entitlements.

The MGNREGA and Social Audit in the Indian state of Rajasthan, a network of civil society organizations called the Rozgar Evum Suchna Ka Adhikar Abhiyan has been conducting social audits of projects under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA)for close to three years now. Passed in 2005, the Act guarantees 100 days of employment each year to any rural household whose adult members are willing to do unskilled manual work. Failure to provide work within 15 days, gives the applicant a right to claim unemployment allowance. Despite this progress, however, most people remain unaware of their rights and entitlements under the MGNREGA. The information flow has been minimal, with the administration taking little or no initiative. Inadequate staff and lack of training have also been areas of concern. Unlike the previous employment schemes, in the country - beset with a range of problems from lack of awareness, planning and people's participation, low quality of assets, diversion of funds and no public accountability, the MGNREGA provides for two distinct and extremely powerful legal provisions – transparency and public monitoring. The passage of the Right to Information Act (RTI) in the year 2005 have made social audits of the MGNREGA possible and strengthened these provisions since access to information is the primary and most crucial step in conducting a Social Audit. Regular social audits since then and the presence of people's groups in certain areas have resulted in strong transparency measures, such as transparency boards at worksites detailing the funds allocated for (and spent on) labour and material. Also, the availability of muster rolls in nearly all the worksites has considerably reduced delays in wage payment and non-payment of wages. Large numbers of men and women have attended the public hearings held as part of the audits to testify against false records and register their discontent, despite enormous pressure placed by local powers. Apart from corrupt practices and deviation of funds that get identified in these social audits, such exercises also allow a discussion on various other features of a programme, which get overlooked or unaddressed otherwise. In the case of the Abhiyan, the social audits proposed that addressing basic issues like adequate honorarium and allowance to elected representatives, increasing administrative, technical and managerial staff at the lowest level and establishing responsibility for proper maintenance of records will also clear away instances and scope for possible monetary deviations and reduce the slack in implementation resistance to Social Audits. Nearly all of the social audits conducted by the Abhiyan have been in coordination with the state government, local authorities, and field-level functionaries. The three have come together on a number of occasions to discuss findings of the social audits and worked towards correcting the problems and strengthening the MGNREGA. However, two audits recently organized by the Abhiyan in the district of Banswara and Jhalawar encountered strong resistance, even violence. Despite the strong transparency provisions in the MGNREGA and the RTI, members of the Abhiyan had to stage sit-in protests to access records. A wide array of local actors opposed the social audits, creating an air of fear and tension and making it difficult for the Abhiyan to conduct the social audit. In Banswara, the Government of Rajasthan had itself invited the Abhiyan to do the social audit but then refused to be a part of the process in the midst of this resistance and violence. In Jhalawar, the government's failure to provide sufficient information forced the Abhiyan to restrict itself to five panchayats (small administrative governmental units usually composed of a cluster of villages); however, the audits

there uncovered evidence of embezzlement in 14 different villages. There were numerous other instances of fudged muster rolls and other problems; for example, most marginalized sections of society were either denied a job card or charged for what should have been a free document. These acts of resistance to the social audit raise fundamental questions and doubts about the government's commitment to transparency and accountability in development programs for the poor. They also expose the limits of the government's commitment to making the MGNREGA a healthy and successful program.

3.6.2 Emerging Challenges

A social audit is fundamentally a people's process. It has given shape to the idea of public vigilance in large development programs such as the MGNREGA, where it is nearly impossible for one person or agency to run the program. The idea of incorporating social audits in the MGNREGA also reflects a decade of struggle and democratic protests by ordinary men and women who realized the importance of official information to their lives and livelihood. The events that unfolded in Banswara and Jhalawar, however, threaten to destroy this effort. The government and the local administration sought to strengthen the existing power relations in the area by resisting the social audit, in part by reading the provisions of transparency and accountability in the narrowest possible terms — announcing that the audit could be held only under the terms they themselves established. Such resistance only shows the potential of social audits to weed out the corrupt, strengthen people's entitlements, and establish accountability. The time has come for people's groups to redesign their strategies to meet these fresh rounds of attacks and keep alive democratic spaces and practices for those most marginalized.

In this section you have studied gender planning, gender budgeting and gender auditing. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is Women Component Plan?

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2) Define Gender Budgeting and Gender Auditing.

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3.7 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit an attempt has been made to discuss the recent initiatives in the gender and development discourses. The process of empowerment, which is considered as the opening up of opportunities for the deprived people has gained momentum in the recent years and the progress has been made significantly. It is both an internal and external process. While internal processes have to happen within, external process will takes place through the initiative of social and political institutions. Gender mainstreaming, gender panning, gender budgeting and gender auditing will certainly serve as tools of gender and development. But agencies are in the process of refining them to serve better.

3.8 GLOSSARY

Social Justice : Social justice generally refers to the idea of creating an egalitarian society or institution that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity, that understands and values human rights, and that recognizes the dignity of every human being.

Microfinance : Microfinance is the provision of financial services to low-income clients, including consumers and the self-employed, who traditionally lack access to banking and related services.

Micro Credit : Microcredit is the extension of very small loans (microloans) to those in poverty designed to spur entrepreneurship. These individuals lack collateral, steady employment and a verifiable credit history and therefore cannot meet even the most minimal qualifications to gain access to traditional credit.

UNIFEM : United Nations Development Fund for Women.

MGNREGA : Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

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3.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What do you understand by empowerment of women?

Ans. Empowerment is a process whereby women critically reflect on the condition of their own lives and acquire the knowledge skills and consciousness to change or transform that condition. It is a condition where women's self reliance and inner strength are enhanced and thereby gain control over assets and resources and subsequently are able to control all aspects of their lives.

2) What is gender mainstreaming?

Ans. Gender mainstreaming is the process of assessing the status of men and women in all policies and programmes of Government and other organizations and also its implications

Check Your Progress 2

1) What is Women Component Plan?

Ans. It was introduced in ninth five year plan. At least 10 percent of the plan budget is mandated to be set apart to meet the specific needs of women.

2) Define Gender Budgeting and Gender Auditing.

Ans. A Gender Responsive Budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in the society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that change these patterns in ways that moves towards a more gender equal society.

Gender auditing is the analysis of the system and process of finance of any government from a gender perspective. Gender auditing implies auditing the income and expenditure of governments from a gender perspective and also analyzing the development processincluding the process of legislation, guidelines, taxes and social development projects.

MDV-004: Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies (6 CREDITS)

BLOCK 1	**CONCEPTS OF GENDER**
Unit 1	Basic Concepts of Gender
Unit 2	Social Construction of Gender
Unit 3	Gender and Development Indicators
BLOCK 2	**APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Trends in Feminism
Unit 2	WID-WAD-GAD-Part I
Unit 3	WID-WAD-GAD-Part II
BLOCK 3	**STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Affirmative Action:Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality
Unit 2	Meeting Gender Needs through Planning
Unit 3	Engendering Governance
BLOCK 4	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-1**
Unit 1	Gender and Labour Market
Unit 2	Women and Entrepreneurship Development
Unit 3	Gender in Agriculture and Environment
Unit 4	Women in Informal economy
Unit 5	Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid
BLOCK 5	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II**
Unit 1	Gender , Denocracy and Development
Unit 2	Gender and education
Unit 3	Gender, Health and Well-Being

Indira Gandhi National Open University
School of Extension and Development Studies

MDV-004
Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies

Block

4

GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-I

UNIT 1
Gender and Labour Market 5

UNIT 2
Women and Entrepreneurship Development 20

UNIT 3
Gender in Agriculture and Environment 36

UNIT 4
Women in Informal Economy 52

UNIT 5
Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid 65

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BLOCK 4 STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

BLOCK 4 consists of five units, namely- Gender and Labour Market; Women and Entrepreneurship Development; Gender in Agriculture and Environment; Women in Informal Economy and Women in Work - Paid and Unpaid.

Unit 1 discusses **Gender and Labour market,** the main issues discussed in this unit are as to how women have unequal access to resources, how they have differential wages compared to men, and how gender inequality can be addressed.

Unit 2 discusses **Women and Entrepreneurship Development, i**t discusses women's role as entrepreneurs, problems faced by them and the emergence of women entrepreneurs is for the socio-economic emancipation of women.

Unit 3 talks about **Gender in Agriculture and Environment.** It discusses issues such as division of labour, access to credit or information as well as rights of ownership which require a gender understanding for policy prescriptions and development initiatives in the agriculture sector as well as those impacting the environment.

Unit 4 discusses **Women in Informal Economy** and how women in formal economy have better opportunities because of legislative provisions, maternity benefits, equal remuneration benefits compared to women in informal economy and also discusses gender sensitive recommendations related to employment.

Unit 5 talks about **Women in Work- Paid and Unpaid** which plays an important part in determining women's and men's relative wealth, power and prestige, and health. It has, however, been segregated by gender which has, in turn, generated gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, benefits and responsibilities.

UNIT 1 GENDER AND LABOUR MARKET

Structure

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Gender in Labour Market: Concept and Dynamics

1.3 Race and Gender Oppression in Labour Market

1.4 ICPD Programme of Action for Empowerment of Women

1.5 Let Us Sum Up

1.6 Glossary

1.7 References and Suggested Readings

1.8 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

CIDA, the OECD, USAID, the World Bank and thousands of other organizations and civil society groups around the world are discussing gender. Over the past twenty years, we have seen a significant progressive evolution of gender concepts from the initial ideas, to the more institutionalized "Women in Development (WID)"' to "Gender and Development" (GAD) and beyond. Today, besides including gender into their projects, many organizations have initiated internal gender policies and offer their staff gender training.

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the gender based impact of economic reforms;
- Analyze different international agencies efforts to bring gender equality and equity;
- Discuss the reasons for gender inequality; and
- Explain strategies to promote gender equality and equity.

1.2 GENDER IN LABOUR MARKET:CONCEPT AND DYNAMICS

1.2.1 Gender in Labour Market

Gender is a social, not a biological concept that replaces the term 'sex', which refers to the biological differences between men and women; gender is related to the manner whereby men and women interact in society, at home, in the workplace, in politics, in different cultures and with regard to economic issues. 'Adding women' to project activities does not constitute gender. It in fact, is a concept that refers to learned social behaviours, differences and relations between men and women in a given society, community or social group. These learnt variables condition people to perceive various roles, activities, tasks and responsibilities as male or female. Gender roles are affected by age, class, religion, ethnicity, and the social, economic and political environment. A gender analysis involves considering the differences in the participation of men and women, gender responsibilities and gender contributions, as well as evolving projects that optimize the contribution and growth of both sexes. These differences between

men and women may also relate to specific activities, access to and control over available resources or developmental benefits, and decision-making abilities. Gender analysis is thus a tool, which studies the relations between these differential factors and other factors in the larger social, economic, cultural, environmental and political context. Additionally, gender analysis is useful in highlighting the variations prevalent within gender groups, or specifically, within the group 'men' and the group 'women', both of which display their own set of power relations and taboos. An example of this would be differences related to the access to education compared to other women in the same community. Women's services do not yet always recognize these differences and therefore give inadequate attention to marginalized sub-groups. Women's empowerment is a key issue of the Gender and Development initiatives, and sometimes a sensitive one, depending on social and cultural contexts. While this empowerment may have gender equality as its ultimate goal, this does not necessarily imply gender equity. The aim is not to render both sexes the same, but allow equal opportunities to both and ensure that women have rights.

Gender is a necessary consideration of the workplace. This is because accounting for everyone's needs and giving equal opportunities for participation improves employee morale, decreases absenteeism and improves retention rates, leading in turn to superior overall results. As Brian Schwartz, CEO of Ernst and Young, Australia, opines, "Women are 50 percent of the equation. Choosing not to work with women is like trying to progress with one hand tied behind your back."

Gender is also an important concern for project design, as it accentuates the project's overall impact, given that the entire community works to affect change. Projects incorporating gender promote ownership and sustainability. In fact the World Bank notes that "Countries that enact specific measures to protect women's rights and increase their access to resources and education have less corruption and achieve faster economic growth than countries that do not."

Gender analysis is the first step towards the promotion of gender equality and gender-sensitive planning in the workplace. It entails the collection of sex-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive information about a given population Gender equality, by itself, is a concept which emerges from a belief in the various forms of inequalities related to gender, and is variously known by terms such as gender equity, gender egalitarianism, or sexual equality. It is embodied by the idea that all human beings, both men and women, have the freedom to develop their personal abilities and make choices unencumbered by stereotypes, prejudice and water-tight gender roles. The different behaviours and aspirations of men and women are given equal consideration and value. Gender equality does not imply that men and women must become the same, but that their rights, treatment, opportunities, benefits and obligations will not depend on whether they are male or female.

1.2.2 Economic Reforms and Gender Integration into the Labour Market

Economic reforms have had a differential gender impact. The reforms have meant more openness in trade regimes and a gradual de-control of the domestic sector of production. There was a steady withdrawal of the state from business/ production. This will leave the labour force more vulnerable, as profit motive alone drives the market. As women are crowded towards the lower end of the

labour market, they will be more adversely affected by the reforms.

The 55th round of National Sample Survey Organization (1999-00) reports that in urban areas gender differences in the structure of industrial and occupational distributions seems to have lessened. There is a high demand for female labour in some sectors, which can be linked towards export orientation and the deregulation of the domestic production sector. However, changes in the structure of job opportunities have not translated into overall reductions. Services in recent years may have benefited educated women. The HDR 2005 reports that women spend 457 minutes at work as compared to men's 391 per day. In Kerala, according to Bina Agarwal, women's risk of physical violence from husbands is 49 per cent among women without property, but 18 per cent among land owning women and 7 per cent among those who own land and a house.

1.2.3 A Global Commitment to Gender Equality and Equity-From "Women in Development" To "Gender and Development"

The "Gender and Development" (GAD) paradigm (proposed in the process leading to the Beijing Conference), is perceived as an evolution from the hitherto dominant "Women in Development" (WID) approach. As explained in the 1995 Commonwealth Plan of Action, "the WID Approach focused on how women could be better integrated into the existing 'men/male made world' and corresponding development initiatives. Targeting women's productive work to the exclusion of their reproductive work, this approach was characterized by income-generating projects for women that failed to address the systemic causes of gender inequality." The WID approach tended to regard women as passive recipients of development assistance, rather than as active agents in transforming their own economic, social, political and cultural realities. Consequently, women's concerns were viewed in isolation, as separate issues, leading to their further marginalization in the state system and other social structures, due to distortions such as the "tag on reflex" (i.e., it was deemed sufficient to allocate a part of programme resources for "women projects" in order to honour one's commitment to the WID requirements) and, further, the treatment of "women's issues" as basically unrelated to major development concerns such as human rights issues, democratic governance, protection of the environment, globalization, peace and disarmament.

The GAD (Gender and Development) approach, on the other hand, seeks to integrate gender awareness and competence into mainstream development, while recognizing that development activities may affect women and men differently and therefore emphasizing the need for gender-sensitive planning in order to assure that the resulting conditions and results are equitable to women and men. This approach acknowledges that:

- women and men have distinct and special needs;
- women cannot be considered as a homogeneous group because, while being of the female sex, each woman is also marked by various factors such as her race/ethnicity, class, age, sexual preference among other factors;
- women tend to be disadvantaged compared to men in terms of their general welfare, and their access to and control of the means of production;

- gender differences can, however, also result in men being disadvantaged in certain societies, although presently, in most parts of the world, it is above all women that are victims of discrimination.

In 1994, an evaluation was carried out of UNESCO's action concerning women and gender equality covering the period from 1988 to 1993. The evaluation pointed out that the Organization had no gender policy framework and that therefore "Women's issues were not systematically addressed in the planning and programming process. The Organization has not been able to develop sectoral gender-based strategies in its fields of competence. Although there were important differences between the sectors in terms of mainstreaming and implementing women-specific programmes, the activities in support of women remained generally rather scattered and often based on individual initiatives notwithstanding the fact that in all sectors a number of successful programmes and projects were identified and analyzed by the evaluators". (Final report "Evaluation of UNESCO's Transverse Theme Women 1988-1993 (1995)" in compliance with 26 C/Resolution 11.1 and 27 C/Resolution 11.1 of UNESCO: The evaluation was carried out by Delawit Aklilu, Margareta de Goys and Geraldine Novelo.)

The evaluation showed that:

- budget constraints had an adverse effect upon gender research;
- there was little intersectoral co-operation on activities benefiting women (e.g., no intersectoral project aimed at helping women to cope with the problems of environmental protection, although there were major activities in this area in several sectors);
- the individuals assigned as "focal points" were all women, with hardly any training in any "gender approach", with little influence and normally having the "gender responsibility" in addition to other professional assignments;
- weak collaboration with National Commissions;
- insufficient documentation, publications, etc on women and gender issues

The evaluation put forth the following recommendations (given here in abbreviated form):

- the need for a clear strategy with well-defined priorities and policies for each sector;
- the need for the monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to take fuller account of aspects relating to women;
- training activities in gender issues;
- the need for an intersectoral and coordinated approach in designing and execution of activities;
- action-oriented research work and studies in selected fields which reflect the international debate on gender issues and apply this to the needs of the field;
- recruitment of the "focal points" should be based on skills and ability, regardless of sex;
- the principal co-ordinator should have this as a full-time assignment and the unit should be strengthened;

- the need to develop an accessible and organized set of institutional records of activities on behalf of women, along with a documentation centre, data base, bibliography, etc.

1.2.4 Critical Areas of Concern in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The Platform focuses on twelve areas of critical concern, all of which are relevant to UNESCO's work. These are:

- The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women;
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training;
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services;
- Violence against women;
- The effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women, including those living under foreign occupation;
- Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources;
- Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels;
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women;
- Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of the human rights of women;
- Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media;
- Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in the safeguarding of the environment;
- Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl-child

In this section, you have read about gender in labour market, economic reform and gender differential impact and a global commitment to gender equality-from women in development to gender and development. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) State one observation related to labour market made in the NSSO 55th round?

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2) What are the critical areas in Beijing Platform for Action?

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1.3 RACE AND GENDER OPPRESSION IN LABOUR MARKET

1.3.1 Causes of Race and Gender Oppression

The debates on the causes of race/gender intersections in the labour market reflect the core debates within the area of social stratification and are particularly conducive to a discussion of the relation between social constructions of gender and race and systems of economic stratification. Scholars differ in their emphasis on ideology and systems of meaning as perpetuating intersections of gender and race inequality versus material interests and control over productive and political resources. Most feminist scholars taking an intersectional approach acknowledge the importance of both ideological mechanisms and control of economic and political resources, particularly when examining labor market outcomes. Intersectional theories assume that dominant groups control productive resources and major social institutions, using those institutions to promulgate legitimizing ideologies that make social inequalities appear natural. A related theoretical debate concerns the underlying motivation for differential treatment of groups based on their gender and race. Some writers assert that the dominant group—of heterosexual elite White men—consciously procures resources for itself and excludes the "outgroup". Other explanations posit that social hierarchies are created through perceptual, cognitive, and behavioral processes about which participants are oftentimes quite unaware. Thus, intersectional approaches to labor market processes draw on an array of existing theories of social stratification to explain how and why "ascribed statuses" influence labor market processes. Intersectional approaches have not resolved the issue of relating processes at the level of social interaction to the distribution of resources and political power. This problem is at the core of the larger debates on labor market inequality. For instance, human capital theorists might argue that even if race and gender are mutually constructed social categories, these categories have little influence on labor market outcomes in the long run. An employer's chief concern is to hire and promote the most productive worker to generate the most profit. In the labor market literature, human capital arguments are usually countered by theories of discrimination, in which perceptions, biases, and interests based on race and gender are translated into unequal outcomes. These mechanisms suggested by intersectional approaches are not fundamentally new concepts in the debates on stratification. Among those who agree that gender and race do affect labor market experiences and outcomes, the proposition that these statuses are interrelated, raises novel questions regarding the interrelationship between multiple stratification hierarchies in the economy.

1.3.2 The Differential Impact of Gender Inequality on Male and Female International Migration

The impact of gender inequality and political institutions on international migration and the sex differential in migration to the United States- Firstly, according to the analyses involving interaction variables, both women and men are more likely to emigrate from countries with high levels of gender inequality in economic and political rights. Secondly, involving the ratio of female to male immigration as the dependent variable, women migrate at a higher rate than men in response to gender inequality in education as well as economic and political rights.

1.4 ICPD PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

The Principle of the ICPD (International Conference on Population and Development) Programme of Action establishes the essential linkage between the advancement of gender equality, equity and empowerment of women and the elimination of all forms of violence against women, and women's ability to control their own fertility as cornerstones of population and development programmes. In this respect, the Programme of Action provides strong linkages to many human rights instruments, such as CEDAW and the Vienna Conference on Human Rights, and also creates a practical basis for operational integration of the critical concerns stated in the Beijing Platform for Action. The fundamental role that the ICPD Programme of Action plays in transforming population and development programmes and particularly in changing the quality of women's lives is confirmed by the continued validity, relevance and increasing importance of these premises. Despite major progress, the five-year review of the implementation of the Programme of Action has identified several areas that need strengthening.

1.4.1 Progress Made

The five-year review has found that progress has been made in the following areas:

1) The momentum created by the Cairo Conference has been used to establish or reinforce initiatives that promote the integration of a gender perspective into policies, programmes and activities.

2) Many countries have reviewed their legal systems and instituted reforms in accordance with international mandates to remove laws that discriminate against women and girls and enact those that protect them.

3) Initiatives have been taken to promote the participation of women at policy- and decision-making levels.

4) Institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, have taken measures for institution-building and strengthening, including capacity-building for staff, which are compatible with gender equality.

5) Much work has been undertaken to eradicate violence against women, including the enactment of laws, legal awareness creation, and advocacy.

6) Progress has been made in advocating for the protection of the girl child and the promotion of her well-being.

7) Efforts have been made to encourage men to take responsibility for their reproductive and sexual behaviour and health and to support women's health and promote gender equality and equity in general.

A) Constraints and Issues

Some of the constraints and issues are:

1) **Incorporation of a gender perspective**- The adoption and institutionalization of a gender perspective in population and development programmes is a long-term process, which requires the application of gender analysis in the formulation of policies and in the development and implementation of programmes as well as in international cooperation. The adoption of this approach has been hindered by the absence of a proper understanding of how to interpret concepts related to gender issues in different social and cultural contexts. The globalization of the economy has contributed to deepening the feminization of poverty, while privatization of social and health sectors has increased the proportion of women without access to adequate social services and health care. In many countries, gender inequity is accentuated and accompanied by race and ethnic discrimination.

2) **Legal context**- In many countries women are still unable to exercise their rights because of legal provisions, such as those that deny them access to land and credit. Even where legal reform has been undertaken, women often continue to suffer from the lack of legal protection for exercising their human rights. Legal mechanisms to monitor gender equality and equity are still weak.

3) **Violence against women**- Women continue to face intolerable levels of violence at all stages of their life cycle, and in both their private and public lives. Feminization of poverty has increased new forms of violence, such as trafficking and forced prostitution. Women are also the major victims of wars and civil conflict.

4) **Women in leadership, policy and decision-making levels**- Women continue to be grossly under-represented in positions of power and decision-making, because of obstacles such as poverty, illiteracy, limited access to education, inadequate financial resources, patriarchal mentality and the dual burden of domestic tasks and occupational obligations, besides being discouraged to assume decision-making positions such as electoral politics by a non-supportive and discriminatory environment.

5) **Women's participation in the labour market**- Regardless of their occupations, women with the same qualifications normally earn less than men for work of equal value. Their disproportionately higher share of social and family responsibilities negatively impacts their opportunities for training and promotion.

6) **Vulnerable groups**- The continued economic, social and health vulnerability of certain groups of women, such as those who are older, widowed, displaced, indigenous, rural poor, migrant, adolescent, refugee, or slum-dweller makes them susceptible to marginalization in policy and programme efforts. Often such groups are not consulted or engaged in dialogue to develop strategies that meet their needs.

7) **Protection of the girl child**- The existence of cultural attitudes that promote the low value of girls, harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), the use of sex-selection technologies and sexual servitude endanger the sexual and reproductive health of girls and women, among other noxious cultural practices and belief systems.

8) **Gender-disaggregated data**- Many national information and data systems do not yet collect gender-disaggregated data or include such data for a limited number of variables.

9) **Institutional strengthening and capacity building**- The Staff in many institutions lack the requisite technical capacity to undertake gender analysis and to design, implement and monitor programmes from a gender perspective.

10) **Promoting male responsibility and partnership between men and women**- The persistence of social and cultural attitudes restrains men from sharing in family responsibilities, as they are not conversant in the discourse on gender equality and empowerment of women, both at the community and at the policy levels. Various initiatives have already been taken to address the sexual and reproductive health needs of men, and promote greater responsibility for their sexual and reproductive behaviour. These should continue without sacrificing the reproductive health services for women.

B) Proposed Actions

In the last half-decade, many countries have successfully implemented various elements of the ICPD Programme of Action to promote the advancement of women. Gender equality is becoming a guiding light in population and development programmes, even in differing social, cultural, economic and political contexts. Nonetheless, there is need to reinforce action in the areas listed in the section that follows.

Some of the actions proposed to incorporate a gender perspective into policy, programmes and activities are:

1) Developing and strengthening the ICPD reproductive rights approach to population and development policies and programmes, and to additionally include mechanisms for consultations with women's organizations and other equity seeking groups;

2) Incorporating a Human rights education into both formal and informal education processes;

3) Making operational essential linkages between the various elements of the ICPD Programme of Action, the Beijing Platform for Action and other international instruments in order to systematically and comprehensively promote gender equality;

4) Taking action to eliminate existing negative traditional, religious and cultural attitudes and practices that subjugate women and reinforce gender inequalities;

5) Adopting the gender perspective in all policy formulation and implementation processes and in the delivery of services and specifically monitoring the gender-differentiated impact of globalization of the economy and of the privatization of social and health sectors, so that specific mitigating measures may be adopted, especially for the poor;

6) Ensuring that all data and information systems make available gender-disaggregated data, which is crucial to translate policy into strategies that address gender concerns and to develop appropriate gender impact indicators for monitoring progress;

7) Addressing the needs of ageing women through the development of special programmes, services and institutional mechanisms to safeguard their health and well-being, as well as monitoring and articulating the needs of other vulnerable groups;

8) Removing all gender gaps and inequalities pertaining to women's participation in the labour market both by Governments and the private sector and initiating as well as enforcing policies or legislation for equal pay for work of equal value.

1.4.2 Promoting Gender Equality

Some of the actions proposed to promote gender equality are:

1) Strengthening the institutional capacity and technical expertise of staff in the Government and civil society, especially NGOs, to ensure gender mainstreaming;

2) Promoting gender awareness through children's education, as a crucial step in eliminating discrimination against women, and enforcing enrollment in school, for girls, as a necessary step towards the empowerment of women in future generations;

3) Accelerating the participation of women at political and at all policy and decision-making levels, including those for financial reforms and conflict prevention and resolution;

4) Developing strategies to promote gender equality at family level and recognizing that is also important to focus on the family as a unit of analysis to monitor progress;

5) Establishing legal frameworks to protect women's human rights and implementing and enforcing laws for the same;

6) Undertaking widespread advocacy to enable women to recognize and claim their rights;

7) Ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in all countries and removing reservations where they exist;

8) Making the media, parliamentarians and other similar groups adopt and strengthen their strategies to tackle negative attitudes about women and assist in enhancing the value that society places on women.

1.4.3 Addressing Violence against Women

Actions proposed to address violence against women include:

1) A promotion of Zero-tolerance for all forms of violence, including rape, incest and sex trafficking of women and children, which involves developing an integrated holistic and multi-disciplinary approach from a life-cycle perspective, which includes social, cultural and economic change, in addition to legal reforms;

2) Implementing the Stockholm Inter-governmental agreement against trafficking;

3) Protection of the girl-child, particularly from harmful traditional practices, and promoting her access to health, education and life opportunities, while safeguarding the well-being of girls by supporting and enhancing the role of the family, and especially of fathers;

4) Promotion of a positive self-image and self-esteem among girls and women through information, education and communication strategies, such as (especially) curricula reform, to ensure that gender stereotypes are removed from all educational and training materials;

1.4.4 Promoting Male Responsibility and Partnership With Women

Actions proposed to promote male responsibility and partnership with women include:

1) Men's involvement in defining positive male role models that enable them to play a more pro-active role in supporting and safeguarding women's reproductive health and rights, and the facilitation of the socialization of boys to become gender-sensitive adults;

2) An addressing of men's own needs for reproductive and sexual health, and support towards their taking responsibility for their own sexual behavior;

3) Development and implementation of capacity-building strategies that help men and other stakeholders to understand all concepts related to gender in their work and in their homes;

4) Open and verbal support of gender equality, the empowerment of women and the protection of the girl child by all leaders, especially men at the apex of policy and decision-making.

1.4.5 Gender Development Index (GDI): Interstate Profiles

Women's empowerment has now become critical to a human rights based approach to development. The UNDP 1995 report was devoted to women's empowerment. The Human development report since 1999 revealed that no country treats its women as well as men in terms of measures like life expectancy, wealth and education. The virtues of the GDI spurred efforts to rank states in India by calculating their GDI. The findings reveal that in Punjab, Haryana, Bihar and Rajasthan development has been iniquitous and women did not get equal share in development. The impact of trade in services on gender employment: The extent to which women participate in the trading sector is an important indicator of the extent to which trade may empower women economically. They estimated the direct and indirect impact of trade in services on gender employment. The major findings of their estimation are the following:

1) As the literacy levels of females increases the wage disparity declines.

2) Even for graduates and above, the salaries earned by females is 70-75 % of that earned by males with similar educational levels.

This implies that with higher growth in services even if employment opportunities for women grow at the same rate, the benefits of growth are enjoyed more by males as compared to females. They constructed the Social Accounting Method

(SAM) for the financial year 2003-04 and consists of 64 sectors. Employment multiplier is highest for males in communication services followed by tourism and other transport services. For females, the employment multiplier is highest for other services (residual sector) followed by communication services and tourism. The Gender differential in the employment multiplier is high in communication services. This is mainly due to the lower access of women to education, training, technology and knowledge as compared to men. For most of the services, out of the total employment created by a unit rise in exports, only 30 to 40 per cent of employment goes to females. The paper reveals that though trade in services creates additional employment for women, the gender inequality increases in terms of work participation. Female employment is high in agriculture and animal husbandry. In high technology sectors female employment multiplier is low. The policy intervention is needed to build capacity of women in identified sectors. The Trade-growth gender nexus needs in-depth research.

In this section, you have read about **race and gender oppression** in labour market, and ICPD programme of action for empowerment of women.

Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2.*

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the three pronged strategy?

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2) Give few strategies to promote gender equality?

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1.5 LET US SUM UP

The unit starts with explaining the efforts of international Organizations to bring approaches like WID and GAD to integrate gender approaches into the programmes and policies. Along with that the unit also explained CEDAW, international Women Conferences and efforts of organization like UNESCO. Finally the unit provides few strategies to promote gender equality.

1.6 GLOSSARY

National Sample Survey Organization : The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), now known as National Sample Survey Office, is an organization under the Ministry of Statistics of the Government of India. It is the largest organization in India conducting regular socio-economic surveys. It was established in 1950.

NSSO has four divisions :

1) Survey Design and Research Division (SDRD)
2) Field Operations Division (FOD)
3) Data Processing Division (DPD)
4) Co-ordination and Publication Division (CPD)

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1.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) State one observations related to labour market made in the NSSO 55th round?

Ans. The 55th round of National Sample Survey Organization (1999-00) reports that in urban areas gender differences in the structure of industrial and occupational distributions seems to have lessened. There is a high demand for female labour in some sectors, which can be linked towards export orientation and the deregulation of the domestic production sector.

2) What are the critical areas in Beijing Platform for Action?

Ans. The Platform focuses on areas of critical concern, all of which are relevant to UNESCO's work. Some of these are: The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women; Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training; Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access

to health care and related services; Violence against women; Inequality in economic structures and policies, in all forms of productive activities and in access to resources; Inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Explain the three pronged strategy?

Ans. UNESCO's three-pronged approach to women's empowerment and gender equality consists of:

- mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policy-planning, programming, implementation and evaluation activities;
- promoting the participation of women at all levels and fields of activity, giving particular attention to women's own priorities and perspectives in redefining both the goals and means of development; and
- developing specific programmes and activities for the benefit of girls and women, particularly those that promote equality, endogenous capacity-building and full citizenship.

2) Give few strategies to promote gender equality?

Ans. Strengthening the institutional capacity and technical expertise of staff in the Government and civil society, especially NGOs, to ensure gender mainstreaming; Promoting gender awareness through children's education, as a crucial step in eliminating discrimination against women, and enforcing enrollment in school, for girls, as a necessary step towards the empowerment of women in future generations.

UNIT 2 WOMEN AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Structure

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Women Entrepreneurship: Concept and Status
2.3 Enterprise Development and Microfinance
2.4 Microfinance, Self-Help Groups and Women
2.5 Mentoring Role of Micro Finance Institutions and SHGs
2.6 Critique of Microfinance and Self-help Groups
2.7 Let Us Sum Up
2.8 Glossary
2.9 References and Suggested Readings
2.10 Check Your Progress -Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, entrepreneurship is defined in the Indian context with reference to women entrepreneurs. All over the world, women face various problems when they venture into any entrepreneurial activity but emergence of women entrepreneurs is viewed in terms of their socio-economic emancipation. In this endeavour they get a lot of support from the microfinance institutions and self-help groups which also perform mentoring roles. Suggestions are also provided for effective development of women entrepreneurs.

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- define entrepreneurship in the Indian context;
- analyze the situation of women as entrepreneurs in India;
- discuss various problems of women entrepreneurs in India;
- describe the process of women's empowerment through institutions of microfinance and self-help groups with the help of Indian and global case studies; and
- explain measures that could be undertaken for the development of women entrepreneurs.

2.2 WOMEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP: CONCEPT AND STATUS

2.2.1 Concept of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is the backbone of national progress. Any country cannot achieve higher levels of development without entrepreneurship. It is one of the catalytic forces that propel economic growth by fostering initiative, innovation, accumulation and distribution of wealth. Entrepreneurial development plays an important role in industrial production, employment generation and exports. The

word "entrepreneur" is derived originally from the French word "entreprendre" which means an organizer of musical or other entertainment. Oxford English Dictionary also defined the same as director or a manager of a public musical institution. In the opinion of A.H. Cole "Entrepreneurship is the purposeful activity of an individual or a group of associated individuals, undertaken to initiate, maintain or aggrandize profit by production or distribution of economic goods and services". According to Schumpeter, "Entrepreneurship is based on purposeful and systematic innovation. It includes not only the independent businessman but also company directors and managers who actually carry out innovative functions". David H. Hold observes, "An Entrepreneur seeks to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an invention or more generally an untried technological possibility for providing a new commodity or providing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source of supply of material or a new outlet for problem. It essentially consists in doing things that are not generally done in the ordinary course of business."

In a conference on Entrepreneurship held in United States, the term "entrepreneurship" was defined as, "Entrepreneurship is the attempt to create value through recognition of business opportunity, the management of risk-taking appropriate to the opportunity and through the communicative and management skills to mobilize human financial and material resources necessary to bring a project to fruition". ILO (1982) describes that "entrepreneurs are people who have the ability to see and evaluate business opportunities; to gather the necessary resources to take advantage of them; and to initiate appropriate action to ensure successes".

2.2.2 Women Entrepreneurs

The Government of India has defined Women Entrepreneurs based on women's participation in equity and employment of business entrepreneurs. Accordingly, a woman's enterprise is defined as "an enterprise owned and controlled by a woman having a minimum financial interest of 51 per cent of the capital and giving at least 51 per cent of employment generated in the enterprise to women". The clause of giving at least 51 per cent of employment generated in the enterprise to women was dropped in 1891. For becoming a successful entrepreneur, women should explore the prospects of starting new enterprise, undertaking risks, introducing new innovations, coordinating administration, controlling business and providing effective leadership in all aspects of business. "Today, women entrepreneurs represent a group of women who have broken away from the beaten track and are exploring new avenues of economic participation. Women's entrepreneurship is the process where women take the lead and organize a business or industry and provide employment to others. Women endowed with high drive, creativity, innovations and desires for achievements take up the challenging role of entrepreneurship. "Across the world, the number of women starting their own business is on the increase. In the West, women are increasingly turning to entrepreneurship as a way of coping with the glass ceiling" that seems to prevent them from reaching top managerial positions in organizations. They find that entrepreneurship provides them with greater satisfaction and flexibility. "Women with higher education view entrepreneurship as a challenge, while women with no education background find entrepreneurship merely a means for earning money."

Entrepreneurship among women is as old as women themselves. In villages, it is a well known fact that women supplement the family income by maintaining dairy,

kitchen garden, poultry, tailoring etc. Women often posses adaptability, patience and dependability - the three essentials for attaining success. Since the turn of the century the status of women in India has been changing due to growing industrialization and urbanization, spatial mobility and social compulsions. "With the spread of education and awareness, women have shifted from kitchen, handicrafts and traditional cottage industries to non-traditional activities which accorded them a higher status and capability of generating more income. Even the government has laid special emphasis on need for conducting special entrepreneurial training programmes for women to enable them to start their own ventures. Financial institutions and banks have also set up special cells to assist women entrepreneurs."The emergence of women entrepreneurs is to be viewed in terms of socio-economic emancipation of women. This entry of women into the world of business and entrepreneurship is an auspicious sign, which should be encouraged at all levels. The flexibility of the entrepreneurs' work schedule and the possibility of working from home improve the viability of women-run enterprises.

2.2.3 Women Entrepreneurs in India

In India, industrialization undertaken during the post-independence period has reduced the share of household industries like weaving, jute making, papad making etc. Mechanization of these industries has displaced women in all parts of India. It has increased the extent of unemployment and poverty among women. Migration of people from rural to urban areas has increased the extent of unemployment among women in urban areas. Therefore, it was felt necessary to promote employment opportunities for women, so that these women seeking jobs can be gainfully employed. In recent decades the country has undergone tremendous changes and has experienced higher rates of growth, increased facilities for education and training, new economic policy, positive approach of government, entrepreneurship development training facilities, changing socio-economic and political environment that has encouraged women to enter into entrepreneurial activity. In the early 70's, women who entered into entrepreneurial activities mainly got involved in producing traditional items like handicrafts, food processing and food products. Participation of women as industrial entrepreneurs is comparatively a recent phenomenon. In 1875, after the declaration of International Women's Year the approach towards women entrepreneurs began to change. Today we can see that women are taking risks and entering into every industry and competing with their male counterparts. They are constantly looking out for new and innovative ways which lead to strong economic participation. Their adeptness, skill and knowledge, their acumen in business and desire to do something positive are among the reasons for women to establish and manage organized industries and take up challenging ventures. In India the second half of the eighties witnessed an unprecedented spurt in Policy Perspectives on women. The National Perspective Plan for Women (1988-2000) which is a comprehensive all round projection for women and development in India and the report of the National Commission on self employed women and women in the informal sector came into existence. The "Shram Shakti" report also emphasized that women possessing skills, education, literacy and a sense of enterprise should be encouraged to take up self- employment programmes.

The 1991 Industrial Policy has envisaged special training programmes to support women entrepreneurs. Accordingly, women entrepreneurs are receiving training

through Entrepreneurship Development Programmes conducted by various institutions and organizations both at central and state levels. IDBI is one of the major promoters of women entrepreneurship development in India. In 1986 it launched a special scheme for women. "SIDO" (Small Industries Development Organizations). During 1978-88 it conducted over 258 training programmes exclusively for women, thus benefiting over 9000 potential women entrepreneurs. National Science and Technology Entrepreneurship Development Board (NSTEB) established in 1982 sponsors entrepreneurship development programmes many of which are exclusively for potential women entrepreneurs who are science and technology graduates. The Small Scale Industries (SSI) board in 1991 omitted the conditions of employing 50% women workers in enterprises run by women entrepreneurs. This provided a boost to women entrepreneurs to take up business and avail of facilities which are applicable to all SSIs.

2.2.4 Problems of Women Entrepreneur in India

Women in India encounter many problems to get ahead as an entrepreneur. Though a large number of schemes and programmes have already been in vogue in several states in our country, women entrepreneurs are still experiencing a plethora of problems which have resulted in restricting and inhibiting the expansion of women entrepreneurs. The problems that women face towards enterprise development at a community level are given below:

1) The greatest obstacle to women entrepreneurs is their lack of self-confidence. They accept a subordinate status, as a result they lack confidence in their own capabilities. Male domination constricts their opportunities.

2) The financial institutions are skeptical about the entrepreneurial abilities of women. The bankers put unrealistic and unreasonable securities to provide loans to women entrepreneurs. According to a report by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), "despite evidence that women's loan repayment rates are higher than men's, women still face more difficulties in obtaining credit, often due to discriminatory attitudes of banks and informal lending groups ".

3) The women entrepreneurs suffer from inadequate financial resources and working capital because they lack access to external funds due to their inability to provide tangible security. Very few women have tangible property in hand.

4) Women's family responsibilities bar them from becoming successful entrepreneurs. Having primary commitments for children, home and older dependent family members, few women can devote all their time and energies to their business.

5) The success of women entrepreneurs in business depends on the support the family members extended to women in the business process and management which is rarely realized.

6) Lack of knowledge of availability of the raw materials and low-level negotiation and bargaining skills are the factors, which affect women entrepreneurs' business adventures.

7) Many women in developing nations lack the education needed to spur successful entrepreneurship. They are ignorant of new technologies or unskilled in their use, and often unable to do research and gain the necessary

training (UNIDO, 1995). The studies indicate that uneducated women do not have the knowledge of measurement and basic accounting.

8) The low level of education and confidence leads to low level achievement and advancement motivation among women. Low-level risk taking attitude is another factor affecting women's decision to engage in business operations and run a business concern.

2.2.5 Suggestions for Improvement of Women Entrepreneurship in India

Following efforts can be made to promote effective development of women entrepreneurs.

1) For all developmental programmes of the government, women should be considered as a specific target group.
2) Adequate vocational training programme on management skills and decision making should be organized for women that enable them to understand the production process and business management.
3) Skill development organized in women's polytechnics and industrial training institutes should be put to work in training-cum-production workshops.
4) Training on professional competence and leadership skill should be extended to women entrepreneurs to remove psychological barriers like lack of self-confidence and fear of success through the aid of committed NGOs, psychologists, managerial experts and technical personnel.
5) Government should give preference to goods and services produced by women entrepreneurs in procurements for its departments to provide them marketing and sales assistance.
6) State finance corporations and other financing institutions should by statute extend purely trade-related finance to women entrepreneurs.
7) The financial institutions should provide more working capital assistance both for small-scale ventures and large-scale ventures initiated by women entrepreneurs.
8) Repeated gender sensitization programmes should be held to train financiers to treat women with dignity and respect as persons in their own right.
9) Infrastructure, in the form of industrial plots and sheds, to set up industries and marketing outlets for the display and sale of products should be provided by state- run agencies to women entrepreneurs on preferential basis.
10) District Industries Centers and Single Window Agencies should have Women Entrepreneur's Guidance Cell to assist women to handle the various problems of their trade and business.
11) Non-Government Organizations can be involved in entrepreneurial training programmes and counseling of women.

2.3 ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND MICROFINANCE

Microfinance is not a new concept. Savings and credit groups that have operated for centuries include the "susus" of Ghana, "chit funds" in India, "tandas" in

Mexico, "arisan" in Indonesia, "cheetu" in Sri Lanka, "tontines" in West Africa, and "pasanaku" in Bolivia, as well as numerous savings clubs and burial societies found all over the world. In the 1900s, various types of larger and more formal savings and credit institutions began to emerge in Europe, organized primarily among the rural and urban poor. These institutions were known as People's Banks, Credit Unions, and Savings and Credit Co-operatives. The Raiffeisen banks and other savings and credit cooperatives that emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century catered to farmers and artisans. They were microfinance institutions in all but name. In Indonesia, another flagship of the microfinance movement is the village banking unit system of the Indonesian People's Credit Banks or The Bank Perkreditan Rakyat (BPR) opened in 1995. This is the largest microfinance institution in developing countries. This state-owned bank serves about 22 million micro-savers with autonomously managed micro-banks. The micro-banks of BPR are the product of a successful transformation by the state of a state-owned agricultural bank during the mid-1980s. Between the 1950s and 1970s, governments and donors focused on providing agricultural credit to small and marginal farmers, in the hope of raising productivity, incomes and loan at subsidized rates. In the 1970s, experimental programme in Bangladesh, Brazil, and a few other countries extended tiny loans to groups of poor women to invest in micro-businesses. This type of microenterprise credit was based on solidarity group lending in which every member of a group guaranteed the repayment of all members. These "microenterprise lending" programmes had an almost exclusive focus on credit for income-generating activities targeting very poor (often women) borrowers. In 1972, the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was registered as a trade union in Gujarat (India), with the main objective of "strengthening its members' bargaining power to improve income, employment and access to social security." In 1973, to address their lack of access to financial services, the members of SEWA decided to found "a bank of their own". Four thousand women contributed share capital to establish the Mahila SEWA Co-operative Bank. Since then it has been providing banking services to poor, illiterate, self- employed women. In Bangladesh, Professor Muhammad Yunus addressed the banking problem faced by the poor through a programme of action-research. With his graduate students in Chittagong University in 1976, he designed an experimental credit programme to serve them. It spread rapidly to hundreds of villages. Through a special relationship with rural banks, he disbursed and recovered thousands of loans, but the bankers refused to take over the project at the end of the pilot phase. They feared it was too expensive and risky in spite of his success. Eventually, through the support of donors, the Grameen Bank was founded in 1983 and now serves more than 4 million borrowers. Through the 1980s, the policy of targeted, subsidized rural credit came under a cloud when evidence mounted of the disappointing performance of directed credit programmes, especially poor loan recovery, high administrative costs, agricultural development bank insolvency, and accrual of a disproportionate share of the benefits of subsidized credit to larger farmers. But in the 1990s two features - high repayment and cost-recovery interest rates - permitted some MFIs (Micro Finance Institutions) to achieve long-term sustainability and reach large numbers of clients. The 1990s saw growing enthusiasm for promoting microfinance as a strategy for poverty alleviation. The microfinance sector blossomed in many countries, leading to multiple financial services firms serving the needs of micro entrepreneurs and poor households. These gains, however, tended to concentrate in urban and densely populated rural areas. That distinguishes microfinance from

conventional finance is the claim to serve poor people who are generally people outside the reach of the formal financial market, while remaining sustainable. Microfinance promises to reduce poverty without perpetual subsidies. Microfinance is primarily associated with poverty reduction in developing countries, and over the past 15 years has become global, with schemes, programmes and government policies in every part of the world. Close to 90 countries have microfinance institutions (MFIs) with relative concentrations in Latin America and Asia." (International Labour Office, Geneva, March 2002). It promises to use the market to attain a social good. The socio-economic benefits of microfinance are threefold -- job creation, poverty reduction and empowerment. Women entrepreneurs consider microenterprises attractive on account of low barriers to entry and flexible nature of work that makes it easy to combine gainful employment with domestic responsibility. Though women are taking up both traditional activities (handloom, knitting and embroidery, jam, jelly and pickle making) and also non-traditional activities like computer training, catering services, tour and travel, working in beauty parlour , etc, but yet the society at large continues to suffer from a variety of misconceptions, apprehensions and suspicions about women entrepreneurs in business and industry. And it is due to this image that financial institutions remain suspicious of women's capability to set up an industrial enterprise. Microfinance institutions come to their rescue at this stage. Today, the microfinance industry and the greater development community share the view that permanent poverty reduction requires addressing the multiple dimensions of poverty. For the international community, this means reaching specific Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in education, women's empowerment, and health, among others. For microfinance, this means viewing microfinance as an essential element in any country's financial system.

In this section you have read about concept of entrepreneurship, women entrepreneurs and women entrepreneurs in India, enterprise development. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is entrepreneurship?

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2) Why is enterprise development important?

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2.4 MICROFINANCE, SELF-HELP GROUPS AND WOMEN

Microfinance through self-help groups has proved to be a strategic measure for organizing women in groups and promoting savings and thrift habits to gain access to institutional credit for their socio-economic development and empowerment. The entire process of forming a group, of functioning in a sustained manner, of regulating finances, and being mutually accountable, is in itself projected as empowering. Microfinance institutions (MFIs) reach a high percentage of women. Out of total microfinance clients, 73 per cent in Latin America, 70 per cent in Africa and 88 per cent in Asia are women clients. Micro-loans not only empower women through group formation, they also have beneficial effects on the satisfaction of basic household needs. Research has shown that for every dollar earned with a micro- loan, a male borrower would spend 47 cents on food, health and child education, while a woman would spend 84 cents. In India efforts are made to combine economic and social upliftment of women by many organizations. For example Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA), Parisar Vikas of Stree Mukti Sangathana (Mumbai), MASUM (Pune), Sakti (Banglore), Mann Deshi Mahila Sahkari Bank (Maharashtra) in the voluntary sector and Mahila Samakhya programme in Andhra Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Karnataka and Gujarat, MAVIM in Maharashtra and Kudumbashree in Kerala in the government sector have been responsible for women's leadership in microfinance."

2.4.1 Case Studies-Two case studies of SHGs are narrated below

Case Study-I

Case Study of Sakti, Banglore

The life of women in the communities where Sakti (Women'ss Rights Group)was working became miserable due to neo-liberal macroeconomic policy and drought in Karnataka, Sakti, a Women's Rights Group decided to provide safety-nets through formation of Women's Self-help Groups (WSHGs) among the poorest of the poor women in Bangalore district. During 1998-2000, Sakti formed 317 WSHGs in 128 villages among the poor, disadvantaged (widows, single and deserted) and marginalized women.In Bangalore, many local artisans had lost their livelihood base due to intrusion of readymade foreign goods into the rural markets. Influx of plastic ware rendered local potters unemployed. For instance, local mat makers and carpenters were finding difficulties and their livelihood was under threat as their products were being substituted by plastic and other machine-made goods. Sakti-supported WSHGs started giving loans to women to start new enterprise such as mulberry cultivation, seri-culture, dairy development. Initially, most of the WSHGs were charging 5% rate of interest per month. Eventually, the rate of interest was reduced to 3% to 2% after collection of a good amount of money. In the meetings, many women expressed their view that burden of interest was too high. The women have been borrowing money for availing education of children, petty business and meeting the expense of health services and marriages. The members feel that the WSHGs which have acquired Swarn Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY) loans should reduce the rate of interest to 1.5%.

In 2006, Sakti WSHGs were supported by several microfinance institutions and nationalized banks. State Bank of Mysore, Vijaya Bank, Indian Bank, Bank of

India, Co- operative Bank, District Credit Co-operative Bank, Canara Bank, Gramin Kalptaru were providing loans to WSHGs. Bridge Foundation was charging 13.5% rate of interest which was found to be too high. The nationalized banks were charging 9% and co-operative banks were charging 12% rate of interest. Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Development Finance Corporation (KUIDFC) gets loans from World Bank and Asian Development Bank. As there are social/development/gender components in their programmes, matching grants were given for construction of low-cost toilets. Sakti had a supervisory role. Moreover, Sakti was asked to conduct leadership, health and gender training. From the financial assistance provided by KUIDFC, Sakti formed 77 SHGs in the urban slums, out of them 44 WSHGs are constituted by the poor Muslim women. A revolving fund of Rs. five thousand each was given to 50WSHGs and 20 SHGs were given the revolving fund of Rs. 20000 each.

Case Study-II

Case Study of MASUM, Pune

MASUM started Women's Self-Help Groups (SHGs) groups in Parner block of Pune district in 1997 to initiate a saving and credit programme for rural women with an aim to strengthen the economic self reliance of rural women, empower women through creating access to credit and motivate them to gradually build their own resource base. Programmes of MASUM such as Women's Resource Development Programme (WRDC) and Bachat Gat were analyzed in detail. MASUM forms SHGs to facilitate monetary transaction, elects and gives training to office bearers of SHGs on matters related to maintaining saving accounts and its operating details.

Global Empirical Evidences in Support of Micro-Credit

The empowering impact of microfinance has been documented globally by many researchers. Making a strong case for microfinance activities, Hashmi (2004) cites the following empirical evidences in support of micro-credit:

1) In Zimbabwe clients were able to maintain consumption levels in the face of rising food costs. Experience shows that this impact of poverty alleviation intensifies the longer clients stay with a given programme, thus reinforcing the benefits of counting in the programme.

2) CRECER (Credito Con Education Rural) in Bolivia found that incomes of two-thirds of its clients had increased after joining the programme.

3) Clients of BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) who stayed in the programme for more than four years increased household expenses by 28 percent and assets by 112 percent.

4) SHARE (Society for Helping Awakening Rural Poor through Education) in India documented that 75 percent of its clients who participated for longer periods saw significant improvements in their economic well-being.

5) One of the first things poor people do with their new income from microenterprise is invest in their children's education. BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee), SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) and Save the Children (Honduras) saw that their clients' children were more likely to go to school, stay in schools longer and have lower drop-out rates.

6) Families with access to microfinance services have better health than those who do not.

2.5 MENTORING ROLE OF MICROFINANCE INSTITUTIONS AND SHGS

This section is adopted from the work of Prof. Vibhuti Patel on Microfinance. Micro-finance Institutions have used several methods of mentoring to evolve women's leadership for development of organization, efficient governance and human resource development. Some of these innovative methods are as follows:

2.5.1 Exposure Trip

Most WSHG members gain a lot of knowledge by their exposure from other successful models of SHGs. For example, Kasturi from Sakti got inspiration from vocational training of women in unconventional areas such as masonry and construction work. She also got opportunity to attend workshops on AIDS awareness, gender training, legal rights and health issues.

2.5.2 Vocational Training

Microfinance model of Mahila ArthikVikas Mahamandal (MAVIM), Government of Maharashtra gives the highest premium to capacity building through vocational training. It promotes carpentry, printing business, motor winding, cycle shop, buying and selling of paddy, making leather goods, bamboo craft, running hair cutting saloons and fishing among WSHGs (Balsaraf, 2007).The WSHG members of Sakti in Yerhalli, rural Bangalore demanded that they should be supported to start STD booth as there was none in their village. The WSHG members in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh., Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra are trained in dealership of petrol and diesel oil, management of fair price shops (ration shops), readymade garment shops and stationery shops, running of flour mills, production of soap and detergent and extraction and sale of *neem* oil.

2.5.3 Creation of Awareness about Women's Causes

Generally SHGs do not extend loans for organizing dowry or for sex selective abortion etc. and women do not approach SHGs for such anti-women purposes because microfinance institutions like Sakti organize several awareness generation programmes on these subjects. In principle, the Sakti WSHGs do not support any causes that are detrimental to women's interest. For example, Stree Mukti Sanghatana which has dedicated itself to the women's cause, has developed lots of material in audio-visual forms such as theatre (its famous play *Mulgi Zali Ho* or *Beti Aayi Hai*), songs, CDs, poster exhibition etc. on various issues pertaining to women and children. All this was extensively used while conducting various awareness programmes in aspects of life like Equality, Solid Waste Management, Health, Importance of Education, Work Culture, Public Distribution System (PDS), Atrocities, and Effective Parenting at community level.

2.5.4 Intervention in Cases of Wife-beating, Bigamy and other Restrictions

There are instances where SHG members contacted a lawyer and issued a legal notice to the husband who used to beat his wife. The wife was one SHG member's daughter. Similarly, one WSHG member asked village elders to intervene

whenever there was conflict between two wives of a man. They were also asked to see that both the wives get share in his property. WSHG members also felt that they could become more mobile without being dependent on men and could handle crisis situation with more courage and confidence after attending residential programmes organized by the microfinance institutions. One WSHG member added that earlier they were blindly obeying their husbands but now they assert themselves. Besides, they are respected in the family as they are making financial contribution for the households.

2.5.5 Monitoring schools

WSHG members in Sakti are also active in School Development Management Committee (SDMC). Kalamma from Netravati Mahila Sangh, one of the members of SDMC told, "We wake up dozing teachers, monitor the quality and distribution of mid-day meals and conditions of toilets."

2.5.6 Help in Getting Mortgaged Land Released

Vikalpa in Tilakwada, Narmada district, Gujarat has done commendable work in the direction of economic empowerment of rural women through SHGs by using the tool of participatory action research projects. After having a detailed baseline done at the project village, the project identified around 31 acres of land which was mortgaged by small and marginal farmers. The families which were legal owners of the land became *de facto* landless because they were involved in concealed tenancy. The project through SHG federation provided them a revolving corpus to get back their mortgaged land with certain conditions.

2.5.7 Environmental Sustainability and Social Empowerment

Stree Mukti Sanghatana established two training centres in Chembur, Mumbai for training *Parisar Bhaginis* (Environment sisters) in bio-composting, vermiculture and gardening. As a trainer and facilitator, Stree Mukti Sanghatana secured work opportunities for solid waste collection and treatment in major public and private sector housing colonies and office premises. 250 trained *Parisar Bhaginis* successfully brought near zero-waste status in these colonies, campuses and also in the small housing complexes. The approach adopted by Stree Mukti Sanghatana in Parisar Vikas is found to be most sustainable as it imparts the beneficiaries with the knowledge and skills, advocates for their rights and helps them to be organized. It combines economy, empowerment and environment. This helps *Parisar Bhaginis* to have increased bargaining power, better social organization, increased income and self-sufficiency.

2.6 CRITIQUE OF MICROFINANCE AND SELF-HELP GROUPS

Main disadvantages of micro loans and microfinance institutions (MFIs) is that they have yet to prove that micro lending is more successful than welfare-style programmes in lifting people permanently out of poverty. According to studies by anthropologist Aminur Rahman and reporter Helen Todd (both of whom studied the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh) and a world-wide study of micro lenders sponsored by Oxfam, micro lenders regularly fail to help people attain permanent self-employment, often because they fail to ensure that the loans are actually used by their borrowers to start small businesses. The most disappointing fact is that

such programmes have been unsuccessful in reaching the poorest individuals and even the most successful microfinance programs are unable to sustain themselves without additional aid. Besides, like any other development strategy, micro lending for the purpose of developing small businesses is a complicated endeavour that requires a localized understanding of the particular economic, cultural, and social factors affecting entrepreneurial success.

In the article "Microfinance Misses the Mark" Aneel Karnani an Associate Professor at the University of Michigan's Ross School of Business points out that microloans are more beneficial to borrowers living above the poverty line than to borrowers living below the poverty line. This is because clients with more income are willing to take the risks, such as investing in new technologies that will most likely increase income flows. Poor borrowers, on the other hand, tend to take out conservative loans that protect their subsistence, and rarely invest in new technology, fixed capital, or the hiring of labour. Microloans sometimes even reduce cash flow to the poorest of the poor, observes Vijay Mahajan, the chief executive of Basix, an Indian rural finance institution. One reason could be the high interest rates charged by microcredit organizations. Microcredit proponents argue that these rates, although high, are still well below those charged by informal moneylenders. But if poor clients cannot earn a greater return on their investment than the interest they must pay, they will become poorer as a result of microcredit, not wealthier. Another problem with microcredit is the businesses it is intended to fund. A microcredit client is an entrepreneur in the literal sense. Although some microcredit clients have created visionary businesses, the vast majority are caught in subsistence activities. They usually have no specialized skills, and so must compete with all the other self-employed poor people in entry-level trades. Most have no paid staff, no assets, and operate at too small a scale to achieve efficiencies, and so make very meager earnings. In other words, most microenterprises are small and many fail. The fact is, most microcredit clients are not micro entrepreneurs by choice. They would gladly take a factory job at reasonable wages if it were available. We should not call these poor as entrepreneurs. The International Labour Organization (ILO) uses a more appropriate term for these people: "own-account workers."

Michael Miller of The Acton Institute highlights that while microfinance can play a role in development it is not a panacea for poverty, and the way it is practiced now can have serious unintended consequences that actually undermine development. Microfinance can be the first step on the ladder but macrofinance is needed too. For widespread and sustainable eradication of poverty, an attractive investment climate with secure property rights and rule of law are much more important in the long run. Microfinance is a stop-gap measure: development will have taken place when it is no longer needed.

In this section you have read about microfinance, self help groups and women, mentoring role of microfinance institutions and SHGs, critique of microfinance and self help groups and problems of women entrepreneurs in India. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is the role of Self Help Groups (SHGs)?

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2) What are the failures of micro-credit institutions?

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2.7 LET US SUM UP

The unit discusses the importance of entrepreneurship in the industrial development of the nation. Broadly, this unit focuses on the recognition of women as entrepreneurs in India. Women entrepreneurs have been encouraged by different civil society bodies working through agencies like microfinance institutions and SHGs. The problems like male dominance, inaccessible loans, inadequate financial resources and lack of family support are some of the limitations that women encounter in the course of enterprise development.

2.8 GLOSSARY

ILO (International Labour Organization) : ILO is the world's only tripartite multi lateral agency dedicated to bring decent work and livelihood, job related security and better living standards to the people of both poor and rich countries. There are four strategic objectives of ILO : To promote and realize standards and fundamental principles and rights at work, create greater opportunity for women and men, to secure decent employment and income, enhance the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all, strengthen tripartism and social dialogue.

UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organization) : UNIDO is a specialized agency of the United Nations. Its mandate is to promote and accelerate sustainable industrial development in developing countries and economies in transition and work towards improving living conditions in the world's poorest countries by drawing on its combined global expertise and resources.

IDBI (Industrial Development bank of India Limited) : IDBI is a public sector Bank established in the year 1964 as a Development Financial Institution. In the year 2004 DFI (Development Financial Institution) was converted into a banking company as well as project financing for industries, development of identified backward areas, emergence of new spirit of enterprise and evolution of a deep and vibrant capital market. At present IDBI concentrates on corporate, retail, SME and agricultural products and services.

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2.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is Entrepreneurship?

Ans. Entrepreneurship is the purposeful activity of an individual or a group of associated individuals, undertaken to initiate, maintain or aggrandize profit by production or distribution of economic goods and services".

2) Why is enterprise development important?

Ans. In India industrialization undertaken during post-independence period has reduced the share of household industries like weaving, jute making, papad making etc. Mechanization of agriculture and industries has displaced women in all parts of India. It has increased the extent of unemployment and poverty among women. Therefore it was felt necessary to promote employment opportunities for women through enterprise development, so that women seeking jobs can be gainfully employed.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What is the role of Self Help Groups (SHGs)?

Ans. The role of Self Help Groups (SHGs) are:

1) Creation of Awareness about Women's Causes:
2) Intervention in Cases of Wife-beating, Bigamy and other Restrictions
3) Monitoring schools
4) Help in Getting Mortgaged Land Released
5) Environmental Sustainability and Social Empowerment

2) What are the failures of micro-credit institutions?

Ans. Micro –credit institutions regularly fail to help people attain permanent self-employment, often because they fail to ensure that the loans are actually used by their borrowers to start small businesses. The most disappointing fact is that such programmes have been unsuccessful in reaching the poorest individuals and even the most successful microfinance programs are unable to sustain themselves without additional aid.

UNIT 3 GENDER IN AGRICULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Women and Agriculture

3.3 Gender Issues and Needs in Agriculture

3.4 Women, Ecology and Environment

3.5 Environment and Ecology Concerns

3.6 The Way Forward: Empowering Women through Strengthening Women's Control Over Resources

3.7 Let Us Sum Up

3.8 Glossary

3.9 References and Suggested Readings

3.10 Check Your Progress – Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Historically, women have been the managers of natural resources and also dependant on natural resources for their livelihood. They use the natural resources in a sustainable manner determines not only the survival of their families but their own as well. There is thus an imperative for understanding how issues such as division of labour, access to credit or information as well as rights of ownership require a gendered understanding for policy prescriptions and development initiatives in the agriculture sector as well as those impacting the environment.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss gender issues and needs in the agriculture sector;
- Analyze the rationale for mainstreaming gender in the agriculture sector; and
- Describe the linkage between environment and gender and the differences in gender impact of environmental risks.

3.2 WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE

Agriculture contributes a significant share to the Gross Domestic Product in the national economies of most developing countries. This underlines the linkages between agricultural performance and the output and incomes of other sectors and those between governments' overall objectives (such as employment generation, poverty alleviation, food security and human resources development) and their goals and policies for agricultural development. Women have always played a central role in agriculture, undertaking a wide range of activities relating to food production, processing and marketing. In addition, women play a key role in land and water management in all developing countries. Women are most often the collectors of water, firewood and fodder. They have access to local knowledge on the medicinal use of plants; they have been engaged in soil conservation

programmes; and, besides, it is women who perform most of the work pertaining to animals. With migration to the cities of the developing world gathering speed, women carry with them these rural skills and are responsible for the growth of urban and peri-urban agriculture, which is now recognized as being vital to food security in cities.

The important role played by women in agriculture was in the past largely ignored in government statistics and decision-making. There has been some change in the situation over the last two or three decades and women are now receiving recognition in the agricultural sector in many parts of the developing world. However, these recent developments may be endangered by such factors as the drive to commercialize agriculture and rural development being entrusted to private players in many countries. These factors have reduced gains and threaten a return to the situation where women's role is not fully recognized, and where gender-blind policies and programmes fail to address the needs of women farmers.There also remain a number of areas where progress in advancing gender equality has not been significant and which represent challenges for the future. These include women's lack of access to land, resource entitlements and inputs such as credit and technology and the limited role played by women in planning and the formulation of policy in the sector. Women have also had less contact with extension services than men and generally use lower levels of technology because of problems of access, cultural restrictions on use or lesser interest in doing research on women's crops and livestock. The role of women in community development and the creation of self-help groups is particularly important, especially given current trends in agricultural extension activities.Agricultural extension is tending to rely more and more on working with farmer groups, and farmer-to-farmer extension, farmer field schools and farmers' organizations while replacing the more traditional methods of agricultural extension carried out on individual farm visits. A key focus of this approach is to enable rural people to secure sustainable livelihoods, with an emphasis on income-generating activities. Women have traditionally earned valuable income through the processing of foods at the household level for sale, but there are severe constraints on the expansion of this due to a lack of information about markets, the absence of cold storage facilities and packaging technology and an inability to obtain credit. These limitations are now understood and one challenge is to foster this business acumen and to encourage small-scale agro-processing.In other regions too, cultural traditions and economic necessity have always meant a significant role for women in agriculture. The importance of women as caretakers of the food supply is now beginning to gain global recognition.

Box 1:TheAfrican Farmer

The phrase the African farmer and her husband expresses the importance of women farmers in Africa, where:

- Some 80% of all those engaged in food production are women;
- On an average women work more hours than men in producing food;
- Men tend to hire out their labour and women produce the bulk of the food for local or family consumption.

3.3 GENDER ISSUES AND NEEDS IN AGRICULTURE

Women are known to produce more than 60 percent of the world's food. In general, women provide 50–60 per cent of the labour requirement, increasing to 80 per cent in paddy and rice production. On account of large scale migration of the male population to cities, more women are becoming functional heads of both households and farming activities. This is the scenario in most developing countries.

Five main gender issues emerged as being of particular significance in the agriculture and rural development sector are as follows:

1) Access to land and water resources, and to credit and other support services;
2) Gender differences in roles and activities;
3) Gender and agricultural extension and research;
4) Women's empowerment and equal access to decision-making.
5) Gender, agricultural biodiversity and commercialization

These issues are inter-linked and are explained in detail below:

3.3.1 Access to Land (Including Forests) and Water Resources and Services

Issues of access to land, forests and water and their interface with women are critical for understanding the impact of any development policy. Increasing privatization of community resources in the hands of a few are undermining the ability of many women to use and conserve increasingly scarce resources in a sustainable way. There are pressures to export and meet strict quality control standards. In addition, agricultural services are being commercialized and land tenure arrangements are under threat, reducing the amount of good land available to small farmers. This is because fertile land is being diverted to cash crops. As a result, the small farmers, most often women, are increasingly pushed to cultivating plots that are dispersed, remote and usually less fertile. This land is often not fit for continuous cultivation and is vulnerable to land and water degradation, particularly through soil erosion and deforestation. Insecure land tenure reduces the incentive to make improvements on land or undertake activities such as tree planting or terracing. It also offers little incentive for investing in permanent crops. Further, this implies a lack of ability to seek credit. Women's access to land and ownership rights remain a critical problem even in such cases where there is no legal restriction on their owning and holding land. The need for women to secure full and independent land rights, without mediation by men, is required on the grounds of welfare, efficiency and gender equality. In the long term, political will is needed to answer the demand for land reform, and to ensure that it is carried out in such a way that women are treated equitably. Women are linked with forests for their supplies of fuel, fodder and minor forest produce. Deforestation and depletion of forest resources and loss of access to and control of forest resources have increased poverty, unemployment and drudgery of women.

The water and sanitation sector is another area where women need to be actively involved in policies, programmes and projects. In the rural areas, while men are usually more concerned with water for irrigation or for cattle, women are usually

the ones who collect, use and manage water in the household besides being responsible for disposing of household waste and maintaining sanitation facilities. Despite the recognition of the important role of women in the water and sanitation sector, the design of programmes in several countries excludes women from the decision making process.

3.3.2 Access to Credit and Other Support Services

The disadvantage of lack of ownership of land and resources results in limited access to agricultural support services, such as credit with which they can purchase inputs, and to advice and training in agricultural technology. There are several reasons for this including legal restrictions (such as the need for a male signatory); lack of collateral (e.g. land title); lack of information about credit sources and availability; as well as lack of other services such as micro-credit schemes. Although some initiatives for launching microcredit schemes have come up in developing countries, there are several gender-related issues that need attention. These are:

- Women must be provided loans for all types of profitable agricultural activities, and not just those required for domestic purposes.
- For enabling women to utilize and fully benefit from loans, credit facilities should be accompanied by provision of agricultural technical skills and human development training. Collective enterprises undertaken by women's groups for farming can succeed when the groups are provided with management training and support.
- The staffing of microcredit programmes needs special attention as such people who have field experience and local knowledge should be employed.
- Equal access to credit means more than just micro-credit and should include the full range of economic policies to ensure that there are no barriers to gender equality and equity.

3.3.3 Gender Differences in Roles and Activities

It is important to recognize the differing roles of men and women in the rural sector. An analysis of the gender division of labour has shown that women as paid and unpaid labour take on three types of roles. As stated by Razavi and Miller, 1997, these three roles are:

- *The productive role:* this refers to market production and home/ subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income (whether financial or in kind);
- *The reproductive role:* this refers to the child-bearing and child-rearing responsibilities borne by women; and
- *The community management role:* this refers to activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role.

An understanding of these three roles can inform gender-aware planning that takes into account the differential impact of programmes and projects on women and men because of women's multiple roles. When these roles are not factored into policy making, they lose effectiveness for the intended beneficiaries. Another

factor that needs to be taken into account is that certain tasks, activities or enterprises may be regarded as male or female. For example, women typically gather forest products for fuel, food for the family, fodder for livestock and medicinal uses. Men more often cut wood to sell or use as building materials. In order to secure sustainable and equitable management of forest resources, therefore, both women and men need to be consulted in the design and implementation of forestry projects. Similarly, where livestock is concerned, women and men often own different animal species and use different animal products, and any policies would need to address the needs of both.

3.3.4 Gender and Agricultural Extension and Research

It is well known that government extension services have not proved effective in reaching women farmers and the cultural bias has, in many countries, prevented women from active participation in group training as well as in being able to access inputs such as fertilizer and credit. These services have been predominantly staffed by men – according to the FAO only 15% of extension workers are women and they tended to direct their services to male farmers or heads of households, excluding female-headed households and women members of male-headed households. However, in the present context there has been an increasing influence of NGOs, and any consideration of gender in relation to these points must be considered in this context.

The growing commercialization of agriculture has led to efforts to optimize production and access to markets but at the same time, there is also a danger that small-scale farming will suffer. Diverse food production systems are under threat and, with them, the accompanying local knowledge, culture and skills of the food producers. Over the last few decades, the change in farming methods and the 'green revolution', through which just a few varieties of rice, maize and wheat were planted around the world, have resulted in the disappearance of more than 75 percent of agricultural crop varieties. The activities of multinational corporations, promoting patented technologies also pose a threat. The poorest farmers living in remote areas among which many are women with very little access to cash, are the ones who are left out of this development process. Thus the income gaps among rural families and between areas require greater commitment to advancing gender equality and equity.

3.3.5 Empowerment and Access to Decision-making

This challenge is perhaps the most difficult and long-term. Externally imposed programmes such as Structural Adjustment Programmmes, incorporation into the world capitalist system, the globalization of trade and the development of significant monopoly power in certain private sector markets due to the penetration of multinational corporations have frequently had a negative impact on the lives of women in developing countries. Given that development planning can also represent an intrusion of outside influences and ideologies into rural communities, it is highly likely that the outcomes will also be unfavourable unless those responsible for designing and implementing rural development projects are aware of the potentially differential impacts of these policies on women and men. Thus, there is a need for women to be empowered and educated so that they can exert influence and participate in decision-making on issues that affect their lives. In fact, gender equity is impossible without women's empowerment. In the agricultural sector, gender- awareness in decision-making is needed at a number

of levels: in the field, in technical positions in government and NGO agencies, in government departments such as agriculture, fisheries and forestry and at the level at which macro-economic and other macro-level decisions are made.

3.3.6 Gender, Agricultural Biodiversity and the Commercialization of Agriculture

As predominantly small farmers, women have been largely responsible for activities such as the selection, improvement and adaptation of plant varieties. This has both supported and increased agricultural biodiversity. However, with increasing commercialization of agriculture and diversion of agricultural land for non-agricultural uses, the ability of women to get employment, shelter and fulfill their basic needs is reducing. In a study conducted in five villages in Afghanistan, it has been seen that some women also have experience of working in some of the most profitable areas of agriculture such as melons, orchards and vineyards. The possibility of using common land for women's orchards or vineyards, and again accessing markets through those women able to leave the village, could be explored. This would provide women and their families with extra income and may enable these women to have more decision-making power. Though, as mentioned earlier, the assumption that an increased economic contribution leads to increased decision making power that translates into increased well-being in this context needs to be tested and further understood. For this type of project to work, family support as well as a community decision to allow land to be used for this purpose would be necessary, as would the availability of markets. It could also only be tried in areas where sufficient land and water is available and in areas where women were interested.

Box 2: Women and Natural Resource Management

Most women in Africa are directly dependent on their local environment and sustainable natural systems for their own and their families' survival. As daily managers of the living environment, they are experienced in the management of agriculture and food production, fisheries, forests, soil, energy and water resources, and have developed skills in conservation that are built into their traditional subsistence activities. At the local level, co-operative action taken by women demonstrates that by sharing their knowledge and experience they can improve the environment and promote sustainable development.

3.4 WOMEN, ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT

Environment and forest development have been crucial concerns for sustainable development. Women are employed in wasteland development, social forestry and desert development programmes on a large scale. In these areas the budget has been cut by 23.5%. Smokeless 'chullas' have been enthusiastically promoted among rural and urban poor women because they are less harmful to women's health. The Government's budget for funding this project has reduced by 18.5%. The most ironic impact of the SAP is on the environment and forest development. In the last few years, the environment has become one of the most debated political issues. At the Rio Summit, government organizations (GOs) and non-government organizations (NGOs) from India made their presence felt by making passionate

presentations. In reality, however, there has been an overall budgetary cut of 18% for the environment and forest development.

In the context of a wood-fuel crisis, alternate energy resources like biogas and solar energy equipment gain major importance. The Government, however, has reduced the budget for these alternate energy sources by 26.3% and 25.4% respectively. Further funds allocated for research on alternate energy resources have been reduced by 26.3%. On the one hand, a resource "crunch" is created where environmentally regenerative programmes are concerned; while on the other hand, millions of rupees are made available for controversial mega projects like the Sardar Sarovar, Dabhol Power Plant and Narmada Dam. The Morse Committee, noted environmentalists, most of the NGOs outside Gujarat, within India and internationally, have criticized the projects that are supported by the World Bank. This is because they will harm 240,000 people and create major environmental problems.

3.4.1 Displacement in the Name of Development

The most disturbing aspect is the very space to live and work is withdrawn from the urban poor in favour of parking spaces and flyovers. Throughout the 20th century, the urban poor women have been employed in food, beverage, tobacco, textiles, and wood / bamboo / cane and ceramics industries. Here too, they have been targets for retrenchment and forced to join the unorganized sector. Women are squeezed out of marketing, vending spaces because global traders have made local labour and skill obsolete.

i) **Gender audits of mega developmental schemes and programmes:** These have been extremely useful to seal the leakages that dis-empower women and bring to the fore women's component in terms of employment, educational opportunities, skill development, entitlement and assets ownership. Capital driven growth has perpetrated tremendous human miseries by resorting to forced eviction of poor people from their dwelling place and work place. While commenting on the forced eviction to accommodate mega projects, the UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Sixteenth Session, 1997 stated:

   "Women and other vulnerable individuals and groups suffer disproportionately from the practice of forced eviction. Women in all groups are especially vulnerable given the extent of statutory and other forms of discrimination which often apply in relation to property rights (including home ownership) or rights of access to property or accommodation, and their particular vulnerability to acts of violence and sexual abuse when they are rendered homeless."

3.4.2 Displaced Population due to Natural as well as Man-made Disasters

Women, the greatest victims of natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and social disasters such as caste, communal, ethnic conflicts and war and economic disasters in the name of development (building 350 flyovers in Mumbai, mega plants, shopping plazas displacing people) need rehabilitation in terms of proper housing, civic amenities, safe transport and work.

TRIPS pressure to amend the Indian Patent Act that is based on process patenting will make essential drugs very expensive. Poor women will find it impossible to avail themselves of medical facilities. Finally, ten case-studies based on the experiences of Botswana, Brazil, Chile, Ghana, Jamaica, Peru, Philippines, Korea, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe suggest that unless the governments ensured compensatory policies in terms of public works, nutritional support, public education alongside the SAP, women suffered the most. ICE policy i.e. Information, communication and entertainment in favour of economic reforms has nothing to offer the common women except deprivation, degradation and dehumanization. Free-play of market forces unleashed by the economic reforms has made the majority of Indian women more vulnerable in the factor, labour and product markets. The Government of India appointed 2nd National Labour Commission (NLC) in 2000 to focus on five aspects-- review of law, social security, umbrella legislations for the unorganized sector, impact of globalization on women workers and child labour and healthcare. Its recommendations serve the interest of economic reforms that benefit world capital, Multi National Companies and Trans National Companies.

3.4.3 Energy and Environment Policy

In the 1980s, governments and development agencies became much more aware of the need to consider gender issues in their environmental and natural resource management programmes. This led to changes in project design and implementation. Eco-feminists have played a crucial role in evolution of new gender-sensitive approaches among the policy makers. But in actual practice, the economic vested interests have reigned supreme.

3.4.4 Gender Audits of Water Policy

Gender economists have critiqued the watershed management and rainwater harvesting programmes that focuses solely on water utilization for agriculture and industry. Majority of rural and urban poor women have to spend many hours for accessing and collecting for drinking water and water for household consumption. Policy makers first came to appreciate that women play an essential role in the management of natural resources, including soil, water, forests and energy and often have a profound traditional and contemporary knowledge of the natural world around them. The exclusion of women from environmental projects - through outright neglect or belief in the gender neutrality of projects - would thus be a recipe for project failure. Subsequently, donor agencies came to see women as especially vulnerable: their responsibilities as day-to-day environmental managers make women both victims of and contributors to the natural environment's degradation and pollution. On the other hand, gradually, awareness grew of many grassroots success stories of women fighting to conserve local resources - such as greening of deserts in Rajasthan, *Appiko* in Karnataka, *Chipko* in Tehri Garhwal and Junagarh in Gujarat, *Narmada Bachao Andolan* in Madhya Pradesh., Maharashtra and Gujarat.

3.4.5 Gender Mainstreaming in the Agriculture Sector

Given the extensive participation of women in all aspects of agricultural production, the mainstreaming of gender into the agriculture sector is a key strategy not only for the promotion of equality between men and women, but also for sustainable agricultural and rural development. A key outcome of the

mainstreaming approach was that women's concerns which were earlier viewed in isolation, as separate issues, leading to their marginalization in the state system and other social structures was replaced by an approach which not only makes more material resources available to women but also ensures that women farmers are provided with greater facilities at the micro level. Despite this, there remain a number of areas where progress in advancing gender equality has not been significant and which represent challenges for the future. These include women's lack of access to land, resource entitlements and inputs such as credit and technology and the limited role played by women in planning and the formulation of policy in the sector. Women have also had less contact with extension services than men and generally use lower levels of technology because of problems of access, cultural restrictions on use or lesser interest in doing research on women's crops and livestock. Thus, agricultural development needs to focus on gender to create a more effective, transformational approach that achieves poverty reduction and hunger alleviation for all, and also improves equity between men and women. In several areas, women are both the majority of farmers and the most prone to experience negative impacts due to inequity in the form of unequal access to land rights, loans, income, transportation, and education.

3.4.6 Women as Farmers and Agricultural Workers

The term women farmers and agriculture workers includes all paid and unpaid work in agriculture and its allied sectors such as animal husbandry, forestry, fisheries, agro- processing and other related activities. It refers to all women working in farm and non-farm activities. Women constitute 40 % of the agricultural workforce and this percentage is rising. An estimated 20 % of all rural households in India are *de facto* female headed due to widowhood or other reasons. The increased feminization of agricultural work and labour means concentration of women in a sector which is already experiencing a decline. Because of this the destitution of the agrarian population due to the crisis has also meant a feminization of poverty.

3.4.7 The Agrarian Crisis and its Impact on Women

With the rate of growth of the agriculture sector declining to 1.8 % p.a. during the tenth five year plan, the destitution characteristic of the agrarian crisis has also meant a feminization of poverty. In addition, changes in cropping pattern, diversion of land for commercial crops, dwindling of forests and erosion of access to the forests has led to loss of livelihood of women particularly from tribal, dalit and pastoral communities who are the main users of forests. The high input costs of agricultural production resulting from the withdrawal of subsidies on fertilizers, pesticides and agricultural credit are aggravating the problem. Another trend reflecting the agrarian distress in the post-reform period has been the increase in distress migration. Where women migrate along with their families they have to face the double burden of taking care of the family and working on construction sites, brick kilns etc. In addition, this results in women becoming more vulnerable to trafficking and other types of exploitation besides leading to increase of violence against women.

3.4.8 Towards Framing a Gender Impact Strategy for Agricultural Development

(An analysis by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Agricultural Development Initiative)

1) Agriculture has the power to be transformative for reducing hunger and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Although, it is known that women currently provide 60-80% of the agricultural labour in our areas of focus, they have limited access to the resources and opportunities needed to maximize and profit from their contributions. These limitations constrain both female farmers' ability to improve their lives and that of their families. These limitations also constrain the transformative power of agriculture to alleviate poverty and hunger.

2) The Agriculture Development initiative recognizes that in order to achieve the required impact, every resource and tool available should be used to ensure that women are active participants in every aspect of work. To that end, a gender mainstreaming strategy can ensure that the practical needs and strategic interests of women and girls are considered in each proposal and that understanding the complexities of gender roles helps refine our project goals and design. Our strategy ensures that gender is at the forefront of how the work is conceptualized and executed. Thus, those who are most burdened and least empowered must be both the primary beneficiary of resources as well as the catalyst for effecting lasting change in agricultural development.

3) Gender Impact should imply that women and men are actively engaged in all processes so as to allow them to voice needs and priorities and be heard by leaders, policy makers, and donors. This means special effort must be taken to hear from and listen to those voices most marginalized from influential networks and those least likely to have access to functioning markets and services. A greater enfranchisement and participation by women and smallholder farmers will lead to improvements in health, nutrition and poverty both for women, men, and families throughout the community.

In this section, who have studied about women and agriculture, gender issues and needs in the agriculture sector and women, ecology and environment. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the roles played by women?

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2) What do you understand by the term women farmers and agriculture workers?

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3.5 ENVIRONMENT AND ECOLOGY CONCERNS

Women's interface with the environment comprises their engagement with land, forest, water resources in addition to their role in resource management. The previous section on agriculture includes a broad discussion on these aspects and hence for avoidance of repetition, the same issues will be discussed in terms of the environmental risks and women's role for environment protection.

3.5.1 Linking Environment and Gender: An Introduction

The discussion on Gender and Environment is based on two guidelines:

1) That gender mediates human/environment interactions and all environmental use, knowledge, and assessment; and

2) That gender roles, responsibilities, expectations, norms, and the division of labour shape all forms of human relationships to the environment

Examples from Rwanda: (1) The annual population growth rate in Rwanda is very high — over two percent. Any attempt to introduce family planning by aid agencies is met with considerable resistance by the government, churches and mosques. This is a gender issue, not a women's issue, because men control all three of these institutions. (2) At a site where American engineers had drilled new water wells, the quality of the groundwater was far higher than the river water that was traditionally the source of water for the community. Women, who collected water, did not have to travel as far, because the wells were closer to the community than the river was. However, the wells remained unused, Why? Because the main opportunity for social interaction among young men and women was when women went to the river to collect water while the men were fishing or irrigating crops.

These are two examples to understand why the issue must be termed as gender and environment rather than women and environment. The two broad guidelines noted above manifest themselves in a variety of environmental relations and interactions, including:

- Gender differences are evident in the use and management of natural resources, and unequal relationships in the family, community, etc. To mediate women's access to resources;
- Gender differences are visible in livelihood strategies that are rooted in particular uses of the environment;
- Gender differences are visible in knowledge of the environment, knowledge of specific resources, and of environmental problems;
- Gender differences are obvious in responsibilities for managing, owning, or using resources, and in rights to resources;
- Gender differences can be seen while engaging with the environment, in perceptions of the environment as well as in perceptions of the nature and severity of environmental problems.

The connections between gender relations, environmental change and vulnerability have only begun to be studied. Vulnerability to the effects of degraded environments are gendered and the effects of improvements in environmental quality do not

impact a community in the same way. The impacts differ depending on factors such as race, age, class and gender. Besides, the abilities to cope with or compensate for environmental change are gendered.

3.5.2 Differences in Gender Impact of Environmental Risks: Some Examples

A gender-segregated workforce results in different experiences for women and men in relation to environmental risks. Consider these examples:

- Men might be exposed to toxic chemicals used in mining; women will be exposed to pesticides used in the export flower-industry;
- Women's and men's income-generating activities may require specific resources (fuel, water) that produce particular wastes;
- Environmental pollution produces different health hazards for men and women. Women may be particularly vulnerable to home-based hazards such as indoor fumes;
- Women's domestic responsibility to provide resources for the household (water, fuel, food) increases when resources become scarce;
- If environmental hazards produce illness, men and women have different responsibilities for caring for ill family members;
- Responses to environmental change differ with age, class, family hierarchy, and gender;
- Biases in educational and training systems can imply that women are less equipped than men to understand, cope with, and anticipate environmental change or resource conditions.

One of the cumulative effects of all these gendered relationships is that even perceptions of the environment and of the state of the environment are often shaped by gender.

3.5.3 Gender Equity in Environmental Projects

In the 1980s, Governments and Development agencies became much more aware of the need to consider gender issues in their environmental and natural resource management programmes. This led to changes in project design and implementation. Policy makers first came to appreciate that women play an essential role in the management of natural resources, including soil, water, forests and energy and often have a profound traditional and contemporary knowledge of the natural world around them'. The exclusion of women from environmental projects through deliberate neglect or belief in the gender neutrality of projects would thus be a formula for project failure. A few years later, donor agencies came to see women as especially vulnerable: 'their responsibilities as day-to-day environmental managers make women both victims of and contributors to the natural environment's degradation and pollution.' On the other hand, gradually, awareness grew of many grassroots success stories of women fighting to conserve local resources such as those described in power to change. This then led to women being viewed as 'major local assets to be harnessed in the interests of better environmental management'.

In some countries, the new environmental projects are based on an assessment of whether natural resource users are male or female so that the delivery of services

'reaches the right people'. For example, social forestry schemes have been redesigned, recognizing the diverse uses of tree products and different species preferences of men and women: men typically want timber for construction and fencing, while women need fodder and wood fuel. And, in water and sanitation activities, women's participation on water committees or in maintaining facilities is becoming the rule rather than the exception.

3.6 THE WAY FORWARD: EMPOWERING WOMEN THROUGH STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S CONTROL OVER RESOURCES

Is there any way of strengthening women's control over resources in environmental projects? Legal changes guaranteeing women independent property rights and increased political representation are needed at the national level. However, such reforms take time. They also need to be complemented at the local level by building up women's capacity to claim the new rights attained.

One approach suggested for environmental projects is support for collective action by women. This has the potential to confer inalienable use rights though not necessarily property rights over natural resources. Women have more chance of exercising rights as a group than as individuals. Wasteland Development Projects in India (such as the Bankura projects in West Bengal) have successfully supported women's group's efforts to regenerate forests and improve land productivity. They also build on women's greater use rights over common property than on privatized lands. But women need to keep the initiative here: new government policies in India are formalizing collective management of forests under male-dominated communal institutions, undermining women's traditional property rights in forest resources. Support for women's collective actions in addressing natural resource management problems is one instance of a general strategy to strengthen women's bargaining power in their relations with men. Other examples need to be found to develop the policy relevance of this approach to a broad range of environmental problems.

Box 3: Case Study

In the suburbs and districts of Dibuchi, people drilled bore wells within the boundaries of their houses, where they also dug holes for toilet purposes. This resulted in water contamination and the spread of water-borne diseases, which led in turn to the death of many children. Such a situation could have been avoided if EST was selected and adopted in an appropriate manner, taking women's needs and wishes into consideration.

While women's involvement is important at all levels of decision-making, their participation is critical in the successful transfer of technologies at the community and household levels, as this would have an immediate effect on their surrounding environment, and their health and livelihood. This would also influence their decision-making powers in the community/ household. Attention should be paid to the fact that women at different stages of their life, for instance at their reproductive age, would be affected differently by the adoption of Environmental Sustainable Technologies.

In this section, who have studied about environment and ecology concerns, and the way forward: empowering women through strengthening women's control over resources. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss two examples of environmental risks associated with women.

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2) How does one empower women?

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3.7 LET US SUM UP

Women have always played a central role in agriculture, undertaking a wide range of activities relating to food production, processing and marketing. In addition, women play a key role in land and water management in all developing countries. The five main gender issues that have emerged as being of particular significance in the agriculture and rural development sector include access to land and water resources; access to credit and other support services; gender differences in roles and activities; gender and agricultural extension and research; women's empowerment and equal access to decision-making as well as gender, agricultural biodiversity and commercialization. Thus, the mainstreaming of gender into the agriculture sector is a key strategy not only for the promotion of equality between men and women, but also for sustainable agriculture and rural development. The linkages between gender relations, environmental change and vulnerability are important as vulnerability to the effects of degraded environments are gendered and the effects of improvements in environmental quality impact people differently. The impacts differ depending on factors such as race, age, class, and gender. Besides, the abilities to cope with or compensate for environmental change are gendered. Thus, there is a need to focus on the vulnerabilities of women to changes in the environment and climate change so that actions and initiatives for empowerment of women (through strengthening of women's control over resources) can be taken.

3.8 GLOSSARY

GDP (Gross Domestic Product) : The total market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a given year, equal to total consumer, investment and Government spending, plus the value of exports minus the value of imports. The GDP report is released at8.30 am EST on the last day of each quarter and reflects the previous quarter. Growth in GDP is what matters, and the GDP growth of the United States has historically averaged about 2.5-3% per year but with substantial deviations. Each initial GDP report will be revised twice before the final figure is settled upon. GDP numbers are reported in two forms current price and constant price.

Bio-Diversity : The variety of life on earth at all its levels, from genes to ecosystems, and the ecological and evolutionary processes that sustain it.

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3.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are the roles played by women?

Ans. i) *The productive role:* this refers to market production and home/ subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income (whether financial or in kind);

ii) *The reproductive role:* this refers to the child-bearing and child-rearing responsibilities borne by women; and

iii) *The community management role:* this refers to activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role

2) What do you understand by the term women farmers and agriculture workers?

Ans. The term women farmers and agriculture workers includes all paid and unpaid work in agriculture and its allied sectors such as animal husbandry, forestry, fisheries, agro- processing and other related activities. It refers to all women working in farm and non-farm activities

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss two examples of environmental risks associated with women.

Ans. Environmental pollution produces different health hazards for men and women. Women may be particularly vulnerable to home-based hazards such as indoor fumes;

ii - Biases in educational and training systems can imply that women are less equipped than men to understand, cope with, and anticipate environmental change or resource conditions.

2) How does one empower women?

Ans. Legal changes guaranteeing women independent property rights and increased political representation are needed at the national level. However, such reforms take time. They also need to be complemented at the local level by building up women's capacity to claim the new rights attained.

UNIT 4 WOMEN IN INFORMAL ECONOMY

Structure

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Informal Economy :An Overview

4.3 Women in the Informal Economy in India

4.4 Gender Sensitive Recommendations related to Employment

4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.6 Glossary

4.7 References and Suggested Readings

4.8 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The transformation which has taken place over a period of time in the socio-economic-political front still has not brought significant change in the lives of women. The gender division of work keeps assigning women exclusively to house chores, reproductive activities and home and family care tasks. Besides, social and demographic changes such as migration, the increase of divorce rates and women headed households are also taking place. The effects of this division are expressed through an overload of work without social acknowledgment, lack of time for training and entertainment and a deficient access to information systems which reduces the opportunities to enter the labour world, the possibilities of participating in social life and politics and decision-making chances. These, among others, are some of the causes why women usually represent the majority in the performance of informal activities.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Describe the status of women in the formal and informal economy in India;
- Analyze the perspectives of the informal economy in India and the place of women in the context of the informal economy; and
- Explain the salient features of social security legislation related to the informal economy in India.

4.2 INFORMAL ECONOMY: AN OVERVIEW

Post World War II, it was widely assumed that with the right mix of progressive economic policies and resources, traditional economies would transform into dynamic modern economies. And in the process, the traditional sector comprised of petty traders, small and marginal producers as well as an entire gamut of casual jobs would be absorbed into the modern capital-intensive formal economy resulting in complete abolishment of such economic activities. This perspective received a sound foundation in successful rebuilding of Europe and Japan after World War II and the mass production that took place in Europe and North America between the period of 1950 and 1960. By mid-1960s, this perspective had received a jolt from persistent widespread unemployment problems in developing countries which weakened the economic foundations of these countries too. The International

Labour Organization (ILO) dispatched a series of large multi-disciplinary employment mission in response to this scenario to various developing countries. The first of such missions to Kenya in 1972, headed by Keith Hart, a social anthropologist, brought forth the fact that the traditional sector was not only just thriving but actually expanding to include the profitable and efficient enterprises as well as marginal activities. Here, the Kenya Mission chose to use the term 'informal sector' coined by Hart in his study on Ghana in 1971 rather than the traditional sector for a series of small-scale and unregistered economic activities that took place. At that juncture, there were two schools of thought that existed. One believed that once these countries like Kenya, Ghana and other developing countries would receive sufficient level of modern industrial development, it would result in abolishment of the 'informal sector' altogether while the other school of thought argued that industrial development might take a different course altogether where the informal sector might go for massive expansion in future. By the 1980s, the debate took an amazing path to witness that in North America and Europe the production processes itself went through a change. Mass production gave way to small-scale, decentralized, flexible specialization resulting in the informalization of employment relations altogether. Standard jobs became non-standard. A typical jobs turned hourly jobs (with few benefits) or piece rate jobs (with absolutely no benefit) followed by subcontracting the production of goods and services to small-scale informal units. Thus the informal economy made a somewhat permanent footprint the world over. The 1980s saw the changes in the socio-political situation in the Soviet Union. Thus Soviet countries, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe gradually became associated largely with informalization of the workforce. In Asian countries millions of people who lost formal jobs due to the economic crisis switched to the informal sector to remain employed as a survival strategy. During the 1990s, at the advent of globalization, the global competition forced the erosion of formal employment relations by encouraging the firms in the organized sector either to hire the workers at low wages with few benefits or outsource the production of goods and services to informal units.

Over these years, while the informal economy took its shape, the researchers with ILO tried to broaden the concept of informalization of employment relations. The focus had shifted from the enterprises which are not legally regulated to the employment relationships that are regulated, stable or protected socially. In a nutshell, the new definition of informal economy is made up of the nature of employment rather than the characteristics of enterprises. Thus, under such circumstances, the new definition of informal economy is outlined as comprising of all forms of 'informal employment' that is, employment without secure contracts or worker's social protection in the form of benefits; small unregistered enterprises; own-account operators; unpaid family workers; set of temporary or part-time workers; domestic workers, casual or day labourers and many more such employment relations. Therefore, it is evident that the debate of defining informal economy too has gone through various stages within the research findings of ILO as well as within the domain of the respective countries also. In India, the literature revealed that there are broadly three different types of usage of the term informal economy. Predominantly, the demographic surveys and the government plan documents are the main users of such a term. It covers the labour force that falls precisely outside the organized sector work organizations. Although this has served the purpose of governmental planning and projections as well, it fails to answer many a question related to the structure of employment of each sector it comprises of. Central Statistical Organization (CSO) is the other major user of

this term. According to CSO, the unorganized sector includes all those enterprises and household industries which are not regulated by any legislation and which do not maintain annual accounts or balance sheets. In both the definitions and its explanations there exists a legal framework for sure albeit with the possibility of changing its nomenclature with even a change in the legislation itself. Hence, it is quite an inadequate tool for social analysis. The other source where the term is commonly used is the academic discipline of economics. Mostly the economists tried to explain the term through certain characteristics of this sector such as organization of capital, nature of products, technologies that are used, the markets that this sector serves or the pattern of consumers of the products. This definition too suffers a lot of lacunae in the sense that it is not very concrete. The exact nature of activities that this sector comprises of is very different from one place to another place within a country like India at a given point of time which makes it difficult to generalize. Secondly, to build the definition on the basis of products, nature of market it caters to, and the level of technologies that it adopts also faces a lot of limitations. Most of the time, the strong linkages between the formal and informal blurred because the formal sector enjoys the opportunity of low production cost of the informal sector to manufacture its products which are geared to the general market. Outsourcing the piece rate production in the informal sector in a decentralized manner to reduce the operational cost in the formal sector often poses a difficult challenge in framing the informal sector in its entirety. The third conspicuous perspective about the informal sector can be traced from the point of view of the trade union movement in the country. As the Trade Unions cater mostly to the labourers in the formal sector, it may be called as the protected sector while the informal sector may be called the unprotected sector. Now the problem arises out of the presence of informal sector labourers within the formal sector in the form of contract labourers engaged for certain jobs performed predominantly by them albeit without any recognition from trade unions for their benefits. For statistical purposes, the informal sector is regarded as a group of production units which form a part, within the System of National Accounts (SNA), of the household sector as unincorporated enterprises owned by households. Charmes observed that the informal sector is defined, irrespective of the kind of workplace, the extent of fixed capital assets, the duration of the activity of the enterprise and its operation as a main or secondary activity, as comprising:

1) Informal self-owned enterprises which may employ family workers, and employees on occasional basis, for operational purposes and depending on national circumstances, this segment comprises either self-owned enterprises or only those which are not registered under specific forms of national legislation.
2) Enterprises of informal employers which may employ one or more employees on a continuous basis and which comply with one or both of the following criteria:
    a) size of the establishment below a specified level of employment;
    b) non-registration of the enterprise or its employees

Ghosh opined that in 2002, ILO argued for defining the informal economy as ‘comprising the marginalized economic units and workers who are characterized by serious deficits in decent work, labour standard deficits, productivity and job quality deficits and organization and voice deficits’. Reducing these deficits in the informal economy will promote the transition to recognized, protected, legal and therefore, formal activities and ensure decent work.

In this section, you have read about informal economy – an overview . Now , answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What industries/activities constitute the informal economy?

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2) Write short note on features of informal economy.

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4.3 WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN INDIA

The changing pattern of work organization had a major influence on nomenclature of the workforce in a developing country like India. The industrial processes went through a major change. It was evident that certain products which required simple manufacturing process to be done, the production process was not much diverted and continued to take place as usual in the main production unit. The more complicated production process which involved more skilled operations got diverted in part to the informal units where the unskilled part of the process was being carried out from outside by the temporary or contractual workers while the more skilled part was being retained within the production unit with much sophisticated technology by using 'core permanent' workers on the company's own payroll. This opened up the avenue for women workers mainly engaged in unskilled jobs in the light consumer goods manufacturing sector. Simultaneously, the changing economic system resulted from the economic crisis worldwide coupled with progressive technology mounting pressure on illiterate, unskilled women to remain at the periphery by entering the casualized informal sector for sheer survival. Here again the increased number of women in the labour force increased the competition in job availability. Any sign of non-cooperation or any work- related grievance can bring the supply of work to an end abruptly. The absence of an organizational set up makes the women vulnerable to the manipulation that holds sway over the market and the capital. Hence, having been employed outside the legal domain, the casualized set of workers especially

women, were denied the very access to the basic civil rights that were on offer by the State in the organized set-up.

4.3.1 Violation of Basic Human Rights in the Informal Sector

Box 1: Rag Picker: Poorest of the Poor

A Case Study of Women Rag Pickers in Mumbai has revealed that urbanization and the use of land for large-scale agriculture have led to mass migrations to the cities, where the displaced rural poor eke out a living on the margins of India's over-crowded cities. Unable to find work in the formal sector, many turn to street trading and rubbish collection in order to survive. Rag picking is a caste and gender-based activity. Rag pickers comprise the poorest of the poor – an estimated 25,000 of them in Mumbai, dwelling in shanties, mainly women and children who collect garbage plastic, paper, metal, etc., usually from municipal dustbins, landfills and garbage dumps for recycling. They work seven days a week, earning on an average less than Rs. 60 / 70 a day. They help maintain the environment of Mumbai by keeping the streets clean and recycling and re-using waste. Mumbai produces 6000 metric tons (600 truckloads) of garbage every day, of which around 7% to 8% is collected by rag pickers. Rag pickers are highly vulnerable because they have few assets and few alternative livelihood options. Because of their hazardous working conditions the rag pickers suffer many more illnesses and injuries than the general population. Rag pickers live in constant fear of displacement, while others simply sleep on the pavements. Illiteracy among rag pickers and their children is high, and access to formal training or employment is non- existent. Many rag pickers have limited knowledge of their rights as citizens, including basic rights like access to free primary education.

The informal sector as opposed to the formal sector is often loosely defined as one in which workers do not have recognition as workers and work without any social protection. In the informal sector, women workers are forced to work without contracts, without social security, with low wages under bad working conditions. In the absence of health insurance, income security, it is difficult for women workers in the informal sector to place importance on their health. The lack of income security often has a direct impact on the access to education for the children of women workers in the informal sector. They are not able to study and alleviate their poverty. Often children get absorbed into the informal sector themselves as adults due to lack of education or as children to help adults earn more (e.g. home-based workers, vendors, self-employed) Unorganized labour is usually perceived as 'poor' and as a beneficiary, consequently there are provisions in the national budgets to help them out of their poverty and vulnerability. They are treated as beneficiaries of anti-poverty programmes. The main concern of informal sector workers is irregular employment.

i) **No skills training**

Women are not taught specific skills and are themselves diffident to take up skill training. The government's existing ITI network has a low number of women students. There is a need for improvement of courses and optimal use of space and teachers.

ii) Abuse in Special Economic Zones

Adoption of export-oriented models and competition for foreign investment has led to the opening of more and more Special Economic Zones (also Free Trade Zones and Export Processing Zones etc.). In these zones labour laws are generally not applicable. Women are being used as 'cheap labour' force. They work under harsh working conditions. There is the abuse of labour and human rights and several instances of sexual harassment at the workplace. Governments have had a tendency to turn a blind eye to the abuse by capitalists to keep foreign investment inflow intact.

iii) Night Work- the Issue and the Debate

Business process outsourcing has resulted in thousands of call centers employing young, computer savvy, and English knowing women for night work. The women's movement is divided over this issue. One point of view supports night duty if the safety of women is ensured by safe transport facility; groups of women do night duty together and absence of sexual harassment at the workplace. The majority of women abhor night duty as they find it difficult to counter the opposition of family members; at times it is unsafe and injurious to their children's interests. In Mumbai, bar girls campaigned to work at night, as their work is possible only during that time and also more remunerative. According to ILO, night signifies a time period of at least 11 consecutive hours, including an interval between10 p.m. and 7 a.m. But many women workers face a lot of problems due to work at night including sexual harassment, molestation and rape. It is unfair to put a blanket prohibition on night work as discrimination against women to prevent access to jobs and contravening the principle of equality. The questions regarding sexual harassment and assault on them needs to be addressed. The state and employers must be forced to provide a safe work environment and safe transport to women employees.

iv) Sexual Harassment at the Workplace

Accusations of sexual harassment are much more common today, reflecting the new consciousness and a new sense of power of people to end inappropriate behaviour directed towards them. The existence of an effective, informal conflict resolution process is immensely important. Sexual Harassment at the Workplace (SHW) has remained one of the central concerns of the women's movement in India since the early eighties. During the 1980s, militant actions by the Forum Against Oppression of Women (Mumbai) against sexual harassment of nurses in the public and private hospitals by the patients and their male relatives; ward-boys and other hospital staff; of air-hostesses by their colleagues and passengers; of teachers by their colleagues, principals and management representatives; of Ph.D. students by their guides; so on and so forth received luke-warm response from the trade unions and adverse media publicity. But this type of trivialization did not deter women's rights activists. More and more working women started taking systematic action against SHW. Baailancho Saad (i.e. Women's Voice) in Goa filed public interest litigation in 1990 to bring amendments in the antiquated Rape Law that defined rape in a narrow sense of 'penile penetration into the vagina'. Several women's groups came forward in support of new concerns that encompassed the variety of forms of sexual violence against women including SHW. During the 1990s the most

controversial survivor of brutal gang rape at the workplace involved an employee of the Rajasthan state government who tried to prevent child-marriage as a part of her duty as a worker of Women's Development Programme. The feudal patriarchs who were enraged by her (in their words) 'a lowly woman from a poor and potter community guts' decided to teach her a lesson and repeatedly raped her. After an extremely humiliating legal battle in the Rajasthan High Court the rape survivor did not get justice and the rapists who were educated and upper caste affluent men were allowed to go scot-free. This enraged a women's rights group called VISHAKHA that filed public interest litigation in the Supreme Court of India. Before 1997, women experiencing SHW had to lodge a complaint under the Indian Penal Code Section 354 that deals with 'criminal assault of women to outrage women's modesty' and Section 509 that punishes an individual/individuals for using 'word, gesture or act intended to insult the modesty of a woman'. These sections left interpretation of outraging women's modesty' to the discretion of the police officer. In 1997 the Supreme Court passed the landmark judgement in the Vishakha case laying down guidelines to be followed by establishments in dealing with complaints of sexual harassment. The Court stated that these guidelines were to be implemented until legislation was passed to deal with the issue. Pursuant to this, the Government of India requested the National Commission of Women (NCW) to draft the legislation. A number of issues were raised regarding the NCW draft produced, and ultimately a Drafting Committee was set up to make a fresh draft. A number of women's organizations are part of this Committee, including Majlis from Mumbai. Majlis was asked to make the draft. Some women's organizations and women lawyers associated with Trade Unions in Mumbai have collectively worked on the draft with Majlis. Particular concerns while drafting have been to include the unorganized sector and to incorporate provisions of labour law. The bill introduced in the Parliament was known as The Sexual Harassment of Women at The Workplace (Prevention and Redressal) Bill, 2004. The Bill provided for the prevention and redressal of sexual harassment of women at workplaces, or arising during and out of the course of their employment and matters connected thereto, in keeping with the principles of equality, freedom, life and liberty as enshrined in the Constitution of India and as upheld by the Supreme Court in Vishakha vs. State of Rajashthan [1997(7) SCC.323] and as reflected in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which has been ratified by the Government of India.

4.4 GENDER SENSITIVE RECOMMENDATIONS RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT

Some of the major recommendations which are gender-sensitive are highlighted in this section.

4.4.1 Policy for Women's Employment

Policy for women's employment has to include strategies for challenging the sexual division of labour and gender ideology inside as well as outside the workplace. Policies for access include access to employment, education, training, credit etc. The policies may include:

1) Policies to improve the quality of employment, including her position in the household.

2) Policies to preserve employment and to protect material and human resources and assets.

3) Proper Implementation of Laws, Schemes

4) The existing labour legislation, i.e. the Industrial Disputes Act, the Factories Act, the E.S.I.S. Act and the Minimum Wages Act, should not be withdrawn but strengthened to cover all workers.

5) Some mechanism is required to evaluate the value of work under ERA.

6) Minimum wages need to be strictly implemented with ward level committees of workers.

7) Employment Guarantee Scheme: The central and state government has to ensure macro policies that will absorb workers in labour-intensive units and occupations. The Employment Guarantee Scheme needs to be expanded and improved for urban workers. The focus of such employment schemes can be on building infrastructure, slum development and housing. The National Renewal Fund should be extended to cover the unorganized sector and a substantial part should go into the retraining of workers.

4.4.2 Law Reform

i) Maternity Benefit for all working mothers irrespective of the number of employees. Crèches should be provided for children of all workers and not merely women workers irrespective of the number of employees. There could be a common fund for each industry.

ii) Family Leave: The minimum paid maternity leave period to be applicable to all working mothers irrespective of the necessary length of continuous service or the number of employees, irrespective of whether married or unmarried and whether the child is natural born or adopted; birth or adoptive fathers of a new child entitled to paid paternity leave on the birth or adoption of a child; employees to have a right to take time off to care for children, disabled or sick dependants. The options available include: Unpaid leave with automatic re- entry to an equivalent post in terms of grade, type of work etc.; part-time working; temporary re-arrangement of working pattern; flexi-time request right available to working parents with young children (below 5 years of age) or employees who have to care for disabled or sick dependants. The request can cover the employees right to return to work following availing of any of the above leaves. The staff member must undertake in writing to return to work. No employee will suffer a detriment, be unfairly dismissed or be discriminated against for a reason connected with pregnancy, childbirth, maternity, paternity, adoption, dependent care leave or the right to request flexible working, or time off to take care of a dependent. There shall be no loss of seniority, sick leave entitlements and incremental progression.

4.4.3 Legal Protection for Informal Sector

Legal protection has to be given to the informal sector worker in the form of regular employment, notice period, compensatory pay or some form of

unemployment insurance. It has been a long-standing demand of the representatives of the informal sector workers, trade unions and NGOs (Non Governmental Organizations) that workers should be registered as daily or piece-rated workers with an identity card. This single measure would provide information on the number of irregular workers and access to them for welfare measures. Social welfare for the informal sector workers can be implemented by levying a cess on employers in industrial estates. Social services can be dispensed to the workers through existing government infrastructure and tripartite boards.

4.4.4 Needs of Women Workers in the Informal Sector

Recognition as workers, supplementary development programmes, vocational training for skill upgradation, provision for maternity benefit and post-natal medical facilities, protection against domestic violence and sexual harassment, family benefits, medical reimbursements, retirement benefits (old age pension), insurance schemes and policies, compulsory savings schemes, microfinance schemes and interest-free loans, legal guidance and awareness.

4.4.5 Emphasis on Education and Skills

A clear emphasis needs to be given to education, type of education of the poor and especially of women. Women's access to employment is limited (amongst other reasons) because of lack of education and skills. The central and state government has a free education policy for girls but there is no follow-up on the number of dropouts. Girls usually drop out from high school. Special attention and incentives should be given to girls and parents for them to return to school.

4.4.6 Capacity Building and Training

Extra allocations of funds will be necessary for tying up the training institutions with job placement organizations or industries. Training for jobs have to be combined with additional inputs around building other life-skill, towards critical awareness about women's status, improvement in negotiating skills and programmes around building and maintaining women's assets including savings.

4.4.7 Social Audits

International consumer and workers groups have attempted social audits at the firm level to ensure workers' rights. They have to be made mandatory not only for export firms but for all production units.

4.4 8 Self Help Group Movement

Self Help Groups are organizations of women from the downtrodden section of the society that empower women to be self-reliant through capacity and confidence building and by making micro-credit available and accessible to women. The SHG movement has taught women the value of saving and the strength of working as a group.

Some of the problems faced by the movement are:

- Weak groups being formed.
- Delay in gradation of groups by banks.
- Negative impact of subsidy seekers.

- Implementation by NGOs with inadequate experience – need for their training.
- Provision of bank credit to defaulters.
- Insensitivity of bankers.
- Delays in release of money by District Rural Development Authorities.
- Lack of group activity.
- Lack of participation of members in economic activities. Recommendations for strengthening the SHGs:
- Groups should be only formed by NGOs or Women's Development Corporations with the requisite knowledge and ethos of SHG development and micro-credit movement.
- Once an NGO is selected, the nurturing grants should be released every quarter to it, after reviewing training milestones, group savings and internal lending data and not on the basis of bank gradation. NGOs should receive nurturing grants for at least five years, during which they should support the group.
- A state level agency should be appointed to train NGOs and also be permitted to appoint their own NGOs to implement the programme in addition to implementation through its field workers.
- SHG groups are not broken up by the banks insistence to drop the member who is a defaulter or whose family member is a defaulter of the bank.
- Along with initiatives improving the programme delivery mechanism, bankers need to be trained and sensitized every three months, because of the high turnover of bankers in rural areas and the ignorance of bankers coming from urban postings to the needs of rural areas.
- NGO releases should not be made contingent to the group taking up economic activities. NGOs should be evaluated on the basis of group capacity building and training.
- This SHG movement is now at the crossroads and is poised for expansion and the problems need to be addressed immediately.

4.4.9 Property and Land Rights

There is much gender bias in our property laws. Everything appears equal on paper and that is where it ends.

Recommendations:

- Testamentary powers that deny daughters their property rights should be restricted.
- Daughters should be allowed full right of residence in the parental dwelling houses.
- Women must be given 'the right to residence' hence putting private household property in the joint names of partners. Care, however, has to be taken that wherever women have property in their name, men do not appropriate it under the pretext of property being in the joint name.

A woman, on being abused in her matrimonial home, has little choice but to continue to endure it. Her natal household is usually unwilling to have her back for fear of the social stigma attached to single women. These and other considerations restrict a woman's reliance on her parents' households in times of potentially dangerous marital relations. The Bill on Matrimonial property has been drafted that needs to be passed. The matrimonial property bill will give her rights.

In this section you have read about women in the informal economy in India and gender-sensitive recommendations related to employment . Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Briefly describe the violations of basic human rights in the Informal Sector?

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2) List the recommendations for strengthening the SHGs.

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

The informal sector with fewer qualification requirements concentrates the conditions of higher instability and lack of social protection. In general, contracts are verbal and do not consider any kind of social protection or minimum wage and they are paid by the piece or on delivery. On the other hand, domestic work (the category which has the lowest salaries and social protection within the informal sector) provides 22 per cent of the new jobs for women generated between 1990 and 1998. Therefore, the same happens with other dimensions and training policies strategies, the incorporation of the gender perspective into the informal economy is fundamental to improve its quality and relevance.

4.6 GLOSSARY

System of National Accounts : The System of National Accounts 1993 is a conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standards for the measurement of the market economy. It is published jointly by the UN, the Commission of the European Communities, the International Monetary Fund, OECD and the World Bank. The System of National Accounts consists of a integrated set of macroeconomic accounts, balance sheets and tables based on internationally agreed concepts, definitions, classifications and accounting rules. Together, these principles provide a comprehensive accounting framework within which economic data can be compiled and presented in a format that is designed for the purpose of economic analysis, decision making and policy making. (Source: United Nations Policy Decisions).

CEDAW (Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women) : adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly is often described as an International Bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.

4.7 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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4.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What industries/activities constitute the informal economy?

Ans. i) Informal self-owned enterprises which may employ family workers, and employees on occasional basis, for operational purposes and depending on national circumstances, this segment comprises either self-owned enterprises or only those which are not registered under specific forms of national legislation.

ii) Enterprises of informal employers which may employ one or more employees on a continuous basis and which comply with one or both of the following criteria: a. size of the establishment below a specified level of employment b.non registration of the enterprise or its employees.

2) Write short note on features of informal economy.

Ans. Some features of informal economy are:

1) Self-owned enterprises which may employ family workers, and employees on occasional basis

2) Enterprise which may employ one or more employees on a continuous basis and which comply with one or both of the following criteria:

   a) size of the establishment below a specified level of employment;

   b) non-registration of the enterprise or its employees

Check Your Progress 2

1) Briefly describe the violations of basic human rights in the Informal Sector?

Ans. In the informal sector, women workers are forced to work without contracts, without social security, with low wages under bad working conditions. In the absence of health insurance, income security, it is difficult for women workers in the informal sector to place importance on their health.

2) List the recommendations for strengthening the SHGs.

Ans. Groups should be only formed by NGOs or Women's Development Corporations with the requisite knowledge and ethos of SHG development and micro-credit movement. Once an NGO is selected, the nurturing grants should be released every quarter to it, after reviewing training milestones, group savings and internal lending data and not on the basis of bank gradation. NGOs should receive nurturing grants for at least five years, during which they should support the group.

UNIT 5 WOMEN IN WORK—PAID AND UNPAID

Structure

5.1 Introduction
5.2 Work Force: Concept and Meaning
5.3 Gendered Segregation of Work: The Gender Division of Labour
5.4 Paid Work
5.5 Unpaid Work
5.6 Paid and Unpaid Work: The Double Burden
5.7 Let Us Sum Up
5.8 Glossary
5.9 References and Suggested Readings
5.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The multifaceted and intricate world of gender and work cannot be discussed without looking at the differences men and women have in their working lives. Global economic restructuring due to rapid paced technological progress, internationalization of products and trade and growing informalization of work have seen an increase in women's participation in the labour force while men's participation has decreased slightly. Work " formal and informal, paid and unpaid " plays an important part in determining women's and men's relative wealth, power and prestige and health. It has, however, been segregated by gender which has, in turn, generated gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, benefits and responsibilities. Generally speaking there is a man's world and a woman's world in which work has been divided into men's work and women's work. This segregation of work by gender has been practiced and accepted through the centuries, in all cultures. Within the labour market, gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels. However, much of women's work remains unrecognized, uncounted and unpaid, thus invisible: work in the home, in agriculture, food production and the marketing of home-made products, for example. This whole arena of unpaid work is often neglected because first of all, until recently most of it was not considered work; and secondly, because it is much more difficult to quantify in terms of time and value. Since it is women who are doing the major part of all unpaid work, this has led to a severe undervaluation of women's contributions to the society and economy.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define and explain the terms work, both paid and unpaid;
- Examine the origin and implications of gender division of labour;
- Analyze its impact on paid and unpaid work; and
- Explain the consequences of the double burden of work.

5.2 WORK FORCE: CONCEPT AND MEANING

In the following discussion below you would know about the concept and meaning of different terms on work force.

5.2.1 Work

As an economic unit "work" can mean to exert oneself by doing mental or physical labour or toil for a purpose or out of necessity. One may be employed or occupied in this effort. Therefore, work is often understood to be something that one is doing, making, or performing, especially as an occupation or undertaking; a duty or task. It is also understood to be:

- Drudgery—unavoidable and hence devoid of pleasure;
- Structured; that it adheres to schedules ,for example -a work day is from 9 am to 5 pm;
- Work is work when you are paid to do it;
- Work is what happens in a workplace outside the home.

Women would however find it difficult to empathize with these assumptions simply because most of these do not fit with the reality of women's lives. Much of women's work happens during different parts of the day and is interspersed with pursuing social relationships and leisure and hence is not structured. Women often do many things simultaneously and sometimes at different times of their lifecycle. For them some work can be enjoyable like caring of children. Further, much of women's work happens inside the home and much of it is unpaid. Therefore, it is important to develop a gendered understanding of work. There are many ways in which the term "work" may be understood, "work" in this unit refers to the participation of individuals, women or men, in productive activities for which they either receive remuneration (in cash or in kind) for their participation or are unpaid because they contribute to a family business enterprise. It also includes subsistence production of goods for their own household and "non economic" activities such as domestic work, family and elder care, construction or repair of owner occupied buildings and volunteer work for which individuals receive no remuneration.

5.2.2 Paid Work and Unpaid Work

It may be useful to understand two more terms before we proceed to divide "work" into the categories of paid and unpaid. The first is the term "Labour Force", which is a term that includes all types of employment status. It consists of both employed and unemployed, whereas the second, that is "work force" captures only those who are employed, hence paid. Therefore, we may simply define paid work as work for the mental or physical labour performed within the work force for which remuneration is received; and unpaid work means work or labour for which no remuneration is received. Actually there is no universally accepted definition of unpaid work. But, for the purpose of this discourse, we may define it as "any work that is done in homes, communities, and work places that contribute to those environments and the people within them but which do not result in financial security and status in society".

5.2.3 Gender Division of Labour

Division of labour is one of the oldest concepts in the social sciences. It denotes any stable organization, co-ordinating individuals, or groups carrying out different, but integrated activities. There exists an overall societal pattern where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men are allotted another set. This has led to different allotment of work roles. Gender division of labour may, therefore, be defined as the separation of work into male and female tasks. Unequal gender division of labour refers to a division of labour where there is an unequal division of the rewards of labour by sex. As more and more women join the workforce, their domestic burden does not ease, so women get the most from the burden of labour, but men collect most of the income and rewards resulting from the labour.

5.3 GENDERED SEGREGATION OF WORK: THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR

Work is a factor of life. But the nature of work changes from culture to culture. It may be said that in order to unravel the complexities of work-related issues, it is vital to understand gender and division of labour. The intent of division of labour is to maximize efficiency within organization, co-ordinating individuals, or groups carrying out different, but integrated activities. In all cultures, however, society has traditionally divided work roles for women and men, and even though, in the last few decades gender work demarcations have, to a marginal extent changed, women and men commonly perform different tasks and work in different sectors. As mentioned above, gender division of labour may, therefore, be defined as the separation of work into male and female tasks. It exists within both paid and unpaid work. Gender division of labour occurs because a precedent sanctioned by society exists where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men another. Gender roles exist because communities and societies have created social norms of behaviour, values, and attitudes that are considered appropriate for women and men and the relations between them and are perceptions of sex differences. For example, childbearing is a female sex role because men cannot bear children. Although both men and women can rear children, these duties are socially assigned. There are numerous theories on why sex differences exist. Those that support biological factors argue that people behave as they do primarily because they are biologically male or female. But especially within the context of work, sex role behaviour clearly follows no logical pattern based on biological differences. For example, men are less likely than women to change diapers, even though they may possess or can acquire the necessary skills. Similarly, it is difficult to explain away the hours that fully employed women spend cooking and washing dishes at home as a biological imperative. Gender segregation is a form of social segregation that biology cannot explain.

5.3.1 The Persistence of Gender Division of Labour

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

women are more likely to work in the informal sector, for example, in domestic work and street vending. They may work from their homes. Men form a larger component in employment. It becomes imperative to study the effects of persistence of work-life differences between genders as the past few decades have seen a continuing rise in the participation of women in the global labour force.

5.3.2 The Changing Gender Composition of the Labour/Work Force

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

Table 5. 1: Labour Force Participation Rates (percentage)

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

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

It can be observed from Table 1.1 that women's participation in the labour force has been steadily increasing from 57.4% in 1980 to 60.7% in 2000 while there has been a marginal decrease in men's participation rates during the same years. In what manner this decrease in participation has affected men's life is an important research area that requires attention as this trend is projected in 2010 as well. Women have entered every area of the work force, and in unprecedented numbers at every level through all the major professions. The impact has been enormous and has altered women's labour market status in recent years. According to World Bank estimates, from 1960 to 1997, women have increased their numbers in the global labour force by 126%. Today, women make up about 42% of the estimated global working population, making them indispensable as contributors to national and global economies. However, women's participation rates are still lower than men's. They are also disproportionately engaged in non-standard forms of work, such as temporary and casual employment, part-time jobs, home-based work, self-employment and working in micro-enterprises. We are reminded here that, although the terms women's participation in labour market, labour force and workforce are often used interchangeably while analyzing women's participation in economic activities, there is a difference. Since the primary intent of this unit is to focus on paid work and unpaid work separately, we will discuss issues separately.

In this section, you have read about definitions of Work Force: Concept and Meaning and gendered segregation of work: the gender division of labour. Now, answer the question given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Define work. Why is it important to form an inclusive understanding of work?

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2) What do we mean by gender division of labour?

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5.4 PAID WORK

Women and men have always worked but work was structured very differently than it is today. In subsistence economies, all members of a community worked to the best of their ability performing the tasks necessary for life, including food-production and hunting and gathering, construction of shelters, and the reproduction of life. Work was not prearranged into 8 hour work shifts but was composite of leisure and socializing. The industrial revolution saw work move from homes and farms to factories. Working for people's own immediate needs, gave precedence to work for money which was later exchanged for food, housing, and other necessities. Paid work gained prevalence and as society moved from a goods-based economy to a money-based economy, women were sidelined. Men went into the factories and offices and received payment for the services they provided; women stayed home and continued on the work of reproduction and care of home and community but received no pay. When women did start to enter the paid workforce their incomes were considered supplementary to their husband's or father's. As a result, the work they did was assigned less monetary value than men's work.

5.4.1 Gender Segregation of Labour within Paid Work

Within paid work *Gender segregation* is the process in which women and men end up in different types of occupation, so that two different types of labour market may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the concept of *Gender marking* which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In

theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions. Gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels—horizontal, vertical and internal. Horizontal segregation occurs when women work in certain occupations and industries and men in others. When within the same occupation, there is a hierarchical division with men found to a greater extent in the higher managerial positions and women in lower positions; this is known as vertical segregation. Internal gender segregation is when women and men are employed in the same occupation (and in some cases by the same employers) but carry out different work functions. This means that even an apparently gender-integrated occupation may actually be highly gender-segregated in practice.

5.4.2 Some Consequences of Gender Segregation of Paid Work

Gender segregation of paid work can have serious consequences. Some of these are elaborated in this sub-section.

i) Gender discrimination at the work place

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

ii) Income discrimination: Wage Gap

One of the direct consequences of gender segregation in paid work is wage differentials. Women's access to paid work is crucial to their efforts for economic equality and to their sense of self and well-being. But women's paid work is generally valued as less important than men's. Women still earn considerably less than men and often find themselves in low- status jobs with few benefits. Professions that are male-dominated tend to have higher wages; professions that are female-dominated tend to have lower wages. It is only a matter of observing what happens to a particular occupation that faces a change in its gender composition to study the impact of gender segregation on wages. For example, clerical work was once a practically all-male labour force that paid reasonably well as it was considered a highly skilled occupation. Today the gender distribution has changed in many countries and, most clerical workers are female. As a result, clerical work was re-evaluated as less demanding of skill and less valuable to an organization; thus workers' wages fell. The exact opposite process may be observed in relation to the occupation of the computer programmer. When this occupation was in to nascent stage, women were hired as keypunch operators because the job seemed to resemble clerical work. After programming was recognized as "intellectually demanding" requiring complex skills in abstract logic and mathematics (all of which, sociologist Katharine Donato observed, "women used to perform in their work"), it became attractive to men, who began to enter the field and thus drove wages up considerably.

iii) Low status of work

More women are hired at the lower rungs of an organization. The low status of this work means women exert less control over their work environment

and have lower decision- making powers. There is persistent discrimination against women in promotion which keeps women in low wage positions with little opportunities for upward mobility. Women thus face a double obstacle in attempting to achieve workplace equality. The first is that of centuries old gender ideologies that bar them from entering well paying occupations so that they are pushed into less-paying sectors of the economy. The second obstacle arises "when they enter those well-paying fields, they are prevented from moving up". This is what is known as the "glass-ceiling".

iv) Health implications

Gender differences in work-related health seem primarily to be a result of the fact that men and women work in different occupational spheres. Increasingly, women in the developing countries, particularly in Latin America and Asia, work in office and factory jobs. The low status of this work can be a source of stress. Within the work place, women are exposed more often to some psycho social risk factors, such as psychological and sexual harassment, and monotonous work. Because of their low status, women exert less control over their work environment, leading to conditions associated with cardiovascular, mental and musculoskeletal ill health. There are of course a wide range of issues related to gender and occupational health and safety.

5.5 UNPAID WORK

In this section we explore the following aspects: nature of unpaid work; measurement of unpaid work and gender segregation of labour in unpaid work.

5.5.1 What is Unpaid Work?

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

The System of National Accounts (SNA) has been continuously expanding its definition of what constitutes work but there is still so much work done that falls outside its given production boundaries and all of it is unpaid work. It is slowly becoming clear that it is inappropriate to describe only work that falls inside the limited scope of the SNA production boundary as economic work and to regard people who perform only unpaid household work outside the SNA production boundary as economically inactive. The concern for developing an inclusive understanding of what comprises unpaid work is now reflected in the System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary as follows: unpaid work includes unpaid activities such as:

i) Work done in a family enterprise or agricultural holding on an unpaid basis

ii) Primary production of goods for own-household consumption including subsistence farming— example: preparing the soil, sowing, planting, and harvesting crops; gathering fruit, wild fruit, medicinal and other plants; tending, feeding or hunting animals mainly to obtain meat, milk, hair, skin or

other products in or around a household compound; gathering firewood and fetching water; breeding or catching fish and cultivating or gathering other forms of aquatic life; and storing and carrying out some basic processing of products.

iii **Production of services for income and other production of goods that are not related to formal employment.** Examples include: work done on a contractual basis on residential premises, as a pieceworker or outworker and assisting a family member or relative with such work; building shelters and making simple tools, clothes and utensils for household use.

What is still left out is:

i) Meal preparation, laundry and clothes care, household maintenance, management and shopping for own household;

ii) Care of children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household;

iii) Volunteer community services and help to other households or people, which are provided on a "voluntary basis" either directly or indirectly through volunteer-based organizations and groups.

5.5.2 Finding a Solution: Measuring Unpaid Work

An attempt has to be made to add value to all work that has been left out of labour statistics. But we lack universally accepted ways to measure and value unpaid work, without which governments continue to use incomplete information when making fiscal and policy decisions. Since unpaid work is mostly invisible, it is often excluded from money transactions. According to calculations by the World Bank, $11 trillion "earned" by women and $5 trillion "earned" by men are missing from the global economy each year, representing the value of unpaid work as well as the underpayment and undervaluing of women's work. Measuring and valuing unpaid work in national statistics was one of the main issues at the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995. It became clear that improving data on the full contribution of women and men to the economy required new accounting and the implementation of time- use data—that is measuring work by time allocation. Time-use data provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily or weekly basis. They reveal the details of an individual's life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of social survey. Hirway cited the key contributions of time-use data in fostering a better understanding of the economy and society. A major breakthrough occurred when Canada's 1996 Census became the first to collect data on unpaid work. It divided unpaid work into three categories: housework, care of children, and care and assistance to seniors but left out volunteer work with community or charity organizations. However, it was an important first step in measuring and recognizing women's unpaid work. One of the interesting findings of this census was that unpaid work is perhaps the biggest contribution that women make to the economy as most of it is performed by women. A significant number of countries have chosen to adopt *time-use surveys* to measure unpaid work. Japan, Australia, Mali, Morocco, South Africa, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Palestine, Cuba, Ecuador and many European countries have designed or undertaken surveys while many other countries have expressed interest.

5.5.3 Gender Segregation of Labour in Unpaid Work

Gender division of labour is as evident within the household as it is within paid employment. What that labour involves varies with income, class and culture as well as across societies, and it is not immune from hazards that also affect health. It is true that not all women undertake paid work, but few can escape household labour. Usually, women's domestic work includes cooking, shopping, housework, and caring for children and elderly relatives amongst others, whereas men take care of household maintenance etc. Irrespective of the biological or the patriarchal explanation for the gendered distribution of unpaid labour, the bulk of unpaid work is undertaken by women and therefore has affected the well being of women more than men. As a result, women's contributions have not been fully recognized in research and labour market statistics that traditionally focus on paid work. Much of women's work—especially in low-income countries, is still performed in the informal economy and in the domestic sphere, where it entails no direct payment. Moreover, unpaid work, such as domestic work or work based in homes, entails no protective legislation, no social security, and is assigned low social status. This lack of income seriously affects women's ability to improve their lives. The lack of value assigned to unpaid work has serious implications both for policy and for quality of life, affecting the persistent gender wage gap, high poverty rates among single mothers and their children, the decreasing time parents spend with their own children, the decline in home-cooking and its health consequences, and the growing time stress that comes from the struggle to juggle job and household.

5.6 PAID AND UNPAID WORK: THE DOUBLE BURDEN

The full impact of division of labour by sex or gender, however, cannot be explained by merely dividing work into the categories of paid and unpaid. Social reality is more complex; women are still disproportionately over-represented in part-time work and still do the bulk of unpaid work. In many countries women have entered the labour market and in some countries men have increasingly assumed responsibilities for domestic work. But, for women, increased freedom in making life choices (that include entering the labour market) has resulted mostly in an increased workload because it has not been accompanied by a reduction of their obligations in the domestic domain. The differences in the duration of paid and unpaid work shifts of men and women do not follow the logic that the longer the paid shift, the shorter is the unpaid shift and vice-versa. As a result, women tend to amass a double work shift. Hence, on an average, women's workload is more. Shouldering a double work shift has meant less time for achieving life goals (time for education, resting, engaging in social relations and health and so on)

5.6.1 Why a Double Burden? Consequences of Unequal Time Allocation to Work

Allocation of work time is particularly important since work is one of the main activities of adults. This allocation is constrained by several factors like social roles, particularly the ones related to gender. Since certain activities bring more advantages than others, gender roles in work time allocation end up influencing the well-being of men and women in many spheres of life. Time is a scarce

resource but most development strategies ignore the impact that various alternatives have on the allocation of time. This is because development is usually associated with more "consumption power". Hence, development policies seldom aim at the reduction of domestic workloads or valuing the productivity of household work. Similar re-thinking is required in the area of work schedules. The concentration has been on the paid work schedule and mostly about risks that accrue from long hours. It is only now that the combined effects of paid and unpaid work are beginning to be examined. Several methods are being created to examine women's domestic work, from questionnaires to time budgets, but they are still not inclusive.

In this section, you have read about paid work, unpaid work ,paid and unpaid work :the double burden. Now, answer the question given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the concept of gender segregation in paid work.

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2) What is gender marking? What do we mean by horizontal, vertical and internal segregation of work?

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5.7 LET US SUM UP

Society's perception of gender roles can influence the actual disparities in paid and unpaid work like the sharing or balancing of time allocation and rewards of labour between women and men. These perceptions impact the lives of men and women. Work issues require careful examination in order to achieve gender development goals. A gender analysis is required for all initiatives as it assures planning is based on facts rather than assumptions. Such an analysis has been advocated because of the findings that policies can fail due to lack of information about basic cultural patterns such as the division of labour within households and about the rewards and incentives associated with the division of labour. Those undertaking unpaid work may have fewer chances than their paid counterparts to

develop to their full potential. But women, because they are found to spend proportionately more time than men in unpaid work, are likely to have the greater disadvantage. Further, women carry a heavier burden of work because they are unable to relinquish obligations in the domestic domain.

5.8 GLOSSARY

Remuneration : Payment or compensation received for services or employment. This includes the base salary and any bonuses or other economic benefits that an employee or executive receives during employment.

Work Force : The workers employed in a specific project or activity. All the people working or available to work, as in a nation, company, industry, or on a project.

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5.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Define work. Why is it important to form an inclusive understanding of work?

Ans. As an economic unit, "work" can mean to exert oneself by doing mental or physical labour or toil for a purpose or out of necessity. One may be employed or occupied in this effort. Therefore, often work is understood to be something that one is doing, making, or performing, especially as an occupation or undertaking; a duty or task.

2) What is paid and unpaid work?

Ans. Paid work refers to work for the mental or physical labour performed within the work force for which remuneration is received; and unpaid work means work or labour for which no remuneration is received. Unpaid work is any work that is done in homes, communities, and work places that contribute to those environments and the people within them but which does not result in financial security and status in society.

Check Your Progress 2

10 Explain the concept of Gender segregation in paid work.

Ans. Within paid work *Gender segregation* is the process in which women and men end up in different types of occupation, so that two different types of labour market may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the concept of Gender marking which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job.

2) What is gender marking? What do we mean by horizontal, vertical and internal segregation of work?

Ans. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions. Gender segregation is highly complex and is reflected at all levels—horizontal, vertical and internal. Horizontal segregation is when women work in certain occupations and industries and men in others. When, within the same occupation, there is a hierarchical division with men found to a greater extent in the higher managerial positions and women in lower positions; this is known as vertical segregation. Internal gender segregation is when women and men are employed in the same occupation (and in some cases by the same employers) but carry out different work functions.

MDV-004: Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies (6 CREDITS)

BLOCK 1	**CONCEPTS OF GENDER**
Unit 1	Basic Concepts of Gender
Unit 2	Social Construction of Gender
Unit 3	Gender and Development Indicators
BLOCK 2	**APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Trends in Feminism
Unit 2	WID-WAD-GAD-Part I
Unit 3	WID-WAD-GAD-Part II
BLOCK 3	**STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Affirmative Action:Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality
Unit 2	Meeting Gender Needs through Planning
Unit 3	Engendering Governance
BLOCK 4	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-1**
Unit 1	Gender and Labour Market
Unit 2	Women and Entrepreneurship Development
Unit 3	Gender in Agriculture and Environment
Unit 4	Women in Informal economy
Unit 5	Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid
BLOCK 5	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II**
Unit 1	Gender , Denocracy and Development
Unit 2	Gender and education
Unit 3	Gender, Health and Well-Being

Indira Gandhi National Open University
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MDV-004
Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies

Block

3

STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

UNIT 1
Affirmative Action: Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality 5

UNIT 2
Meeting Gender Needs through Planning 17

UNIT 3
Engendering Governance 38

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BLOCK 3 STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

BLOCK 3 consists of three units namely Affirmative Action: Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality; Meeting Gender Needs through Planning;and Engendering Governance.

Unit 1 discusses **Affirmative Action: Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality**. This unit introduces us to the importance of equality and empowerment of women. It also discusses the reason why affirmative action is the need of the hour for women.

Unit 2 is on **Meeting Gender Needs through Planning.** Practical needs are immediate needs and relate to what people need in order to perform their current roles more easily. Strategic interests or needs are long-term, related to equalizing gender-based disparities in wages, education, employment, and participation in decision-making bodies.This unit explains to us why these needs are significant to women.

Unit 3 is about **Engendering Governance**. This unit gives an explanation about the concept of Engendering Governance, i.e. how women can become a part of the governing process and the various institutions which are responsible for policy decisions at various levels.

UNIT 1 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: INCLUSIVE POLICY AND SUBSTANTIVE EQUALITY

Structure

1.1 Introduction
1.2 Affirmative Action
1.3 Inclusive Policy (Gender Mainstreaming)
1.4 Substantive Equality: Indian Perspectives
1.5 Social Protection and Social Security
1.6 Special Provisions of Substantive Equity in India
1.7 Let Us Sum Up
1.8 Glossary
1.9 References and Suggested Readings
1.10 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulates (in Article 2.2) that affirmative action programmes may be required for countries that have ratified Convention, in order to rectify systematic discrimination. The United Nations Human Rights Committee states that the principle of equality sometimes requires State parties to take affirmative action in order to diminish or eliminate conditions which cause or help to perpetuate discrimination prohibited by the covention.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to

- Describe the meaning and importance of affirmative action;
- Explain the affirmative policies of Government; and
- Discuss the role of Civil Society Organizations in framing and implementing affirmative action.

1.2 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Affirmative action is not a right that is equally available to everyone. It is a special need only for people who have been the victims of institutionalized inequality. The framers of the Constitution of India were conscious of the fact that the pitiable condition of women cannot be improved only by prohibiting discrimination on the ground of sex. They felt that special protection should also be given simultaneously to women. Thus it was provided under clause (3) of Article 15 that:

> *"Nothing in Article 15 clause (1) shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children."*

The clause empowers the State to make laws in favour of women. On the strength

of Article 15(3), a number of statutory provisions in favour of women which were challenged as violative of Article 14 have been upheld by the Courts. These include provisions exempting women from punishment of adultery, provisions giving special rights to women in respect of bail, provisions authorizing service of summons on men only, provisions for maintenance of women only and provisions for reservation of seats for women in local bodies or educational institutions. The framers of Indian Constitution have advanced two justifications for laws discriminating in favour of women.

Firstly, the discriminations were not based solely on sex but also on other factors such as the weaker position occupied by women, and secondly, these laws were framed to compensate for past discrimination and disabilities suffered by women as a class.

The framers of the Constitution have recognized the disparities in economic conditions between men and women. The Constitution of India under Articles 38(1), 39, 42 lays down the guidelines for legislations through Directive Principles for providing socio- economic justice to women.

1.2.1 Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Women's empowerment is a task to be accomplished by the joint effort of the State and the NGOs activists. The NGOs can play an important role in (i) promoting human rights; and (ii) checking their violation. Such roles of NGOs were appreciated by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. Here, mention may be made of the famous case of **Saheli v. Commissioner of Police**. A Women Civil Rights Organization, known as **Saheli,** filed a writ petition on behalf of the deceased's mother for the recovery of compensation consequent to police custodial death of her 9 years old son. The Supreme Court ordered the State to pay Rs. 75,000/ as compensation to the deceased's mother. The role of NGOs has been given due recognition by Indian Parliament when it enacted the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993. Section 12(i) of the Act, creates an obligation on the part of the Commission to encourage the activities of NGOs in the field of human rights. In this context, some attractive incentives may be given to the NGOs to accomplish the organization's objectives.

1.3 INCLUSIVE POLICY (GENDER MAINSTREAMING)

The "**gender mainstreaming**," involves a process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. This definition links gender with other issues, such as violence, health care, or political participation, and also makes a point emphasizing that gender is not only about women but also about women and men and the way either sex is affected.

The UN human rights staff explained in December 1999 that 'gender mainstreaming' is the process of creating awareness of the status of women in the society. In the field of human rights, such awareness means that there is a gender dimension to every occurrence of a human rights violation. Mainstreaming also requires increasing and equal participation of women in the human rights mechanisms and, to ensure that mainstreaming has an enduring effect on the way

human rights work is carried out, resolving a core bureaucratic problem of coordination and cooperation among the many parts of the United Nations system. The incorporation of a gender perspective in the work of the United Nations is fundamental to the process of mainstreaming gender. Gender mainstreaming is an acknowledgement of the different ways in which gender roles and gender relations shape women's and men's access to rights, resources and opportunities, within and between cultures, and at different stages of their life cycles. Its aim is to achieve the advancement of women through correcting disparities in different policy sectors and ensuring their enjoyment of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.

Since 1997, mainstreaming a gender perspective into policies and programmes has become an objective of the United Nations system. The Agreed conclusions at the 1997 Economic and Social Council Meeting (ECOSOC) outlined the basic components of the process as follows:

- formulating specific strategies for ensuring that gender issues are brought into the mainstream of organizational activities,
- systematically using gender analysis of information disaggregated by sex and age,
- carrying out sector-specific gender surveys and gender-sensitive studies on particular issues in preparation of reports and operational activities,
- preparing medium-term plans, programmes and budgets in such a manner that a gender perspective is apparent.

In the human rights system, gender mainstreaming is achieved through an assessment of the enjoyment of human rights by women as well as men within the frame of objectives of agreed norms and the human rights monitoring of treaty bodies.

In practice, this requires the collection of data that assesses the implementation of human rights norms and identifies the obstacles that each gender experiences compared to the other in achieving the full realization of their rights. Gender mainstreaming also requires action to identify areas where gender constitutes a risk factor for a violation or abuse of human rights. An example of this is gender-based violence. On a wider scale, mainstreaming gender in the human rights system requires the system to revisit not only institutional practices but also cultural views and beliefs.

In this section you have read about affirmative action and inclusive policy (gender mainstreaming). Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress1*.

Check Your Progress 1

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

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

1) What do you mean by affirmative action?

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2) What is meant by gender mainstreaming?

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1.4 SUBSTANTIVE EQUALITY: INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

The Government of India, as a follow-up to the **"Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action"**, enacted the **"National Policy for Women, 2001"** (hereinafter the **National Policy**). The **National Policy** has described under 15 major heads the measures to be taken by the Government of India. Those 15 major heads are:

i) Policy Prescriptions;

ii) Decision Making;

iii) Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in the Development Process;

iv) Economic Empowerment of Women;

v) Social Empowerment of Women;

vi) Violence against Women;

vii) Rights of the Girl Child;

viii) Mass Media;

ix) Operational Strategies;

x) Institutional Mechanisms;

xi) Legislation;

xii) Gender Sensitization;

xiii) Panchayati Raj Institutions;

xiv) Partnership with the voluntary sector organizations; and xv. International Cooperation.

In recent years, the empowerment of women has been recognized as a critical issue in determining the status of women. The National Commission for Women Act 1990 was enacted by the Parliament to safeguard the rights and legal entitlements of women. Their current status and the various efforts can be examined under the following heads:

A) Social and Legal Empowerment of women;

B) Economic Empowerment of women; and

C) Political Empowerment of women.

A) Social and Legal Empowerment of Women

i) Education

Equal access to education for women and girls will be ensured. Gender-sensitive curricula will be developed at all levels of the educational system in order to address sex stereotyping as one of the causes of gender discrimination.

ii) Health

A holistic approach to women's health which includes both nutrition and health services will be adopted. The reduction of infant mortality and maternal mortality which are sensitive indicators of human development is a priority concern. The social, developmental and health consequences of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases will be tackled from a gender perspective.

iii) Nutrition

In view of the high risk of malnutrition and disease that women face at all the three critical stages, viz. infancy and childhood, adolescence and reproductive phase, focused attention should be paid to the objective of meeting the nutritional needs of women at all stages of the life cycle.

iv) Drinking water and sanitation

Special attention will be given to the needs of women in respect of safe drinking water, toilet facilities and sanitation within accessible reach of households, especially in rural areas and urban slums.

v) Housing and Shelter

Women's perspectives will be included in the housing policies, planning of housing colonies and provision of shelter both in rural and urban areas.

vi) Environment

Women will be involved and their perspectives reflected in the policies and programmes for environment, conservation, restoration and control of environmental degradation.

vii) Science and Technology

Programmes will be strengthened to bring about a greater involvement of women in science and technology.

viii) Legal Empowerment of women

As regards enactment of laws for the achievement of the National Policy, many substantive and procedural laws have been amended, and new laws have been enacted. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 has been amended in 2005 to make men and women have the same right to property. The Parliament amended Section 5(C) and 8 of the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 and it came into effect in May 2006. Against men's oppression of women, the Parliament enacted the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, which came into force w.e.f. 26.10.2006. The Parliament has also enacted the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Development Act,

2006. Law is the most vital tool for bringing about social and economic changes. Wisely used and effectively implemented, law can provide the most peaceful and smooth means to change.

B) Economic Empowerment of women

Economic empowerment is one approach to enable women to realize their inherent knowledge, skills and competencies for creation of enterprises. Their contribution to socio- economic development as producers and workers will be recognized in the formal and informal sectors (including home based workers). In India, various Ministries, Institutions and Organizations have been working for the uplift of women through implementing various schemes like- SGSY, SGRY, NORAD, erstwhile IMY, RMK, MK, BSY, STEW etc. A few big NGOs like AWAKE (Karnataka), MAITRI (New Delhi), SEWA (Gujarat), UMEED (Ahmedabad), CARE (West Bengal) etc. have been engaged in social and economic uplift of women.

C) Political Empowerment of women

The one-third reservation for women in Panchayats came through the 73rd constitutional amendment. In a path-breaking move to empower women at the grass root level, the Government of India has approved a proposal to increase reservation for them in Panchayats by 50% of the total seats. Government has decided to bring a Bill to amend Article 243(D) of the Constitution to enhance reservation for women in Panchayats in all tiers from the current level of one-third to at least 50% of the total seats.

According to Article 243G of the Constitution, State legislatures may endow Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary (i) to enable them to function as units of local self-government (LSG), and (ii) to prepare and implement plans/ or schemes for economic development and social justice including those in relation to matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution. Panchayats as such have a vital role to play in the welfare and development of the weaker sections of the society, viz. women, SCs and STs. Greater representation of these sections would enhance their voice in these bodies and promote inclusive governance which is critical to inclusive growth.

The enhanced reservation will be applicable to the total number of seats to be filled by direct elections, the offices of chairpersons, and the seats and offices of chairpersons reserved for scheduled castes and tribes. Enhanced reservation for women in Panchayats will facilitate entry of more women into the public sphere. This will lead to further empowerment of women and make Panchayats more inclusive institutions, improve governance and the public service delivery system.

The extension of democracy at the grassroots level signifies the constitution of a democratic government not merely at the top but also at the foundation level of the political system. Thus, democratic decentralization or Panchayati Raj aims at making democracy real by bringing the millions into the functioning of their representative government at the lowest level.At present, out of the total elected representatives of Panchayats numbering approximately 28.1 lakhs, 36.87% are women. With the proposed constitutional amendment, the number of elected women representatives is expected to rise to more than 14 lakhs. The amendment will cover all States and Union Territories except Nagaland, Mizoram, tribal areas of Assam, Tripura and hills of Manipur. The reservation of seats for women in the

parliament and state legislative assemblies will be another feather in the cap of women political empowerment in India. In all most all Scandinavian countries the representation of women in the political sphere is more as compared to other countries in the world.

1.5 SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The issue of gender justice and the need to protect women's rights has global recognition. The concern became profound with the adoption of Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. Some countries have incorporated provisions of the Convention into their national law, and the courts have cited CEDAW in decisions ranging from requiring protection from domestic violence to enabling women to inherit property. CEDAW has made a tangible impact on women's lives in countries where it has been ratified. In India, though the courts have been receptive to the idea of taking assistance from the Convention, yet the limitations flowing from the inconsistency with the national laws are not encouraging. In the case of **Vishaka v. State of Rajasthan [(1997) 6 SCC 241],** the Court observed that in the absence of domestic law occupying the field, to formulate effective measures to check the evil of sexual harassment of working women at all work places, the content of international Conventions and norms are significant for the purpose of interpretation of the guarantee of gender equality, right to work with human dignity in Articles 14, 15, 19 (1)(g) and 21 of the Constitution of India. The judges placed reliance on some of the provisions of the CEDAW for the purpose of construing the nature and ambit of constitutional guarantee of gender equality in India.

In **Ms. Githa Hariharan v. Reserve Bank of India, (AIR 1999 Sc 1149) ,** it was emphasized by the Court that the domestic Courts are under an obligation to give due regard to international conventions and norms for construing domestic laws when there is no consistency between them. In **Apparel Export Promotion Council v. A.K.Chopra, (AIR1999 SC 625) ,** it was held by the Supreme Court that the message of international instruments such as the CEDAW and Beijing Declaration which directs all state parties to take appropriate measures to prevent discrimination of all forms against women besides taking steps to protect the honour and dignity of women is loud and clear. These instruments cast an obligation on the Indian state to gender sensitize its laws and the Courts are under an obligation to see that the message of the international instruments is not allowed to be drowned.

In India, due to the intense desire of the framers of the Constitution, the Constitution guarantees equality to women in all respects. Further, to secure the objective of gender justice and to remedy the traditionally established inequalities, the provisions for affirmative action were incorporated in the Constitution.

1.6 SPECIAL PROVISIONS OF SUBSTANTIVE EQUITY IN INDIA

Some of the special provisions implemented by Government of India are as follows:

1.6.1 MGNREGS- Women's Workforce Participation

Under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), anyone who is willing to do manual labour at the statutory minimum wage is entitled to being employed on local public works within 15 days, subject to a limit of 100 days a household a year.

In many areas, the MGNREGS offers a unique employment opportunity for rural women, who rarely get a chance to earn their own income (as opposed to working without wages at home). In MGNREGS work, women earn the same as men. The MGNREGS also seems to play a useful role as a "health line" for rural households. The majority of the workers have used a part of their wages to buy medicine or treat an illness in the family.

It is also worth noting that a large number of women workers collect their wages and also keep them. Thus, women are not just sent to MGNREGS worksites to earn money on behalf of male family members; they are individual workers in their own right. For many women, however, participating in MGNREGS work is a major challenge, for reasons ranging from hostile social norms to the lack of child-care facilities. Widows and single women were especially appreciative of this opportunity to earn close to their homes. Often, social norms do not permit them to migrate and paid work is hard to find in the vicinity of their homes except possibly for abysmal wages.

Among the MGNREGS's achievements is a major reduction in the exploitation of labour in public works. The MGNREGS is bringing about radical change. It is considered as an alternative to migration. The MGNREGS is also seen by many rural labourers as an opportunity for dignified employment. Under the MGNREGS, contractors are banned and gram panchayats are the main implementing agencies. The ban is not without loopholes, but it has certainly dislodged many contractors, with more on the move. It is observed that contractor-free worksites were less exploitative than contractor-run worksites. These developments are of special relevance to women. Even the fact that the MGNREGS is considered "government work" is associated, for many of them, with a certain sort of dignity(especially in areas where social norms prevent them from participating in the labour market).

1.6.2 Women's Property Rights Under New Slum Policy

The Government of India has decided to grant land *patta* and occupancy right of dwelling units in the name of a woman member of the beneficiary household under the Rajiv Awas Yojana for slum dwellers and the urban poor. Alternatively, property rights can be allotted in the name of both wife and husband. Launched by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, the Yojana aims at making India slum-free in the next five years. Targeting "inclusive growth", the scheme will support States that are willing to assign property rights to people living in slums for provision of shelter and basic infrastructure and civic amenities.

1.6.3 NCW unveils its NRI Cell

The National Commission for Women (NCW) on twenty fourth September, 2009 inaugurated its NRI cell to tackle the rising number of cases of abandonment and divorce of women married to Indian men abroad, and received eight complaints on its first day. The project is jointly carried out by NCW and UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women).

1.6.4 Community radio

Sangham Radio went on air on October 15, 2008. It is India's first rural radio service completely owned, managed and operated by women from the marginalized sections. A dalit woman called "General" Narasamma sat at the controls and began broadcasting from Machnoor village in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh. It has become the first all-women rural community radio station in Asia. So far only two community radio stations are operational, one in Orchha, Madhya Pradesh and the other in Medak, Andhra Pradesh.

1.6.5 Widow Pensions

The National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) intends to provide pension at the rate of Rs 200 per month to every widow in the age group of 40-64 years and also to persons with severe disabilities between 18-64 years of the BPL category. Widows above 65 years of age are already covered under the Indira Gandhi Old Age Pension Scheme. An assistance of Rs. 200 to the widows in the age group of 40-64 years under the Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme has also been launched by the government of India. "Severely" physically disabled in the age group of 18 years to 64 years will also get Rs. 200 pension under the the Indira Gandhi National Disability Pension Scheme. Government has also proposed giving priority to young widows (in 18-40 years age group) in admission to Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs), Women ITIs and National Regional ITIs with a view to empowering them. The Government will bear the expenses of their training and provide them a monthly stipend of Rs.500. The beneficiary of the Scheme, however, observed that Rs. 200 is nothing, it will not make a substantial difference for widows.

In this section you have read about substantive equality: Indian perspectives, social protection and social security and special provisions of substantive equity in India. Now, answer the questions given *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

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

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

1) What is empowerment of women?

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2) What are the special provisions for women with respect to MGNREGS?

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1.7 LET US SUM UP

Law is being used as an important instrument for transforming the status of women. Women all over the world have launched powerful movements to reverse centuries of discrimination and injustice. They are mobilizing against violence and oppression, demanding equal rights, greater opportunities for development, equitable laws and control over their earnings and bodies. They have focused their attention on equalizing strategies, which represents attempts to improve women's access to existing education, employment, health care, credit and other resources. The concept of gender has increasingly informed policy programming and treaty interpretation both within and outside the United Nations system. Much of the impetus came from the consensus on the need to address gender inequality that was reached at the United Nation's global conferences of the 1990s. But the global conferences were only one step in a long process of considering the concept of gender within the UN system.

The principle of the equal rights of women and men was recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, and is contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all subsequent major international human rights instruments. Confirmation of the principle of equality in these instruments was an important step in the recognition of the rights of women. Yet traditional exclusion of women from the public domain has persisted in many countries relegating women to the private domain.

The need for women's participation in all spheres of society in both the public and the private domains and the recognition of inequality and discrimination in the private domain, led to the creation of specific standards for the protection of women's rights. Thus, gender mainstreaming seeks to empower women by removing obstacles that have been constructed by societies that operate to the disadvantage of women. By evaluating laws, policies, programmes, customs, practices, and an array of inequalities from a gender perspective, women and men can identify those areas in which women have been discriminated against and develop new policies to overcome that discrimination. Effective change cannot be brought without a simultaneous movement to change the social and economic structures and the culture (values, ideologies and attitudes) of society.

1.8 GLOSSARY

Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (**SGSY**): It is a self employment scheme implemented by Government of India. This scheme targets Self Help Groups of women and other disadvantaged people

Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (**SGRY**): It is a wage employment scheme of Government of India.

Norwegian Agency for International Development (**NORAD**): It is an international Aid agency of Royal Norwegian Government.

Indira Mahila Yojana (IMY**), Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), Mahila Samkhya (MS), Balika Samriddhi Yojana (BSY) and Support to Training cum Employment for Women (STEW):** All these programmes are meant for women and disadvantaged group for their economic up-liftment.

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1.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress -1

1) What do you mean by affirmative action?

Answer. The terms affirmative action and positive action refer to policies that take race, ethnicity, or gender into consideration in an attempt to promote equal opportunity or increase ethnic or other forms of diversity. The focus of such policies ranges from employment and education to public contracting and health programs. The impetus towards affirmative action is twofold: to maximize diversity in all levels of society, along with its presumed benefits, and to redress perceived disadvantages due to overt, institutional, or involuntary discrimination

2) What is meant by gender mainstreaming?

Answer: Gender mainstreaming has been defined by the United Nations as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, and programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring

and evaluation of policies and programmes, in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What is empowerment of women?

Answer: Women's empowerment is defined as a process through which women acquire knowledge, skills and willingness to critically analyze their situation and take appropriate action to change the status quo of women in society.

2) What are the special provisions for women with respect to MGNREGS?

Answer: Under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), anyone who is willing to do manual labour at the statutory minimum wage is entitled to being employed on local public works within 15 days, subject to a limit of 100 days a household a year.

In many areas, the MGNREGS offers a unique employment opportunity for rural women, who rarely get a chance to earn their own income (as opposed to working without wages at home). In MGNREGS work, women earn the same as men.

UNIT 2 MEETING GENDER NEEDS THROUGH PLANNING

Structure

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Need for Gender Planning
2.3 Practical and Strategic Needs
2.4 From Women in Development to Gender and Development
2.5 Multiple Roles of Women and Meeting Gender Needs
2.6 State Interventions
2.7 Gender Planning: A Starting Point for Meeting Strategic Gender Needs
2.8 Policy Approaches to Gender planning: A case for "Third World Women"
2.9 Let Us Sum Up
2.10 Glossary
2.11 References and Suggested Readings
2.12 Check Your Progress – Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In developing countries women play an important role in the development process. The conceptual awareness of the issues of "gender and development" has not necessarily resulted in their incorporation in planning practice. Indeed, for many practitioners involved in different aspects of socioeconomic development planning, the lack of adequate operational frameworks has been particularly problematic. The purpose of this unit is to contribute towards the resolution of this problem. It describes the development of *gender planning*, a planning approach which takes into account the fact that women and men play different roles in developing countries and, therefore, often have different needs. The unit describes briefly the background of women's triple roles and the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs. It illustrates the capacity of different planning interventions to meet gender needs. Finally, it provides a critique of a number of different policy approaches to "women and development" from the perspective of gender planning, and identifies the potential and limitations of each approach for meeting the needs of low-income women in developing countries.

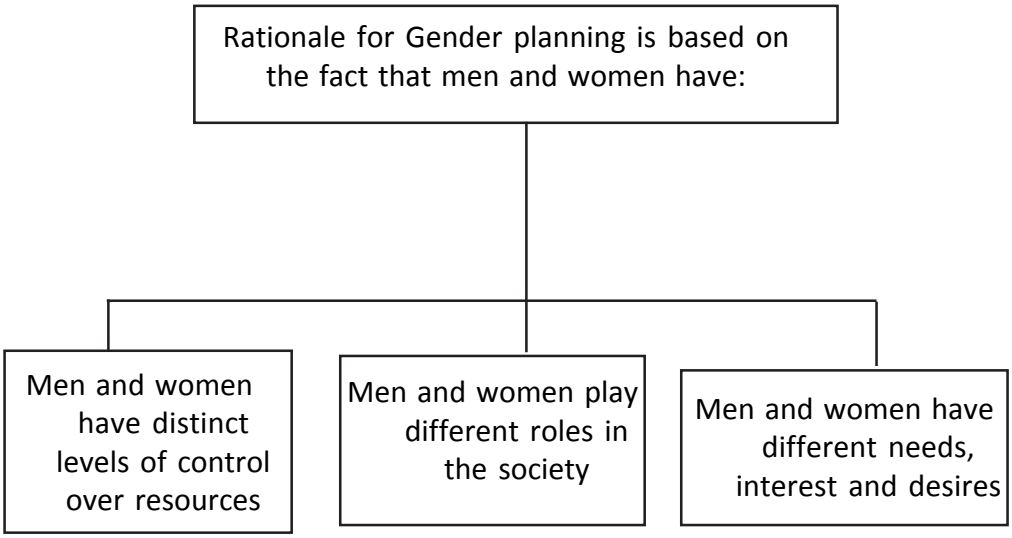
After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- describe human needs and their importance;
- demonstrate practical and strategic gender needs;
- analyze the typology of government attempts to engender development planning;
- evaluate state interventions to meet practical gender needs (PGNs) and strategic gender needs (SGNs); and
- suggest policy approaches of third world countries to PGNs and SGNs.

2.2 NEED FOR GENDER PLANNING

In most contexts, women and men (girls and boys) play different roles at household, community and societal levels. In order to perform their roles, they need different resources (natural, economic, political, and social). Often however, women or men cannot play the roles they want and/or access the resources they need because of their gender. Women, in particular, face difficulties accessing and controlling resources and their social and economic contributions are often undervalued.

In order to identify gender relations we need to look at the attribution and organization of roles; responsibilities, resources and values attached to women and men in order to assess the differences and inequalities between them and to map out their specific interests, opportunities, constraints and needs in development. In order to fulfil the different needs of women in society, gender planning is important in the development process. Women's practical needs and strategic needs must be considered during gender planning which will cover the women's ethnicity, class, culture and religion. It is further explain in the diagram below:



2.3 PRACTICAL AND STRATEGIC NEEDS

People have a wide range of needs. Certain needs are universal. The most basic needs have to do with survival and security. Once those are met, at least at a minimal level, it is possible for men and women to think about their other needs such as identity, autonomy, and self-actualization. The ways of satisfying these needs are innumerable and vary from culture to culture and at different times in the same culture. It is important to distinguish between needs and satisfiers. The way women and men satisfy the fundamental human needs are, in fact, the basis of their culture. It can be argued that most cultures have given women the status of second-class members. Development being a process in which a community of people strives to make it possible for all its members to satisfy their fundamental human needs and enhance the quality of life has to deal with culture. Cultural change has to occur as a community finds new ways of satisfying its needs.

Thierry Verhelst defines culture as "the sum total of the original solutions that a group of human beings invent to adapt to their natural and social environment. Therefore, culture includes every aspect of life's know-how, technical knowledge,

customs of food and dress, religion, mentality, values, language, symbols, socio-political and economic behaviour, indigenous methods of taking decisions and exercising power, methods of production and economic relations".

The best programmes are recognizing that it is not enough to introduce development models that impose western values and practices. Participatory methods encourage development to draw on the values and energies within people's own culture as they seek to rebuild communities and societies in which human needs are met without discriminating against women and other marginalized groups.

Caroline Moser and other scholars have discussed women's needs in terms of practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. Practical needs are immediate and material and relate to what people need in order to perform their current roles more easily. Some examples of actions that address women's practical needs include technologies that reduce their workload (fuel-efficient stoves), provision of clean water supply, credit, and access to financial services etc.

Strategic interests or needs are long-term, related to equalizing gender-based disparities in wages, education, employment, and participation in decision-making bodies. Examples include issues around legal rights, empowerment, sharing of family responsibilities, supportive legislation, and overall involvement in policy-making. Addressing strategic interests may challenge the prevailing balance of power between men and women.

When working with stakeholders to meet their needs, it is important to keep in mind that survival or practical needs must be met first. When people prioritize their own needs, they start on the basis of what they have. If they have insufficient food, they will put that as their first priority.

Once basic needs are met, people can invest resources in responding to their needs for identity, autonomy, and self-actualization. Differences based on gender or other attributes must also be taken into consideration. For example, many women all over the world find themselves in situations that limit their autonomy. The elderly may lose status or respect in a community because of changing family set-ups. Minority ethnic groups or refugees may be marginalized in the decision-making process because of political situations. An understanding of 'needs' is critical to development planning and requires those involved in planning to have a sensitivity and understanding of the types of needs different groups have. Planning for women from the developing, low-income countries must be based on their prioritized concerns. Planning must differentiate between women's interests (deriving often from an assumed homogeneity based on biological similarity) and gender interests (based on social position). Hence, we must consider differences between women based on culture, class, ethnicity and religion. Practical gender interests primarily involve human survival and immediate material needs. Strategic gender needs seek to change women's socio-economic and political status and thereby women achieve equality, equity and independence. During the planning process, interests defined as prioritized concerns can be translated into planning needs.

A. Practical needs for human survival include:

Provision of water, healthcare and education

B. Strategic needs are concerned with:

- Freedom of choice;
- Nature of relationship between men and women;
- Women's control over their bodies;
- Access to credit, land rights, control over resources, ameliorative measures combating domestic violence, equal wages, abolition of gendered division of labour (for instance, childcare not solely women's responsibility).

2.4 FROM WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Efforts to promote gender equality have in recent years shifted in focus from 'women in development' to 'gender and development'. The 'women in development' approach began with an uncritical acceptance of existing social structures and focused on how women could be better integrated into existing development initiatives. Targeting women's productive work to the exclusion of their reproductive work, this approach was characterized by income-generating projects for women that failed to address the systemic causes of gender inequality. It also tended to view women as passive recipients of development assistance, rather than as active agents in transforming their own economic, social, political and cultural realities. A key outcome was that women's concerns were viewed in isolation, as separate issues, leading to their marginalization in the state system and other structures.

The gender and development approach, which forms the basis of the Plan of Action, focuses more on the fact that women and men have different life courses and that development policies affect them differently. It seeks to address these differences by mainstreaming gender into development planning at all levels and in all sectors, focusing less on providing equal treatment for men and women (since equal treatment does not necessarily result in equal outcomes) and more on taking whatever steps are necessary to ensure equal outcomes. It recognizes that improving the status of women cannot be understood as a separate, isolated issue and can only be achieved by taking into account the status of both women and men. The gender and development approach is built on awareness not only of the differences between men and women but also of the inequalities that emanate from these differences. It seeks to address not only women's practical gender needs (the immediate material needs of women in their existing roles as, for example, housewives and mothers) but also their strategic gender interests (the necessity of changing the position of women in society – addressing inequalities in employment, political participation and cultural and legal status).

Now we will examine two tables illustrating the importance of meeting the needs of women. Table 2.1 presents a typology of government attempts to address gender issues in development planning. The contexts within which these policy approaches have been attempted vary. However, broadly speaking, the welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency approaches can be linked to a WID framework, while equity and empowerment, transformation are more consistent with the GAD framework.

Table 2.1: A Typology of Government Attempts to Engender Development Planning

Policy Approach	Role of the State	Type of Development	Planning Data
Welfare It is seen as a safety net to cushion the negative impact of the 'free market' on the lives of poor people. Locate women in family.	Limited role. Only acts when there is extreme pressure. Then promotes an incremental, piecemeal response to address symptoms through sectors.	Based on promoting accelerated economic growth through industrialization. Limited emphasis on building human resources except in respect of skills for the market.	Limited to socio-economic indicators with Human Development Index (HDI) more recently. Little information on gender. Not much sectoral information except in the health sector.
Anti-Poverty Promotes the thinking that helping poor women will increase their productivity and promote economic growth. Poverty is seen as the problem due to under development – not unequal power relations.	Role seen only as coordination through nation-wide anti-poverty campaigns. Emphasis on improving women as 'vehicles of development' not in their own right.	Neglect of rural economy. Modernizing economy and promoting small-scale businesses and income generating products. Emphasis on employing women in certain sectors such as the service industry/ craft.Trickledown effect of economic growth to benefit women.	Central Statistical Services (CSS) provide national data. Emphasis on socio- economic indices and Human Development Index (HDI). Data obtained only in respect of numbers of women experiencing poverty.
Efficiency Recent approach. Acceptance that because of changing global arrangements, women's labour is critical to economic development. Thinking women can help to make the system work better.	Promotes private sector involvement in employment of women. Promotes policy of equal opportunities not equality of conditions. Does not interfere in regulating market but emphasizes labour policies and skills development.	Economic development and faster growth through human resource capacity building, emphasizing vocational skills and training of the unemployed. Modernization and rural development.	CSS obtain data emphasizing HDI, levels of literacy, etc. economic indices and human resources. Breakdown information on female 'dropouts' from school etc.

Equity Promotes recognition of women's contribution to development (paid and unpaid) and fair treatment because of its value.	Regulatory role high. State provides legal framework for fair treatment of women especially in political and economic sphere.	Based on increased state regulation by the economic sector and active state intervention. State-led economic growth through modernization.	General statistical data relevant to HDI and economic indices of development. Emphasis on sex-disaggregated data to show gender inequities.
Empowerment/ Transformation By raising gender awareness and a critical analysis of social and structural problems through mass-based popular development education, poor women and men would become empowered and enabled to use democratic space to change or engage in a process of transforming oppressive structures, policies and programmes. Process to lead to economic, political and social empowerment of women.	Significant role in promoting rights of women and poor people. Important role in ensuring democratic practices and promoting a critical partnership between organizations of civil society. Enforcement of human rights and protocols for workers rights.	Integrated, sustainable. Promoting economic growth and redistribution emphasis on limiting monopolies and promoting rural and urban development. Increased role of NGOs and CSOs in the development process.	Change national census process. All data to be broken down in terms of gender, race and other categories. Both social and economic indicators. Push for new indices to measure women's work and its value.

Planners generally respond to the practical needs of women without relating these to their strategic needs. Strategic gender needs are the needs of women which arise out of their subordinate position to men in society. They relate to institutionalized patterns of discrimination such as gender divisions of labour, denial of legal rights to women, and women's lack of access to power and control over their bodies. Strategic gender interests and needs are linked to practical,

Table 2.2: Impact of Policy Approach on Economic Framework, Planning Process and Gender Inequalities

Policy Approach	Women's Role in Decision-making	Macro-economic Frame-work	Integra-tion of Gender in Planning	Distribu-tion of Re-sources	Impact on Gender Inequali-ties
Welfare	Limited marginal role. Medium to high involvement in community management and household domains. Participation in meeting practical needs through projects.	Emphasis on reducing deficits, cutting back on public expenditure, especially on social services. Repayment of debt and servicing. Women seen as dependents.	No efforts made. Gender seen as women's responsibility through welfare departments.	Limited funding. High reliance on donor aid or self-help projects. Tax incentives for private sector to assist with poverty alleviation through social responsibility.	No impact. Some practical needs met. Women seen as passive recipients of welfare. Their only recognized roles are reproduction and community management.
Anti-poverty	Not promoted. Limited to women's organizations and projects. Only evident in projects and NGOs.	Same as welfare except emphasis on donor support and funds to address poverty. Introduction of public works programmes. Emphasis on role of the poor in informal economy as survival strategy.	Not evident in Commonwealth governments except through women's units in welfare departments and rural development strategies.	Funding through loans and grants available for anti-poverty programmes. Donor and private sector support provided for small income generating projects.	Limited to only meeting practical gender needs (basic needs) but often not very successfully.

Efficiency	Increase numbers of women in economic activity. Emphasis on local self management uses women to carry out tasks.	Emphasis on efficient management of economy. Increased productivity of investments from domestic and foreign capital. Trade liberalization, lowering deficit and taxes, increasing education and health budgets. Promoting domestic savings.	No structural changes. Integration through sectoral programme/ project plans especially in education, health and welfare or through women's units.	Fund for sectors through national budgets – health, education and employment programmes. Donor support for small business and income generating projects of women. Support training projects especially for women.	Greater visibility of women in productive roles. Increases women's alienation, exploitation and burden of multiple roles, preventing them from using increased participation to change decision-making structures. Structural inequalities remain.
Equity	Promote increased role. Women are already in decision-making structures but in need of recognition.	Increased deficits, investment in public enterprises. High taxes on corporations. Public services and social expenditure high. States affected by economic Structural Adjustment Programmes.	Non-existent in community; would be high if it took off. But state power usually means male domination.		Using an equity approach has some potential in respect of gender but on its own it cannot address systemic problems of inequality.

Empower-ment/ Transfor-mation	Promoted at all levels. Not only in terms of increased numbers but assisting through training to help women make informed decisions and through participation, change quality of decision making and its process.	Emphasis on meeting fundamental human needs through state social and economic goals. In-creasing consumption. Deficits not seen as important. Increased taxation. Greater participation of the poor in economy. Promotion of social mar-ket-mixed economy approach. Increased labour-intensive employment strategies.	New structures and policies required. Gender to be included and inte-grated into develop-ment planning	Public funds used to bring about land reform, rehabilita-tion and agricultural develop-ment. Increases in social service budgets, efficient public sector with public enterprises to show profit. Donor grants for restructur-ing gover-nance, training and education of women not widely accepted.	Potential impact to address strategic gender needs great. But not accepted by mainstream develop-ment agencies. Promoted through progressive women' organiza-tions.

material needs. A twin approach is required which identifies the links between practical and strategic gender needs and proposes policy and planning frameworks to address both types of gender needs within institutions. Development responses that remain exclusively within the 'add-on' project approach tend to be inadequate to meet strategic gender needs. As given in Table 2.2.

In this section, you read about rationale for differentiating gender needs, need for gender planning, practical and strategic needs, from women in development to gender and development .Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

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

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

1) What are practical and strategic gender needs?

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2) What is women in development approach and gender and development approach?

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2.5 MULTIPLE ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEETING GENDER NEEDS

Women engage in multiple roles within the sphere of social reproduction and what is termed productive activity. These roles are categorized by Moser as follows:

Productive role : This refers to market production and home or subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income (whether financial or 'in kind');

Reproductive role : This refers to the childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities borne by women which are essential to the reproduction of the workforce; and

Community management role : This refers to activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role.

Giving emphasis to one role to the exclusion of another is to lose sight of the fact that women are carrying a heavy burden and that their actual working hours far outnumber those of men working in the productive sector. The distinction between practical and strategic gender needs can be a powerful tool. It alerts the planners and policymakers to the fact that addressing only the immediate needs of women will not help them in the long term to address the structural inequalities from which many of those needs arise. t is often difficult to distinguish between the two, but the key issue is to look for links between them. Responding to what may seem to be a practical need may lead to changes that alter the balance of power between the sexes. Reducing women's workload as a response to a practical need can open other doors that enable women to address strategic needs. The policy context is important. A microcredit programme in response to a need for income can remain at the practical level if gender relations are not analyzed. If the project aims to increase women's status and autonomy as well as address their material needs, however, it can be expected to result in long-term changes.

Analysis of the gender division of labour shows that women typically performs three types of roles in terms of their paid and unpaid labour. These are:

– Reproductive (care and maintenance of the household and all its members);
– Productive (production of goods and services for consumption and trade); and
– Community-based (organization and management of collective events, services and politics).

Identification of the triple roles of women and the differences between practical and strategic gender needs can assist practitioners to understand that planning is one of the critical needs to empower women in developing countries. Moser (1993) proposes a way to link women's practical needs to strategic gender needs (see Table 2.3). She identifies the types of interventions in three areas or sectors (employment, human settlement and basic services), the different roles women play in relation to reproduction, production and community managing activities and whether in these examples the needs would be practical or strategic. Using Table 2.3 as a tool to address the multiple roles of women can be one way to bring about a change in women's position. Planners could use Table 2.3 to analyze whether government policy in key areas is responding to gender needs in the different spheres in which women live and work.

Table 2.3 also indicates that because women still spend excessive amounts of time and energy on practical gender needs they do not have the time to mobilize for change on meeting strategic gender needs (see column on "gender needs met").

Table 2.3: Women's Triple Roles and Meeting Practical/Strategic Gender Needs

Type of Intervention	Women's Role Recognized			Gender Need Met	
	Reproductive	Productive	Community Management	Practical	Strategic
1) Employment policy					
i) Skill training					
Cooking					
Dressmaking					
Masonry/ carpentry					
ii) Access to credit					
Allocated to household					
Allocated to women					
2) Human Settlement Policy					

i) Zoning legislation					
Separates residence and work					
Does not separate residence and work					
ii) House ownership					
In woman's name					
In woman's name					
3) Basic Services					
Location of nursery					
Located in community					
Mother's workplace					
Father's workplace					
ii) Transport services					
Only peak-hour bus service					
Adequate off-peak service					
iii) Timing of rural extension meetings					
In the mornings					
In the afternoon/ evenings					

Source: Moser (1993)

a) Changing the gender division of labour

b) Control over financial services

c) Overcoming discrimination against women owning land, by law or tradition

d) Sharing the burden of domestic labour between women and men

2.6 STATE INTERVENTIONS

Historically, top-down state interventions did not remove persistent cases of gender inequality only when it has incorporated bottom-up cases of women's organizations. Therefore, strategic needs to overcome women's subordination, which women's organizations struggle for, need to be segregated from women's practical needs. Practical needs usually address women's needs within their socially accepted role(s) in society. They respond to immediate necessity and they are concerned with inadequate living conditions for survival such as: food, housing, water. These are required for family sustenance rather than just by women, yet are considered as practical gender needs for women. As a result, we see many government policies focussing on women's needs within the existing gender division of labour and their role as wives and mothers.

2.6.1 State Control over Women's Strategic Needs

The State mediates between family members; this requires addressing strategic gender needs of women in the community so that the state can liberate or control the lives of women through diverse socio-economic, political and legal policies concerning marriage laws, rape, abortion, fertility and reproduction, wages, taxation and social security.

2.6.2 Definitions of Intervention Policies

How can we define intervention policies? We will give you some examples here of the context for state action.

a) Domestic Violence

Family is seen as a private domain and family matters belong to the private sphere. Hence, this may be innocuously seen as giving a license to men to perpetrate domestic violence. However, recent legislation takes concrete measures to tackle domestic violence.

b) Fertility and Reproductive Rights

The State is willing to intervene through policies to promote certain ideologies by using alternative incentives or drastic disincentives (India, China and Israel). These rights can be used to protect and promote gender equality in reproductive and sexual health. Some of the selected examples for reproductive rights are as follows:

- The right to life;
- Rights to bodily integrity and security of the person;
- The right to privacy;
- The right to the benefits of scientific progress;
- The right to seek, receive and impart information;
- The right to education;
- The right to health;
- The right to equality in marriage and divorce; and
- The right to non-discrimination.

c) Legal Status of Women in Marriage

The State sees family as a fragile entity that needs support and the collapse of family as an institution is perceived as resulting in breakdown of society. Hence, the State gives social and religious institutions liberty to control women's affairs over and above the provisions of the civil laws.

d) Benefits, Rights and Welfare Policy

With the males considered as breadwinners who provide women with their needs, the State can deprive women of their rightful needs on the ground that husbands provide them those benefits.

2.6.3 Main Goals for State Intervention to Meet Strategic Needs

Some of the main goals for state intervention to meet strategic needs include:

- Abolition of gender division of labour,sex-segregated occupations;
- Alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare;
- Removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination in the rights to own land and property;
- Access to credit;
- Freedom of choice over childbearing;
- Political equality; and
- Ending male violence and control over women.

2.7 GENDER PLANNING: A STARTING POINT FOR MEETING STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

The State, civil society and men often subordinate and control women's status, roles and positions, which creates serious constraints in meeting women's strategic needs. Planners see practical gender needs as an entry point to achieve more fundamental changes. In the long –term strategic gender needs can be addressed. This may be acceptable since women require integrative, cross-sectoral planning strategies.

2.7.1 Integrative Cross-Sectoral Planning Strategies

What do we mean by ''Integrative cross-sectoral planning strategies"? The following discussion elaborates some strategies.

a) Gender Needs in Employment

Since women's fundamental need is to generate income, training becomes a priority to meet this practical need. If this will help their economic independence, the training will help to meet their strategic needs rather than training to increase their domestic skills.

b) Gender Needs in Human Settlement,Housing

Planning for housing makes it crucial to involve a gender perspective. Modernization has resulted in drastic changes in housing designs irrespective of women's needs. Zoning legislation separates residential from business activities

depriving women from engaging in productive work performed at home as informal sector activities.

c) Gender Needs and Environmental Planning

Working women depend on wood, water and soil for their daily survival. Utilizing environment as a productive resource, women use forestry as a life- enhancing activity. A factory may be regarded as a life-destroying activity if it is polluting or uses invaluable natural resources such as water without replenishing it. Therefore, rural women may resist urbanization when it affects their survival and environment but would not be able to prevent it.

d) Gender Needs and Basic Services

Implications in planning to meet gender needs are:

- Planning childcare facilities at women's workplaces meets their practical gender needs. If a childcare facility is located in the community and if a childcare facility is located at the father's workplace it would provide an opportunity for meeting practical and strategic gender needs.
- Transportation: Usually designed to meet men's work schedules, this could deprive women from meeting their practical and strategic needs.
- Community Political Roles: Meetings and other political activities are usually planned at times not conducive to women's activity schedule.

2.7.2 State Control over Women's Strategic Needs

The State can effectively control women's strategic needs through:

- Family policy;
- Domestic violence;
- Reproductive rights;
- Legal status; and
- Welfare policy.

2.8 POLICY APPROACHES TO GENDER PLANNING: A CASE FOR "THIRD WORLD" WOMEN

There is a proliferation of policies, programes and projects to assist meaningful participation of women in developing countries. Identification of the extent to which such planned interventions have been appropriate to the gender needs of women requires an examination of the conceptual rationale underlying different policy approaches from a gender planning perspective. Each approach has to be evaluated in terms of women's triple roles and the practical or strategic gender needs it meets. Such analysis illustrates the utility of the methodological tools of gender planning evaluation.

Recently there has been little systematic classification or categorization of the various policy initiatives to help low-income women. Concern for their needs coincided historically with a recognition of their important role in development. Since the 1950s, a diversity of interventions has been formulated, not in isolation,

but reflecting changes in macro-level economic and social policy approaches. Thus, there is a shift in policy approaches towards women, from 'welfare," to 'equity" to "anti-poverty" as categorized by Buvinic (1983). Along with these three approaches, two other approaches categorized here as "efficiency," and "empowerment," have mirrored general shifts in "Third World" development policies, from modernization policies of accelerated growth, through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution, to the more recent compensatory measures associated with structural adjustment policies.

While the different policy approaches summarized in Table 2.4 are described chronologically, it is recognized that the linear process implied is an over-simplification of reality. In practice, many of the policies have appeared more or less simultaneously. Implementing agencies have not necessarily followed any ordered logic in changing their approach, most frequently jumping from welfare to efficiency without consideration of the other approaches. Different policies have particular appeal to different types of institutions. Policy makers often favour combined policy approaches in order to meet the needs of different constituencies at the same time. Finally, shifts in policy approach often occur not only during the formulation stage, but also during the implementation process (Buvinic, 1986).

Table 2.4: Different Policy Approaches to "Third World" Women

"Women in Development"					
Issue	**Welfare**	**Equity**	**Anti-poverty**	**Efficiency**	**Empower-ment**
Origin	Earliest approach: Residual model of social welfare under colonial administra-tion. Mod-ernization/ accelerated growth economic development model.	Original WID ap-proach: Failure of moderniza-tion devel-opment policy. Influence of Boserup and first world feminists and Percy Amendment. Declaration of UN Decade for Women.	Second WID approach: Toned down equity because of criticism. Linked to redistribu-tion with growth and basic needs.	Third and now pre-dominant WID ap-proach: Deterioration in world economy. Policies of economic stabilization and adjust-ment rely on women's economic contribution to develop-ment	Most recent approach: Arose out of failure of equity approach. Supported by Third world women's feminist writing and grassroots organiza-tions
Period most popular	1950-70: but still widely used	1975-85: Attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade.	1970s onward: Still limited popularity.	Post 1980s: Now most popular approach.	1975 onward: Acceler-ated during 1980s; still limited popularity.

Purpose	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development	To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development.	To ensure poor women increase their productivity. Women's poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment not of subordination	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: Women's economic participation seen as associated with equity.	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neocolonial oppression.
Needs of women met and roles recognized	To meet PGN in reproductive role, relating particularly to food and nutrition needs and family planning.	To meet SGN in terms of triple roles directly through state top-down political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men.	To meet PGN in productive role, to earn an income particularly in small-scale income generating projects.	To meet PGN in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time.	To reach SGN in terms of triple role-indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around PGN as a means to confront oppression.
Period most popular	1950-70: but still widely used	1975-85: Attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade.	1970s onward: Still limited popularity.	Post 1980s: Now most popular approach.	1975 onward: Accelerated during 1980s; still limited popularity.
Comment	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role.	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging.	Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognize productive	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day. Most popular	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance.

	Non-challenging and there-fore, still widely popular especially with government and tradi-tional NGOs.	Criticized as western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with gov-ernment.	role; reluctance of govern-ment to give funds and re-sources to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level	approach both with govern-ments and multilateral agencies.	Largely unsup-ported by govern-ment and agencies. Avoidance of western feminism criticism means slow significant growth of under-financed voluntary organiza-tion.

SGN – Strategic Gender Needs

PGN – Practical Gender Needs

Source: ***Moser. C.O.N. "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs"***

In this section you have studied about multiple roles of women and meeting gender needs state interventions, gender planning : a starting point for meeting strategic gender needs, policy approaches to gender planning : a case for "third world" women. Now, answer question given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

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

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

1) How are women's multiple roles divided according to Moser?

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2) List the policy approaches adopted for promoting the development of "third world" women.

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2.9 LET US SUM UP

This unit started with describing human needs and how the needs of men and women differ due to socio-economic condition and the roles they perform in society. This unit has also discussed how culture plays an important role in shaping needs. According to Moser, women's needs are divided into Practical Gender Needs and Strategic Gender Needs. This differentiation will be helpful in addressing the needs in the planning process. Practical needs are the basic survival needs which can be fulfilled without challenging the existing social order. Once practical gender needs are fulfilled, strategic gender needs can be addressed. After describing needs, how needs can be integrated into development planning were addressed in this unit. The state interventions to meet PGNs and SGNs were also discussed. Lastly, this unit described the policy approaches of third world countries to addressing the PGNs and SGNs.

2.10 GLOSSARY

Role : A person's function or representation within society, based on a system of values and customs, which determines the type of activities that a person is required to carry out.

Triple role : Female participation in the triple areas of productive functioning, reproductive functioning and community action.

Multiple roles : Performing two or three types of roles simultaneously in one day's work. This is the situation of many women and, to a lesser degree, men. Women must juggle the multiple roles they have been assigned, often finding there are conflicts between their productive, reproductive and community activities. Women are constrained by the overload of having to juggle two or three roles at the same time, a fact that tends to be overlooked.

Invisibility of Women : The lack of value society places on activities carried out by women and considered their responsibility by nature. One obvious example of this is the perception society has of household chores or taking care of animals.

2.11 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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2.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress-1

1. What are practical and strategic gender needs?

Answer: Practical needs are immediate and material and relate to what people need in order to perform their current roles more easily. Some examples of actions that address women's practical needs include technologies that reduce their workload (fuel-efficient stoves), provision of clean water supply, credit, and access to financial services etc.

Strategic interests or needs are long-term, related to equalizing gender-based disparities in wages, education, employment, and participation in decision-making bodies. Examples include issues around legal rights, empowerment, sharing of family responsibilities, supportive legislation, and overall involvement in policy-making. Addressing strategic interests may challenge the prevailing balance of power between men and women.

2. What is women in development approach and gender and development approach?

Answer: The 'women in development' approach began with an uncritical acceptance of existing social structures and focused on how women could be better integrated into existing development initiatives. It also tended to view women as passive recipients of development assistance, rather than as active agents in transforming their own economic, social, political and cultural realities.

The gender and development approach focuses more on the fact that women and men have different life courses and that development policies affect them differently.

Check Your Progress 2

1. How are women's multiple roles divided according to Moser?

Anwer: Women engage in multiple roles within the sphere of social reproduction and what is termed productive activity. These roles are categorized by Moser as follows:

The productive role: This refers to market production and home/ subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income (whether financial or 'in kind');

The reproductive role: This refers to the childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities borne by women – which are essential to the reproduction of the workforce; and

The community management role: This refers to activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role.

2. List the policy approaches adopted for promoting the development of "third world" women.

Answer: The policy approaches adopted for promoting the development of "third World" women are: Welfare, Equity, Antipoverty, Efficiency and Empowerment.

UNIT 3 ENGENDERING GOVERNANCE

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Concept of Engendering Governance

3.3 Initiatives for Engendering Governance

3.4 Engendering Governance Through Grassroots Participation

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Glossary

3.7 References and Suggested Readings

3.8 Check Your Progress-Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces the concept of "Engendering Governance", i.e, how women can be a part of the governing process and the various institutions which are responsible for policy decisions of various kinds. It also dwells upon the grassroots movements which originated from the informal gatherings of women in response to gender insensitive policies and programmes and have now concretized to formal groups with a definite agenda.

After studying this unit, you would be able to

- describe the concept of engendering governance;
- discuss the need for engendering the process and institutions of governance;
- explain the reasons for engendering the governance process;
- describe examples of engendering governance as policy decision; and
- discuss grassroots examples of women as a collective force.

3.2 CONCEPT OF ENGENDERING GOVERNANCE

The concept of Engendering Governance is recent origin. The meaning and concept of engendering governance is discussed below in detail.

3.2.1 Meaning and Concept

Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. Governance encompasses every institution and organization in the society, from the family to the State and embraces all methods - good and bad - that societies use to distribute power and manage public resources and problems.

Women, who represent nearly half of the total population are by and large, excluded from the process of Governance. The institutions of governance are predominantly occupied by males who plan and decide the various economic and social agendas

or in other words, manage and control the resources of the country. As a result, women are not only sidelined but are also neglected in the matters relevant to their own growth and development as well as that of their community and country. The policies and programmes supposed to be taken for their well- being are, by and large, taken without taking into consideration their needs and requirements. It is with an outsider's approach that women are expected to be benefitted under the various state-sponsored programmes. This approach leads to one-sided growth strategy for women all over.

By the process of engendering governance, we mean to bring women into the decision making and policy formulation areas with an aim to bring in gender-just governance where women not only get fair participation in the institutions of governance, but also actively take part in the decision making process. Therefore, it may be argued that engendering governance is not something which has to be achieved but is a continuous process whereby women's voices , concerns are accepted in policy decisions on a regular compulsory basis.

> *"Engendering governance is not a goal, but a process of governance that is equitable and ensures that the voices of women are heard in decision making over the allocation of 'development' resources".*

Box: 1- Development policies cannot succeed if they are not "engendered."

Sarojini Naidu's spirit lives on in thousands of Indian women today. Some years ago, Rojamma, a poor woman from the southern state of Andhra Pradesh, attended a literacy class. Here, she read a story which described a life very like her own. It talked about a poor woman, struggling to make ends meet, who was regularly beaten by her husband. Whatever he earned, he spent on liquor, and then, drunk and violent, he attacked her because she had no food to give him. Unable to stand the continuing violence, the woman went from house to house, to find every other woman who had the same story to tell. They got together, and decided they would pitch their attack where it hurt most: they would picket liquor shops and stop liquor being sold. Their husbands then would have no liquor to drink, and the money they earned would be saved. Inspired by the story, Rojamma collected her friends together, and they began to picket liquor shops. The campaign spread like wildfire. In village after village, women got together, they talked, they went on strike, they beat up liquor shop owners, they refused to allow their husbands to squander money on liquor and they succeeded. The sale of liquor was banned in Andhra Pradesh, reluctantly, by the government for liquor brings in huge amounts of money. As a result, savings went up, violence levels dropped, and the lives of poor women began to improve.

3.2.2 Need for Engendering Governance

The gender gap in governance is evident almost all over the globe. In South Asia, in particular, it is very high despite the fact that many associated nations have been headed by women, who primarily reached the top positions through hereditary succession. Otherwise the South Asian countries have an extremely low representation of women in the management and political positions. As per an estimate, there are only 7 percent women in parliament and 9 percent in cabinet, 20 percent in local governance, 9 percent in civil services and 6 percent

in judiciary. This poor representation of women may be seen in the context of subordinate status being accrued to women in all private and public domains namely household, state, market and civil society.

In India, women's effective participation in politics got a boost in 1992 after the passing of the 73rd and 74th Amendments by the Constitution of India. The change in legislation brought women into the realm of local self governance. The village Panchayati Raj institutions are bustling with women members in local panchayats. There are examples of women panchayat leaders who have brought forth women's concerns, issues and problems before the concerned authorities and solutions have been found for the same. However, the journey has not been smooth. It has not been easy for the women to get outside their veils and work in the public domain for the well-being of the community. The women have faced many socio-cultural constraints originating out of patriarchy, besides caste and class hierarchies as prevalent in our social system. In the public domain, women's acceptance has been a major challenge particularly in the context of sharing and transfer of power with male members.

The engagement of women and their concerns in every aspect of governance is essential for multiple reasons:

At the outset, innately and environmentally, the women's needs are different from those of men. The difference originates from the distinct roles played by women in social arenas. The expectations from both the gender groups are different and may be contradictory to each other. Women have been, by and large, excluded from community decision-making on key issues such as housing, credit and infrastructure. It is these areas that affect women's lives directly. So remaining outside these areas keeps them at the receiving end. The contemporary scenario is marked by increased participation of women in the labour force. This calls for redefining their roles to suit their changing profiles that have taken place particularly in public spheres. Alongside there has to be created a space for women to participate and learn and bring in reorganization of communities and renegotiation of gender roles. It is important to have a gender perspective on issues of not only as a basic sustenance but also that of general growth and development. These may take place in the form of gender- sensitive policies and programmes that are conceptualized with women's issues kept in mind.

Women's concerns revolve around practical issues. Their innovations address a range of issues including housing, health care, service delivery, childcare and other family services, safety, community building and social cohesion in neighborhoods, environmental sustainability and local governance. These initiatives designed from the ground contain the seeds for future systemic change.

In order to bring gender equity and quality, it is important to bring gender sensitivity in the process of governance. Unless there is an element of gender sensitivity in governance, the women's basic survival and its quality, knowledge and skill base, control over resources and participation in public spheres and security are very likely to suffer.

3.2.3 Instruments of Engendering Governance

The various experiences in the field show that given the space and support, poor women can articulate their position and challenge injustice. They can break out

of their situation of powerlessness and gain control of their lives (IDS 1991). It has also been observed that when women's groups or collectives address community issues such as access to water and other natural resources, they acquire skills of designing and managing programmes. These initiatives allow women's groups to test their ability to tackle multiple issues, with multiple stakeholders and build capacities as advocates of change. There have been two identified instruments for bringing women into the forefront of decision making and governance:

The first is the opening up of spaces in local government institutions for which reservation strategy has been adopted by the government through legislation and its implementation. In 1993, the Government brought 73rd and 74th amendments in the constitution with the aim to reserve seats for women in local self government bodies. At present there are more than one lakh women elected representatives at village, taluka and district level panchayats.

The Self-Help Groups (SHGs) bring women together for a common cause, be it money or livelihood. The women assemble and work as a collective which provides them an opportunity to exchange their concerns and raise them collectively. These are so widespread that it has taken the form of a movement which has ensured emerging leadership among poor women. The Kerala state sponsored Kudumbshree mobilization has made collectives of women from the marginalized strata very proactive in contrast to relative passivity of women of the new elite.

3.3 INITIATIVES FOR ENGENDERING GOVERNANCE

Over the last three decades, the Indian State and international agencies have been trying to

"integrate" women into mainstream development, with special emphasis on inclusion of women from poor communities having either been left out of these processes or having derived little benefit. This long term attempt toinstitutionalize women's concerns within structures of governance evolved out of three main approaches:

i) **Women in Development (WID) approach** dealt with women in the role of a beneficiary, as someone, who needs to be given alms in charity. The women were not expected to voice their concerns at any forum.

ii) **Women and Development (WAD) approach** dealt with women as partners in the development process. The women were allowed to become a part of the development process.

iii) **Gender and Development (GAD) approach** is based on contemporary thinking where gender-based power relations are considered within the realm of governance.

In this section you have studied about, concept of engendering governance and initiatives for engendering governance. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

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

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

1) What is engendering governance?

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2) How has legislation helped women gain political participation?

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3.4 ENGENDERING GOVERNANCE THROUGH GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION

Mainstream development is equated with promoting economic growth models. Recognizing that the process of growth bypasses the poor in the short run, the government has formulated specific poverty alleviation programmes for generating a certain minimum level of income for groups in poverty (The Planning Commission 1992).

Amongst the poor, women are seen as doubly disadvantaged by their class and gender identity and since, the 1980s, special programmes have been designed for them. These anti- poverty programmes seek the participation of women and poor communities as beneficiaries.

Among the Government's initiatives to engender the governance process, the Mahila Samakhya programme is one such programme that was launched in the year 1988. Since Independence, provision of educational opportunities for women and girls had been an important part of the national endeavour in the field of education. Though such endeavours did yield significant results, gender disparities persisted, more so in rural areas and among disadvantaged communities. The Mahila Samakhya programme was introduced in pursuance of the goals of the New Education Policy (1986) and the Programme of Action for the education and empowerment of women in rural areas, particularly of women from socially and economically marginalized groups.

> *"The empowerment of women is possibly the most critical pre condition for the participation of girls and women in the educational process".*
>
> The National Policy on Education (NPE, 1986)

The programme aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To create an environment in which education can serve the objectives of women's equality.
- To enhance the self-image and self-confidence of women and thereby enabling them to recognize their contribution to the economy as producers and workers, reinforcing their need for participating in educational programmes.
- To create an environment where women can seek knowledge and information and thereby empower them to play a positive role in their own development and development of society.
- To set in motion circumstances for larger participation of women and girls in formal and non-formal education programmes.
- To provide women and adolescent girls with the necessary support structures and an informal learning environment to create opportunities for education.
- To enable *Mahila Sanghas* to actively assist and monitor educational activities in the villages – including elementary schools, AE, EGS orAIE Centers and other facilities for continuing education.
- To establish a decentralized and participative mode of management, with the decision making powers devolved to the district level and to Mahila Sanghas which, in turn will provide the necessary conditions for effective participation.

The programme recognizes the centrality of education in empowering women to achieve equality. The Mahila Samakhya programme is working to conscientize and organize women in groups. It works through *Sanghas*, which are all small groups of local women. These groups are able to address issue concerning women and their participation in a two-fold manner which together serves to build a culture of questioning, critical thinking, collective decision-making and mobilization on public issues. They organize intensive training programs for women PRIs to make them effective functionaries. Their capacity building is needed to help them plan, prioritize their needs, determine strategies to address their needs and concerns, and for both women and local government to partner effectively to address these needs. They devise their own programmes together with its members. They as a group discuss, evolve and prioritize their needs and formulate various programmes to be undertaken by women themselves.

The programme works through *Mahila Sanghas* or women's collectives at the village level which provides the women a space to meet, reflect, ask questions and articulate their thoughts and needs and make informed choices. The process of mobilizing and organizing women is done by a *Sahayogini* who looks after ten villages. This is not an easy process since the programme does not have any

tangible services or benefits to offer. The process of rapport building is done through regular visits, gaining the confidence and faith of the women and listening to what they have to say. The *sahayogini* assists the women to resolve small problems during the course of which the need for women's collectives and the role they can play in ensuring a better quality of life for the women and their families is stressed. In this context then, a variety of issues are raised by the women which later on form the formulation of programme strategies and interventions.

The *Mahila Sanghas* through various programmes and awareness campaigns have brought about a change in the outlook of rural women and the effects can now be seen in various facets of life at home within the family, the community and at the block and panchayat levels. The programme has also focused on awareness of the need to educate the children, especially girls, to give the equal status and opportunities. This approach has resulted in a direct impact on enrolment and retention of girls in schools.

The Mahila Samakhya programme follows the programme of Action (POA, 1992), as given in the *section "Education for Women's Equality"* (Chapter-XII, pages. 105-107), which focuses on empowerment of women as the critical precondition for their participation in the education process. It states that educationcan be an effective tool for women's empowerment, the parameters of which are to:

- enhance self-esteem and self-confidence of women;
- build a positive image of women by recognizing their contribution to the society, polity and the economy;
- develop ability to think critically;
- foster decision making and action through collective processes;
- enable women to make informed choices in areas like education, employment and health (especially reproductive health);ensure equal participation in developmental processes;
- provide information, knowledge and skill for economic independence;
- enhance access to legal literacy and information relating to their rights and entitlements in society with a view to enhancing their participation on an equal footing in all areas.

The programme is based on certain principles which must be followed at all stages of implementation, these are:

i) All processes and activities within the programme must be based on respect for women's existing knowledge, experience and skills.

ii) Every component and activity must create an environment for learning, help women to experience and affirm their strengths, create time and space for reflection and respect individual uniqueness and variation.

iii) Women and women's groups at the village level set the pace, priorities, form and content of all project activities.

iv) Planning, decision making and evaluation processes, as well as all levels of personnel must remain accountable to the collective at the village level.

v) All project structures and personnel play facilitative and supportive, rather than directive roles.

vi) A participatory selection process is followed to ensure that project functionaries at all levels are committed to working among poor women and are free from caste/community prejudices.

vii) Management structures must be decentralized, with participative decision making and devolution of powers and responsibilities to District, Block and village levels.

The programme has responded to the needs of the women which range from, educational

demands, livelihood and health concerns, accessing resources and participation in panchayati raj, to gender problems. Sanghas in all the States have taken initiatives to address wide ranging issues and problems such as:

- Struggling for equal and minimum wages;
- Improving civic amenities;
- Health of women and children;
- Actively accessing resources from DWCRA, DRDA, DPAP, Forest Department etc;
- Ensuring educational opportunities for their children especially girls;
- Entering the political sphere through election to Panchayati Raj bodies;
- Articulating their concerns and tackling social issues like violence against women, child marriage;
- Seeking and obtaining literacy and numeracy skills for themselves and their children.

The outcomes of this process have been:

- A demand for literacy and education for children especially for girls has been generated; Educational inputs - AE, NFE, Vocational Training, Support Services, Mahila Shikshan Kendra, DRU and ECCE Centers are introduced in a phased manner, responding to the needs of the programme.
- Working towards accessing facilities like hostels, scholarships, etc

3.4.1 Case Study: Making the System Work

When Sangha women in Karnataka learnt that scholarships are given to tribal students, they asked the teacher about the modalities. Initially, he resisted their queries; later he asked male members of the students' families to come and collect the scholarship. He also deducted Rs.5/- from each one's scholarship. Sangha women protested and insisted that he purchase a dholak, a wall clock and another musical instrument from the collected fund. They also checked the receipt of the purchase made. The Sangha then ensured that the scholarships were given in full to the mothers of the students. Now, the Sangha women are invited for school functions and the flag hoisting ceremony.

The *Mahila Samakhya* programme has brought about many changes in women. The groups or sanghas have provided the collective strength for women, usually

from poor and marginalized groups, to overcome barriers to their participation in and access to education and development.

As a collective the women have gained the strength to overcome obstacles and to articulate demands for themselves and their daughters, which individually they have been unable to do.

Women can now speak and clearly articulate their problems. They understand the problems which are common to them and opt for a collective solution. The women's recognition and visibility within the family, community and block levels has increased and leadership qualities have been developed and a cadre of village level organizers and activists are emerging.

The women's collective strength and ability to demand accountability of government delivery systems has been demonstrated. Sanghas have taken decisions to postpone the age of marriage of their daughters and have actively prevented child marriages taking place in their villages.

In States like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh sanghas have ensured that no girl is initiated as a jogini in their villages. In Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat, Sakhis and sahayoginis have received intensive training in laws relating to women and have started Nari Adalats , Mahila Panch, which are informal courts run by women. Many innovative programmes have emerged such as in Banda, UP, women got trained as handpump mechanics. Region-specific curricula have been developed around the concerns of women like violence, health and herbal medicine, wages, environment, forests among many others. Women have begun to effectively address the issues of girl child education in addition to their own education.

Sanghas are active partners in the diverse educational initiatives of the programme. The ECCE centers in Gujarat, the Bala Mitra Kendras, Jagjagi Centers (NFE) for girls in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, the Udan Khatolas in UP all provide a creative learning opportunity. Sanghas assist in selecting teachers, monitoring the centers, mobilizing the community for education and in some cases (as in Andhra Pradesh) making some financial contribution as well.

An innovative initiative in the area of girls and women's education has been the Mahila Shikshan Kendras. These are residential courses, aimed at developing a pool of aware, trained and literate women at the village level.

The curricula followed are diverse, imparting life skills, skill development to enabling the learners to join the mainstream education system. The MSK has been able to draw in girls and young adults who for a variety of reasons do not benefit from the usual schools or AS centers. The demand for these Kendras is on the rise.

In many districts, MS is publishing newspapers or broad-sheets. The popularity of these papers among the neo-literate women is immense and these newspapers enjoy a large circulation. In fact some districts in UP and Assam have now made these priced publications.

While the direct impact of the MS educational strategy is yet to be fully felt, its impact is most visible in the confidence with which sanghas are playing an active role in village education committees, making schools work, ensuring the teachers

come regularly and in many instances ensuring that in their villages, children, particularly girl children, have access to formal education.

In this section you have studied policy decisions for engendering governance. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

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

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

1) What are Grassroots Women Networks?

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2) How can women's network bring about change?

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3.5 LET US SUM UP

Engendering governance has come as a priority issue after a lot of deliberations at the levels of Government, women's groups and the grassroots. The State took the legislative route only after the issue was pressed upon by the women's groups and the right to participate in governance and decision-making processes was demanded by them. The appropriate legislation has brought about a positive change in the grassroots scenario whereby women from backward communities can be seen actively engaged in solving local problems and contributing to the well-being of people. There are many instances where women have shown exemplary courage to face the public domain the way men have been doing over the centuries.

3.6 GLOSSARY

73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act: The Government of India enacted 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Act in the year 1993. The provisions of

the Acts include 33.3 % reservation in the Urban and Rural Local Bodies. It is an important milestone in engendering governance. This paved the way for taking initiatives for providing reservation in the Parliament and State Assemblies.

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3.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What is engendering governance?

Answer: Engendering governance is a process of governance that is equitable and ensures that the voices of women are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources.

2) How has legislation helped women gain political participation?

Answer: In India, women's effective participation in politics got a boost in 1993 after the 73rd and 74th Amendments in the Constitution of India. The change in legislation brought women into the realm of local self governance. The village panchayati raj institutions are bustling with women members in local panchayats.

Check Your Progress 2

1) What are Grassroots Women Networks?

Answer: Grassroots women networks are government's initiatives to engender the governance process, these networks

- Create an environment in which education can serve the objectives of women's equality.
- Enhance the self-image and self-confidence of women and thereby
- Enabling them to recognize their contribution to the economy as producers and workers, reinforcing their need for participating in educational programmes.

2) How can women's network bring about change?

Answer: As a collective the women's network have gained the strength to overcome obstacles and to articulate demands for themselves and their daughters, which individually they have been unable to do.

Women can now speak and clearly articulate their problems. They understand the problems which are common to them and opt for a collective solution.

MDV-004: Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies (6 CREDITS)

BLOCK 1	**CONCEPTS OF GENDER**
Unit 1	Basic Concepts of Gender
Unit 2	Social Construction of Gender
Unit 3	Gender and Development Indicators
BLOCK 2	**APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Trends in Feminism
Unit 2	WID-WAD-GAD-Part I
Unit 3	WID-WAD-GAD-Part II
BLOCK 3	**STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Affirmative Action:Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality
Unit 2	Meeting Gender Needs through Planning
Unit 3	Engendering Governance
BLOCK 4	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-1**
Unit 1	Gender and Labour Market
Unit 2	Women and Entrepreneurship Development
Unit 3	Gender in Agriculture and Environment
Unit 4	Women in Informal economy
Unit 5	Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid
BLOCK 5	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II**
Unit 1	Gender , Denocracy and Development
Unit 2	Gender and education
Unit 3	Gender, Health and Well-Being

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MDV-004
Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies

Block

5

GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II

UNIT 1
Gender, Democracy and Development 5

UNIT 2
Gender and Education 18

UNIT 3
Gender, Health and Wellbeing 36

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BLOCK 5 GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II

BLOCK 5 consists of three units namely, gender, democracy and development ;gender and education; and gender ,health and well being..

Unit 1 is on **Gender, Democracy and Development**. It discusses gender approach to development an d the role of state in promoting gender and development. It also examine the Liberal, Marxist and Radical perspectives on gender and development.

Unit 2 discusses **Gender and Education.** The main aspects covered in this unit are the status of gender inequality in education, barriers to education, education and development goals. Besides it also covers development goals of India, strategies towards bringing gender equity and up gradation of skills with regard to education.

Unit 3 discusses **Gender, Health and Well-Being.** This unit highlights the importance of health and well being for women . The various gender sensitive issues which have repercussion on women's health and well being covered in this chapter are sex-ratio, violence against women, women working condition in home, nutritional care of women and general attitude towards women's health and well being.

UNIT 1 GENDER, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Structure

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Gendered Approach to Development: The Theoretical Framing

1.3 Mainstreaming Gender: The Viability of the State

1.4 Democratizing the State: The Context of Globalization

1.5 The Challenges Ahead

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Glossary

1.8 References and Suggested Readings

1.9 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The theoretical and practical aspects of 'development' have remained marked by shifting connotations. After the Second World War the term development, especially in economic usage, implied industrialization and urbanization. During the colonial period many of the ideas central to development were cast in terms of 'progress' which encompassed an understanding of modernity- both economic and socio-cultural. In the 1970s, the process of development began to be linked with the democratic political systems whereas in the post- cold war world, 'globalization' has become the dominant frame within which the issues of development are increasingly being discussed. While the meaning of development kept adjusting itself to the changing historical contexts, the notions of 'gender' and 'democracy' contributed in their own ways in enriching the general development discourse. The notion of gender, understood as the *social construction of sex*, explored into the political roles that men and women were able to perform in the process of development. The concept of democracy, conceived as the *popular control over governance*, discussed the political apparatus that was suitable for ensuring people's participation in the process of development. Though the notions of gender and democracy raised different sets of questions and initiated different kinds of debates pertaining to development, they were intrinsically related in significant ways. The interplay between gender relations and development issues and how the drive for democracy impacts upon the role of gender in the process of development constitute the basic theme of this unit.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the notion of gendered approach to development;
- Distinguish between the Liberal, Marxist and Radical perspectives on gender and development;
- Evaluate the role of state and national machineries in mainstreaming gender in the process of development;
- Analyze whether the process of democratization in the era of globalization has promoted or obstructed the gendered approach to development; and

- Describe the nature of inter-relationship between the notions of gender, democracy and development.

1.2 GENDERED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT: THE THEORETICAL FRAMING

1.2.1 What is meant by the Gendered Approach to Development?

The concept of gender is reflected in Anne Fausto-Sterling's belief that the interaction between the biological beings and the social environment influences the individual capacities. Gender refers to the socially constructed and institutionalized roles, behaviors, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for women and men as individuals. Gender, especially the role of women, is widely recognized as vitally important for development issues and processes. Since the idea of development aims at transforming societies so as to improve the living standards of the poor and because women tend to be over-represented in the poorest segments of almost every society, the concept of gender becomes crucial for development. The gendered approach to development is guided by a focus on gender-equality and women's participation. It includes an understanding of different roles and expectations of the genders within the community.

The gendered approach to development, as opposed to women's development, is not just about 'addition' of women or increasing the visibility of women in the already existing development issues and processes. Cornwell is apprehensive that an approach where women are merely added in, may provide an increased visibility to women's interests, but will not lead to their substantive empowerment. The 'women's interest concentrates on the lives of women, whereas the 'gender interest' penetrates deeper to address the structures of relations between men and women. The gendered approach to development means the freedom and capacity of women to design and control the development agenda in accordance with their own aspirations. In this context, one can discuss different theoretical perspectives that differently gauge the developmental aspirations of women. An understanding of the theoretical framing of women's aspirations is important for knowing the places that women occupied in various development agendas.

1.2.2 How do Different Theoretical Perspectives Capture the Developmental Aspirations of Women?

The *liberal theory,* which promoted 'individualism' and 'political freedom', appeared very attractive to women from development point of view. It allowed women to find a place in the public arena which in its public imagery was quite unique as women were traditionally kept confined to private spheres. Carole Pateman expanded the definition of 'politics' to encompass both the public and the private spheres, thereby creating room for the participation of women in politics and development discourse.

However Kandiyoti lamented that the liberal regime opened up an arena for 'state- sponsored feminism' which at one and the same time circumscribed and defined its parameters. In the light of the lack of technical expertise amongst

women, the emphasis on industrialization in a liberal state meant that focus remained on male employment. The acceptance of commercialization and mechanization of agriculture as tools for development in the liberal societies implied the marginalization of women's work in rural areas. The taming of nature as the part of developmental exercise caused displacement of population, resulting in particular vulnerabilities for women. The Liberal Developmental Approach did not see women as a distinct and particularly disadvantaged group. The anticipation of the liberal development agenda that women would automatically benefit via men turned out to be an illusion.

The *Marxist theory,* which encouraged 'socialism' and 'economic equality', subordinated gender issues to more substantial matters of economic development. In the Marxist scheme, the notion of 'class'(understood as the economic categorization within society) was given priority over the notion of 'gender' (conceived as sex-based differences). The Marxist theory held that the chief cause of the suffering of women was not patriarchy but capitalism. Therefore the development of women could be ensured by abolishing the liberal capitalist state and establishing a socialist mode of production ultimately leading to communism which would have a classless and a stateless society. However the socialist model of development also remained problematic for the upliftment of women. Judith Stacey observed in the Chinese context that the new socialist morality linked sexuality not with procreation but with felicitous marital relations where concerns about the women's appropriate behavior within the family were accepted and were given succor through policy-making and implementation. Evans argued that the construction of socialism in the 1950s in China required producing children for the development of society and therefore having children was a social duty, failure to which was severely criticized by the communist party that ruled the state. The Marxist development framework allowed patriarchic social relations to remain stable and women seemed to be shut out of the institutional design.

In both Liberal and Marxist theories, the articulations of 'nationalist' ambitions remained crucial to the setting of political and economic development agendas. As such the development agendas spoke in the name, not of particularistic groups, but of pan-national interests. Particularistic interests of women were regarded as threats that would disturb and dislocate the coalescing of national development agendas. Consequently, the much highlighted national development agendas contributed to the overall growth of GDP (Gross Development Product) but the share of women in it and the issue of the substantive upliftment of women remained a far cry. Though the national development agendas marginally helped in improving the status of women, one could witness a growing gap between the improving political indicators of women's empowerment and their continuing social and economic marginalization. Despite the fact that women increased their participation in parliaments fourfold between 1945 to 1995 and one hundred and eighty five countries signed the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW), the gross inequalities persist in terms of employment, safety,working hour, workload, education levels, income, property ownership, access to land, technology and credit facilities.

While reflecting on the linkage between the 'descriptive' representation of women in political institutions and the 'substantive' representation of women's interests that might result from this, Shirin M. Rai raises the question as to why the translation of descriptive into substantive representation was taking so long? What structural

inequalities were proving to be most resistant to change, and why might this be the case? Since these questions were not addressed by the traditional Liberal and Marxist Development Theories, a Feminist critique of these theories cropped up.

Initially, the Feminist theoretical intervention pleaded for the inclusion of women in the prevailing patriarchic world. But later on, the feminists realized that the inclusion of women in the prevailing patriarchic structures would not have a truly emancipator effect. Rather, the 'othering' of women as a category and their marginalization in the theory and practice of development created an image wherein women were essentially viewed as

'victims'. Therefore an important alteration was introduced in the feminist perspective by projecting the image of women not as victims but as 'agents'. The *radical theory* considered women not as victims in need of rescue but as actors in struggle against their exploitation and oppression. Instead of fighting for the women's space in already existing structures, the radical approach started redefining the existing structures from the feminist standpoint. Though the radical approach seems right in its thrust to move away from the analysis of the positions of women in the male-dominated institutions and in its emphasis on the need to explore the underlying biases of the socio-economic and political practices, it faces the dilemma posed by the divisions within women's groups on grounds of class, race, disability, sexuality, religion and location. For instance, the location based cleavage within women's groups becomes prominent when the northern and southern feminists adopt different lines of argument for criticizing the ongoing process of global development. The 'Northern' feminists criticize the gender-biased nature of global development and call for a need to utilize the opportunities of empire as means of resisting patriarchal constraints. By contrast, the 'Southern' feminists contend that women's declining positions is directly related to their assimilation, willingly or unwillingly, into the global market economy that is embedded in a patriarchal exchange between the North and the South. While the 'Western' feminists believe in the ideology of maternal imperialism and seek power for women in the imperial projects, the 'nationalist' feminists reject such delineations of women in their own countries because their acceptance of the values of the western feminists make them easy targets for traditionalist attempts to delegitimize their struggle for women's rights. The divisions within women's groups result into the lack of solidarity in women's movements. Though the women's movements have facilitated the growing presence of women's voice in the public domain, the difficulty is that absences and silences are built as some women speak on behalf of all women. The challenges faced by the women's movements reveal the complications involved in the process of gender mainstreaming.

1.3 MAINSTREAMING GENDER: THE VIABILITY OF THE STATE

1.3.1 Gender Mainstreaming-Concept and Meaning

Gender mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. It can be defined as a strategy of making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the development policies in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men could benefit equally and inequality

is not perpetuated. This involves an assurance that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality remain central to all activities- research, legislation, advocacy/dialogue, resource allocation and planning, implementation and monitoring of development projects. According to the viewpoint of the UN (United Nations), the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality in such a manner that the structures of inequality are transformed.

Though the concept of gender mainstreaming focuses on the notion of equality, there has been a debate whether it is more appropriate to use the language of 'equality' or that of 'inequality' for promoting gender mainstreaming. S. S. Ali argues that the language of equality emphasizes upon sameness rather than differences and therefore breeds a universal discourse which is essentially inadequate in different cultural contexts. He opines that different cultures attach different values to the notion of gender and therefore it is ethically important be sensitive to these cultural differences while pursuing the strategy of gender mainstreaming and asserting the equal rights of women.

However the international bodies like the UN stress the need for universal women's rights because any dilution of equal treatment of women on cultural grounds undermines the very basis of gender justice. It allows women of some countries, religions and ethnic groups to be left out of discussion about refining the rights of women and men, thereby reinforcing traditional gender roles. Therefore gender mainstreaming must essentially use the language of equality. The equality based gender mainstreaming has to be concretized by the states that are embedded in particular cultural contexts.

1.3.2 Role of State in Promoting Gender Mainstreaming

The institution of state continues to be the focus of women's movements. In order to embed gender perspectives in the development policies and programs, the women's movements depend on the potential of state, especially the state-based national machineries. National machineries, also called as women's agencies, emerged as instruments for advancing women's interests after the World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City (1975) and became more strengthened after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995). As the central policy coordinating unit inside the state government, the main task of the national machineries is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender equality perspective in all policy areas.

While women's movements, NGO's (Non-governmental organizations) and international bodies have striven for the recognition of national machineries, there has been a concern that national machineries can be used, especially where a strong women's movement does not exist, to co-opt the gender equality agenda within the nationalist state policies. The dilemma associated with the capacity of national machineries suggests that states are ambiguous terrains for women's movements. The women's movements need to be cautious while engaging with state bodies and striking complex negotiation and bargaining by both- those living within the state boundaries and those living on the outside. Shirin M. Rai terms such a dialectical position of women's movements as 'in and against the state'. She argues that the policy-making bodies of state are not unitary but fractured and an engagement with state bodies is not a matter option but an imperative for women if their interests, however diverse, are to be at all represented in policies of the state.

In this context, Coroline Moser and Maxine Molyneux have made an analytical distinction between women's 'practical' and 'strategic' interests. The practical interests ensure compliance with the existing order and reflect the fulfillment of women's immediate demands- such as housing, water, childcare, better working conditions etc. by the state. By contrast, the strategic interests question the existing order and reflect the need to shift the paradigms of state power. The political links between practical and strategic interests can only emerge through dialogue, praxis and discussion. National machineries need to be able not only to participate in making these distinctions clear but to strategize according to the specific contexts within which they function. For this national machineries must possess a combination of following features:

a) They must be located at a high level within the decision-making hierarchy to effectively influence government policies.

b) They must have a clear mandate and functional responsibility.

c) They must have close and strong ties with the civil society groups (NGO's)supportive of the enhancement of women's status.

d) They must enjoy sufficient human and financial resource. e) They must be accountable.

The probability of the simultaneous presence of all these features is high when national machineries are part of a democratic state. Chazan argues that the undemocratic military rulers follow a policy of purposeful female neglect. In a similar vein, Goetz states that the undemocratic nature of bureaucracies is manifested in their hostility to development agendas that challenge accustomed organizational patterns. The unavailability of any formal institution to women in non-democratic states leads to their exclusion from the patron-client relationships that take the place of more visible political participation. Thus the democratization of the state becomes absolutely crucial for furthering the gender equality agenda.

The pertinent question that we continue to grapple with in our assessment of national machineries for advancement of women is, whether they can deliver a sustained agenda of women's development, given their relatively weak position within the state system. It is in this context that the process of democratization becomes promising. The democratization process facilitates the embedding of national machineries in the architecture of state governance. This involves democratization of state and political systems as well as gender mainstreaming within state and policy structures.

In this section, you have read about gendered approach to development: the theoretical framing and mainstreaming gender: the concept and the viability of the state. Now, answer the question in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Define gendered approach to development.

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2) How do liberal and Marxist attempt to promote women's interests in the process of Development?

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1.4 DEMOCRATIZING THE STATE: THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

1.4.1 Has Democratization in the Era of Globalization Promoted or Obstructed Women's Development?

R. Robertson optimistically claims that of all the strategies experienced by people, democratization has the greatest chance of success and it means more than just the right to vote and hold opinions independent of church and state. His understanding of democracy is broad and embraces the processes of participation, empowerment and freedom to choose. Such a broad understanding of democracy appears compatible with the goal of women's development as it provides ample scope for challenging the gender identities. However, Nancy Fraser is skeptical about the potentialities of identity politics fostered by democratization. She opines that the identity politics may allow for 'recognition' of inequalities but not necessarily for 'redistribution' of resources. Countering the opinion of Nancy Fraser, Iris Marion argues that in the very process of demanding recognition of hitherto marginalized groups, the process of democratization allows for a redistribution of discursive power.

Though the theoretical debate on democracy appears inconclusive on the issue of promoting women's development, the actual practice of democracy demonstrates an alarming picture. The low levels of participation of women in public life confirm the fact that women have always been on the margins of democracy. Many a times, the process of democratization that allowed women to enter public life and challenge the gender bias of state, also co-opted their struggles in violent ways. Therefore the tension between the processes of democratization and women's development play out in complex ways.

Recently, the onset of the era of globalization has witnessed the push for democratization. The process of democratization is informing the governance agendas of the international bodies like the IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank) and WTO (World Trade Organization). Loans are often tied to the conditionality of democratizing the state institutions and bureaucracies. Democratization in this sense demands some structural adjustments such as deregulation, free trade promotion and state cut backs. These structural adjustment

programs have had the most devastating effect on women's development. The cutting of government subsidies and social welfare provisions has hit the poor women the hardest. They have been denied the necessary health care which in turn has resulted in an increasing maternal mortality. The sky-rocketing food prices and export-oriented agriculture pattern contribute to women's declining access to food and nutrition. Women perform multiple roles for paid and unpaid labor as formal jobs are fading away from the employment scene. According to World Bank, the female labor force shrunk from 53% in 1980 to 49% in 2005, while men continue being employed at roughly the same level around 86%. The conditions of women in economically backward states have been worse. As per the estimates provided by the World bank, women in Africa receive less than 10% of all credit going to small farmers and each year 6,00,000 to 8,00,000 people are trafficked across international borders. Women and girls make up the majority trafficked for sexual exploitation. But the same structural adjustment programs have opened up new windows of opportunities for women belonging to upper and middle class. The upper and middle class women who have access to appropriate technical education are well placed in the job market. The economic globalization in the form of 'market democracy' is manufacturing a group of professional women who are self-reliant, articulate and assertive. However, the real challenge is to ensure that similar opportunities become available to poor women as well.

1.4.2 What Measures must be undertaken to Facilitate Women's Development in a Democratized State?

Since the process of democratization does not have a uniform impact on the position of women coming from different backgrounds, the agenda of women's development requires a preferential and preventive treatment for the poor women. The state and state-based national machineries as well as non-state organizations (NGOs, private firms, charities etc) must work in collaboration with each other for equipping the poor women so that they are not adversely affected by structural adjustments and are able to adapt themselves to the changing demands of the globalized market democracy. Sunanda Sen refers to this kind of protective measure for women as 'safety net'. Safety nets are non-contributory transfer programs that intend to prevent the poor women from market shocks that may force them to fall below a certain level of poverty. Safety net transfers include cash transfers, food based programs (such as supplementary feeding or distribution of food stamps, vouchers and coupons), in-kind transfers (such as supplies of school uniforms, books and technical training), price subsidies (for food, electricity or public transport), public works, fee waivers or exemptions (for health care, schooling and other utilities).

In addition to the provision of safety nets, the task of achieving women's development necessitates following activities within the democratized states:

a) Ensuring non-discrimination within private welfare regimes - As the democratized state is forced to cut subsidies and step back from welfare activities, the women are increasingly compelled to rely on private institutions for welfare services. To minimize the vulnerabilities of women in this scenario, the national machineries must launch a campaign to end the discrimination against women in private sectors.

b) Stressing transparency of political parties and state departments- The democratized state must be held accountable for its activities pertaining to gender mainstreaming. The audit of political parties, the preparation of gender budgets by government departments and the openness of the state to the civil society scrutiny are significant.

c) Monitoring the leadership's commitment to gender equality- The will and ideology of the leaders of the democratized state must be under constant vigilance of national machineries. While leaders can take advantage of the civil society mobilization by women to push the ideal of gender equality, the civil society mobilization in the name of culture or religion can also undermine the leadership's commitment to gender equality.

d) Securing women's representation through quotas- The democratized state provides quotas for women in order to ensure that their interests are considered at the time of political debates, policy making and implementation. However the outcome of quota regimes has been somewhat complex. On the one hand, the participation of women in political affairs through quota has an impact on familial and institutional relations, even though this impact is rather fragile and needs further nurturing in order to be consolidated. On the other hand, the quota-based representation reflects the gender regimes of inequality and generates concerns about the co-option of women into state machinery without any significant shifts in their status.

While the evidence of the impact of quota-based representation is mixed, the national machineries and women's movements can derive benefit from it. The quota-based strategy offers two facilities to national machineries and women's movements. First, they can lobby women more directly on women's rights. Second, they can use the expertise of women parliamentarians and bureaucrats for furthering the agenda of women's development. However their capacity to deliver more broadly on gender equity would depend on the availability of economic resources (The developing states fair badly on the economic front) and the intensity of the political will of the elites in terms of addressing issues of gender equality (The orthodox/obscurantist states hinder the activities of progressive elites). While the challenges on the path of women's development are intact, the opportunities offered by the process of democratization remain attractive for realizing the ideal of women's emancipation.

1.5 THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

The gendered approach to development has been widely adopted in an increasingly democratizing globalized world. While commenting on the goal of gender equality, the mainstream economists boast on 'procedural progress' and insist that there is slow but steady development in women's status. However the feminist economists argue that 'substantive progress' would be possible only when markets would become more accessible and equitable for women, domestic work would be counted, concerns for childcare would be shared and health and safety issues at work as well as equal pay for equal work would be ensured. Catherine Hoskyns argues that despite small and critical gains, the fundamental shifts in policy frameworks are not happening so as to place women at a better position. The traditional economic methods of calculating development also need to be amended in the light of the hardships faced by the women. Shirin M. Rai complains that

there has been little work done on what economists would call 'depletion'. The mainstream economists measure depletion of machinery, capital goods and environment but they rarely talk about depletion of household and social reproduction that directly affects the lives of women. Besides the concept of depletion, Camilla Stivers argues that the administrative notions of 'efficiency', 'economy' and 'expertise' need to be redefined so as to accommodate the sentiments of women in the agenda of development.

The task of achieving women's development through gender mainstreaming has become all the more complicated in the era of globalization. Not only the modes of production and exchange but also the modes of governance and resistance have become globalized. As the terms of political participation are shifting in the light of changing relations between state and sub- and supra-state institutions, the real challenge for politically marginalized women's groups is to find an effective way of participation not only in state but also in sub- and supra- state institutions. Another dilemma associated with women's empowerment emanates from the exercise of women's agency. Though the exercise of women's agency helps in bringing about positive transformation in their situation, it also makes them more vulnerable to the obscurantist forces which are resistant to change. In this context, Uma Chakravarti has written a moving analysis of the functioning of Women's Development Programs in Rajasthan. She demonstrated how the flawed execution of Women's Development Program became apparent when a women and her husband were beaten to death by the locals who disliked their active participation in the development program. Chakravarti opines that the government wants empowerment without breaking into the power of those who have power over the disempowered. There lies a significant challenge of combining the measurement of 'agency' with the measurement of 'vulnerability' in the feminist literature.

In this section, you have read about democratizing the state: the context of globalization and the challenges ahead. Now, answer the question in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How does the concept of equality become debatable in the context of gender mainstreaming?

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2) What are the challenges ahead for women's empowerment?

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

What continue to unfold are the struggles of women and men seeking to transform the world that they inhabit so that it becomes more conducive to their ideal of development. Their struggles are marked with constant tensions between structure (understood as the world as it is) and agency (conceived as the forces that change structures). The tensions between structure and agency cast long though shifting shadows in which both globalized and gendered power are exercised and the resistance to oppression takes shape.

1.7 GLOSSARY

The World Trade Organization (WTO) : The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) : The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization of 187 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world. The IMF promotes international monetary cooperation and exchange rate stability, facilitates the balanced growth of international trade, and provides resources to help members in balance of payments difficulties or to assist with poverty reduction. The IMF has 187 member countries. It is a specialized agency of the United Nations but has its own charter, governing structure, and finances. Its members are represented through a quota system broadly based on their relative size in the global economy.

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1.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Define gendered approach to development.

Ans. The gendered approach to development means the freedom and capacity of women to design and control the development agenda in accordance with their own aspirations. In this context, one can discuss different theoretical perspectives that differently gauge the developmental aspirations of women. An understanding of the theoretical framing of women's aspirations is important for knowing the places that women occupied in various development agendas.

2) How do liberal and Marxist attempt to promote women's interests in the process of Development?

Ans. The *liberal theory,* which promoted 'individualism' and 'political freedom', appeared very attractive to women from development point of view. It allowed women to find a place in the public arena which in its public imagery was quite unique as women were traditionally kept confined to private spheres. The *Marxist theory,* which encouraged 'socialism' and 'economic equality', subordinated gender issues to more substantial matters of economic development. In the Marxist scheme, the notion of 'class' (understood as the economic categorization within society) was given priority over the notion of 'gender' (conceived as sex-based differences).

Check Your Progress 2

1) How does the concept of equality become debatable in the context of gender mainstreaming?

Ans. Though the concept of gender mainstreaming focuses on the notion of equality, there has been a debate whether it is more appropriate to use the language of 'equality' or that of 'inequality' for promoting gender mainstreaming. S. S. Ali argues that the language of equality emphasizes upon sameness rather than differences and therefore breeds a universal discourse which is essentially inadequate in different cultural contexts. He opines that different cultures attach different values to the notion of gender and therefore it is ethically important be sensitive to these cultural differences while pursuing the strategy of gender mainstreaming and asserting the equal rights of women.

2) What is meant by 'substantive progress' for women?

Ans. Feminist economists when markets would become more accessible and equitable for women, domestic work would be counted, concerns for childcare would be shared and health and safety issues at work as well as equal pay for equal work would be ensured.

UNIT 2 GENDER AND EDUCATION

Structure

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Education and Development Goals
2.3 Development Goals of India
2.4 Barriers to Women's Education
2.5 Strategies towards Bringing Gender Equity in Education
2.6 Government Initiatives for Education Empowerment of Women In India
2.7 Upgradation of Skills: Gender Perspective
2.8 Let Us Sum up
2.9 References and Suggested Readings
2.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Education as an investment in human resources is considered as the most valuable investment, as it yields definite returns in the form of skilled manpower geared towards development. Education is an indispensable tool for personal and social improvement. Education not only enriches the life of an individual, but also enriches the whole nation. A nation cannot be said to have developed, only if a few of its elite groups are educated. It is considered to be developed, only if education is imparted to all sections of the society. Thus to make education inclusive, equity and equality should be promoted and discrimination and structural inequalities in all forms should be removed. Of all disparities, gender inequality that has been deep-rooted in India, is considered a major issue, as it interlocks with other forms of social inequality, notably caste, class, ethnicity, religion, etc. Gender perspectives should be integrated in the education system and equal opportunities should be provided to both men and women to participate in and benefit from education. In order to improve the access to education and promote equity, the education system should aim at mainstreaming gender and should include women in a meaningful way. After studying this unit, you will be able to;

- Describe the literacy and education status of women in India;
- Explain the initiatives towards improving women's education at international and national levels;
- Discuss barriers in education;
- Analyzes various strategies including skill for facilitating women's access to education.

2.2 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Any concept of development must focus on human and social dimensions. Amartya Sen (2002) rightly brings out that expansion of human capability is the central feature of the development process. The goals of a developmental process can be easily attained, when human capability is expanded by way of education and gender equity.

The goals as mentioned in the Dakar Framework on Education for All include, (a) ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality; (b) achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults; and (c) eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality (UNESCO, 2000). Similar targets to achieve universal primary education and promote gender equality and empowerment of women, is also highlighted in the MDGs and now in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

2.3 DEVELOPMENT GOALS OF INDIA

In line with the targets of MDGs, every country has developed its own developmental visions and plans. The developmental goals of India had their focus on the holistic development of people in general and other issues that contribute to attainment of human development. In terms of education, the developmental goals of India, as mentioned in various documents viz. Government of India's Five Year Plan, Vision India 2020 by Planning Commission, National Policy on Education, etc. are as follows:

- To fulfill the educational aspirations of the people;
- To eradicate illiteracy all together and to provide universal elementary education to all;
- To focus on vocational and technical education at secondary level;
- To improve the quality and relevance in higher education; and
- To bring about equity in education by gender, caste and socio-economic groups and reduction in disparities of all kinds in education.

The development goals of education in India, has remained the same since independence, with slight modification in the strategies and approaches. New approaches, new methods and new targets are emphasized in attaining the development goals. However, the efforts are grossly inadequate to meet the goals.

2.3.1 Need to Focus on Gender Parity in Development Agenda

As per the report of the World Bank (2001), Gender Inequality in education is the largest in South Asia, with women in South Asia averaging only about half as many years of education as men, and female enrolment rates at the secondary level only two-thirds of male rates.

For the vision of development to become a reality, focus has to be laid on the education of women, as this would help in addressing the various development agenda of poverty reduction, infant mortality, health and hygiene, child labour, income inequality, etc. Kerala's achievement in the promotion of education and human development stands as proof in this regard. Mass literacy of Kerala, political activism of the deprived sections of the society and the favourable position of women in society has played a crucial role in proceeding towards developmental goals. The following advantages serve as a reason to focus on gender equality in education:

- When women are empowered with the right to education, they naturally get hold of other social rights such as, right to health and decent work, which are mutually empowering. Thus education creates a positive impact on the income and health, family structure, etc. and helps the women in determining the opportunities and quality of life.
- The learning opportunities obtained through education would help a woman in shaping her identity, developing the capacity and capability in her and giving her the courage to take part in a range of activities.
- Gender parity in education brings about a multiplier effect. Educated girls are likely to marry later and have fewer children, who in turn will be more likely to survive and be better nourished and educated. Educated girls are more productive at home and better paid in the workplace, and more able to participate in social, economic and political decision-making. Equality in education would further help in the reduction of child mortality, fertility, under nutrition and thereby increase the educational gains of the next generation.

Thus gender equality in education helps in achieving the other developmental goals, which are interrelated in one way or the other.

2.4 BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S EDUCATION

A wide range of social, cultural and economic factors, inhibit women's access to education, which are discussed as follows:

i) **Mental Blocks:** The major factor that affects the education of girls is the deep mental blocks that have been created in the minds of the adults about girls' education. Adults are more skeptical about the efficiency and capacity of girls to participate in the economic work force as decision makers and thus restrict them to take up only limited traditional roles and take softer options as their subject. Girls take up only softer options of the school curriculum like humanities, social sciences, home science, languages, etc. Other options such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and laboratory works are considered as the orbit of boys. Women are over-represented in humanities and social science, while they are under-represented in science, technology and engineering. Thus women are systematically robbed of their self confidence and they are subsequently paralyzed by their own self image. Removal of gender disparity will be possible only if such mental blocks are removed from the minds of the people.

ii) **Parental Aspirations and Attitudes:** Parents' expectations from girls are very miniscule, when compared to the expectation they have from boys. Parental aspirations regarding the process of education also differ between boys and girls. While the aspiration for boys is quite high, aspiration for girls is limited to making them suitable for matrimony. Only a sustained rigour in the school curriculum can make what is popularly known as an "empowered girl" who is capable of recognizing her potential and who aspires for a productive life, not limited to traditional roles offered by our society (Kumar, 2008). Negative parental attitudes towards the education of their daughters can also be a barrier to the education of girls. While parents view the education of their sons as an investment, education of daughters is just treated as wastage of money.

iii) **Poverty:** Poverty acts as the major stumbling block for the education of children, especially for girls. Girls of primary-school age from the poorest 60 per cent of households are three times more likely to be out of school as compared to those from the wealthiest households. Their chances of attending secondary school are even slimmer, and older girls in general are more likely to be out of school. Because of financial constraints if a family has to choose between educating a son or a daughter, the son becomes the natural choice. Girl children are caught up in the daily struggles for fuel, fodder, water, etc. and to them education is beyond their reach. Apart from this, girls have to perform various household chores, like cooking, cleaning, taking care of siblings, etc. and in addition to this, girls in rural areas have to work in farm and take care of livestock. Girls contribute much more to household work.

iv) **Inadequate School Facilities:** Another barrier to education in India is the lack of adequate school facilities. According to a PROBE survey, 63 per cent of the schools had leaking roofs, 52 per cent had no playground, 58 per cent had no drinking water, 89 per cent had no functioning toilet, and 27 per cent had no blackboards. Only 2 per cent had all the facilities while 8 per cent had none at all (PROBE, 1999). This is the state of affairs of the school infrastructure all over the country. But with the commencement of the SSA, there has been a remarkable change in the infrastructure of the schools. However, a lot has to be done yet. Gender sensitivity of infrastructure of the schooling, particularly provision of toilets, water and better security, etc. requires attention.

v) **Shortage of Female Teachers:** Lack of female teachers is another potential barrier to girls' education. Girls are more likely to attend school and have higher academic achievement if they have female teachers. Hence, special attention has to be laid on recruiting more female teachers.

vi) **Gender Bias in Curriculum:** There is portrayal of gender stereotyped roles of men and women in the curriculum in India, in spite of repeated measures to avoid it in the text books. Men are the main characters in the majority of the lessons and are portrayed as strong, intelligent and adventurous, whereas women are depicted as weak and helpless, and are often portrayed as people involved in household chores. These depictions are strong barriers for improving women's position in society.

vii) **Vulnerability of Adolescent Girls:** Adolescent girls become more vulnerable and they are denied the opportunity of education and are removed from formal schools, at the onset of puberty. Some of them are forced to enter into matrimony, and they become young mothers before they have the opportunity to realize their potential. It can be observed that the drop out of girl children is more in the category of 12 to 14 years age group. Apart from this, sexual harassment and violence continue to be a major factor, which prevents the parents from sending their daughters to schools. Deprived households find it difficult to transport their girls to school and back safely, especially when their secondary schools are far away from their homes. All these social, personal and economic barriers are interrelated and one reinforces the other. If just literacy and schooling is offered to them, without addressing these barriers, it would only become a mechanical exercise and their every day struggle for survival will keep continuing.

In this section, you have read about education and development goals, development goals of India and barriers to women's education barriers to education. Now, answer the questions in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Briefly discuss the agenda of the Kothari Commission report.

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2) What are the barriers to education for girls ?

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2.5 STRATEGIES TOWARDS BRINGING GENDER EQUITY IN EDUCATION

India accounts for nearly a sixth of the world's population. So any progress made by India in reaching the MDGs would definitely take a larger part of humanity closer to the goal. India has made some progress in reaching the goals, through various time-bound programmes and schemes. However, progress has been uneven and India seems to lag behind the targets. Though advances have been made in the spread of literacy, with the number of illiterates actually falling as per 2001 census, the gaps between the education of males and females remains a cause of concern. Even though there has been an increase in the literacy rates in 2001, female literacy rate trails behind male literacy rates by 22 per cent. In order to go further along the path of human development, India has to resort to effective strategies and plans to move towards holistic development, as mentioned in the following discussion.

i) **Concentration on Resources:** A substantial part of the education budgets has to be devoted to the education of women. Additional resources should be mobilized to improve the schooling quality and internal efficiency, so that it caters to the needs of the girls. Active involvement of the community should be encouraged in financing and managing the non-formal educational institutions. In addition to this, a new partnership of Education should be evolved with multi stakeholders, viz., private players, profit generating sectors, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Panchayati Raj

Institutions (PRIs), etc. in meeting the resource constraints in support of gender-focused educational interventions. In short, cost-effective designs of structures and methodologies of education that promote gender disparity and bring about equity in education should be encouraged.

ii) **Focus on Inhibiting Factors:** Careful diagnosis of the local problems that inhibit the educational attainment of girls should be made. The categorization of nature of the inhibiting factors, viz. technical, administrative, socio-economic and political, etc. would help in addressing the particular factors. Also, care should also be taken in analyzing the inhibiting factors that occur on both the demand side and supply side. Consideration of all such factors would help in coming up with new intervention programmes to reach the target.

iii) **Alternative Delivery Systems:** The education system should try to come out of its rigid formal framework and adapt itself to flexible modes of operation. Part-time formal or non-formal education, seasonal learning centers for children of migrant labourers, voluntary schools by NGOs, post-primary open learning, camp approach for adolescent girls, etc. should be systematically promoted. Avenues to mainstream the older dropped out girls into formal channels should also be promoted (National Report on the Development of Education, 2004).

iv) **Quality Improvement:** Quality improvement has a significant impact not only on the immediate enrolment and retention of girl children, but also on the further education of girls and their development. There should be qualitative improvement in the content and process of education and focus should be laid on strengthening the institutional management processes. Teacher education should be reoriented and strengthened by way of pre-service and in-service training, and the notion of teachers about the education of the girl child should be broadened. Appropriate infrastructure facilities that meet the requirements of girls should be provided in the education set up. Equality among the sexes has been established as a Fundamental Right under the Constitution of India. To bring it into reality, gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive, cyclical strategies should be developed and implemented. Free from gender bias, boys and girls should be allowed to grow up in a caring and sharing mode, as equals and not as adversaries.

2.6 GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES FOR EDUCATION EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN INDIA

Gender equality in education has been stressed time and again since the 1990s and a strong message for progress towards gender equality has been brought out both at the International and National arena. The World Declaration on Education for All, held at Jomtien in 1990, recommended that the gender gap in basic and functional literacy should be eliminated. In 2000, the World Education Forum held at Dakar, reiterated the commitment of "eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015 with a focus on ensuring girls full access to and achievement in basic education of good quality' (UNESCO, 2000). The Millennium Declaration

of 2000, in its Millennium Development Goals have focused on "promoting gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015" (United Nations, 2000). The Fourth World Conference on Women, popularly known as Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, also stated that education of women would help in improving health, nutrition and health of the family and thereby empower women to participate in decision-making in society. The Beijing Platform for Action, recognized a number of barriers to girls' access to education, including lack of political will and resources, gender-biased cultural practices and beliefs. It had thus stated the goal to close the gender gap in primary and secondary education by 2005 and it stressed the need to create gender-sensitive educational systems to ensure equal educational and training opportunities (United Nation, 1996).

In the Indian context, the National Policy of Education 1986 (NPE), made a formal commitment to promote "education for women's equality". A range of positive programmatic interventions were introduced post NPE that incorporated gender concerns to help achieve gender equitable outcomes in education.

2.6.1 Educational Provisions and Programmes: A Historical Perspective

India has a long history of organized education, which can be traced to the traditional Gurukul system of education, in which only very few belonging to elite sections had the chance to get education. The current system of education in India with western style and content is the legacy of British India. The education system of independent India since the inception of the plan era has made tremendous progress and has been described as an educational 'miracle'. In particular, education has the potential to contribute to gender parity, and it can challenge the conventional gender ideologies and level the playing field between males and females in relation to credentials and qualifications, skills and competence and thus can empower women in the long run (Sen, 1999).

The Government of Independent India recognized the importance of education and the pivotal role of education in empowering women. This is reflected in Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy, which states that the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children under 14 years of age. The 86th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2002 and the recent Right to Education Act, has made elementary education a fundamental right for all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years. The idea of treating women as equals and providing social justice was also reflected in the Constitution which guaranteed equality to everyone irrespective of caste, sex or religion.

After independence, education became the responsibility of the States. Till 1976, Education was part of the State subject, with the exception of Higher Education, where the Central Government had its obligation to coordinate technical and higher education and specified standards. With the enactment of the 42nd Amendment Act to the Constitution of India, Education was placed under the concurrent list. Thus both the Central and State government can legislate on matters pertaining to education. However, the central government legislations would have precedence over that of the State government.

Though importance was given to the education system since independence, the gendered context of education was paid least attention. It was only because of the

establishment of certain commissions and committees and policy pronouncements that the gender aspect of education received fresh impetus. The important landmarks that made emphasis on education on the basis of gender are as described in the following paragraphs.

The first committee that was appointed by Independent India, in favour of gender concerns was the National Committee on Women's Education, in 1958, under the chairmanship of Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh. The main conclusion of the committee was that, 'the education of girls and women had been sadly neglected in the past and consequently there was a wide disparity in the education of men and women and boys and girls at all levels and stages of education. Based on the recommendations of the committee, in 1959, the government appointed a National Council for Women's Education as an advisory body, the main task of which was to suggest government programmes and policies for the growth and expansion of girl's education (Panchamukhi, 1989).

The Kothari Commission on Educational Reforms (1964-1966) was the last commission set up on education. The Kothari Commission has made emphasis on improving the education system, setting up of State Boards of Education, leveling of institutions for equality and setting up of a statutory School Education Commission. Later, the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI), 1975 examined the constitutional, legal and administrative provisions related to the status of women. The report brought out the dismal scenario of women's education and recommended co-education as a long-term policy to promote equality of opportunity. Further the committee recommended a common course of education for both boys and girls till the end of class tenth, all courses being open to both sexes after that. At the primary stage the committee suggested that needle work, music and dancing should be taught to both boys and girls.

The National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 and its Programme of Action, 1992, made a significant contribution to the education system of our country in general and stressed on equality of women in education in particular. The chapter titled 'Education for Women's Equality' states:

Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In order to neutralize the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The national education system will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions. This will be an act of faith and social engineering… The removal of women's illiteracy and obstacles inhibiting their access to, and retention in, elementary education will receive overriding priority through provision of special support services, setting of time targets, and effective monitoring.... (GoI 1986).

Thus, equality of educational opportunity and removal of disparity was considered as the central issue and focus was laid on addressing the specific needs of those who were denied equality for a long period. Since the adoption of the National Policy on Education, major interventions were made in the education sector and various schemes and programmes were launched to promote education. Some of the programmes that focused on addressing the gender gaps are as follows:

A) *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA):* SSA was launched as a national flagship programme in 2001, to provide relevant elementary education for all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years. It is being implemented in all districts of the country and one of the goals of SSA is to bridge all gender and social category gaps at primary stage by 2007 and at elementary education level by 2010. The programme covers the entire country with special focus on educational needs of girls, SCs/STs and other children in difficult circumstances.

B) *District Primary Education Programme (DPEP):* Launched in 1994, the programme provides additional inputs to revitalize elementary education. The programme has tried to incorporate a gender perspective in aspects of the planning and implementation process. It recognized the importance of mainstreaming gender and making it an integral part of strategies to tackle problems of access, retention and achievement levels and for reaching out to children from the most disadvantaged groups/communities. The project sought to "increase coverage of girls, improve their academic achievements and reduce gender disparities in respect to enrolment, retention and learning achievements."

C) *Mahila Samakhya:* To translate the goal enshrined in NPE, the Mahila Samakhya Scheme was started in 1989 and the focus is on the centrality of education in empowering women to achieve equality. It is a concrete programme for the education and empowerment of women in the rural areas. This programme has a powerful effect on the aspirations and opportunities of women, and women are able to identify their priorities and they collectively work with other women to tackle the constraints imposed on female education by the community.

D) *Special Intervention for Female Illiteracy:* As per the 2001 census, 47 districts were identified as districts with less than 30 per cent female literacy. Most of these districts were concentrated in the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, etc. As part of the National Literacy Mission, dealing with low female literacy was considered as a priority and special project to for an accelerated female literacy programme was initiated to promote female literacy in such districts. Another such intervention is the Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) and it focuses on eradicating illiteracy among the age group of 15-35 years, through district level planning and implementation. The social mobilization generated by the literacy campaigns promoted equity and contributed to redefining gender relations.

E) *National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL):* The NPEGEL was launched in 2003, under the flagship programme of SSA, and it provides additional components for education of underprivileged, disadvantaged girls at the elementary stage. It offers material incentives such as stationery, and introduces additional interventions like awards, remedial teaching, and bridge courses.

F) *Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV):* The KGBV scheme also runs under SSA and the basic aim of the scheme is to provide a second chance for mainstreaming rural girls belonging to deprived social backgrounds who could not study upto or beyond class V. The scheme provides residential

facilities to girl children, for pursuing their upper primary education. The scheme has been implemented in educationally backward blocks where there is a wider gender gap. The social categories covered are the scheduled castes (SC), scheduled tribes (ST), other backward classes (OBC), religious minorities, and below poverty line (BPL) households. The components of KGBV, offers empowerment strategies, such as personal development, enhancing communication capacity and health- related awareness.

G) *Condensed Courses of Education of Women:* The scheme of Condensed Courses of Education is implemented through the Central Social Welfare Board. The course aims to benefit needy women of tribal, hilly, backward areas and urban slums of the age of 15 years who could not join the mainstream education system or dropped out from school. The course provides them with the opportunity for accessing education at different levels—primary, middle/high school. The main objective of the scheme is to provide educational qualifications and relevant skills to women in order to make them eligible for identifiable remuneration, work opportunities so as to facilitate their empowerment.

Apart from these measures, the other initiatives taken so far, in the direction of promoting girl child education includes, mandatory recruitment of at least 50 per cent female teachers under Operation Black Board, a separate budget for girls' centers under Non-Formal Education Scheme, Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) schools, bridge courses, back to school camps, residential camps for out of school girls, Lok Jumbish (Rajasthan) to bridge the gender gap in primary education, which specifically targets the girl child in educationally backward districts/blocks.

Table 2.1 highlights the interventions taken in India to address the gender issues in education.

Table 2.1 Intervention to Address Gender Concerns in Education in India

Intervention	Steps taken
Enrolment of Girls	• Mobilization of community for enrolment of girls • Under DPEP, there is formation of Village Education Committee (VEC) with 30-50% women members, to supervise the retention • Mother-Teacher Association at schools encourages girls' participation in schools
Continuation of Girls in Schools	• Incentive provided in the form of mid-day meals, free text books, uniforms, scholarships, etc. • Gender sensitization of teachers and educational administrators to make them more responsive to constraints faced by girls
Improvement of Quality	• Gender review of curriculum and text books • Provision of attractive teaching-learning material to children • Provision of the required infrastructure facilities to girls in schools

Promotion of Gender and Social Equity Issues	• Under DPEP there is establishment of a gender unit for training and ongoing support • Regular monitoring of girls' participation and achievements in schools • Under Lok Jumbish, there is appointment of gender coordinators and about 30 to 50 % of supervisory staffs appointed are women
Teacher Motivation	• Appointment of Para-teachers, under Education Guarantee Scheme or Alternative Learning, to provide education to girls in the non-formal system; appointment of para-teachers reduces the burden of teachers • Under Lok Jumbish a forum is created for women teachers, where they can share their experiences and support each other's activities; the forum also addresses the problems faced by women teachers working in rural areas
Getting older, out-of-school girls back to school	• Through the Mahila Shikshan Kendra, Balika Shikshan Shivir and Mahila Samakhya Programme, education is imparted by way of bridge courses, short duration camps, seasonal camps, open school system, etc.

Source: Vimala Ramachandran, 2003.

2.7 UPGRADATION OF SKILLS: GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Skills and knowledge are the driving forces of economic growth and social development. People with higher and better levels of skills are able to handle the challenges of the world more effectively. Education is thus said to have attained its goal only if it can empower people with relevant survival skills. Especially women should be given adequate training and their skills should be upgraded as part of their education programme. The essence of education is said to have reached women, only if they are able to negotiate in the real world, on the strength of adequate skills and knowledge imparted by education. For the holistic development of a person, both academic and vocational streams should be incorporated into the education system.

Skill up gradation has been receiving its impetus in India in recent years, which is evident from the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2010), in which key priority has been given to skill development. Initiatives such as establishing thirty new Central universities, five new Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research (IISERs), eight Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), seven Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), and twenty Indian Institutes of Information Technology (IIITs) are aimed at meeting the challenges of skills development. Further the Eleventh Plan has proposed to initiate vocational education at secondary level (Class IX to X), and perhaps begin even earlier at elementary levels (Class VI to VIII).

The 61st Round of the National Sample Survey (NSS), states that among persons between 15 to 19 years of age, only about 2 per cent is reported to have received formal vocational training and another 8 per cent are reported to have received non-formal vocational training. About 90 per cent of the youth enter the world of work without up gradation of skills. Thus, the basic problem with the skills development system in India is that the system is non-responsive to the needs of the society, and often there is mismatch between the skills required and the skills provided. And moreover, only few training courses with long duration are offered in India. In India, skill acquisition takes place through two basic structural streams: a small formal one and a large informal one. The formal structure includes: (i) Higher technical education imparted through professional colleges; (ii) Vocational education in schools at the post-secondary stage; (iii) Technical training in specialized institutions; and (iv) Apprenticeship training. In China, on the other hand, there exist about 4,000 short-duration modular courses which provide skills more closely tailored to employment requirements.

2.7.1 Skills Development Mission Strategies in India

The government has adopted various strategies to promote skill development and the chief among them is the creation of the National Skill Development Policy and the Skills Development Mission – which has since led to the creation of three institutions, the PM's Skills Development Council, the Skills Development Board, and the Skills Development Corporation. The strategies adopted are as follows:

- Focus laid on enlarging the coverage of the skills spectrum from the existing level. Skills Development programmes are scheduled to be delivered in modules of six to twelve weeks, with an end of module examination/ certification system.
- All Vocational Education (VE) schools are encouraged to engage in partnerships with employers for providing faculty/trainers, internships, advice on curriculum setting, and for skill testing and certification.
- Emphasis is being made on promotion of soft skills like English language skills, quantitative skills, computer literacy, spreadsheet skills, word processing, computer graphics, presentation skills, and behavioural and interpersonal skills.

2.7.2 Skill Upgradation Programmes for Women

The measures taken to upgrade the skills of women, should move beyond the focus of employment and include elements of empowerment and building self confidence. The skill development programme, should enable women to acquire knowledge, skills and education relevant to the requirements of the world. The following are some of the programmes offered to women in India to upgrade their skills:

Jan Shikshan Santhan (JSS): The Scheme of JSS is a multifaceted adult education programme aimed at improving the vocational skill and quality of life of the beneficiaries. The objective of JSS is educational, vocational and occupational development of the socio-economically backward and educationally disadvantaged groups of urban/rural population particularly neo-literates, semi-literates, SCs, STs, women and girls, slum dwellers, migrant workers, etc. Jan Shikshan Sansthan

runs a number of vocational programmes with varying duration of different skills. More than 250 types of courses and activities are offered by these institutions. The trades/courses for which training is imparted include cutting, tailoring and dress making; knitting and embroidery; beauty culture and health care; handicrafts; art, drawing and painting; repair of electrical software, etc.

A) *Support to Training and Employment Programme (STEP):* STEP for women was launched as a Central Sector Scheme in 1987. It has made a significant impact on women in traditional sectors by upgrading skills and providing employment on a project basis by mobilizing them into viable groups, arranging for marketing linkages, support services and access to credit. The Scheme covers traditional sectors of employment such as agriculture, animal husbandry, dairying, fisheries, handlooms, handicrafts, khadi and village industries and sericulture. The scheme is being implemented through Public Sector Organizations, State Corporations, District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs), Cooperatives, Federations and registered Voluntary Organizations which have been in existence for a minimum period of three years.

B) *Kishori Shakti Yojana (KSY):* KSY is being implemented using the infrastructure of Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS). This scheme caters to the needs of adolescent girls in the age group of 11 to 18 years and addresses their needs of self development, improving nutrition and health status, literacy and numeric skills, vocational skills, etc.

C) *Credit Support of RMK:* The National Credit Fund for Women, known as the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK) was set up in 1993 to meet the credit needs of the poor and asset-less women in the informal sector. A recent initiative of RMK is provision of financial assistance to Government Organizations, NGOs, Research Institutions etc. that are involved in the task of providing capacity building, vocational and skill development programmes to women. Apart from this, RMK offers financial support to short-term skill development courses like jewellery designing, tailoring, training in dairy management etc. that are aimed at enhancing the skills of women.

Government organizations like Central Social Welfare Board, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (NIPCCD), etc. supports the programmes of voluntary organizations and give training to women and adolescent girls to improve home-based and vocational skills. Many NGOs have mushroomed in number to provide skill development programmes to women. Apart from this, many other efforts are being taken to empower women by way of skill up gradation programmes.

So far you have read about strategies towards bringing gender equity, government initiatives for education empoperment of women in India and up gradation of skills: gender perspective. Now, answer the questions given in *Check Your Progress 2*.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the various development goals of India with specific reference to education.

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2) Discuss any skill development programme of India with respect to women's education and development.

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2.8 LET US SUM UP

The aim of education is not limited to bringing the girls to formal schools and keeping them there. The goal of education in a democracy is to make all children realize their true potential and take actively participate in the development of our country as responsible citizens. All initiatives of the government and other actors, by way of elementary, secondary and higher education, and other non-formal ways of education, should move forward and promote equality. In addition to this, availability of good quality vocational and life skill educational opportunities, in line with gender concerns can generate the necessary momentum and contribute to attaining the developmental goals. Investment in women's education at one time has a multiplier effect, yielding additional benefits in the future. In summary, education is a powerful tool for promoting gender equity, which in turn would help in reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality, improving health and nutrition, thereby promoting human development.

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2.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) Briefly discuss the agenda of the Kothari Commission report.

Ans. The Kothari Commission has made emphasis on improving the education system, setting up of State Boards of Education, leveling of institutions for equality and setting up of a statutory School Education Commission. Later, the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI), 1975 examined the constitutional, legal and administrative provisions related to the status of women. The report brought out the dismal scenario of women's education and recommended co-education as a long-term policy to promote equality of opportunity.

2) What are the barriers to education for girls ?

Ans. i) *Mental Blocks:* The major factor that affects the education of girls is the deep mental blocks that have been created in the minds of the adults about girls' education. Adults are more skeptical about the efficiency and capacity of girls to participate in the economic work force as decision makers and thus restrict them to take up only limited traditional roles and take softer options as their subject.

ii) *Parental Aspirations and Attitudes:* Parents' expectations from girls are very miniscule, when compared to the expectation they have from boys. Parental aspirations regarding the process of education also differs between boys and girls.

iii) *Poverty:* Poverty acts as the major stumbling block for the education of children, especially for girls. Girls of primary-school age from the poorest 60 per cent of households are three times more likely to be out of school as compared to those from the wealthiest households. Their chances of attending secondary school are even slimmer, and older girls in general are more likely to be out of school.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Discuss the various development goals of India with specific reference to education.

Ans. Developmental goals are helping to focus on achieving equity in education overcoming barriers related to caste, socio-economic background, and regional disparities; promote universal elementary education; assure quality of higher education, and promote vocational education for women.

2) Discuss any skill development programme of India with respect to women's education and development.

Ans. *Support to Training and Employment Programme (STEP):* STEP for women was launched as a Central Sector Scheme in 1987. It has made a significant impact on women in traditional sectors by upgrading skills and providing employment on a project basis by mobilizing them into viable groups, arranging for marketing linkages, support services and access to credit. The Scheme covers traditional sectors of employment such as agriculture, animal husbandry, dairying, fisheries, handlooms, handicrafts, khadi and village industries and sericulture.

UNIT 3 GENDER, HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Structure

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Health: Concept and Indicators
3.3 Gender and Health
3.4 Determinants of Physical Health and Well-being
3.5 The Reproductive Health of Women
3.6 Let Us Sum Up
3.7 Glossary
3.8 References and Suggested Readings
3.9 Check Your Progress – Possible Answers

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Health is one of the most important assets of human being, which is critical to human as well as economic development. Health in general and women and children health in particular is important for the overall health of the family, society and the nation. Health condition of the women and children belonging to the developing countries are lower as compared to the developed nations. This veritably depicts the status of women in the developing society. Women empowerment calls for health empowerment of women. This unit deals with the health and well being aspects of women.

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- Define the concept of health in general and the various components which together ensure health and well-being of a person;
- Analyze the significance of linkages between health and gender that determine the health status of women in the context of prevailing economic and socio-cultural scenario;
- Explain the indicators of women's health in the form of morbidity, mortality, emotional and sexual health etc; and
- Discuss the impact of new technology on the reproductive health of women.

3.2 HEALTH: CONCEPT AND INDICATORS

Before discussing the health status of women and its impact on development, it is essential to know the meaning of health.

3.2.1 Concept of Health

Health has traditionally been associated with a mere absence of disease or ailment, which was limited to or indicated only the physical condition of a person. The other aspects of health which are often considered subjective in nature have so far been neglected. These aspects relate to the emotional and mental well-being

of the person, which often relate to how happy a person has been. In recent times, health has been addressed as something which takes into account all the related components such as mental, social and emotional ones which together constitute or affect the overall personality of a person. With this holistic approach, health has been defined by the World Health Organization as follows-

"Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".

Health connotes the complete well-being of a person each dimension affecting a separate aspect of a person's health.

3.2.2 Components of Health

Health has various components -- physical, mental, emotional, social and sexual with the following characteristics:

- Each component affects a separate aspect of health.
- All components are interrelated.
- Each component affects the other and together determines the health of a person.

A) Physical health

Physical health relates to the absence of a disease, ailment or disability. For instance, a person with no symptoms and physical discomfort caused may be said to enjoy good physical health status. There are various determinants of physical health such as heredity, environment, food intakes and personal hygiene and sanitation.

B) Mental health

Mental health relates to subjective emotions such as depression, anger, anxiety or happiness which connote the mental state of mind. It generally implies the following:

- Control on emotions which determines how one deals with adverse situations;
- Sensitivity to the needs of others which determines how one considers others' needs and requirements while making decisions;
- Confidence in one's own abilities, self-esteem determines one's going ahead in life;
- Freedom from unnecessary tensions, anxieties and worries which determines one's dealing with situations with a sound mind.

C) Social Health

Social health relates to social participation and support and serves the following objectives:

- Form a support group for each other;
- Provide ready-made support or assistance to each other;
- Curb isolation and neglect from the society; and
- Provide a vent or outlet for pent up emotions.

Social health for an individual implies:

- How well one gets along with people around and adjusts in social and community networks;
- How pleasant is a person's mannerism;
- How helpful is a person to others; and
- How well does a person fulfill responsibility towards others.

D) Sexual Health

Sexual health in case of women connotes health status related to reproduction and child birth and number of pregnancies, miscarriages, number of children, spacing between children etc. It is also manifested through the type of family planning measures adopted by women.

3.2.3 Concept of Well-being

Well-being is the composite measure of Health. It comprises all constituents of health in their totality: physical, social, mental and sexual which connote objective as well as subjective conditions of life. Well-being has been defined as the quality of life of an individual or other social unit. Well-being can be assessed through the lens of an individual's subjective assessments of his or her experiences, such as perceptions of emotional or spiritual well-being, or via objective measures such as those indexing physical health (e.g., blood pressure). In addition, cultural definitions of well-being or positive functioning may often be found operating within societies. For example, individuals might be considered to have adequate quality of life when they are gainfully employed and financially self-supporting. Regardless of who is doing the defining individuals themselves, researchers, policy makers, or society at large all definitions carry implicit or explicit values about the elements of positive well-being and the definitions of different entities may differ or even conflict. For example, some individuals equate luxury with high quality of life, but groups concerned with social justice might see such a lifestyle as self-indulgent and question its quality.

3.3 GENDER AND HEALTH

Gender norms and values give rise to *gender inequalities* -- that is, differences between men and women which systematically empower one group to the detriment of the other. The fact that, throughout the world, women on average have lower cash incomes than men is one example of gender inequality. Both gender differences and gender inequalities can give rise to inequities between men and women in health status and access to health care. For example:

- A woman cannot receive needed health services because norms in her community prevent her from travelling alone to a clinic.
- A married woman contracts HIV because societal standards encourage her husband's promiscuity while simultaneously preventing her from insisting on condom use.
- In some countries lung cancer mortality rate for men far outstrips the corresponding rate for women because smoking is considered an attractive marker of masculinity, while it is frowned upon as unfeminine in women.

- In each of these cases, gender norms and values and resulting behaviors are negatively affecting health. In fact, the gender picture in a given time and place can be one of the major obstacles sometimes the single most important obstacle to the achievement of well-being.

3.3.1 Relation between Gender and Health

Gender affects many aspects of life, including access to resources, methods of coping with stress and styles of interacting with others etc. These are the factors that can influence health of a woman either positively or negatively. The relation between gender and health is important because women are discriminated through socio-cultural norms, customs and practices. Some of the socio-cultural factors that prevent women and girls benefiting from quality health services and attaining the best possible level of health include:

- Unequal power relationships between men and women;
- Social norms that decrease education and paid employment opportunities;
- An exclusive focus on women's reproductive roles; and
- Potential or actual experience of physical, sexual and emotional violence.

All the above factors affect the overall health of women in many ways. These economic and socio-cultural factors affect their food intakes and recourse to institutionalized medical care. These factors may be considered separately as under:

i) **Malnutrition:** The strict socio-cultural practices lead to high rates of malnutrition among women since they are the ones who eat last and least after cooking and serving the members of their family. Pregnancy and lactation lead to further depletion of essential nutrients increasing incidence of nutritional deficiency.

ii) **Poor Health:** Females receive less health care than males. Many women suffer with reproductive diseases and multiple pregnancies/miscarriages leading to poor reproductive health among them. Poor working conditions and environmental pollution further impair women's health.

iii) **Lack of education:** The illiteracy among women is much higher as compared to men.

It is a common practice not to send girls to school at all or pull them out of school and entrust them with responsibilities of household work and child care.

iv) **Overwork:** Women work longer hours and their work is more arduous than men's; yet their work is not only unrecognized but also undervalued to quite an extent. Their involvement in economically gainful and reproductive work leaves them with no time to care for their own health.

v) **Unskilled:** The lack of skill among women compels them to take up menial jobs here and there. Poor and inadequate working conditions have a negative bearing on their physical health.

vi) **Mistreatment:** The violence against women adversely affects the health of women.

The alarming rise in atrocities against women such as rape, assault and dowry-related murders has a negative effect on the overall health of women. Female foeticide, infanticide and sex-selective abortions are additional forms of violence that devalue women and lead to "missing girls" or skewed sex ratio.

vii) **Powerlessness:** While women are guaranteed equality under the constitution, legal protection has little effect in the face of prevailing patriarchal traditions. The lack of say in decision-making regarding age at marriage, family size and use of family planning measures deny women the right to good health.

viii) **Traditional definitions of gender:** Tradition defines masculinity as having power and being in control in emotional situations, in the workplace, and in sexual relationships. Acceptable male behaviours include competitiveness, independence, assertiveness, ambition, confidence, toughness, anger, and even violence (to varying degrees). Traditional femininity is defined as being nurturing, supportive, and assigning high priority to one's relationships. Women are expected to be emotionally expressive, dependent, passive, cooperative, warm, and accepting of subordinate status in marriage and employment. These factors are primarily responsible for a low health status among the women.

3.3.2 Health Status of Women: Prevailing Scenario

Health is a basic human right / women's right. The right to health is a fundamental right and the poorer health indices of half the population is a cause for concern. To be able to lead good healthy lives, women need to have access to nutritious food, appropriate medicine to treat illnesses, clean water, safe housing, pollution-free environment and institutional health services. Thus, women's health is determined by the forces working at homes, work places, society and the state. According to Dr Amartya Sen ,

"Burden of hardship falls disproportionately on women" due to seven types of inequality as elaborated by Amartya Sen:

1) *Mortality* – gender bias in health care and nutrition,
2) *Natality*- prevailing sex selective abortion and female infanticide,
3) *Basic facility* – lack of education and skill development,
4) *Special opportunity* –inaccessibility to higher education and professional training,
5) *Employment* – absence of job / in-service promotion and
6) *Ownership* – lack of ownership of home, land and property.
7) *Household inequality*- Basic inequalities in gender relations within the family or the household.

3.3.3 Factors Affecting Women's Health Status

Considerable research has been conducted in the area of gender and health. Various studies have correlated health with nutrition, environment and socio-cultural factors and discussed these factors in the context of availability and accessibility to medical care. Two basic positions on the determinations of health and well-being have been identified by Ross and Raymond. These are particularly

applicable in case of women and their health, these are:

1) Living conditions - these may comprise of poor housing, social and psychological stressors in the family and at work.

2) Medical care – the mere availability of medical care may not necessarily mean its access and utilization by the women.

The World's Women, a report on Women and Health, recognizes certain factors affecting women's health. It specifies that factors like better nutrition, broader access to appropriate health care, improved education and good family planning are keys to improving women's health and reducing their reproductive burden. Owing to multiple roles of women, several studies have emphasized their special medical needs which need to be addressed owing to the productive and reproductive functions performed by them. The cultural norms that are specially cited to affect the women's health are factors like attitude to marriage, age at marriage, the values attached to fertility and sex of child, pattern of family organization and the ideal role demanded of women by social conventions. These factors determine her place within the family, degree of her access to medical care, education and nutrition.

3.3.4 Gender and Access to Institutionalized Medical Care

Among all the factors, the institutionalized form of medical care is intimately related to health and the very life itself, of women. Bryan C. Smith (1979) defines medical care as the services provided directly by physicians to individuals for maintenance and restoration of health and for prevention of disease. It is required at all the stages of illness such as diagnosis of symptoms, treatment, convalescence, follow-up and dissemination of knowledge for the prevention of a disease.The mere availability of medical care cannot ensure good health; much depends upon the extent of its utilization by an individual in sickness. In case of women, besides the economic determinants, socio-cultural factors govern an individual's decision to seek medical services in sickness. Sumaraj points towards the sex and socio-economic status of an individual which determines his decision on whether to use institutionalized medical care or not. Anderson and Associates (1973) developed a descriptive multi-variant model to account for differences in medical utilization. They viewed an individual's decision to seek medical care as a new consequence of the following three variables:

- Predisposing variables;
- Enabling variables; and
- Illness variables.

There is interplay between the predisposing, enabling and illness factors at different stages of an illness that determines when the person takes recourse to institutional medical care. However, these three factors are necessary for an optimum utilization of medical services. The underplay by any one of these factors hampers an individual's decision to seek medical care. The role of these factors is further emphasized in the case of utilization of medical services by women. Several studies point towards under-utilization of institutionalized medical care by women in comparison with the men. Sathyamala and Sundharam argue that health problems of Indian women are primarily related to their social status in society. The lower status of women in comparison with men does not enable

them to utilize medical services as much as men. The utilization aspect of medical care among women was further elaborated by Meera Chatterjee (1988). She identified four broad areas which together determine women's access to and utilization of health services, these are:

i) Need - It is the extent of ill-health and is a measure of the extent to which they must seek health care.

ii) Permission - It refers to the familial, communal and societal norms that dictate whether a woman can or cannot seek health services depending mostly on the economic status.

iii) Ability – It refers to the feasibility of the women to take recourse to the institutionalized form of medical care.

iv) Availability - The availability of health services in general and, specifically for women, determines their access to health care.

As per the above classification, women may have an urgent need to access medical care but they may not be able to take recourse to the services essentially due to unavailable specialized services, lack of permission to seek the same and inability to access the same. For example, women may be very sick and in urgent need of medical care but unavailability of the same may make it difficult for them to access them. In addition, the prevailing medical care may be distantly present from them and they may not have the required permission to use medical facilities due to rigid socio-cultural constraints. A number of studies conducted in the area of women's health and economically gainful employment show a positive relation between the two.

Sumaraj reports that gainfully employed women have lower sickness rates than housewives after controlling for age and excluding sickness from puerperal and female genital causes and occupational injuries. Yoydanoff notes that health levels are the highest among women performing all the three roles – **employed, married and parent;** whereas those performing none have the poorest health. These relationships are additive and not interactive. In apparent contrast, Nancy Woods and Barbara Hulka found in their study that higher number of role responsibilities is associated with the symptoms of poor physical health.

3.3.5 Utilization of Medical Care by Women

Recourse by women to institutionalized forms of medical care largely depends upon their illness behaviour. Mechanic described illness behaviour as the way in which symptoms are perceived, evaluated and acted upon by a person who recognizes some pain, discomfort or other signs of organic malfunction.

Suchman described the stages of illness experienced as five response stages depending upon the interpretation of a particular sickness:

1) **The Symptom experience:** An individual may take the decision to deny the symptoms or pretend that they do not need attention, to delay making a decision until the symptoms are more obvious or to accept them as evidence of a health disorder. She may also attempt to treat herself through the application of folk medicine as self-medication. At this stage, the women may be aware of this symptomatic stage but may not feel it important to be

alarmed owing to their preoccupation with household/family responsibilities. They may try some household remedies or self-medication at this stage.

2) **Assumption of Sick Role:** After accepting the symptom experience as indicative of an illness, the person enters this role. She is allowed to relinquish normal social obligations, provided permission is obtained from her lay-referral system. While lay remedies may continue, she is again faced with a decision to deny the illness and perhaps seek medical care. At this stage, the symptoms may persist or even aggravate making the woman consider her sickness seriously. She may consult her husband and other family members or whether to consult a doctor or not.

3) **Medical care contact:** The person attempts to obtain legitimization of her sick role status and to negotiate the treatment procedures. At this stage, the women may consult the doctor after observing that the illness symptoms have aggravated and she cannot perform her work roles efficiently.

4) **The Dependent – Patient role:** The person undergoes the prescribed treatment but still has the option to either terminate or continue treatment. At this stage, the women follow the medical prescription religiously to be able to recover fast in an eagerness to normalize the household equilibrium, which has been disturbed due to her illness.

5) **Recovery and Rehabilitation:** The patient relinquishes the sick role and resumes the normal social role. This may happen at the recuperating stage when women sideline the sickness symptoms/medication and get back to normal routine without even waiting to completely recover from their sickness.

The women pass through various stages of illness experience, taking recourse to institutionalized medical care based on self-perception which is greatly conditioned by the existing societal expectations. The women may not consider her illness seriously if the family does not consider it so or if it is disturbed with the assumption of women taking up the sick role. The women's illness is invariably related with their household responsibility. Their illness is the most disturbing of all to the family equilibrium. William C. Cockerman draws attention towards the role of social processes / contexts in influencing an individual's decision to use professional medical services. Just as certain specific social conditions are considered stressful by some, not by all, so too some individuals recognize particular physical symptoms such as pain, high fever or nausea and seek out a physician for treatment. Others with similar symptoms may attempt self-medication or dismiss the symptoms as not needing attention. Vibhuti Patel analyzes recourse to medical care by women. She says that women avail four types of health services. First of all the majority of women try home remedies, failing which they approach either a homeopath, ayurvedic doctor, unani healer or the allopath. Those who cannot afford private practitioner's fee go to a trust-run clinic/hospital, government hospital or primary health care centre (PHC) or the health care facilities provided by non-governmental organizations. She adds that during the last decade, yoga, meditation, reiki, aerobics have become extremely popular among the middle and upper class educated women, while the poor women approach witch doctors.

In this section you have studied about, health: concept and indicators, gender and health. Now, answer the question given in *Check Your Progress 1*.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the components of health?

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2) What are the socio-cultural factors that prevent women and girls benefiting from quality health services?

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3.4 DETERMINENTS OF PHYSICAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

The physical well-being is determined by the quantitative and qualitative aspects of food intakes. It is also influenced by the quality of housing and the basic facilities available for living. For a working woman, the place of work is very important in terms of physical comfort and ambience. In case of women in particular, the components of reproductive health have a direct bearing upon their physical well-being. Some of them include: age at marriage, number of children, spacing between children, duration of breast feeding and adoption of family planning measures.

3.4.1 Food Intakes

Food intakes need to be assessed on the basis of two aspects – quantitative and qualitative. While the quantitative aspect deals with the amounts or quantities of food items consumed by an individual, the qualitative aspect deals with a wide range of micro-and- macro nutrients required for keeping the body healthy.A balanced diet containing carbohydrates, protein, vitamins and minerals is crucial for maintaining a healthy body and mind. Several studies indicate a high incidence of malnutrition / nutritional deficiency among women. Only 10 percent of women

are fortunate to have the privilege of nutritious diet. A majority of women in our country work more than men and for longer periods but their energy expenditure is not compensated by dietary intake as it is inadequate and lacks in nutrition. India has the highest prevalence of iron deficiency anemia in the world. Around 87 percent of pregnant women, 68 percent in the reproductive age group and about 60-70 percent of adolescent girls in our country are anemic. This is the major reason for high level of morbidity among Indian women. One of the contributing factors for the prevailing health statistics among Indian women is the socio-cultural notion of women having the sole responsibility of cooking and serving food to the family members. This status demands them to ensure that all are well-fed and eat as per their needs and wishes. It has been observed that women eat the last in the family. They cook and serve and many a times, forgo their share voluntarily for their children and other family members given the fact that limited or measured quantities of food are cooked in a majority of households.

In addition, there are food taboos which deny women particular food items. Frequent fasts and voluntary denial of food on several occasions lead to nutritional deprivation among the women.

3.4.2 Common Illnesses and Medical Care

Women-specific common illnesses are aches/pains (back, head, stomach, uterine); weakness, fevers, respiratory problems, skin, eye, ear problems; and reproductive problems such as reproductive tract infection, white discharge, endometriosis etc.A study by CEHAT (The Centre for Enquiry into Health and Allied themes), an NGO, reveals that morbidity is much higher among women than men. Middle aged women have arthritis, menopause related hot flushes and uneasiness, osteoporosis, migraine and swelling of legs. In both rural and urban areas, the proportion of physical immobility is higher among elderly women than among elderly men. As regards medical care facilities, women are last ones to be taken to a doctor and they have the least access to rest, healthy recreation, exercise and sports. All these combined together aggravate the situation and further deteriorate women's health.

3.4.3 Attitude towards Women's Health

Social discrimination against women results in systematic neglect of women's health from womb to tomb. Female infanticide and female foeticide are widely practiced in relatively less developed states such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh and also more developed states such as Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat. As per 2001 census, there were only 933 women per 1000 men, out of which 53.1 crore were males and 49.6 crores were females, causing a deficit of 3.5 crore women. In Kerala state, sex ratio is the most favourable leaving the 0-6 age group which was 963 (Census 2001). The total population of the state was 36.5 lakhs out of which 18.6 lakhs were male babies and infants and 17.9 lakhs were female babies and infants. Thus 79760 female babies and infants were missing in 2001 in Kerala. This masculinization of sex ratio is the result of selective abortion of female foetus after the use of ultra-sound techniques to determine the sex of the foetus. As a result of sex determination and sex pre-selection tests, the sex ratio of the child population has declined to 927 girls for 1000 boys. Sixty lakh female infants and girls are 'missing' due to sex selective abortion of female foetuses and pre-conception rejection of daughters.

Table 3.1: Population in 0 to 6 age group in India

Infants and children - All	15.8 crores
Male infants and children	8.2 crores
Female infants and children	7.6 crores
Deficit of female infants and girls	6 lakhs
Sex ratio of child population	927

Source: Census of India; 2001

While understanding the implications of unfavourable sex ratio, the government has come up with measures to stop female infanticide. The Tamil Nadu government introduced the 'Cradle Baby Scheme' urging parents to leave their unwanted baby girls at cradles provided in hospitals, primary health centers and orphanages and encouraging them to take them back if they changed their minds. The Delhi Government started the 'Laadli scheme' to promote school education of girls through financial support. The negative attitude towards women's health is the major reason for high levels of prenatal mortality and morbidity including low birth weight babies.

3.4.4 Vicious Cycles and Poor Women

The vicious cycles of poverty generate the vicious cycle of ill health. For the mother, poverty leads to low intake of food and nutrients, which results in under-nutrition and repeated infestation from nutrition related diseases and infections. This affects them in terms of stunted development and growth faltering. Hence they have small body size as adults, which impairs productivity; as a result they have low earning capacity. The end result is poverty and its perpetuation. In case of the girl child, poverty forces only three options: child labour, child marriage and child prostitution. Poverty coupled with control over women's sexuality, fertility and labour is manifested in neglect and discrimination against the girl child, whose life is made difficult with malnourishment, early marriage and an impoverished mother who gives birth to a low weight baby. In case the baby born is female, she faces discrimination, repeated pregnancies/deliveries in a yearning for a male child. This vicious cycle ultimately results in maternal mortality death. The miserable reproductive health profile of Indian women is due to the clutches of early marriage and pregnancy, high prevalence of reproductive tract infection, ignorance, high infant mortality rate, lack of control over fertility, sexuality and contraception, repeated pregnancies and miscarriages. The nutritional needs of lactating mothers require special attention for the health of the infant as well as the mother in the long run.

3.4.5 Violence and Health Issues over the Life Cycle

The health issues for women take roots even before they are born. As unborn children, they face covert violence in terms of sex-selection and overt violence in the form of female foeticide after the use of amniocentesis, chorion villi biopsy, sonography, ultrasound, and imaging techniques. The social preference for a male child leads to infertile couples approaching the IVF (In Vitro Fertilization) clinics for assisted reproduction. Aggressive advertisements such as, "Invest Rs 500 now and save Rs 50000 later" add to the booming market for tailor-made sex of the child. The message delivered is, "if you get rid of your daughter now, you

will not have to spend money on dowry". As girls under five years of age, women face neglect of medical care and education, sexual abuse and physical violence. As adolescent and adult women in the reproductive age group, they face early marriage, early pregnancy, sexual violence, domestic violence, dowry harassment and infertility. If they fail to produce children, they face desertion, witch hunt etc. All these forms of discriminating practices lead to a high maternal mortality rate. The common causes of maternal deaths in India are hemorrhage, abortion, infection, obstructed labour, eclampsia (blood pressure during pregnancy), sepsis and anaemia. Due to an increasing number of cases of domestic violence, dowry deaths and bride burning, the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) has launched a project, Dilaasa (meaning reassurance) in K.B. Bhabha Municipal General Hospital to provide psychological and social support to women facing domestic violence. This programme has been launched in collaboration with an NGO, CEHAT.

3.4.6 Home and Work Conditions

The National Perspective Plan for Women called for a need to identify and give due consideration to the special housing needs of women. It recognized the need to provide necessary facilities in homes in order to lessen the burden and drudgery of women in performing the productive and reproductive roles. Lack of space at home forces women to perform multiple tasks within limited "shared space". The reproductive tasks such as child care, breast feeding are simultaneously performed within the "public space" at home. There remains no concept of privacy in this situation. On home front, scarcity of fuel-wood, fodder, water and herbs due to deforestation has taken a heavy toll on women's health. The rural and tribal women have to walk for miles for these basic survival needs of human beings and animals. Desertification in Western India has accentuated women's survival struggles as they have to depend on adhoc public works programmes. The environmental phenomena, i.e., global warming has brought back older epidemics such as cholera, typhoid, malaria, dengue and hemorrhagic fever. The commercially burgeoning sex trade has made two million sex-workers potential carriers of HIV, STD and AIDS. The women in prostitution invariably suffer from T.B., STDs, malnutrition, malaria and skin diseases due to dilapidated living conditions. Married women are prone to HIV infections occurred from their husbands. The data from ante-natal clinics across seven cities in India reveals that HIV-AIDS prevalence rates among pregnant women are 2 percent to 3.5 percent in Mumbai and 1 percent in Hyderabad, Bangalore and Chennai.

The contemporary modern lifestyle and environment has increased breast and uterine cancer among Indian women. The techniques meant for detecting cancer such as self- examination of breast and pap smear are rarely used by women. As a result, detection of cancer and its treatment at earlier stage becomes impossible. With commercial interests, the liquor industry aggressively promotes alcoholism among the toiling poor. Due to addiction, the men do not contribute to the daily running of the household. The women have to shoulder the major burden of household expenditure. Use of bio-fuels such as wood, dung, crop residue resulting into indoor pollution takes away the lives of 5 lakh women annually. For working women, office or place of work occupies a very important place. Since the respondents spend most of their daytime in office, its physical environment has a direct bearing on their health and well being. Neat and airy work stations improve physical health and are soothing for mental well-being. On the other hand, cluttered,

dingy and crowded work areas have an adverse effect on health. The offices in the contemporary private sector provide better working conditions than those in the conventional government sector. The toilet and drinking water facilities add to the quality of working conditions. Sexual harassment at the work place should be treated as an occupational health hazard as it causes damage to both the physical as well as mental health of women. All the professions carry one or the other form of this kind of hazard for the women.

3.5 THE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH OF WOMEN

An important component of physical well-being of women is their reproductive health. It includes information about their fertility behaviour such as age at marriage, number of children, spacing between pregnancies, location period and usage of family planning measures.

3.5.1 Adoption of Family Planning Measures

Family planning measures have a direct bearing upon a woman's health. Too many pregnancies and children have a negative effect on a woman's health. There are temporary as well as permanent family planning measures available in the market. The temporary measures are physical and chemical methods. The surgical method, tubectomy, is the only measure for women which is permanent in nature. For the male members, vasectomy is the permanent method. The family planning measures work with dual purpose- (1) prevent unwanted conception, and, (2) space between two pregnancies/children. A majority of our population does not use any contraceptive methods for birth control. Female sterilization is the most widely prevalent method of contraception. Usage of pill, Intra Uterine Device (IUD) and male sterilization is 2 percent for each of the three. Condom use constitutes only 3 percent of the total.

Table 3.2 Use of contraceptive methods

Contraceptive method	Use
Pill	2.00%
IUDs	2.00%
Condom	3.00%
Male sterilization	2.00%
Female sterilization	34.00%
Any traditional method/other method	5.00%
Not using any method	52.00%

Source: National Family Health Survey: 1998-99

Contraceptives targeted at women with serious effects are Quinacrine, Norplant, Depo-Provera, anti-fertility vaccine, RU 486. The side effects of long acting hormonal contraceptives are menstrual disturbance, circulatory and cardio-vascular problems, thyroid, chest pain, giddiness, migraine, increased risk of cancer and infertility. Contraceptive research in Asian countries treats coloured women as raw material for experimentation on eugenics. Women resort to abortion when faced with unwanted pregnancy due to failure of contraceptives or due to

non-utilization of contraceptive methods. According to UNICEF, about 50 lakh abortions are performed under the health services network while 45 lakh by the illegal practitioners/quacks. 10 percent of all maternal deaths are due to unsafe abortion, which result in hemorrhage, infection, incomplete evacuation, cervical lacerations, uterine perforations, thromboembolism and anesthetic complications. A spontaneous abortion often results in severe blood loss and is therefore considered very harmful as it can cause anemia and weakness.

3.5.2 Emotional and Mental Well-being

The socially constructed differences between men and women in roles and responsibilities, status and power interact with biological differences between the sexes to contribute to differences in the nature of mental health problems suffered, health-seeking behaviour of those affected and responses of the health sector and society as a whole. Emotional well-being refers to the ability of a person to cope with a certain situation without showing signs of anxiety or aggression. In the case of working women, stress may be manifested in three forms: job-induced tension, somatic (physical) tension and general fatigue and unhappiness. These types of stress may be evident in the day-to-day life of women. The stress may bring instability or low emotional well-being among the women. However, mental and emotional health has been the most neglected as far as women are concerned. The stress generated due to major life instances such as divorce, widowhood, family illness, financial hardship and substance abuse destroy an individual's ability to cope with and function effectively. Suppression of the extremities of an abusive relationship results in acute mental stress and trauma. In countries like India, economic dependency along with social and financial pressures trap women in abusive relationships, both physical and mental, forcing them to hide their anguish. In many instances, social workers and psychiatrists are approached by husbands to issue 'mentally unfit' certificates so that they can flash them in the court of law to demand divorce. The mentally ill women do not find a place in homes. Even after their recovery, they have to languish in mental asylum. There is a need for half way-homes where mentally ill women can work for a few hours under the supervision of professional workers and then go home in the evening. Psychotherapy, mutual and group counseling should be promoted. Shock therapy and chemical treatment should be avoided as it negatively impact women already in distress.

3.5.3 Modern Health Care Facilities for Women

Women are perceived as mothers and not individuals in their own right. They are therefore covered under MCH (mother and child programme). However, MCH does not cover a majority of Indian women. Only 49.2 percent of the pregnant women received antenatal check-up by health professionals. The health workers visited only 21 percent of pregnant women. Tetanus toxoid coverage of pregnant women was 53.8 percent and Anemia prophylaxis coverage among pregnant women was 50.5 percent.Institutional deliveries are still a remote reality with a majority of women delivering at home. They constituted only 22 percent of deliveries at the national level. Urban areas were better covered: 55 percent as against a meager 18 percent in rural areas. Every 5000 population has an auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM) with the responsibility to attend child birth. Only a negligible part of home-births are attended by ANMs.

3.5.4 New Reproductive Technologies (NRTs) and Assisted Reproduction

NRTs perform the following types of functions:

In Vitro Fertilization and subsequent embryo transfer, GIFT (Gamete Intra Fallopian Transfer), ZIFT (Zygote Intra Fallopian Transfer), Cloning assisted reproduction. Contraceptive technologies prevent conception and birth. Amniocentesis, chorion villi biopsy, ultrasound are used for prenatal diagnosis. It is important to examine scientific, social, juridical, ethical, economic and health consequences of the NRTs. These technologies have made women's bodies a site for scientific experimentation.

NRTs in the neo-colonial context of the third world economies and the unequal division of labour between the first and the third world economies has created a bizarre scenario and cut throat competition among body chasers, clone chasers, intellect chasers and supporters of femicide. It is important to understand the interaction among NRT developers, providers, users, non-users, potential users, policy makers and representatives of international organizations.

3.5.5 Selective Elimination of Females at the Pre-conception Stage

The Human Development Report in South Asia 2000 focusing on the gender question recorded 3178 cases of female infanticide in six districts of Tamil Nadu in 1995. In Mumbai only, in 1984, 84 percent of gynecologists admitted that they were performing amniocentesis and there were 40000 known cases of female foeticide. The supporters of sex-selection tests for selective elimination of girls/ female foetuses, apply law of demand, i.e., reduction in the supply of girls will enhance their status but historical evidences do not support this argument. There had been a continuous decline in the sex ratio since 1901 to 1971, from 972 per 1000 men to 930 per 1000 men respectively. In 1981, the sex ratio was 933 women per1000 men, a slight increase but in 1991, it became the lowest in the history of the Census, 929 women per 1000 men. In 2001, the sex ratio for the total population was again 933 per1000 men.

The regional trends are reflected in the sense that Haryana had the most depressive scenario as a result of misuse of these tests. According to 2001 Census, the sex ratio in Haryana is 861 women for a thousand men, the lowest among the major states in India. The current slogan is 'Sons are rising and daughters are setting'. A per the UNFPA study, female foeticide has been the main cause of the widening sex ratio in Haryana. As per a report (Hindu:19-10-2001), 'In the last six years, the number of sex-selective abortions have increased from 62000 to 69000 in Haryana and from 51000 to 57000 in Punjab. This reckless scale has pushed the fertility rate down from 3.3 to 2.9 in Haryana and from 2.9 to 2.2 in Punjab leading to reduction of birth rate but at what cost? A study conducted in nine provinces viz. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh which were known for high rates of abortion. This study revealed that the impact of sex-selective abortion is seen in terms of widening gender gap among the 0-6 years age group, in Punjab and Haryana, two of the most economically prosperous states.

Table 3.3: Sex Ratio among the states with widespread use of sex determination tests (0-6 years age group)

States	1991	2001
Punjab	875	793
Haryana	879	820
Gujarat	928	878
Maharashtra	946	917

Source: Census of India, 2001

The argument that prenatal diagnostic tests give women a choice to select a child of desired sex is unacceptable as women's 'choices' are made within the patriarchal compulsions to produce sons. The women are not taking these decisions autonomously. Threat of desertion, divorce and ill-treatment force them to opt for sex determination and sex pre- selection tests.

Between 1975 and 2001, there was gross violation of The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (1972) and Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Regulation and Prevention of Misuse Act (1994). Amniocentesis, chorion villi biopsy and pre-conception sex selection tests were provided by the technodocs on the door-to-door service basis in some states. Several towns and cities in Maharashtra, Punjab, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu provided these tests on payment. As a result there is a decline in sex-ratio in the 0-6 years age group, i.e., there are 927 girls per 1000 boys in our country as per 2001 census.

The issue here is: At this rate, can we allow Indian women to become an endangered species? We need to counter those who believe that it is better to kill a female foetus than to give birth to an unwanted female child. This logic is not only short-sighted but fatalistic too. The technodocs do not challenge anti-women practices such as dowry; they instead display an advertisement,' Better Rs 5000 now than Rs 5 lakhs later'. i.e., better spend Rs 5000 on female foeticide than Rs 5 lakhs as dowry for a grown up daughter. By this logic, it is better to kill poor people or third world masses rather than let them suffer in poverty and deprivation. This logic also presumes that social evils such as dowry are God-given and that we cannot do anything about them. Hence victimize the victim. The population control policies need to be seriously looked at to ease the burden on women caused due to unfriendly and biased NRT experimentation. To achieve population stabilization, 2.1 percent growth rate of population and NRR-net reproduction rate of 1 (i.e., one mother should be replaced by one daughter only) are envisaged. These have inherent sexist bias because of the desire for sons. This would further widen the gap between number of girls and number of boys in the country.

3.5.6 Effects of Contraceptive Research

Women have been the main target for population control programmes. Hormonal pills (Estrogen-Progesterone combinations), injectible contraceptives (Depo-Provera, Depot Medroxy Progesterone acetate, Net En-Norethisterone Enanthate) and anti-fertility vaccine have been foisted on Indian women's bodies without any concern for collateral damage in terms of thyroid, migraine, chest pain, giddiness, upsetting of regular cycle of the women's body. Researches by scientists and doctors of women's groups have shown 78 side effects of these hormone-

based contraceptives. Latest in the list and still more harmful is Quinacrine as a contraceptive, which is being supplied through private routes without the permission of the drug controller or approval of the Indian Council of Medical Research.

3.5.7 Social Well-being

Social well-being deals with social life: interaction with kinship groups and indulgence in entertainment activities. It forms a part of non-working outdoor life, which excludes the home and office time of working women. These activities help one get rid of routine boredom and refreshes the mind and body. These activities release renewed energy in the routine life of working women and they may get better prepared to face everyday routine. Interaction with friends and relatives helps one adjust to difficult situations through interactive talks and discussions. Solutions to personal problems may even be found in certain situations. The participation in interpersonal linkages and networks strengthen social health of a person. It indicates acceptance of the person in the kinship groups that she has formed around her growth in profession may add to high levels of emotional well being among the working women. For instance, the corporate sector is characterized by a flat organizational set up. It does not have a well defined, hierarchical structure with too many ranks and positions. However, there is a lot of scope for growth in terms of responsibility and number of tasks to be handled by an employee. In the public sector, promotions in rank and position are done on the basis of performance in work. There is no time-bound scheme of promotions in the corporate sector, which would ensure them a rise in their position within the organization. Every year, Work Appraisal Reports are written and work is evaluated in the light of a company's performance and work targets. Personality traits like commitment and attitude to work, behaviour at work and spirit of team work and mutual growth are also considered here. Growth in profession or job leads one to be happy and contented.

In this section you have studied about determinants of physical health and well being, the reproductive health of women. Now, answer the question given in *Check Your Progress 2.*

Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Answer the following questions in about 50 words.

b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Why is reproductive health of women important?

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2) Why is social well-being important?

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

There is a need to situate women's health in the overall macro parameters. The gender divide in the access of health care and health cost is so sharp that women have to access informal providers and informal care. Gender audit in health should be done on the basis of identifying issues for re-orientation at each stage of women's life cycles, focusing on the problems of each group of women. In order to address the problems concerning women's health, a holistic life span approach is needed. Women as growing human beings, homemakers, mothers and elderly citizens face different types of health related issues. Women's health is determined by the material reality generated by socio-economic cultural forces as well as gender relations based on subordination of women. Failure to recognize the relationship between gender and culture and refusal to tackle these issues result in poorer health status of women. It is important to make men aware about women's specific health needs. Women and health movement in India has come of age. Women's groups are examining health issues of women from political economy perspective. With the worsening economic crisis, nutritional needs of women are not fulfilled. Structural adjustment programmes have affected budgetary allocation for women's overall health needs. Heavy funding is available only for the population control policy. People's health movement is highlighting the issues of the public distribution system, public health and sanitation. The National Health Policy has become a rallying point for heated debates on socio- psychological health needs of Indian women. Demystification of medical knowledge and campaign against over-medicalization of women's health needs have been the top most priority for the women's health movement in India. The campaign for people's right to health has criticized the Draft National Health Policy stating that the health needs of women,children, the aged and the handicapped are hardly addressed in the draft.

3.7 GLOSSARY

Malnutrition : Refers to both under nutrition and over nutrition. People are malnourished if their diet does not provide adequate nutrients for growth and maintenance or if they are unable to fully utilize the food they eat due to illness. They are also malnourished if they consume too many calories (over nutrition).

Biopsy : It is a medical test involving the removal of cells or tissues for examination. It is the medical removal of tissue from a living subject to determine the presence or extent of a disease.

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3.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS - POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1) What are the components of health?

Ans. Health has various components -- physical, mental, emotional, social and sexual with the following characteristics:

- Each component affects a separate aspect of health.
- All components are interrelated.
- Each component affects the other and together determines the health of a person.

2) What are the socio-cultural factors that prevent women and girls benefiting from quality health services?

Ans. Some of the socio-cultural factors that prevent women and girls benefiting from quality health services and attaining the best possible level of health include:

- Unequal power relationships between men and women;
- Social norms that decrease education and paid employment opportunities;
- An exclusive focus on women's reproductive roles; and
- Potential or actual experience of physical, sexual and emotional violence.

Check Your Progress 2

1) Why is reproductive health of women important?

Ans. An important component of physical well-being of women is their reproductive health. It includes information about their fertility behaviour such as age at marriage, number of children, spacing between pregnancies, location period and usage of family planning measures.

2) Why is social well-being important?

Ans. Social well-being deals with social life: interaction with kinship groups and indulgence in entertainment activities.These activities help one get rid of routine boredom and refreshes the mind and body. These activities release renewed energy in the routine life of working women and they may get better prepared to face everyday routine. Interaction with friends and relatives helps one adjust to difficult situations through interactive talks and discussions.

MDV-004: Gender and Development: Concepts, Approaches and Strategies (6 CREDITS)

BLOCK 1	**CONCEPTS OF GENDER**
Unit 1	Basic Concepts of Gender
Unit 2	Social Construction of Gender
Unit 3	Gender and Development Indicators
BLOCK 2	**APPROACHES TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Trends in Feminism
Unit 2	WID-WAD-GAD-Part I
Unit 3	WID-WAD-GAD-Part II
BLOCK 3	**STRATEGIES IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT**
Unit 1	Affirmative Action:Inclusive Policy and Substantive Equality
Unit 2	Meeting Gender Needs through Planning
Unit 3	Engendering Governance
BLOCK 4	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-1**
Unit 1	Gender and Labour Market
Unit 2	Women and Entrepreneurship Development
Unit 3	Gender in Agriculture and Environment
Unit 4	Women in Informal economy
Unit 5	Women in Work-Paid and Unpaid
BLOCK 5	**GENDER IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS-II**
Unit 1	Gender , Denocracy and Development
Unit 2	Gender and education
Unit 3	Gender, Health and Well-Being