
UNIT 1 GENDER ISSUES IN WORK

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Changing Gender Composition of the Work Force
- 1.4 Gendered Segregation of Work
- 1.5 Gender Discrimination at the Workplace
 - 1.5.1 Wage Gap
 - 1.5.2 Glass Ceiling
 - 1.5.3 Sexual Harassment
 - 1.5.4 Double Burden
- 1.6 Women and Work in Rural Areas
- 1.7 Redefining Work
- 1.8 Unpaid Work
 - 1.8.1 Measuring Unpaid Work
 - 1.8.2 Gender segregation of Labour in Unpaid Work
- 1.9 Conclusion
- 1.10 References
- 1.11 Answers to check your progress

1.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

Labour force participation is often seen as the prime indicator (and cause) of changes in women's status as employment determines their access to resources and their ability to make independent decisions. Work plays an 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 work has been divided in to '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 unrecognised, uncounted and unpaid, thus invisible: work in the home, in agriculture, food production and the marketing of home-made products, for example. This whole arena of unpaid work is often neglected because first of all, until recently most of it was not considered work; and secondly, because it is much more 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.

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

1.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, You should be able to:

- analyze the origin and implications of gender segregation of work;
- discuss types of gender discrimination at the workplace;
- explain the importance of redefining work from a gender perspective; and
- discuss the importance of unpaid work.

1.3 THE CHANGING GENDER COMPOSITION OF THE 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 1 Labour force participation rates (percentage)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The table suggests that a little more than one-fourth of women (28.7 percent) in India participate in workforce at present. This is only marginally higher than the Women Workforce Participation Rates (WWPR) of 28.2 percent in 1972-73.³ As a consequence of this low participation, Indian women continue to form a majority of the Indian poor.

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

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

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

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

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

1.4. GENDERED SEGREGATION OF WORK

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

Gender division of labour occurs because a precedent sanctioned by society exists where women are allotted one set of gender roles and men 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 possess the necessary skills. Similarly, it is

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

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

Gender segregation is the process in which women and men end up in different types of occupation, so that two different types of labour markets may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the concept of Gender marking which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions.

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

be highly gender-segregated in practice.⁶

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

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

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

Gender segregation is the chief obstacle facing women who seek to enter the labour force. This is a form of discrimination that has led to gender inequality. Reflected in work as an unequal gender division of labour, it encompasses situations in which there is an unequal division of the rewards of labour by sex. The most 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.

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

The Informal Sector

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

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

It is important to note that gendered division of labour also exists within the informal sector. Women are especially numerous in the lowest-paid and most exploited categories of work: in small enterprises where they may work in sweatshop conditions or as outworkers; in the simplest types of self employment, with minimal capital, tools, and raw materials; as unpaid family workers; in domestic work; and in commercial sex work. The range of jobs women perform is as limited in the informal sector as it is everywhere. "It is not that women lack initiative or business ability; on the contrary, the way women are able to scrape an income together on the basis of almost no inputs but their own labour and ingenuity inspires admiration and respect. But when the margins are too tight, it is almost impossible to turn survival activities into growth."⁸

For many years certain assumptions existed like women either could not do a job or 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 the world of work.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

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

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

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

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

1.5 GENDER DISCRIMINATION AT THE WORKPLACE

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

1.5.1 Wage Gap: Income discrimination

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

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

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 the. For example, clerical work was once a practically all-male labour force that paid

reasonably well as it was considered a highly skilled occupation. Today the gender distribution has changed in many countries and, most clerical workers are female. As a result, clerical work was re evaluated as less demanding of skill and less valuable to an organization; thus workers' wages fell.¹⁰

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

1.5.2 Glass Ceiling

More women are hired at the lower rungs of an organization. The low status of this work means women exert less control over their work environment and have lower decision making powers. There is persistent discrimination against women in promotion which keeps women in low wage positions with little opportunities for upward mobility. Women thus face a double obstacle in attempting to achieve workplace equality. The first is that of centuries old gender ideologies that bar them from entering well paying occupations 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’”.¹²

“Men sometimes resent assertive, unemotional women and perceive them to be acting like men. Yet, men also judge women who are passive and emotional as being unsuitable for management.” (Kanter 1977a) So women often have to walk a fine line and work towards being perceived as tough, and yet “feminine” in order to be accepted as a “good manager”. It has been seen in several cases when men and women who started out on a

career path together, find themselves in very different levels after ten years—In most cases, men will be at a more senior level than the women.

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

- Women themselves: Lack of education and training; lack of a continuous career as a result of breaks for child-rearing, and a preference for part-time working; lack of the confidence or drive to succeed.
- Personnel policies and organizational career structures that are shaped by the traditions of a male career: lack of provision for career breaks and re-entry; lack of appropriate provision for women's management development; and lack of provision for flexible contracts at higher levels.
- Organisational climate and the attitudes of senior management: lack awareness of the pervasiveness of masculine assumptions; lack of interest in the need for strategic change to increase the utilization of female resources; and lack of support for the few women who do succeed.(Adapted from *The Journal of General Management*)

1.5.3 Sexual Harassment

According to the EEOC, sexual harassment is defined as follows¹³

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

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

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

1.5.4 Double Burden

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

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

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

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

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

2. Discuss the issue of income discrimination

3. Why are women underrepresented in management?

1.6 WOMEN AND WORK IN RURAL AREAS

Roughly 3 out of 4 women the world over live in rural areas, the majority of them working in agriculture or related activities. Women not only grow crops, but also pick fruit and tea; look after cattle and poultry; weave, spin, and make pottery; and sell goods. This is usually as unpaid workers on family farms or enterprises; in most cases where they are engaged in paid labour, it is casual, temporary or seasonal. Though women's waged employment has been increasing in many Asian countries, their wages remain much lower than those earned by men.

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

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

Official statistics on the participation of women in food and agricultural production are still not available with the required amount of detail. This means that food and agricultural policies, and rural development programmes are gender neutral, and do not adequately address the concerns and needs of women. “Planners tend to underestimate or ignore:

- the nature and scope of women’s separate and autonomous operations;
- the extent of the reliance of men on women’s labour and inputs;
- the uneven distribution of income and resources within the household.”¹⁶

1.7 REDEFINING WORK

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

Women, do both productive and reproductive work, and these categories often merge into each other. In fact their reproductive work contributes to production. The work that women put in subsidizes the production and maintenance of the work-force. “Because women ‘labour for love’, society in general and employers in particular are saved the expense of the upkeep of the workforce, either in terms of providing communal services – canteens, child care, laundries – or in terms of paying wages high enough to cover the real costs. Their ‘non- productive’ work in fact makes an enormous economic contribution.”¹⁷

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

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

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

In India, in censuses prior to 2001, women’s economic pursuits were not recorded/ reported adequately, resulting in low female work participation rate (FWPR). In the 2001

Census, several measures were taken to address the shortcomings by taking measures for gender sensitization of both the collectors of data and the people in general.

What defines valuable work?

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

Judgments about the value of different types of work are essentially subjective, and as societies change and evolve, these judgments may also change. There often is little about the work itself that determines its value... Whether “women’s work” will be perceived as more valuable in the future remains to be seen.”¹⁹

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

1.8 UNPAID WORK

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

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

Unpaid work includes unpaid activities such as:

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

What is still left out is:

- **Meal preparation, laundry and clothes care, household maintenance, management and shopping for own household**
- **Care of children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household**
- **Volunteer community services and help to other households or people**, which are provided on a ‘voluntary basis’ either directly or indirectly through volunteer-based organizations and groups.²⁰

1.8.1 Measuring Unpaid Work

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

Measuring and valuing unpaid work in national statistics was one of the main issues at the fourth world conference on women at Beijing in 1995. It became clear improving data on the full contribution of women and men to the economy required new accounting and the implementation of time- use data—that is measuring work by time allocation. Time-use data provide detailed information on how individuals spend their time, on a daily or weekly basis. They reveal the details of an individual's life with a combination of specificity and comprehensiveness not achieved in any other type of social survey. Hirway²² cited the key contributions of time-use data in fostering a better understanding of the economy and society. Time-use statistics can be useful because they move away from the vexed questions of economic contribution and occupational categories, and look at what people actually do: they measure time spent on all activities, productive and reproductive, and the classifications used are not based on occupational groupings.

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

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

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

1.8.2 Gender segregation of Labour in unpaid work

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

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

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

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

<u>Africa</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Northern Africa	25	7
Southern Africa	27	14
Rest of sub- Saharan Africa	35	18
(b)		
<u>Latin America and the Caribbean</u>		
Caribbean	2	2
Central America	7	6
South America	7	3

<u>Asia</u>		
Eastern Asia	8	1
South-eastern Asia	25	9
Southern Asia	40	11
Western Asia (b)	34	7
<u>Developed regions</u>		
Eastern Europe	6	4
Western Europe	4	1
Other developed regions	3	1

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

- a) Sometimes referred to as “unpaid family workers”.
- b) Sparse data for this sub region: average should be interpreted with caution.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

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

1. What is Unpaid labour?

2. How can we measure unpaid work?

-
-
-
3. Discuss gender segregation in unpaid work.
-
-
-

1.9. SUMMING 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.

1.10 GLOSSARY

Work Force Participation Rate: It is the proportion of 'working' population to total population

Labour Force: It excludes children below the age of 15 and old people above the age of 60

Worker: It is one gainfully employed or one working for a livelihood- excluding unpaid family workers

1.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

numbers within the global workforce, while men's participation rate has been decreasing slightly.

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

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

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

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

In most industrialized countries, opportunities for women in general were restricted until the Second World War and the two decades of rapid economic growth that followed. The

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

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

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

2. Gender segregation is the process in which women and men end up in different types of occupation, so that two different types of labour markets may be said to exist, female and male. This segregation has evolved from the concept of Gender marking which takes place by a process in which the qualifications and characteristics of an occupation become associated with gender. This gives us an idea of which gender a person should have for a particular job. Gender marking becomes apparent when occupations become female or male. In theory, gender

segregation may be seen as a result of gender marking of qualifications, characteristics, occupations and work functions.

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

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

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

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Wage Gap, Double burden, Glass Ceiling and Sexual Harassment

2. One of the direct consequences of gender segregation in paid work is wage differentials. Gender based difference in pay is a definitive sign of inequality at the workplace. In most countries, equal pay legislation exists; however, the gender segregation of work makes allows the easy application of different remuneration rates to 'men's work' and 'women's work'. Women tend to be in jobs that are poorly paid and lack a career structure; even in mixed workforce jobs, women are more likely to be at the levels of lower responsibility. Further, there are a high percentage of women who work on a part-time or temporary basis. Some other factors that contribute to women's lower wages include the constraints on women that do not allow them to do overtime, night shifts etc., the interruption due to pregnancy that affects accumulation of seniority etc. Trade Unions have usually failed to take up these concerns because they have been male-dominated, and these issues have not yet entered the mainstream of their agenda.
3. The entry of women onto the labour market has not meant any lessening of domestic chores. Most women are still solely or mostly in charge of housework and child care. In order to fulfil all their responsibilities at the workplace and at home, women end up working longer hours. This phenomenon is called 'double shift' or 'double burden'. Due to this women are underrepresented.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. Unpaid work, such as domestic work or work based in homes, entails no protective legislation, no social security, and is assigned low social status. This lack of income seriously affects women's ability to improve their lives.
2. A major breakthrough occurred when Canada's 1996 Census became the first to collect data on unpaid work. It divided unpaid work into three categories: housework, care of children, and care and assistance to seniors but left out volunteer work with community or charity organizations. However, it was an important first step in measuring and recognizing women's unpaid work. One of the interesting findings of this census was that unpaid work is perhaps the biggest contribution that women make to the economy as most of it is performed by

women. A significant number of countries have chosen to adopt *time-use surveys* to measure unpaid work. Japan, Australia, Mali, Morocco, South Africa, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Palestine, Cuba, Ecuador, and many European countries have designed or undertaken surveys. while many other countries have expressed interest. Efforts are now being made to improve the methodology: it has been recognized that it lacks precision in breaking down different activities, and that underestimation persists both of time spent and of the range of tasks undertaken.

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

1.10. REFERENCES

1. The World's Women (2000), Trends and statistics, social statistics and indicators. Series K. No. 16. New York: United Nations.
2. Ibid
3. Jose S (2007), Women, paid work and empowerment in India: a review of evidence and issues. New Delhi: Centre for Women's Development Studies.
4. Bullock Susan (1994), Women and work. London & New Jersey: Zen Books.
5. Cleveland Jeanette N, Stockdale Margaret, and Murphy Kevin R (2000), Women and men in organization: sex and gender issues at work. Mahwah, New Jersey London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
6. Westberg H (1998), Different worlds, in women's health at work. Sweden: National Institute for Working Life.
7. Bullock Susan (1994), Women and work. London & New Jersey: Zen Books.
8. Ibid

9. Cleveland Jeanette N, Stockdale Margaret, and Murphy Kevin R (2000), Women and men in organization: sex and gender issues at work. Mahwah, New Jersey London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
10. Kimmel Michael S (2008), The gendered society 3rd edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
11. Ibid
12. Ibid
13. Cleveland Jeanette N, Stockdale Margaret, and Murphy Kevin R (2000), Women and men in organization: sex and gender issues at work. Mahwah, New Jersey London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
14. Bullock Susan (1994), Women and work. London & New Jersey: Zen Books.
15. Ibid
16. Ibid
17. Ibid
18. Ibid
19. Cleveland Jeanette N, Stockdale Margaret, and Murphy Kevin R (2000), Women and men in organization: sex and gender issues at work. Mahwah, New Jersey London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
20. Integrating Unpaid Work into National Policies, (2003), United Nations.
21. World Bank (1995), World Development Report. Appendix 3. New York.
22. Hirway (2000), Time-use studies: conceptual and methodological issues with reference to the Indian time-use survey.” Proceedings of the International Seminar on Time-Use Studies, 7-10 December 1999, Ahmedabad. New Delhi: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation.

Suggested Readings

1. Agarwal B (1994), A field of one's own: gender and land rights in South Asia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 572.
2. Kabeer Naila (2001), Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. In Sevefjord, Birjitta and Berit Olsson

- (eds.) Discussing women's empowerment: theory and practice, SIDA Studies No. 3.
3. Walters V [et.al...] (1995), Paid and unpaid work roles of male and female nurses. In Invisible: Issues in women's occupational health and safety/ Invisible: La santé des travailleuses/ edited by Messing K, Neis B & Dumais L. Charlottetown, PEI: Gynergy Books.
 4. Kilborn Asa, Karen Messing and Carina Bildt Thorbjorsson (eds.) (1998), Women's health at work. Sweden: National Institute for Working Life.
 5. Men and masculinity, gender and development (Oxfam) Vo.5 (2) June 1997.
 6. Committee for Asian women, many paths, one goal: organising women workers in Asia (CAW, Hong Kong, 1991)
 7. Kishwar Madhu and Ruth Vanita (eds.) (1984), In search of answers: Indian women's voices from Manushi. London: Zed Books.
 8. Raghavan Chakravarti (1992), Recolonization: GATT, the Uruguay Round and the Third World. Malaysia: Third World Network, Penang.
 9. Sen Gita and Caren Grown for DAWN (1988), Development, crises and alternative visions: third world women's perspectives. London: Earthscan
 10. United Nations Development Programme (1989), Women in development: project achievement reports. New York: UNDP.

1.11 QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND PRACTICE

1. Discuss the valuation women's work.

UNIT 2 VALUATION OF WOMEN'S WORK

Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Concept and analysis of women's work, paid and unpaid work
- 2.4 work
- 2.5 Valuation of productive and unproductive work
- 2.6 Visible and invisible works
- 2.7 Gender roles
- 2.8 Under enumeration of women's work in the Indian data collection system
- 2.9 What constitutes a women's work?
- 2.10 Reasons for under enumeration and under valuation
- 2.11 Low asset base and perception of work
- 2.12 Subsidiary productive work
- 2.13 Why visibility so important?
- 2.14 Some reasons for statistical invisibility
- 2.15 Economically productive and socially productive work
- 2.16 Economic status, private property and participation of women in pre-industrial and industrial societies
- 2.18 Theories of women and work
- 2.18 Patriarchy and male dominance: Goldberg
- 2.19 Patriarchy, Male organization and job segregation: Hartmann
- 2.20 Rational Choices within families: Becker
- 2.21 Preference Theory: Hakim
- 2.22 Feminist debates
- 2.23 Organized & Unorganized Sectors
- 2.24 Employment of women
- 2.25 Employment profile in the public sector
- 2.26 The impact of Globalization on women workers in India
- 2.27 Women's contribution to national income
- 2.28 Summing Up
- 2.29 Glossary

2.30 Answers to check your progress exercises

2.31 References

2.32 Questions for reflection and practice

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Women play a crucial role in the Socio-economic development of a country. But both in the industrially developed and less developed countries, women's are burdened with cumulative inequalities as a result of discriminatory socio-economic practices. The situation is much worse particularly in the case of rural women. The crucial role played by women in agricultural production. Agricultural women labourers have become one of the burning topics of today all over the world and particularly India. In primitive agricultural systems the difference in productivity between male and female agricultural labour is (assumed to be) roughly proportionate to the differences in physical strength and hence wage rates are also roughly proportional to the difference in Physical strength. Generally speaking, if work distribution is done on the basis of physical stamina, perhaps women is to be given lighter work and hence eligible for lesser wages. Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein on their study on "Women's Two Roles" point out that transplantation of seedlings usually performed by women is a tough job. The women frequently having to stand in water, six inches deep, moving backwards in the bending posture as they transplant the seedling for eight hours a day is no doubt a tough job. The bundles of seedlings pulled out from the nurseries need to be transplanted with minimum delay.

Although agriculture in Japan is highly mechanized, it has not liberated the farm women altogether from the hard and drab routine of farming tasks. Even where rice farming has been mechanized much manual labour remains to be done and this

work is invariably assigned to women. The actual work of transplanting rice seedling into flooded paddy fields and of weeding the paddies through the summer is considered women's job in Japan, years of literally back breaking labour have produced elderly women with spines so bent they cannot stand upright.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- analyze Women's role in household work and its value;
- explain Variation methods of valuing and difficulties in valuing women's work;
- examine relationship between economically productive and socially productive work;
- trace the Women's participation in pre-industrial society and industrial society;
- apply Contribution of women to National Income;
- describe Invisibility of women in work and how to make their work visible (Indian data collection system); and
- explain women's role in unorganized & organized sector.

2.3 CONCEPT AND ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S WORK, PAID AND UNPAID WORK

Before we start the discussion on the women and work, it is necessary to understand the poem written by Amrita Pritam : House Wife.

The House Wife

If women's husband is asked

What does his wife do

The answer is

My wife does not work

then

Who bears this world in her womb? Who gives birth to the farmers, the workers ?
Who cooks, washes, cleans and fills water ? Looks after the child and the sick ?
Whose labour gives men leisure for ligucer tobacco and card session ? Whose labour
gives men their strength to go to work? Who labours without being noticed? Mutely
working, without being paid without being, appreciated ever.....AMRITA
PRITAM

According to United Nations Statistics women constitute 1/2 of the world's
population, women perform 2/3 of the world's work, women earn 1/10 of the world's
income, women are 2/3 of the world's illiterates and women own less than 1/100 of
the world's property. Gender inequality is still very evident in this respect, as
indicated by the above U.N. Statistics.

As per 2001 census, 23% of women are in the work force. 94% of all working
women are in the informal sector.

Women all around the world have been doing paid, under paid and largely
unpaid work, in homes, factories, fields, forests and mines. Over and above 3C's
Cooking , Cleaning, and Caring, large number of women do activities such as
collection of fuel, fodder and water, animal husbandry, Kitchen gardening, poultry. If
women would have not done this work, these goods and services would have to be
purchased from the market. Census of India has defined 'work' main workers,
marginal workers, cultivators, agricultural labourers, household industry workers,
other workers and non workers as follows.

2.4 WORK

Work is defined as participation in any economically productive with or without compensation, wages or profit. Such participation may be physical and/or mental in nature. Work involves not only actual work but also includes effective supervision and direction of work. It even includes part time help or unpaid work on farm, family enterprise or in any other economic activity. All persons engaged in 'work' as defined above are workers. Persons who are engaged in cultivation or milk production even solely for domestic consumption are also treated as workers.

Reference period for determining a person as worker and non-worker is one year preceding the date of enumeration.

MAIN WORKERS

Those workers who had worked for the major part of the reference period (i.e. 6 months or more) are termed as main Workers.

MARGINAL WORKERS

Those workers who had not worked for the major part of the reference period (i.e. less than 6 months) are termed as marginal Workers.

CULTIVATOR

For purpose of the census a person is classified as cultivator if he or she is engaged in cultivation of land owned or held from Government or held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share of crop and who does not even supervise or direct cultivation of land, is not treated as cultivator. Similarly, a person working on another person's land for wages in cash or kind or a combination of both (agricultural labourer) is not treated as cultivator.

Cultivation involves ploughing, sowing, harvesting and production of cereals and millet crops such as wheat, paddy, jowar, bajra, ragi etc. and other crops such as sugarcane, tobacco, ground-nuts, tapioca, etc., and pulses, raw jute and kindred fiber crop, cotton cinchona and other medicinal plants, fruit growing, vegetable growing or keeping orchards or groves, etc. Cultivation does not include the following plantation crops- tea, coffee, rubber, coconut and betel – nuts (areca).

AGRICULTURE LABOURERS

A person who works on person's land for wages in money or kind or share is regarded as an agricultural labourer. She or he no risk in the cultivation, but merely works on another person's land for wages. An agricultural labourer has no right lease or contact on land on which she/he works.

HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY WORKERS

Household Industry is defined as an industry conducted by one or more members of the household at home or within the village in areas and only within the precincts of the house where the household lives in urban areas. The larger proportion of workers household industry consists of members of the household. The industry is not run on the scale of a registered factory which qualify or has to be registered under the Indian Factories Act.

OTHER WORKERS

All workers, i.e. those who have been engaged in some economic activity during the last one year, but are not cultivators or agricultural labourer or in Household Industry, are 'Other Workers' (OW). The type of workers that come under this category of 'OW' include all government servant, municipal employees,

teachers, factory workers, plantation workers, those engaged in trade, commerce business transport banking, mining, construction, political or social work, priests, entertainment, artists, etc. In effect, all those workers other than cultivators or agricultural labourers or household industry workers, are ‘Other Workers’

NON WORKERS

A person who did not at all work during the reference period was treated as non-worker. The non-workers broadly constitute students who did not participate in any economic activity paid or unpaid, household duties who were attending to daily household chores like cooking, cleaning utensils, looking after children, fetching water etc. and are not even helping in the unpaid work in the family form cultivation or milching, dependant such as infants or very elderly people not included in the category of worker, pensioners those who are drawing pension after retirement and are not engaged in any economic activity. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes and persons having the reference period. Others, this category includes all Non-workers who may not come under the above categories such as rentiers persons living on remittances, agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, convicts in jails or inmates of penal, mental or charitable institutions doing no paid or unpaid work and persons who are seeking/available for work.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

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

1. Define work

2.5 VALUATION OF PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE WORK

Productive and unproductive labour were concepts used in classical political economy mainly in the 18th and 19th Century; which survive today to some extent in modern management discussions, economics sociology and Marxist or Marxian economic analysis. The concepts strongly influenced the construction of national accounts in the USSR and other Soviet-type societies.

The debate about the economic and social function of housework and its relation to worker's oppression is an old one that has been a feature of both the first and second wave women's movements in the US, Britain and Europe. In both eras, the underlying issue is how to handle the public / private split of capitalist societies in which women's reproductive functions have either limited their work to the home or created on 'second shift' problem of unpaid housework and child care as well as waged work. In the first wave located as, it was in the Victorian period where the dominant ideology for middle and upper class women was purity, piety, and domesticity (cult of true motherhood), the debate centred on whether to keep housework in the private sphere yet to make it more scientific and efficient, or whether to 'socialize' it by bringing it into the public sphere, as socialist Charlotte Perkins Gilman advocated (1898).

American writer economist and lecturer, an early theorist of the feminist movement, refused to call her "feminist" her goal as a humanist was to campaign for the cause of women's suffrage. Gilman saw that the domestic environment has become an institution which oppresses women. Gilman's best theoretical treatise is *women and economics* (1898), in which she attacked the old division of social roles. According to Gilman, male aggressiveness and material roles of women are artificial

and not necessary or survival any more. There is no female mind. The brain is not an organ of sex. As well speak of a female lever.(Women & Economics 1898) Only economic independence could bring true freedom for women and make them equal partners to their husbands. In concerning child (1900) Gilman advocated professional child-care.

The sexual division of labour and social and economic value of women's work in the home has been a problem that scholars have struggled with at least since the advent of the "second wave" women's movement, but it has never entered into the primary discourses of political science. "Mill, political economic, and women's work", research article by Nancy Hirschman argues that John Stuart Mill's Political economy provides innovative and useful arguments that address this thorny problem. Productive labour is essential to Mill's conception of property, and property was vital to women's independence in Mill's view. Yet since Mill thought most women would choose the 'career' of wife and mother rather than working for wages, then granting that work productive status would provide a radical and inventive foundation for women's equality. Mill, however is ambiguous about the status of domestic labour, and is thereby representative of a crucial failure in political economic thought, as well as in egalitarian liberal thought on gender. But because Mill at the same time develops a conception of production that goes well beyond the narrow limits offered by other prominent political economists, he offers contemporary political scientists and theorists a way to rethink the relationship of reproductive to productive labour, the requirements for gender equality, and the accepted categories of political economy.

2.6 VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE WORKS

Gender based discrimination has been identified at each level of social organization or arrangement used for fulfilling human wants be it the family or community or the labour market. It has been pointed out that the existing system has an inherent bias in which women's economic roles are perceived as subsidiary or secondary to their role as 'home-markets'. This systematically pushes women out to the category of non-working members of society included under the label 'house wives'. Therefore, a recurrent demand of the feminists is for ensuring 'visibility' of women as workers in the macro data systems 'The existing frame work of data collection deny this visibility'.

One implication of the feminist critique in the context of low income countries has been the re-examination of the concepts and methods used for recording and measuring participation of women in economic activities both within and outside the home. A major part of research and analysis in this area in recent years is related to the question of visibility of women in statistics. Aspects that have been considered are the under enumeration of women in the work force, non-recognition of unpaid work in agriculture and other family or household enterprises, and methodologies for improving data.

2.7 GENDER ROLES

The biological differences between men and women do not normally change; people are either male or female. However, the characteristics they are perceived to have, and the roles and responsibilities assigned to them, differ among societies, cultures, and historical periods.

MEN'S ROLE

Today, in the world's more industrialized countries there are few lines of demarcation between men's and women's occupations. However, in many less industrialized societies men have more visible and recognized roles than women, largely because men are paid for their productive work and women are not in these societies, men's roles usually involve jobs which are assessed and counted in national censuses and accounting systems,. Men do not usually perform domestic or household tasks.

If they have community management roles, these tend to involve political organization and leadership. Women handle community organization and hands-on activities.

WOMEN'S ROLE

Women's roles in most societies fall into three categories: productive (relating to production of goods for consumption or income through work in or outside the home). Reproductive (relating to domestic or household tasks associated with creating and sustaining children and family), and community management (relating to tasks and responsibilities carried out for the benefit of the community). Women must balance the demands of these three different roles and should be recognized for their contributions.

The tasks women usually perform in carrying out their different roles do not generally earn them an income . Women are often defined exclusively in terms of their reproductive roles, which largely concern activities associated with their reproductive functions. These reproductive roles, together with their community management roles, are perceived as natural. But because these roles do not earn income, they are not recognized and valued as economically productive. Women's

contribution to national economic development are, therefore, often not quantified and invisible.

In many societies, women also carry out productive activities such as maintaining smallholder agricultural plots in farming systems. These tasks are often not considered work and are often unpaid. Women may also perform many roles which attract wages in both the formal and informal economic sectors. But women's economically productive roles, in contrast to men's are often under valued or given relatively little recognition.

Gender roles and responsibilities vary among cultures and can change over time. In India, unskilled labor is considered "Women's work" while in Africa it is "men's work." In Europe and the United States, the contribution men make to domestic activities is becoming increasingly important and visible.

Half of the humanity consists of women. They form large chunk in the productive work. But it never got recognized by the people or in the census of India. The census has defined what is productive and what is not productive. Most of the rural women engage in the non-formal activities but all those works never get recognized. The study done by Jain and Chand the following activities are found to be done by women but never been valued as a productive activity.

Ploughing, digging, Sowing , Harvesting, Cutting grass from field, Weeding fields, total agricultural activities, husking, winnowing, parboiling, grain husking, cattle grassing, goat grazing, cattle milking, feeding, total of activities allied to agriculture, Production of straw mats, patch work quit, ropes, domestic servants work, selling (stationer, grains, fruits, fresh vegetables, wood), manual labour in non-

agriculture activities for wages, Begging total of household activities, cooking, sweeping, washing clothes, cleaning utensils, fetching water, total of household activities, domestic work, schooling of children, playing with children, time spent in child care (feeding, putting to sleep, bathing etc.), total child care activities.

All these activities are considered to be non wage labour. But if one looks keenly into these entire activities one would find that women play a major role in all these activities. No one can deny that. But all these activities find as a wage labour, because of the definitions that one find in the census.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

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

1. What are the categories of the women's role?

2.8 UNDER ENUMERATION OF WOMEN'S WORK IN THE INDIAN DATA COLLECTION SYSTEM

Although statistical records about Indian economy are still far from adequate, there is now a history of over a hundred years of official attempts of obtaining an estimate of the total number of economically active population in the country. Ever since its inception in 1972, the decadal population census system of India had continuously tried to categories the total population into those with income earning activities and those without. These attempts were further refined by the 1961 census when, for the first time was introduced the concept of the worker, i.e. a person

engaged in a socially productive activity, whether income yielding or not. Since 1950 the Indian National Sample Survey (NSS) has also been collecting similar information about participation in work or economic activity (whether gainful or not) through repeated sample surveys. Apart from other official data collection systems, these two, the population census and the NSS continue to be important and regular sources of the information by sex, region and age for the Indian population.

The adequacy of the conceptual framework and procedure adopted by data collection agencies in collecting information about the extent of economic activities especially of the female population has always been a matter of academic concern. The debate has gained special importance in the last decade not only in the developed countries but also in the third world especially in India.

Official Indian statistics indicate that women continue to lag behind men in all spheres of life – social, political and especially economic. Their economic activity appears to be considerably less important than that of men. In recent years, women's participation in the labor force has never been more than 28 percent of the total female population. However there is now a considerable literature, especially by the feminist authors, arguing that these figures do not reflect the full extent of Indian Women's involvement in productive activities, both within the household and outside in wider economy. This is so they argue because the concepts measures and techniques used by these data collection systems are not appropriate for Indian situation. Customs and traditions about sexual division of labour place women in such an unfavorable situation that a large part of their work bypasses the perception of men and women. This lack of perception is reflected also in the design of data

collection machinery so that while the system gives satisfactory results for men, it fails singularly in the case of women.

In view of these repeated references in various national and International forums to the faults of the Indian data collection systems with regard to women's work, the question needs careful scrutiny and study. What makes the problem even more interesting is the fact that in spite of these widespread criticisms, the Indian data collection system stands on a distinctly better footing as compared to the third world countries, especially those countries where there are cultural restrictions on women disclosing their participation in productive work done both for household and for society. This issue is raised here because of the national and international gatherings organized to discuss women's questions in developing countries and gaps in their data base. India's distinctly different position is seldom highlighted. Tasks formulated there are often considered equally applicable to all third world countries including India. Very little is said about the fact that even the relatively sophisticated Indian data collection system fails to capture all the relevant work situations that are common to all backward especially, rural economies. The entire system needs to be suitably reconstructed and adopted to the conditions of each country.

2.9 WHAT CONSTITUTES A WOMEN'S WORK?

Any difference of analytical significance between men's work and Women's work cannot be clearly understood unless a critical analysis of pattern and conditions of their work is made. A basic difference observed in the work style practiced by women and men is that, while women predominantly work indoors, men spend the major time in outdoor work. In other words, the former's work is essentially restricted to the private sphere of "households" while the latter works mainly outside the "household" boundary. This is not to say that women do not perform any outdoor

work or men do not perform any indoor work within the private sphere of household. It is only that the respective domains of work of women and men i.e. where they spend their major part of their working time are different. The choice of the domain of work, particularly for women, does not in the main, rest on their freewill. It is primarily the result of relegation by tradition of the responsibility of house making or house keeping work (often termed “house work” or “domestic work”) to women in almost all societies.

More over, all under developed countries including India are marked by the predominance of agriculture and household based production units where there is non wage employment of family members. This is especially true of the subsistence or non market part of such productive activities. In these household economic units, work for generation of output and income is divided amongst men and women according to some set patterns. While these patterns of divisions of labour between men and women are not identical in all regions within India, there is a general tendency to assign women roles which can suitably combined with house hold tasks which are regarded as their primary responsibility. Therefore their productive task tends to be mainly confined to the private, indoor domain of the household. Also their participation in the household productive activities is likely to be intermittent, casual and often marginal. This is generally true though at times, especially in the busy seasons of agriculture, women are required to bear the full load a days productive work along with or some sacrifice of their regular household tasks including care of children and the aged.

2.10 REASON FOR UNDER ENUMERATION AND UNDER VALUATION- INVISIBILITY OF WOMEN'S WORK

On careful study of women's work pattern, what appears to be striking is their ingenious technique of combining the two distinct types of activities, "household" and "productive" work. However, because housekeeping work keeps women occupied for much longer hours in a day, often the other productive or gainful part of the total work burden is lost sight of. Not only is this productive part of their daily activities often visible to the outsider, i.e. to the statistical enumerator but also to the male and even female members of the household themselves. The task appears to be small and not worth attaching separate identity, not to speak of value to them. This element of invisibility associated with women's productive work's is an important reason for its under enumeration under valuation.

2.11 LOW ASSET BASE AND PERCEPTION OF WORK

The invisibility issue discussed above becomes especially important in the non marketed or subsistence sector. Where the output generated in the household based units of production is not sold or exchanged in the market but is directly consumed by the household. The subsistence sector, its existence is also an indicator of underdevelopment, comprises of household with a low assets base be it land area or cattle or spindle. Because of the small size of the asset base, the household normally does not think of generating marketable surplus; whatever is produced there goes into household consumption. Because total productive work input of household members will be much less in such household as compared to that in household having a large asset base, the contribution of women members of households as participation in generating this non marketed product can only be small in absolute size, which in major case is performed only intermittently together with women's other work of

house keeping, is more often likely to be lost in reckoning in effect the work also becomes “invisible”

2.12 SUBSIDIARY PRODUCTIVE WORK

The invisibility question may once again appear in predominantly wage or salary earning households, which, decides the house site, some land utilized as a kitchen garden or for keen a few poultry birds, a cow, a buffalo or a few goats. Products accruing either one or all of these assets are often not adequate for satisfying the needs of the household itself. Compared to the main work related to wage salary earnings by the man and to the house keeping by the women, work performed in such subsidiary productive activities both by men and women will be so small and marginal as to be totally ignored for separate identification; most probably women’s participation in these productive activities will be taken as integral part of the “household” and will not be counted as “work”. Men’s participation in wage/salary earning will necessary be their major work and will obviously counted as “work” in statistical enumeration.

The most interesting part of the story is that women themselves will most probably agree with this kind of assessment by statistical enumerator of their contribution towards the productive activity pursued in the household. In other words, their perception of their own role may be no different than that of the men or of the statistical enumerator. This is the main crux of the perception problem confronted by the Indian data collection system.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

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

1. Write few reasons for the under enumeration of women’s work.

2.13 WHY VISIBILITY SO IMPORTANT?

First of all, it is important in the interest of veracity and accuracy. Economics stops where real life begins. More important however the damage invisibility is does to women's status. By a quirk of definition women's work which is crucial to survival becomes marginal and women who support everyone else appear dependant. This has serious implication for policy. If we do not recognize the utter indispensability of women's work, we are unlikely to treat it as a matter of consideration let alone policy or planning. Any intervention that seeks to improve the life of the people, by not taking into account, the range of activities women undertake may remain unaware of the impact on households.

Most of the time the above said productive activities are a pre condition for all other work. Treating them as if they did not exist is there fore to disort not only reality but to ignore the interdependence of household work and outside work.

Women's work should be...

Ignoring the welfare of the half of the population is not merely injustice but will be a crime that will come home to roost because women through their special role in reproducing the human race affected every one. If women's work burdens are not understood, their energy requirements get under estimated affecting their health and the quality to children born to them. A major need for policy intervention could be to

improve the productivity of the invisible work. Introduction of technology that is blind to this will be self defeating.

A few examples are given below and they show the gross inaccuracies inherent in the statistics:

In the 1970, Jain and Chand found that 20 out of 104 females reported as non-workers in a west Bengal village, in the census, were actually winnowing, threshing parboiling or working as domestic servants for eight to ten hours a day.

Gail Omvedt found 239 women workers in one area where the census counted 38 and 444 women's workers in another area where the census listed 9.

Swapan Mukhopadhyay is survey of 5,981 women's workers in six cities found that the labour force participation rate of women was four times greater than that stated in the census.

The invisibility of women's is shockingly clear from the following example. Prem Chowdhary refers to an inquiry into dairy development in Ambala, which reported no female to be a worker in animal husbandry. In fact even a cursory familiarity with agriculture shows, women are very clearly allied with animal husbandry, from bringing in fodder, cutting chaff, preparing food mix for cattle, giving water and fed, bathing and cleaning cattle cleaning cattle sheds, treating sick cattle, making dung cakes, storing them, making compost etc. Yet their contribution remained invisible. The NSS 1993-94 household survey reports that 29 percent of rural and 42 percent of urban women were engaged only in household work and were without work even in the subsidiary status. Subsequently, they noted, that 58 percent of women characterized in this way in rural areas and 14 percent in urban areas were

actually maintaining kitchen gardens, household poultry, collecting fish, collecting firewood, husking paddy, grinding food-grains, preserving meat, preparing gur, making baskets etc. or in other words they were engaged in economic activities NSS calculates the percentage of wrongly classified women as constituting 17 percent of women in rural and 6 percent in urban areas. The NSS further states that “an upper limit of women worker population ratio can approximately be obtained by raising the ratio of women workers by this percentage” but does not takes the logical next step and make the correction.

2.14 SOME REASONS FOR STATISTICAL INVISIBILITY

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

Bias of the interviewer.

Bias of male head of household/respondent.

Poorly constructed questionnaires.

Cultural bias regarding women working outside the home and under-reporting of it.

The nature/style of women’s work where they perform several tasks in a day for small amounts of time, so classification based on one main activity is difficult.

Dominance of domestic work leading to under reporting of other work.

Mistaken perception of women’s roles by respondents and interviewers.

Intermingling of production for self-consumption with production for sale.

Contribution to economic activity at pre-marketing, less visible or non-monetized stage.

Contribution to 'family' occupations like agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving cottage industry, where the contribution of women gets merged with that of the family and becomes invisible.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

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 the reasons for the invisibility of women's work in statistics?

2.15 ECONOMICALLY PRODUCTIVE AND SOCIALITY PRODUCTIVE WORK

In the second wave movement, theorists can be grouped by their theory of how housework oppresses women. Typically, liberal feminists critique housework because it is unpaid. This makes women dependent on men and devalued, since their work is outside the meaningful sphere of public economic production (Friedan 1963). Marxist feminist theorists see this as part of the problem, but some go further to maintain that housework is part of a household feudal mode of production of goods for use that persists under capitalism and gives men feudal powers over women's work (Benston 1969, Fox 1980). Other Marxist feminists argue that women's housework is part of the social reproduction of capitalism (Federici 1975, 2004 ; Malos 1975 ; Vogel 1995). That the necessary work of reproducing the working class is unpaid allows more profits to capitalists. It is the sexual division of labor in productive and reproductive work that makes women unequal to men and allows

capitalists to exploit women's unpaid labor. Some even make this analysis the basis for a demand for wages for housework (Dalla Costa 1974; fedrici 1975)

One of the philosophical problems raised by the housework debate is how to draw the line between work and play or leisure activity when the activity is not paid : is a mother playing with her baby working or engaged in play? If the former, then her hours in such activity may be compared with those of her husband or partner to see if there is an exploitation relation present, for example, if his total hours of productive and reproductive work for the family are less than hers (cf. Delphy 1984). But to the extent that childrearing counts as leisure activity, as play, as activity held to be intrinsically valuable ((Ferguson 2004), no exploitation is involved. Perhaps childrearing and other caring activity is both work and play, but only that portion which is necessary for the psychological growth of the child and the workers(s) count as work. If so, who determines when that line is crossed ? Since non-market activity does not have a clear criterion to distinguish work from non-work, nor necessary from non-necessary social labor an arbitrary element seems to creep in that makes standards of fairness difficult to apply to gendered household bargains between men and women dividing up waged and non-wages work. (Barrett 1980).

2.16 ECONOMIC STATUS, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Both the changing historical relations between human work and nature, and the relations humans to each other in the production and distribution of goods to meet material needs construct human nature differently in different historical period : nomadic human are different than agrarian or industrial humans. Marxism as a philosophy of history and social change highlights the social relations of work in

different economic modes of production in its analysis of social inequalities and explanation, including relations of domination such as racism and sexism. Within capitalism, the system they most analyzed, the logic of profit drives the bourgeois class into developing the productive forces of land, labor and capital by expanding markets, turning land into a commodity and forcing the working classes from feudal and independence agrarian production into wage labor. Marx and Engel's argue that turning all labor into a commodity to be bought and sold not only alienates workers by taking the power of production away from them, it also collectivizes workers into factories and mass assembly lines. This provides the opportunity for workers to unite against the capitalists and to demand the collectivization of property, i.e. socialism, or communism.

According to Engels's famous analysis of women's situation in the history of different economic modes production in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1942), women are originally equal to, if not more powerful than, men in communal forms of production with matrilineal family organizations. Women lose power when private property comes into existence as a mode of production. Men's control of private property, and the ability thereby to generate a surplus, changes the family form to a patriarchal one where women, and often slaves, become the property of the father and husband.

The rise of capitalism, in separating the family household from commodity production, further solidifies this control of men over women in the family when the latter become economic dependents of the former in the male breadwinner-female housewife nuclear family form. Importantly, capitalism also creates the possibility of women's liberation from family-based patriarchy by creating possibilities for women

to work in wage labor and become economically independent of husbands and fathers. Engel's stresses, however, that because of the problem of unpaid housework, a private task allocated to women in the sexual division of labor of capitalism, full women's liberation can only be achieved with the development of socialism and the socialization of housework and childrearing in social services provided by the state. For this reason, most contemporary Marxists have argued that women's liberation requires feminists to join the working class struggle against capitalism (Cliff, 1984)

Many Marxist-feminist thinkers, prominent among them sociologists and anthropologists, have done cross-culture and historical studies of earlier forms of kinship and economy to see the role of the sexual or gender division of labor in supporting or undermining women's social power (cf. Reed 1973, Leacock 1972, Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). They have also attempted to assess the world economic development of capitalism as a contradictory force for the liberation of women (Saffioti 1978) and to argue that universal women's liberation requires attention to the worse off: poor women workers in poor post-colonial countries (Sen & Grown 1987). Other feminist anthropologists have argued that other variables in women's role in production are key to understanding women's social status and power (Sanday 1981; Leghorn and Parker 1981). Yet other feminist economic historians have done historical studies of the ways that race, class and ethnicity have situated women differently in relation to production, for example in the history of the United States (Davis 1983; Amott and Matthaei : 1991). Finally some Marxist feminists have argued that women's work in biological and social reproduction is a necessary element of all modes of production and one often ignored by Marxist economists (Benston 1969; Vogel 1995)

2.17 THEORIES OF WOMEN AND WORK

There is no shortage of theories claiming to explain women subordinate position in the labour market and in the family. All of them are plausible have some element of truth in them. Very few of them have been subjected to rigorous testing in a wide range of cultures. In 'theorizing patriarchy' Sylvia walby reviews the enormous number of theories that have been offered in the last 20 years to explain women's relatively subordinate position in society and the work force or, as she puts it women's exploitation and oppression. However her review like so many other discusses theories in the terms of their intellectual merits and explanatory adequacy. Theory is not right or wrong. Theory is either useful, or not useful in making sense of the world, helping one to understand changed processes and formulate further questions to address. On this basis there are four main theories that are currently useful for understanding women social and economic position.

The most important competing theories today are Steven Goldberg's theory of inevitability of male dominance and patriarchy based on Psycho-physiological process : Heidi Hartman's theory of men's collective organization to further their own interests against those of women through trade unions, the legal system and political organizations as illustrated by a pattern of occupational, segregation that is to men's advantage : Gary Becker's rational choice theory of the allocation of time and labour to domestic work and employed based on the role specialization of husband and wife : and Catherine Hakim's preference theory showing that women (and men) chose between home – centered, work – centered and adaptive life style after women gain genuine choices in modern liberal societies. Between them these theories cover the full range of explanation so far offer : physiological, psychological, sociological and

economic. The four theories discussed here all provide for different time period answer ultimate questions of why particular social structures and institutions have been created and maintained by women as well as men even though they appear to disadvantage women. The theories also identify what needs to change for women's position to improve.

The pattern of women's employment and non work remains central to any theory. Women's position in society as a whole is jointly determined by their access to and role and status in paid employment and the status accorded to their reproductive and domestic activities. In industrial societies, women's economic position in work force is gaining importance related to non-market, domestic and child care functions. Various theories link the segregation of men and women in paid employment to the domestic division of labour between husband and wife. An adequate theory must be able to explain patterns of sex-based occupational segregation, in particular the vertical job segregation that find men concentrated in the higher status and higher paid positions. It must also be able to account for the domestic division of labour and women's choice between the full time domestic role and some combinations of paid employment and non-market work.

2.18 PATRIARCHY AND MALE DOMINANCE: GOLDBERG

Goldberg's theory of 'The Inevitability of Patriarchy' and male dominance based on psycho-physiological processes was originally published in 1973 and has been the subject of intensely critical debate since then. A much more precise, developed and persuasive (though repetitive) version of his theory was published in 1993 under the new title 'Why men rule; Goldberg focuses on the impact of physiology on socio attitudes and behaviors in particular the effect of male hormones

such as testosterone as a source of sex differences in motivation, ambition and behavior. He argues that testosterone and other differences in male physiological development make men generally more self-assertive, aggressive, dominant and competitive. In consequence, they invariably seek to obtain the top positions in any hierarchy, such as the top positions in political or other public leadership hierarchies, the highest status jobs or roles in the workforce, sport, the arts, crime or any other area of social activity with a hierarchy of status and power that prompts competitive behavior.

A second element of his theory points to the effect of hormonal and other physiological differences in shaping the character of private heterosexual relationships, and the mutually reinforcing congruence between personal styles in public and private spheres. Sex differences have their roots in physiology, and are developed further by the socialization process, to create an emotional expectation or preferences for male dominance in personal and sexual relationships. Private heterosexual relationships set a pattern for relationships between men and women in the workplace. At the minimum, this creates an invisible barrier to establishing egalitarian and relaxed work roles and relationships that are not 'coloured' by patterns in the sexual arena. At worst, sex-roles and styles of behavior established in heterosexual relationships carry over into role expectations and behavior patterns in the work place, consciously or subconsciously.

Goldberg is sometimes wrongly classified as an evolutionist socio-biologist, castigated for evolutionary theories he does not address and for exaggerations of his own theory that he does not offer his approach is similar to that of Rossi (1977), who sought, to incorporate the influence of physiological factors in interaction with social

and cultural factors to explain, why women actively seek greater involvement in child care than do men especially in the first six years of a child's life although she refers to evolutionary theory, which Goldberg eschews completely. Goldberg set out to explain why men invariably get almost all the top jobs and top positions in all societies past and present. In his first book, the emphasis was on anthropological research evidence showing that no society had ever existed in which women ruled. In his more recent book the emphasis shifts to contemporary societies and the evidence that within the workforce vertical job segregation is pronounced. All other hierarchies are also dominated by men. Goldberg points out that exceptional women sometimes reach the top, Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher being two examples. However, the exceptions will remain exceptions unless social and cultural factors start to overcome the influence of hormonal differences in the development of children and adolescents. He accepts that determined social engineering might achieve this, but it remains to be seen. The Israeli 'Kibbutzim' failed in their efforts to alter sex-role differentiation; socialist Russia and China failed to eliminate vertical job segregation; egalitarian and family friend policies in Sweden reduced sex differences in earnings, but again failed to reduce vertical job segregation. Physiological differences between males and females do not fully determine behavior; they only create dispositions which may be valued or belittled, encouraged or discouraged by a society. Similarly, Goldberg is not saying that men are necessarily more able, competent or effective in using positions of power and authority, only that they are motivated to seek such positions with greater determination and persistence than women and are more prepared to make sacrifices to get there, in terms of effort and foregoing other activities or benefits.

Patriarchy is universal, it refers only to suprafamilial levels of organization. The attraction of Goldberg's theory is that it is simple, specific and provides a sufficient explanation of vertical job segregation in the workforce and of male domination in politics and other public hierarchies. Goldberg also offers a novel explanation for the fact that the most highly paid occupations tend to be male-dominated. The explanation usually offered is that male-dominated occupations are rewarded disproportionately well and female occupations are undervalued and less-paid. This theory led to demands for equal pay for work of equal value policies. (Treiman and Hartmann 1981) Any role that acquires high status will attract more men than women, so will become male-dominated as a result of its position in the hierarchy (Goldberg, 1993 : 108)

2.19 PATRIARCHY, MALE ORGANIZATION AND JOB SEGREGATION: HARTMANN

Social class and social stratification have been the main concepts used in sociological theory on social inequality, whereas economists focus on earnings or income inequality. A voluminous literature struggled to reconcile explanations of gender inequality with Marxist theories of social stratification, exploitation and the value of labour power (Walby 1990 ; Fine 1992). Fine (1992) insists that the oppression of women can be adequately incorporated into class analysis, but the general consensus is that it is more useful to treat capitalism and patriarchy as theoretically separate but interacting. Hartmann views capitalism and patriarchy as broadly in harmony much of the time, while Walby sees them as being in conflict more often.

Hartmann's theory of patriarchy emphasizes occupational segregation as the central mechanism used by men to restrict and constrain women's access to income and earnings, thus rendering them financially dependent on men, forcing them to become domestic servants for their husbands. Hartmann recognizes that this is not the only mechanism just the main one. The separation of the work-place from the home brought about by the development of modern industry also meant that many women ceased to be gainfully employed in the family enterprise. The ideology of the sexual division of labour became a force in its own right, leading women and men to prefer feminine and masculine jobs and leading men to refuse to be formally subordinate to a woman in the work place.(Hartmann, 1976, 151, 154,164, 168-69) Walby differentiates the this mechanisms used by men to women's access to earnings : total exclusion from the market economy and wage labour; and the segregation of male and female workers within the workforce, restricting women to the lower paid jobs. Both policies ore seen as ensuring that men have more financial power in the home and in the labour market.

Returning to Hartmann, we can say, exclusion, segregation and unequal pay all achieve the same purpose of limiting women's access to earnings and the independence of spirit that comes with an independent income. The key element of Hartmann's theory which no one challenges in the idea that men organize collectively to further their own interests against those of women through the labour market, laws, political organizations, culture and ideology. Male solidarity and male organization are the key factors which Walby (1986) and Milkman (1987) : illuminated further in their research on trade union strategies in Britain and the U.S.A.

The idea that makes real choices is developed further by Becker and other human capital theorist.

2.20 RATIONAL CHOICES WITHIN FAMILIES: BECKER

Rational choice theory (sometimes termed rational action theory or exchange theory) is simply economics applied to social institutions which are more commonly studied by sociologist or political scientist such as the family or voting in elections. The most well known area of rational choice theory is the new home economics and human capital theory which studied non-economic aspects of the family including sexual division of labour in household, supply of wife's labour to the market economy, decisions about investments in children and decisions about marriage and divorce. Most of the time economics treats the family or household as a single undivided unit that makes choices about work or leisure, production or consumption in order to maximize its utility. (Satisfaction or valued benefits, not only money). The novelty was to open up the blackbox of the family to study and model how decisions are made within it to maximize collective & individual utility. It has to be remembered that economics relies on scarce resources as its starting point. It is not possible for everybody to have exactly what they want all of the time. Therefore we study how people make decisions that get the best deal possible out of the option and constraints that confronts them. Rational choice theory focuses on the personal or mutual advantage individuals gain through co-operative exchange. It assumes people know what they value (have stable preferences) and act rationally to achieve their aims, to maximize or optimize their desires. The main problem is that the theory can veer towards tautology : whatever happens must have been desired and preferred, otherwise people would have done something else. But this is a general problem of economics rather than of rational choice theory.

The key text is Becker's *A treatise on the family*, originally published in 1981 and reprinted in 1991 with additions, in particular a paper on the sexual division of labour first published in 1985. The book was initially criticized by sociologists, who felt uncomfortable with the application of clear-headed logic to social institutions that are idealized in western culture as structured around loving relationships, which are assumed to be incompatible with reason. The 1985 paper argued that if they work at all, most married women economize on the effort expended on paid employment by seeking less demanding jobs. It prompted an immediate rejection by some sociologists as having no empirical basis (England and McCreary, 1987 ; Bielby and Bielby, 1988), although others showed the thesis, to be indicated by research on the characteristics of part time workers in Britain (Hakkim, 1991 ; 1993b, 1997 ; see also Bradley, 1989 : 226). Becker argues that even if a husband and wife are intrinsically identical they gain from a division of labour between employment and household work, with one specializing more in employment and the other specializing more in domestic work. The sexual division of labour is mutually advantageous because it is efficient, and raises the productivity of the person who specializes in domestic work as well as the productivity of the person who specializes in employment. Becker does not deny that discrimination exists in the labour market and that husbands may exploit their wives.

Becker argues that the sexual division of labour in the home leads women to invest less and men to invest more in their human capital education, training career development and work experience. It leads wives to choose job that are less effort intensive and are generally compatible with domestic responsibilities. It causes

occupational segregation, since wives will seek jobs that are less demanding even if they work full time.

There are two obvious sources of change in this theory. First Becker assumes that childcare is a major element of household work, any decline in fertility rates is offset by parents investing extra time and effort to produce higher quality children. On the other hand, raising a single child does not generally require the same investment of time and effort as raising four children and single children are now common, even outside China Becker raises many issues regarding motherhood and career.

But finally he notes that the family is becoming a less and less important institution as functions are transferred out of it. The volume of work done in the home is increasingly a matter of choice the outcome of negotiations over who does it becomes less predictable.

Becker's thesis is the fullest development of date of human capital theory and models formulated originally by Mincer (1962) and extended by other seeking to explain the characteristics of female labour force participation with reference to the family division of labour (Mincer and Polachek 1974, Mincer 1985...)

Unfortunately, human capital theory became somewhat discredited, especially among sociologists, by one particular application. Polachek (1979) tried to explain the segregation of men and women in the workforce as being due to women choosing occupations with lowers penalties for discontinuous employment histories, arguing in effect that job choices were rational and efficient, a thesis that has repeatedly been refuted, in somewhat different formulations, for the USA and for Briain. In addition,

some sociologists reject it because the emphasis on explaining women's behavior with reference to family roles is sometimes seen as sexist and linked to discredited Parsonian functionalism. However, the theory is in fact very similar to the sociological idea of household work strategies with husband and wife making joint decisions about the allocation of time to employment informal work, household production and domestic work, the key difference being that panel shows how household work strategies vary across the life cycle and in response to events such as unemployment of the breadwinner. This seems to be another instance where the concepts and language used by economists and sociologists differ more than the substance of their ideas, so that a fruitful theoretical synthesis is feasible.

2.21 PREFERENCE THEORY: HAKIM

Preference theory is a new theory to explain women's choices between market work and family work. The theory is historically informed, empirically based, multidisciplinary, prospective rather than retrospective in orientation, and applicable in all rich modern societies. Three features distinguish it from other theories : first, it is historically specific; secondly, it recognizes the diversity of women's lifestyle preferences instead of assuming that women can be treated as a single homogeneous group; and thirdly, Hakim carried out new surveys in Europe to test and develop the theory.

Preference theory argues that five historical changes collectively produce a qualitatively new scenarios for women in rich modern societies in the 21st century, giving them options that were not previously available. Hakim claims that lifestyle preferences broadly determine women's fertility (both childlessness and, for the majority who do have children, family sizes), women's' employment pattern over the

life cycle (choices between careers and jobs, full time and part- time work, and associated job values); and women's differentiable responsiveness to family policy, other social policies employer policies, economic and social circumstances.

These claims are supported to some degree by her own tests of preference theory using two national surveys carried out in Britain and Spain. For example, she has shown that lifestyle preferences determine which social and economic contextual factors women respond to : child care responsibilities affect the employment decisions of home-centered and adoptive women, but not the behavior of work-centered women, who have aspiration motivations.

Some scholars regard preference theory as an extension of rational choice theory, but preference theory was developed in a quite different manner. Rational choice theory was developed by top-down theorizing from first principles, using deductive logic. Preference theory was developed bottom-up, as grounded theory, based on a wide ranging review of the research evidence on women's choices and preferences after the contraceptive revolution and the equal opportunities revolution, using inductive logic. It is also historically situated, unlike rational choice theory, and specifies the particular social and economic changes that are required to give women genuine choices for the first time in history. In a sense, preference theory explains what happens after patriarchy ceases to be the dominant factor in women's lives. The other important difference is that preference theory identifies no less than three qualitatively different 'rational' solutions to the career – family conflict, whereas rational choice theory assumes one optimal solution.

Other scholars regard preference theory as having an affinity with Goldberg's socio-biological explanations for women's lesser achievements in public life, because

of the emphasis on the work-family conflict. However, Hakim rejects evolutionary theory in favor of chaos theory as a model. She points out that the new pattern of about 20% of women remaining voluntarily childless disproves the notion of there being a biological imperative for women to have and raise them. Preference theory focuses on the different value systems of home centered adaptive and work-centered people and it is in practice arguing that the only cleavages that will matter within the workforce of the 21st century will be continuing differences between primary and secondary earners and the widening differences between lifestyle preference groups.

Hakim argues that person's mistake was in assuming these were essentially and intrinsically male and female value systems rather than characteristics of particular social settings and activities in them.

Preference theory is an example of person-centered analysis ; it recognizes the heterogeneity of individuals and their responses to the social and economic context and it takes account of extreme cases which can amount to 20% of cases at either end of distribution.

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

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. Discuss any one theory of wome and work.

2.22 FEMINIST DEBATES

The four theories provide different explanations for sex differences in employment patterns and earnings in the past, and different predictions on whether these differences might eventually disappear in the future. The feminist position on these questions has been that sex discrimination is the primary reason, perhaps even the sole reason, for differences between men and women; all such differences are socially created, hence artificial, and would vanish in a society with equality between men and women.

In March 1995, *American Psychologist* carried a debate between Eagly and others on the feminist and political constraints on research that seeks to establish which sex differences in personality, ability and socio behavior are vanishing, and which are still important.

A similar debate appeared in the September 1995 and March 1996 issues of the *British Journal of Sociology*. An article on ‘Five Feminist Myths about women’s employment’ by Hakim (1995a) prompted responses by no less than 11 sociologists and economists (Ginn, 1996) to which Hakim (1996b) responded in turn. Here again, the issue was how feminist ideology distorted research reporting, so that incorrect conclusions about the disappearance of sex difference in work orientations and employment patterns were widely disseminated, and repeated, to become received wisdom. Hakim noted that studies of women often shaded into advocacy research, demanding a better deal for women, rather than normal social scientific studies, and she worried that this could diminish the public status of sociology. She also argued that it was pointless ignoring substantial sex differences in the workforce, because employers would still be aware of them, and act on them. This debate was later

extended in articles by Crompton and Harris (1998) and McRae (2003) with further responses by Hakim (1998b ; 2003b)

In summary, the question of whether there are any important differences in the personalities, work attitudes, and workforce behaviour of men and women excites vigorous debate. This debate is frequently framed in political and feminist contexts.

2.23 ORGANIZED & UNORGANIZED SECTORS

Women constitute only 14% of the total employment in the organized sector. It is concentrated in Maharashtra, Delhi, West Bengal, Utter Pradesh and Tamilnadu. In the Urban areas, FEAR in Tertiary sector has increased, from 37.6% in 1983 to 52.9% in 1999 (Economic Survey, 2002, GOI). Here women workers and employees get relatively better wages, standard working hours and the protection of labour laws.

Women in the unorganized sector

94% women's workers are in the informal sector (GOI 1998). There is pronounced declining trend in the importance of the self employed women in both, rural and urban areas.

The term 'unorganized' is often used interchangeably with the term 'informal' or employment in the informal sector. Strictly speaking, 'informal' is used to denote those forms of enterprise that are not governed by any legal framework (for example registration under Company Laws). Although, it is quite logical that an 'informal' enterprise will employ 'informal'/'unorganized' labour. It must be remembered that 'formal' enterprises tendency to informalize employment relationship in the formal sector.

The unorganized sector covers most of the rural labour and a substantial part of urban labour. It includes activities carried out by small and family enterprises, partly or wholly with family labour. In this sector wage-paid labour is largely non-unionized due to casual and seasonal nature of employment and scattered location of enterprises. This sector is marked by low incomes, unstable and irregular employment, and lack of protection either from legislation or trade unions. The unorganized sector uses mainly labour intensive and indigenous technology. The workers in unorganized sector are so scattered that the implementation of the Legislation is very ineffective. There are hardly any unions in this sector to act as watch-dog. But the contributions made by the unorganized sector to the national income, is very substantial as compared to that of the organized sector. It adds more than 60% to the national income while the contribution of the organized sector is almost half of that depending on the industry.

CBWE is conducting the training programmes from 1978 for the workers working in unorganized sector and small scale industries with a view to develop awareness about their problems difficulties and protective labour laws at work place and help them in finding solutions as well as equip them in developing their own organizations. The training programmes are conducted for 2/4 days duration for various categories of workers working in industries such as handloom power loom, khadi industries, sericulture, coir, beedi, salt workers, rag pickers, cine workers, ship breaking workers etc.

As mentioned above 94% of the total women workers are in the 'informal' (dependent) sector. The economic reforms reinforce the trend of informalisation and flexibalisation for the female workforce. The formation of a 'flexible' labour force is

the key concept of NEP. A shift from a stable/organized labour force to a flexible workforce has means hiring women on a part-time basis and the substitution of highly paid male labour by cheap female labour. The NEP provides congenial state support for the large corporate house that are closing down their big city units and using ancillaries that employ rural and tribal girls (without responsibilities for families and children) on a piece rate basis. In the name of increased in 'efficiency' and 'productivity' of labour, home-based work by women and girls get easily legitimized.

In the name of increasing marginal efficiency of financial capital, there have been attacks on women's access to credit, extension for efficiency and the proper management of public funds, however, was not to be seen when it came to stock market speculators. The banks that were indicated in the country's biggest financial scam, talked of increasing their interest rates, to the detriment of self-employed women who are dependent on loans. This had affected the small businesses of self-employed poor women. To continue their business, these women now have to approach private moneylenders who charge compound rates of interest.

The liberalization of the economy has not liberated workingwomen. The elimination of 7000 licenses, the scrapping of MRTP limits and the reduction in customs duty on capital goods have given free grazing grounds for foreign capital. Following the liberalization of the economy, the right to fish in India waters has been given to several foreign firms, including Union Carbide. As a result, 50,000/- fisherfolk families have lost their jobs. Food processing industries with foreign collaboration are being established.

Use of women in the informal sector of electronics, diamond, and garment manufacture and pharmaceutical industries has increased. Here again, the underlying

reality is disturbing. With globalization of production and the introduction of assembly-line production, research and management is being controlled by the first world, while strenuous, monotonous, 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled' work is being done by their world women. Commenting on this situation, the UN Report, Third World Women : 1970-90 states, "The informal sector is by no means a panacea for women. It is far less secure than formal sector work and it generally pays less than the minimum wage"

The presence of a vast multitude of women as workers and producers in the unorganized sector, where earnings are low, employment seasonal and insecure, supportive services woefully inadequate or even non-existent, growth opportunities few and collective organization weak, has brought into sharp focus the failure of the mainstream to alleviate their predicament. While it is true that workers, irrespective of sex are exploited in unorganized sector, women suffer more by the fact of their gender. Critical questions have been raised concerning the life-styles of laboring women, their struggles, their contribution to the economy, their participation in development, their state of consciousness and , even more importantly, the impact of attempts at motivating them in self-help. Recent attempts in national and international for to bring to light the nature of their work and the relations of production that influence it have set a debate in motion.

Human right are recognized as inalienable rights to be realized by all human being. Women section is most vulnerable section of India's human resources. The ILO report on "More and better job for women – An action guide" states that more than 45% women all over the world in the age group of 15 to 64 are contributing to the to the economy in a significant way. In Asia and Africa most women workers are

found in the agricultural sector-where wages are the lowest and 1/3 of the women in the non-agricultural activities on in the formal sector. The unorganized sector is too vast to remain the confines of the conceptual definition. Hence, descriptive means are used to identify the unorganized sector. Its main feature can be identified and the sector and process where unorganized labour is used can be limited though not exhaustively. Despite existence of labour laws, the worker in this sector do not get social security and other benefits for various reasons and there is hardly any trade union or constitutional mechanism to fight for them.

Women engaged in construction work, are mostly exploited. They are employed on casual basis. Unstable employment/earnings and shifting of work places are the bare characteristic of work for construction workers. In most cases safety norms are violated. They are often not given maternity benefits, though obligatory.

The life of women in brick industry is very tough. These women have to perform a dual role relating to production and reproduction. While bearing and rearing children remain their primary responsibility, they are invariably involved in the remunerative activities also. These women are unprotected and suffer from economic exploitation. Their ignorance, illiteracy and poverty have added to their woes all the more. A great majority of them have not been benefited by the protective legislation in the critical areas of wages, maternity benefits childcare and social security.

The workers in this sector are entitled to protection and welfare not only because they are citizens, but also because they are the main contributors to the wealth of the nation. Today, even without these entitlements they contribute their labour, skill and entrepreneurship to the economy. When provided with these entitlements, their productivity as well as their purchasing power will grow. They

will add to the country's gross national product, strengthen the economy and help fight economic crises. Their economic contribution has to be recognized and they should not to be poor beneficiaries and live constantly on welfare and subsidies.

2.24 EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The 2001 census showed the work participation rate (WPR) of women as 23%. For the rural women the WPR is 27% and for the urban women it is 10%. Compared to the 1971 and 1981 censuses, this rise in WPR is considerable.

A sectoral profile shows that most women workers in rural areas are in occupations such as weaving, handicraft, tailoring, forestry, sale of fish, silk and poultry farming. In urban areas, the majority of women workers are either in construction sector or in the nursing and teaching professions, working either on a contract-basis or self-employed. The rise of work participation rate is not a sign of empowerment but a sign of sheer helplessness and economic distress. Subcontracting, home-based production, family labour system, and the payment of wages on piece-rate basis, are jobs earmarked for women. According to the 1991 census, 19% of the total female workforce constitutes unpaid family labour. Even in a state like Kerala, only 17% of the women are gainfully employed.

Table1: Female work participation rate

YEAR	FEMALE WORK PARTICIPATION (WPR)
1911	33.73
1961	27.96
1971	11.86
1981	14.44
1991	22.69

2001	23.00
------	-------

(Source: Census of India)

Employment Profile in agriculture

The employment elasticity of output in agriculture has reduced to 0.64%. Reduction of subsidy and credit in agriculture has affected small and marginal farmers negatively. Unemployment and under employment in the rural areas have gained serious proportion because, in the NEP, schemes for rural development and rural industrialization have not been given any importance. As per Economic Survey 2000-2001 budgetary allocation under several employment schemes has to absorb the backlog of the unemployed and the new additions to the labour force.

There has already been a major shift in the cropping pattern from subsistence production like rice, millet, and corn, wheat to cash-crop production such as fruit, mushrooms, flowers and vegetables. This process has affected women's employment in the agrarian sector. Several studies have shown that a shift from subsistence to cash crop production invariably leads to women being the first to lose their jobs. As a result of shrinking self-employment prospects for women, the large majority of them join the rural and urban reserve army of labour. In rural India, 31% of total female population is employed as per 2001 census.

Opening up of market since 1.4.2000 for 729 new commodities (240 are agrarian products including rice, meat, milk powder, fruits) that can be imported unrestrictedly have resulted in enormous tragedies resulting into suicides and starvation deaths among farmers and weavers. Prices of rubber, cotton, coconut, coffee, cardamom, pepper, tomatoes, sugarcane and potatoes have crashed. Urban

poor women in Kerala and Karnataka are fighting desperate struggles against imports of these items to express their solidarity with their rural and tribal sisters.

2.25 EMPLOYMENT PROFILE IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The NEP has declared 200 public sector units 'economically unviable' and 'sick'. Consequently, millions of workers have lost their jobs. Disinvestments in public sector units, closures and retrenchment rendered 6.6 million workers (75% to 90% of them women) unemployed, within a year of the introduction of SAP, according to the Annual Survey of Industries, 1991. 50% of the factory employees who were supported by the National Textile Corporation are now unemployed. New job opportunities are provided by the information technologies. The Information Technology (IT) profession has created an army of teleworkers.

In the rural areas, some states like Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have generated massive employment in IT sector which provide services in the fields of telemedicine, literacy programme and science education.

Reduction in educational funds by the government has created job-redundancy in the teaching profession, where women constitute 22.8% of teachers. Encouragement to the private sector in the education has eroded the right provided by the labour laws, as private institutions hire teachers on a contract basis and often terminate employment respectively. Now it has been reduced to 0.60%.

Urban Unemployment. At present, India has 34 million registered unemployed and every year it increases by 12% to 13%. The number of women professional workers, such as executives, decision-makers in government departments, lawyers, doctors and engineers has increased and will continue to increase, but their strength in the overall economy is minuscule.

Recent Debates on the Part-time work for Women : The government finds it difficult to dismiss permanent staff in public sector enterprises, as they are well organized, vocal, articulate and visible. The create an ideological justification for segmentation in the labour market on the grounds of gender relations, a debate on the issue of part-time work for women employees has begun.

2.26 THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA

Women of the third world are seen as the most flexible of the world's labour force. The lower supply price of these women provides a material basis for the induction of poor working-class women into export industries such as electronics, garments, sports goods, toys and agro-industries. Researches conducted under an Indo-Dutch Programme in the eighties revealed that in many of the poorer countries, "Women are rigorously socialized to work uncomplainingly, under patriarchal control, at any allotted task however dull, laborious, physically harmful or badly paid it may be. There are large numbers of poor and desperately need women in many countries looking for work within the narrow confines of a socially imposed, inequitable demand of labour and strict taboos on mobility. These women have become ideal workers for this kind of international division of labour." In the newly expanding export-oriented industries, the production of leather goods, toys, food-product, garments, diamond and jewellery, piece-rate female labour is employed, working from sweatshops or from home. In a similar way, the women of ethnic minorities South Asians. Afro-Caribbean's, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans living in the industrialized countries have been used as cheap labour by the world capitalism since the early 1980s. they face triple oppression as they are subjected to race and colour prejudices as well as class exploitation. In India, Dalit women have shouldered the

heaviest burden of imperialist globalization in terms of deprivation of daily necessities and increased labour intensity without rise in real income ancillary. In India, 96% of women work in the decentralized sector, which has a high degree of labour redundancy and obsolescence. These women have less control over their work and no chance for upward mobility because of temporary, routine and monotonous work. In the agrarian sector, the cash crops – fruits, mushrooms, flowers and vegetables, are replacing the traditional subsistence crops where women had important role to play. This process has also intensified immiserisation of women workers in rural areas and has created tremendous food-shortages.

2.27 WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL INCOME

A Large amount of work done in society is not captured in national accounts, because, it is unpaid voluntary labour or unpaid household labour. The monetary value of this work can be estimated only from time use surveys. Thus national accounting definitions of 'production' are strongly biased towards activities which yield a monetary income.

One solution to this problem is simply to take all household activity that could also be done by waged labor (nannies, domestic servants, gardeners, chauffeurs, etc.) as work and to figure its comparable worth by the waged labor necessary to replace it (Folbre 1982, 1983). Another is to reject altogether the attempts to base women's oppression on social relations of work, on the grounds that such theories are overly generalizing and ignore the discrete meanings that kinship activities have for women in different contexts (Nicholson 1991; Fraser and Nicholson 1991; Marchand 1995). Or, one can argue that although the line between work and leisure hangs historically, those doing the activity should have the decisive say as to whether their activity

counts as work, i.e. labor necessary to promote human welfare. The existence of second wave women's movements critiques of the "second shift" of unpaid household activity indicates that a growing number of women see most of it as work, not play (cf. Hochschild 1989). Finally, one can argue that since the human care involved in taking care of children and elders creates a public good, it should clearly be characterized as work, and those who are caretakers, primarily women, should be fairly compensated for it by society of the state (Ferguson and Folbre 2000: Folbre 2000, Ferguson 2004)

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

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

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

1. What is the women's work participation rate according to 2001 census?

2.28 SUMMING UP

This Unit broadly covers the topics related to women and work. In the beginning of the Unit, the definition of the work is given. Apart from work definition, the Unit also defined visible and invisible work. Not only visible and invisible work of the work of women, the Unit also covers the role of men and women also. The Unit also traces the participation of women in pre-industrial and industrial societies and discusses the statistical data with regard to women's work. Finally this Unit covers the many theories related to women and work.

2.29 GLOSSARY

Work participation rate: Work participation rate is defined as the percentage of total workers (main and marginal) to total population.

$$\text{Work participation Rate} = \frac{\text{Total Workers (Main + marginal)}}{\text{Total Population}} \times 100$$

2.30 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. Work is defined as participation in any economically productive with or without compensation, wages or profit. Such participation may be physical and/or mental in nature. Work involves not only actual work but also includes effective supervision and direction of work. It even includes part time help or unpaid work on farm, family enterprise or in any other economic activity.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

1. Women's roles in most societies fall into three categories: productive (relating to production of goods for consumption or income through work in or outside the home). Reproductive (relating to domestic or household tasks associated with creating and sustaining children and family), and community management (relating to tasks and responsibilities carried out for the benefit of the community). Women must balance the demands of these three different roles and should be recognized for their contributions.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. On careful study of women's work pattern, what appears to be striking is their ingenious technique of combining the two distinct types of activities, "household" and "productive" work? However, because housekeeping work

keeps women occupied for much longer hours in a day, often the other productive or gainful part of the total work burden is lost sight of. Not only is this productive part of their daily activities often visible to the outsider, i.e. to the statistical enumerator but also to the male and even female members of the household themselves. The task appears to be small and not worth attaching separate identity, not to speak of value to them. This element of invisibility associated with women's productive work's is an important reason for its under enumeration under valuation.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

The literature on the subject identifies the following among others.

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

Check Your Progress Exercise 5

1. Preference theory is a new theory to explain women's choices between market work and family work. The theory is historically informed, empirically based, multidisciplinary, prospective rather than retrospective in orientation, and

applicable in all rich modern societies. Three features distinguish it from other theories : first, it is historically specific; secondly, it recognizes the diversity of women's lifestyle preferences instead of assuming that women can be treated as a single homogeneous group; and thirdly, Hakim carried out new surveys in Europe to test and develop the theory. Preference theory argues that five historical changes collectively produce a qualitatively new scenarios for women in rich modern societies in the 21st century, giving them options that were not previously available. Hakim claims that lifestyle preferences broadly determine women's fertility (both childlessness and, for the majority who do have children, family sizes), women's' employment pattern over the life cycle (choices between careers and jobs, full time and part- time work, and associated job values); and women's differentiable responsiveness to family policy, other social policies employer policies, economic and social circumstances. These claims are supported to some degree by her own tests of preference theory using two national surveys carried out in Britain and Spain. For example, she has shown that lifestyle preferences determine which social and economic contextual factors women respond to: child care responsibilities affect the employment decisions of home-centered and adoptive women, but not the behavior of work-centered women, who have aspiration motivations.

Some scholars regard preference theory as an extension of rational choice theory, but preference theory was developed in a quite different manner. Rational choice theory was developed by top-down theorizing from first principles, using deductive logic. Preference theory was developed bottom-up, as grounded theory, based on a wide ranging review of the research evidence on women's choices and preferences after the contraceptive

revolution and the equal opportunities revolution, using inductive logic. It is also historically situated, unlike rational choice theory, and specifies the particular social and economic changes that are required to give women genuine choices for the first time in history. In a sense, preference theory explains what happens after patriarchy ceases to be the dominant factor in women's lives. The other important difference is that preference theory identifies no less than three qualitatively different 'rational' solutions to the career – family conflict, whereas rational choice theory assumes one optimal solution. Other scholars regard preference theory as having an affinity with Goldberg's socio-biological explanations for women's lesser achievements in public life, because of the emphasis on the work-family conflict. However, Hakim rejects evolutionary theory in favor of chaos theory as a model. She points out that the new pattern of about 20% of women remaining voluntarily childless disproves the notion of there being a biological imperative for women to have and raise them. Preference theory focuses on the different value systems of home centered adaptive and work-centered people and it is in practice arguing that the only cleavages that will matter within the workforce of the 21st century will be continuing differences between primary and secondary earners and the widening differences between lifestyle preference groups. Hakim argues that person's mistake was in assuming these were essentially and intrinsically male and female value systems rather than characteristics of particular social settings and activities in them. Preference theory is an example of person-centered analysis ; it recognizes the heterogeneity of individuals and their responses to the social and economic

context and it takes account of extreme cases which can amount to 20% of cases at either end of distribution.

Check your Progress Exercise 6

1. The 2001 census showed the work participation rate (WPR) of women as 23%. For the rural women the WPR is 27% and for the urban women it is 10%. Compared to the 1971 and 1981 censuses, this rise in WPR is considerable.

2.31 REFERENCES

Arpathamurthy Savitri: Women work and discrimination, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990

Kiran Jyoti : Women labour force and national product ; Printwell Jaipur 1994.

Dak T.M. : Women and work in Indian Society, Discovery Publishing house, New Delhi, 1988.

D. Gopal Meena : In demand in a global world, Women Home based workers? Women and development RCUES Mumbai 2007.

Women and Development : Regional Centre for Urban and environmental studies of All India Institute of local self Government, Mumbai.

Devki Jain and Nirmala banerjee (Ed.s) Tyranny of Household, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985.

Maithreyi Krishnaraj (ed) Visibility of Women in statistics and Indicators, Research Centre of women's Studies, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai, 1990.

Vibhuti Patel Women's Challenges of the New Millennium, Gyan Publications, New Delhi, 2002.

Sardamoni, K. (Ed.) Women, Work and Society, Statistical Publishing House, Calcutta.

Dr. Das Bharat : Problems of women workers in the unorganized sector : A study in the human right perspective.

Central Board for workers education : Ministry of labour and employment, Government of India.

Hakim Catherine, Contemporary issue in public policy : key issues in women's work, Female diversity and the polarization of women's employments, , 2004, Great Britain, The glass house press, London.

Kapur Mehta Asha: Manushi, issue 121, paper presented at a symposium, organized at the India International centre by UNDP and Mahbubu; Hag Centre for human Development – 2000.

American Political science Review (2008) 102: 199-218 Cambridge University Press.

[http : //elengoiias.rediffiland.com](http://elengoiias.rediffiland.com)

[http : //timesfoundation.indiatimes.com](http://timesfoundation.indiatimes.com)

[http : //en.wikipediza.org/wiki// productive and unproductive labour.](http://en.wikipediza.org/wiki//productive_and_unproductive_labour)

2.32 QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND PRACTICE

1. What is concept of work? What is paid and unpaid work, productive and unproductive work? What is economically productive and socially productive work?
2. Describe Economic Status, Private Property and Participation of women in Pre-industrial and Industrial societies.
3. Describe various theories of women's work.
4. Write short notes on

- a. Women's contribution to National Income.
- b. Valuation of productive and unproductive work.
- c. Visible and invisible work.



UNIT 3 PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PRE-INDUTRIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 Pre Industrial societies
- 3.4 Modern Pastoral Society
- 3.5 Industrial Society
- 3.6 Agricultural Employment
- 3.7 Post Industrial Society
- 3.8 Summing Up
- 3.9 Glossary
- 3.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 3.11 References
- 3.12 Questions for reflection and practice

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The cultural and social structures of a society are greatly affected by the way the society provides for basic needs. A society, or a human society, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social gathering sharing the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations. Human societies are characterised by pattern of relationships (social relations) between individuals who share a distinctive culture and institutions; a given society may be described as the sum total of such relationships among its constituent members. In the social sciences, a larger society evinces stratification and/or dominance patterns in subgroups. Societies meet the members' basic needs, such as the needs for food and shelter, in different ways. These differences form the basis of a system anthropologists often use to classify societies.

In theory, a society is independent of outsiders. It contains enough smaller social structures - family, economy and so forth - to meet the needs of its members. As you will see,

pre-industrial societies could be independent and self-sufficient. Modern societies, although capable of caring for most members' needs must have political, military, economic, cultural and technological ties with other societies. In fact, modern societies are moving towards the creation of a global society.

Societies are social groups that differ according to subsistence strategies, the ways that humans use technology to provide needs for themselves. Although humans have established many types of societies, anthropologists have tended to classify different societies according to the degree to which different groups within a society have unequal access to advantages such as resources, prestige, or power. Virtually all societies have developed, over a period of time, some inequality among their people through the process of social stratification, the division of members of a society into levels with unequal wealth, prestige, or power. Sociologists place societies into pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial.

In the next few pages, several basic types of societies will be distinguished. Each type of society is unique in its own way. All societies, however, are composed of social structures. Members from each type of society know what is expected of them and what they can expect from others. Members of a particular type of society engage in the same basic social patterns time after time because they share patterned and predictable social relationships that are passed on from generation to generation. In this system, societies are classified as pre-industrial, industrial or post-industrial. We will look at pre-industrial societies in this section and examine industrial and post industrial societies in the following sections.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you should be able to:

- explain the term Society and the kinds of Society.
- describe the means of subsistence in Pre-Industrial Society
- discuss the characteristics of Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies
- Compare and contrast the Pre-Industrial, Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies.
- discuss how gender stratification has changed over a period of time.

3.3 PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

In the Pre-Industrial society, food production, which is carried out through the use of human and animal labour, is the main economic activity. These societies can be sub-divided according to their level of technology and their method of producing food. These sub-divisions are: (i) Hunting and Gathering, (ii) Pastoral, (iii) Horticultural, (iv) Agricultural and (v) Feudal.

(i) Hunting - Gathering Societies:

The hunting-gathering or forager society is one in which the main mode of subsistence is through the hunting of games (or fishing for societies living near the coastal or Arctic areas) and the gathering of naturally growing plants, fruits and vegetables. The subsistence technology was very rudimentary, consisting mostly of spears, bows and arrows, digging sticks and small traps (all made from bone, wood and stone). Since hunting and gathering were the main activities of the members of these societies, they were almost completely dependent on whatever game and plants were readily available in the environment for their survival. Hunting and gathering was the ancestral mode of Homo and all modern humans were hunters and gatherers until around 10,000 years ago.

Hunting and gathering societies are usually nomadic - they move from place to place depending as the food supply and seasons change. They had few material goods which they carried along with them. Hunting and gathering society also tend to be small - usually fewer than fifty members and rarely exceed hundred - with members scattered over a wide area. Since the family was the only institution in hunting and gathering societies, it tends to the needs of all the members. Most members are related by blood or marriage, although the marriage is usually limited to those outside the family or band.

Economic relationships within hunting and gathering societies are based on cooperation - members share what they have with other members. Members of hunting and gathering societies seem simply to give things to one another without worrying about how 'payment' would be made. In fact, the more scarce something is, the more freely it is shared. Generosity and hospitality were valued possessions. Thrift was considered as a reflection of selfishness. The obligation to share goods was one of the most binding aspects of their culture and members of such societies had little or no conception about private property or ownership.

Without a sense of private ownership and with a few possessions for anyone to own, hunting and gathering societies had no social classes, no rich or poor. These societies lacked social differences based on political authority because they had no political institutions; there was no one to organise and control activities. When the traditional Inuit in Canada and Alaska went to settle disputes, they used duelling songs. The people involved in the disputes prepare and sing songs to express their side of the issue. Their families, as choruses, accompany them. Those listening to the duel applaud their choice for the victor.

In existing hunter and gathering societies, women do most of the gathering, while men specialise in hunting. This is recognised as Division of Labour. But this division of labour is limited to the age - sex distinctions found in most families since the family is the only institution. Men and women are assigned separate tasks and certain tasks are given to the old, young and young adults. There was more leisure time in such societies than in any other today. The division of labour in these societies is well balanced and is organised to suit the needs of all the members of the society. Every member of these societies contributes in some way to the community throughout their life. Today, a few true hunting and gathering societies remain other than the Khoi - San (Bushmen) in Southern Africa, the Kaska Indians in Canada and the Yanomamo of Brazil. Other than this kind of gender specialisation - and it is by no means universal - there is little specialisation of roles within the Hunter - Gathering group.

Hunting and Gathering Societies are still found among the Aborigines of Australia, Bushmen of South West Africa and the Pygmies of Central Africa. Two types of division of labour in two different hunting - gathering societies are shown below in Box format. Box - 1 deals with the !Kung San Bushmen and Box - 2 deals with the Aborigines.

BOX - 1: KUNG SAN BUSHMEN , KALAHARI DESERT, SOUTH AFRICA

Although a large group, it is divided into small bands, with each band being made up of between twenty and sixty people and having its own territory, within which, the members of that band have rights to gather wild vegetable foods. However, hunters of larger animals may step into the territories of other bands quite freely if they are in pursuit of game. The Kung are almost entirely dependent upon hunting and gathering for their food supply. These people hunt and gather daily and return in the evening to distribute all their food that has been collected equally among every single member of the band.

The labour division of the Kung San is by gender and age. The people in the 20 - 60 age group provide the food, while the younger children and adolescents are not expected to provide regular

food until they are married (most commonly between the ages of fifteen and twenty for females and five years later for the males), and instead have their older relatives provide food for them. The older members of the band are well respected and have a high position in the society and their role is to be the leaders of the camps and to carry out activities such as ritual curing and making decisions. For many years after they stop hunting and gathering, the aged are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren.

The women in the age group of 20 - 60 are responsible for gathering and work for two to three days a week each, whereas the men devote about twelve to nineteen hours a week to getting food. The food gathered by these women provides the bulk of the total Kung San diet by weight. A woman gathers on one day enough food to feed her family, i.e., her elderly and younger relatives for three days and spends the rest of her time resting in camp, doing embroidery, visiting other camps or entertaining visitors from other camps.

The men of these bands also collect plants and smaller animals; but their main contribution is the hunting of wild animals. The hunters work is not regular; men can often regularly for a week and then do nothing at all for even longer than a month if times are bad. During these periods, visiting, entertaining and especially dancing are the main activities of men.

Box - 2: ABORIGINES, AUSTRALIA

The Aborigines of Australia were divided into two main groups. Ninety per cent of these people lived on the coast, the northern tropical forest, and the southern and eastern woodlands, while the remaining ten per cent lived in the interior deserts. Also egalitarian, they shared equally the tasks of daily living, especially the collection of food. In this society, labour was divided by gender; all men were hunters, on land and sea, and the women's role was to collect plant foods, shellfish, small animals and insects.

Although meat was an important part of their diet, the foods gathered by the women provided the majority of their food supply. These women were very well educated about the local area and knew how to find and use an enormous number of different plants, both for food and for other things such as medicine or making bags. They also had other skills; such as in the desert, they would collect the seeds of grasses and ground them into the floor to make a kind of bread. Their skills even extended to the making of tools for particular purposes, such as bark dishes for everything from seeds to babies and grinding stones for grass seeds.

The men's role was to hunt games. They too made their own tools and weapons; the spear was most frequently used, but axes, clubs and various kinds of throwing sticks were also implemented. Their methods of hunting were few but often worked well. One was for the men to surround the animals together, or to scare them towards other hunters who lay in wait. The most common way, was for one or two men, to stalk an animal. The Aborigine men also had good tracking skills. Hunters used disguises to get close to their prey; for instance, some men disguised themselves as trees by holding up branches, and some smeared themselves with earth to stop the animal from being able to catch his scent.

The hunters were also very patient, as they often had to sit and wait motionlessly in intense heat in order to capture their prey. They were also familiar with the behaviour of their prey. An example of this was in the way they used to trap emus. Hunters would lie on their backs and wave their legs in the air to catch an inquisitive emu's attention and to lure it towards them.

They also used dogs to hunt wallaby, or smoking out wombats from their holes in the ground.

(ii) Pastoral Societies

Pastoral societies which first emerged 12,000 years ago, was a slightly more efficient form of subsistence. Rather than searching for food on a daily basis, members of a pastoral society relied on domesticated herd animals (cattle, animals, goats, sheep) to meet their food needs. Pastoralists live a nomadic life, moving their herds from one pasture to another. Since grains are needed to feed the animals, pastoralists must also either farm or trade with people who do. Since their food supply is far more reliable, such societies can support a larger population. Since there are food surpluses, fewer people are needed to produce food. As a result, the division of labour (specialisation by individuals or groups in the performance of specific economic activities) becomes more complex. For example, some people become craftsmen producing tools, weapons and jewellery. The production of goods encouraged trade, which created social inequality resulting in some families, villages or clans acquiring more goods than another thereby gaining power through increased wealth. The passing on of property from one generation to another helped centralise wealth and power. Over time, emerged hereditary chieftainships, the typical form of government in pastoral societies. In general, in the pastoral societies, women remained at home with low status, while men were responsible for bringing home the food or good. The role of women in pastoralist societies is usually clearly distinct from that of men and pastoralist women often have limited decision making power (except in rare examples, Box - 3). Nevertheless, the gender distribution of labour roles, ensures that women play an important role in the use of certain natural resources and therefore in sustainable rangeland management. Women usually harvest raw materials for housing and for fuel, they manage stock around the homestead, they possess knowledge on plants for medicine or food and they harvest high value products from the rangelands. Women are also traditionally responsible for the allocation of milk and other livestock products (usually not excluding meat), and this was crucial for cementing social bonds and integrity of the pastoral system.

BOX - 3: EXAMPLE OF WOMEN ASSERTING THEIR RIGHTS

The Barbaig distinguish themselves from other East African pastoralists by having a very strong Council of Women (*Girgwaeda Gademq*) which has significant powers over the management of

natural resources. The *Girgwaeda Gademg* can pass decisions of the highest order including against men in authority. It has powers over land and especially on matters related to the spiritual aspects of natural resources. This Council has been bitterly opposed to the ploughing of land for farming, and fought strongly for its retention within the pastoralist system.

Another two examples from the East African pastoral societies exemplify the use of women's labour in processing animal products. Maasai women build house from wattle and cow dung and spend considerable amounts of time replacing the roofs, especially in rainy season. Where the first stages of adoption to agriculture have begun in the Loita Hills, women explain that the recent replacement of cow dung roofs by grass roofs by saying they do not have time both for agriculture and for maintaining cow dung roof. An even less obvious use of women's time, both for the Maasai and for the Ormo of North Eastern Kenya (Ensminger; 1983) is sterilisation of milk calabashes. This takes about 30 minutes per calabash and requires a special type of wood, which is time consuming to collect. This job of collecting calabash is entirely left to women.

Within pastoral societies, the use of labour was highly gender specific and women have traditionally played important roles in the management of natural resources. However, recent decades have seen important internal and external power shifts, with pastoralists losing power to non-pastoral groups through new forms of administration and government, and with the power of different customary institutions shifting, for example from women to men. In recent years, the gender balance has also been changing and there are many cases of shifting gender roles and divisions of labour between men and women (Box - 4). Unless there is a specific emphasis on empowering women in pastoralist societies, participatory approaches risk further marginalising them from actual decision making processes. This has implications not only for their social development, but also for their capacity to sustainably manage the natural resource base. This rationale equally applies to other marginal groups such as youths, artisans and ethnic minorities within pastoral areas.

Box - 4: SHIFTING GENDER BALANCE IN UGANDA

In Karamoja, women, children and the elderly usually take care of the homestead and other adjacent gardens, but increasingly men are found engaging in cultivation. The differentiation in gender roles and the division of households has been reduced to some extent by the advent of

modern transport in pastoral areas, which allows easier movement between kraal and homestead.

3.4 MODERN PASTORAL STATES

One of the consequences of the break-up of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the subsequent political independence and economic collapse of its Central Asian Republics is the resurgence of pastoral nomadism. Taking the Kyrgyz people as a representative example, nomadism was the centre for their economy prior to Russian colonisation at the turn of the 19th / 20th Century, when they were settled into agricultural villages. The population became increasingly urbanised after World War - II, but some people continued to take their herds of horses and cows to the high pasture (*jailoo*) every summer. Since 1990's as the cash economy shrank, unemployed relatives were absorbed back on the family farm and the importance of this form of nomadism increased. The symbols of nomadism, especially the crown of the grey felt tent known as the yurt, appears on the national flag, emphasising the centrality of their nomadic history and past in the creation of the modern nation of Kyrgyzstan.

(iii) Horticultural Societies

The origins of horticulture lie in the transition of human communities from nomadic hunter-gatherers to sedentary/semi-sedentary horticultural communities cultivating a variety of crops on a small scale around their dwellings or in specialised plots visited occasionally during migrations from one area to the next (such as the "*milpa*" or maize field of Mesoamerican cultures). In the Pre Columbian Amazon Rainforests, natives are believed to have used "*biochar*" to enhance soil productivity by smouldering plant waste. In forested areas, such horticulture is often carried out in "*swiddens*" (slash and burn areas). A characteristic of horticultural communities is that useful trees are often planted around communities or specially retained from natural ecosystems. This type of society came into being 12,000 years ago. This type led to more permanent settlements. This relative stability permitted the growth of multi-community societies averaging from one thousand to two thousand people each.

The family is even more basic to horticultural societies than in hunting and gathering societies. In hunting and gathering societies, survival of the group was the top priority. In horticultural societies, primary emphasis was on providing for household members. This was because producing food in horticultural societies can be handled through the labour of family

members. With the labour necessary for survival, households depended more on themselves and less on others outside the family unit for their subsistence and sustenance.

As with pastoral societies, surplus food led to a more complex division of labour. Specialised roles in horticultural societies include craftspeople, shamans (religious leaders) and traders. This role specialisation allowed people to create a wide variety of artifacts. As in pastoral societies surplus food led to inequalities in wealth and power.

(iv) Agrarian Societies

The invention of the plough marked the advent of the agrarian society. Agrarian society used agricultural technologies to cultivate crops over a larger area and raising farm animals. The mode of production of the agrarian society that is cultivation distinguishes it from the hunter - gatherer society which produces none of its food. The theories of Redfield and Tonnies are considered important. Redfield (1947) talks about "folk - urban continuum" and "little tradition and great tradition" as the paramount focus in rural studies. Tonnies ((1887), on the other, made his distinction between "*Gemeinschaft*"(community) and "*Gesellschaft*" (society) based on the concept that impersonal, contractual bonds characterise the capitalist society in contrast to the intimate relationships and collective activities of the feudal community. Following Tonnies, Emile Durkheim (1893) introduced the concepts of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity. These solidarities can be distinguished by morphological and demographic features, types of norms in existence and the intensity and content of conscience collective (Annex - I)

Using animals increased productivity, because larger areas could be cultivated by fewer people. This resulted in increases in food supplies which led to larger populations than in earlier communities. This meant a greater surplus, which resulted in towns becoming centres of trade supporting various rulers, educators, craftspeople, merchants and religious leaders who did not have to worry about locating nourishment. Money is the medium of exchange.

Greater degrees of social stratification appeared in agrarian societies. Political and social inequality became in-built into the social structure and culture becomes more diversified and heterogeneous. Women previously had higher social status because they shared labour more equally with men. In hunting and gathering societies, women even gathered more nutritious food than men. However as food stock and store improved and women took on lesser roles in

providing food for the family, they increasingly became subordinate to men. As villagers and towns expanded into neighbouring areas, conflicts with other communities occurred. Farmers provided warriors with food in exchange for protection against invasion by enemies. A system of rulers with high social status appeared. This nobility organised warriors to protect the society from invasion. In this way, the nobility managed to extract goods from "lesser" members of the society.

(v) Feudal Society:

Feudalism was a form of society based on ownership of land. Vassals under feudalism were bound to cultivate their lord's land. In exchange for military protection, the lords exploited the peasants into providing food, crops, crafts, homage and other services to the landowner. The caste system of feudalism was multigenerational.

Women, whether nobles or peasants held difficult position in the feudalistic society. They were largely confined to household tasks such as cooking, baking bread, sewing, weaving and spinning. However, they also hunted for food and fought in battles, learning to use weapons to defend their homes and castles. Some medieval women were blacksmiths, merchants and apothecaries, while others were midwives or worked in fields or engaged in creative arts or preferred to enter the monasteries as nuns.

3.5 INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Between the 15th and 16th Century, a new economic system emerged that began to replace feudalism. The term 'Industrial Societies' originated from Saint Simon who choose it to reflect the emerging role of manufacturing industry in the 18th Century Europe in contrast with the previous pre-industrial and agrarian societies. In its simplest sense, an industrial society is a social system whose mode of production focuses primarily on finished goods manufactured with the aid of machinery. This produced dramatic increases in efficiency. The increased efficiency of production of the Industrial Revolution produced an even greater surplus than before. Now the surplus was not just agricultural goods, but also manufactured goods. The larger surplus caused all of the changes discussed earlier in the domestication revolution to be even more pronounced.

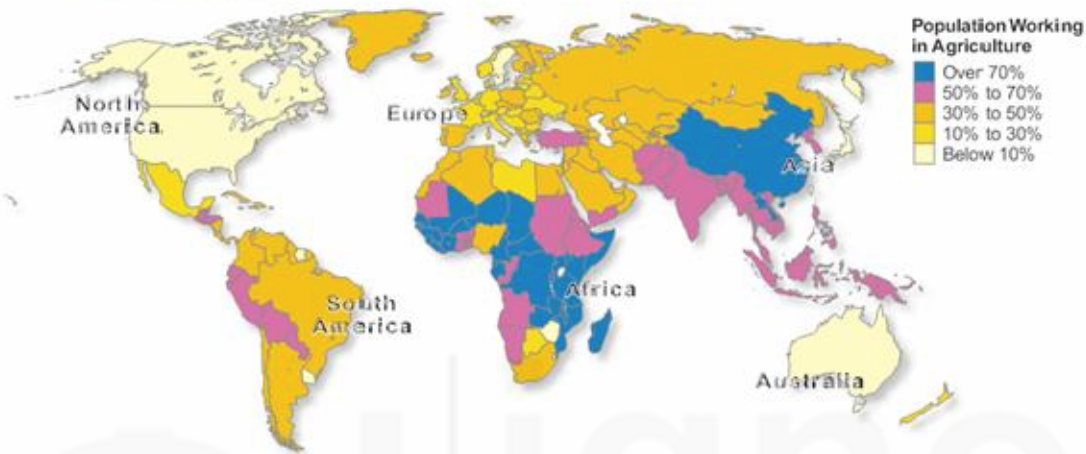
Once again, population boomed. Increased productivity made more goods available to everyone. However, inequality became even greater than before. The break-up of the agricultural -based feudal societies caused many people to leave land and seek employment in cities. This created a labour surplus force and gave capitalists plenty of cheap labourers. Urbanisation, then, is a basic feature of industrial societies.

How did the Role of the Family Change?

With industrialisation, family functions changed in many ways. Economic activities, once carried out in the homes and heath, moved to factories. Similarly, the education of the young, which in agricultural societies centred round teaching farming, moved from the home to the formal school. An industrial society required a broadly educated and trained labour force, so young people can no longer be prepared for work force by their families. Blood relationships declined in importance as families began to separate socially and physically due to urbanisation and necessity of taking jobs where factories have been established. Personal choice and love replaced arranged marriage. Women, through their entrance into the work force, became subordinate to their husbands. Individual mobility increased dramatically and social class was based more on occupational achievement than the social class of one's parents.

3.6 AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

As societies moved from the pre-industrial to the industrial societies, fewer people were required to raise food to feed the burgeoning population. This map shows the percentage of each country's population involved in the production of agricultural products.



Adapted from Compact Peters Atlas of the World, Essex, England: Longman Group UK Limited.

Interpreting the Map

1. After examining this map, what generalisations about types of societies round the world would you make? Explain.
2. Which countries do you think would be ready to move from one type of society to another? Be specific about countries and types of societies.
3. What parts of the world are least likely to change in the near future? Explain your answer.

3.7 POST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

A number of countries in the West, with the United States of America being the first among them, are passing from an industrial society to the next higher stage. The change which primarily affects the socio-technical dimensions of society and is generally independent of the nature of political change or political structure was termed by Bell (1994) as the "Post-Industrial Society". The cardinal difference between an industrial and post-industrial society is that the sources of innovation are derived increasingly from the codification of theoretical knowledge,

rather than from some 'random' inventions. Every society in human history has been dependent on knowledge, but it is only in recent years that the accumulation and distribution of theoretical knowledge has come to the fore as a directive force of innovation and change. Every society has been dependent on knowledge, but it is only in recent years that the accumulation and distribution of theoretical knowledge has come to the fore as a directive force of Innovation and Change.

In this type of society, the economic emphasis is on providing services and information rather than on producing goods through basic manufacturing. Exchange of information in terms of various kinds of data processing, record keeping, market research and so forth are the foundation for most economic exchanges. The changes that this implies are shown in Table - 1. Instead of society based on the Labour Theory of Value, the central idea of which comes from Adam Smith and Karl Marx, the post-industrial society rests on a Knowledge Theory of Value - value is fundamentally increased, not by labour, but by knowledge.

Social Instability in the Post-Industrial Society

Francis Fukuyama (1999) believed that the transition to service economy had increased social instability in nations undergoing this change. According to him, the deteriorating socio-economic conditions which began in the 1960's continued up to 2000's. However, since 2000, this social instability has started lessening. The establishment of new social norms, according to him, is reflected in the slowing down of increases in divorce, crime, distrust and illegitimacy and over a period of time, new social structure will emerge which will be better adapted to changing social and economic circumstances.

Table -1 POST - INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY - A COMPARATIVE SCHEMA

MODES	PRE - INDUSTRIAL	INDUSTRIAL	POST-INDUSTRIAL
Mode of Production	Extractive	Fabrication	Processing, Recycling
Economic Sector	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	SERVICES

	<i>Agriculture Mining Fishing Timber Oil and Gas</i>	<i>Goods - Producing Manufacturing Durables Non Durables Heavy Construction</i>	<i>TERTIARY Transportation Utilities</i>	<i>QUATERNARY Trade Finance Insurance Real Estate</i>
			<i>QUINARY Health Education Research Government Recreation</i>	
Transforming Resource	NATURAL POWER <i>Wind, Water, Draft Animals, Human Muscle</i>	CREATED ENERGY <i>Electricity - Oil, Gas, Coal Nuclear Power</i>	INFORMATION <i>Computer and Data-Transmitted Systems</i>	
Strategic Resource	Raw Materials	Financial Capital	Knowledge	
Technology	Craft	Machine Technology	Intellectual Technology	
Skill Base	Artisan, Manual Worker, Farmer	Engineer, Semi-Skilled Worker	Scientist, Technical and Professional Occupations	
Methodology	Common Sense, Trial and Error, Experience	Empiricism, Experimentation	ABSTRACT THEORY: <i>Models, Simulations, Decision Theory, Systems Analysis</i>	
Time Perspective	Orientation to the Past	Ad hoc Adaptiveness, Experimentation	FUTURE ORIENTATION: <i>Forecasting and Planning</i>	
Design	Game Against Nature	Game Against Fabricated Nature	Game Between Persons	
Axial Principle	Traditionalism	Economic Growth	Codification of Theoretical Knowledge	

An analysis of the above discussions has clearly revealed that there have been significant changes in gender stratification. Below is a table outlining patterns of gender stratification in the pre-industrial industrial and post-industrial societies.

Table -2: Patterns of Gender Stratification in Societies.

Type of Society	Patterns of Gender Stratification
Hunter -	Women gathered vegetation and were responsible for child rearing.

Gatherer Society	- Men were hunters. - Equitable relationship between men and women because neither had the ability to provide sole means of food necessary for survival. - No inheritance rituals.
Pastoral Society	- Domestication of animals is done mostly by men and women contribute very little to production of food. - Patrilineal inheritance rituals - Women's sole purpose is to produce male off-springs to preserve family lineage. - Marriage practices include - ➤ Polygamy ➤ Bride-wealth (Where men provide goods and services in exchange for the sole right to a woman's sexual services and offspring.) ➤ Menstrual Taboos. Subordinate women by segregating them from the rest of the society when they have the cycle. Menstruation was considered 'unclean'. ➤ Patriarchy established and monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) document the importance of the patriarch and the subordination of women. ➤ Men increasingly begin to control procreation and women's sexuality.
Horticultural Society	- Hand Tools, hoes and digging sticks make it possible for women to work in cultivation of vegetables and fruits. For this reason, there was a very high degree of equality between men and women. - Neither sex controls food supply. - Inheritance could be matrilineal or patrilineal. - Patriarchy not yet established. Many horticultural societies are matrilineal.
Agrarian Society	- Use of animal drawn plough and equipment requires more strength and because men are physically more stronger, they do the majority of the work. - Surplus of wealth is established. - Pre-marital virginity and marital fidelity are strictly enforced. - Male dominance becomes institutionalised through religion, Government, marriage and family. - Protecting paternity and ensuring rightful heir are of paramount importance. Women are severely punished if they do not conform. - Purdah (found mostly in Muslim and pockets of Hindu society) - the practice of keeping men from seeing women. Either women must cover their bodies (<i>Burqa</i> and Veil), walk behind men to show deference, eat only after men and only speak when spoken to. - Genital Mutilation - Surgical procedure that involves cutting the clitoris and labia out in order to control a women's sexuality. In some cases, the girl's vagina is stitched up until she is married. Women

	were not considered desirable for marriage is this procedure was not performed. This practice still occurs in over thirty nations today. • Primogeniture - Inheritance Ritual where property of the Estate is passed down to the oldest male in the family. As a result, women cannot own property.
Industrial Society	• Men are considered sole providers or "breadwinners" and women are "homemakers". • Men continue to control women's sexuality, and procreation is further controlled by establishment of male dominated field of medicine. • Medicalisation of Child Birth - Child birth became treated medically as if it were an illness. Abortion was made illegal. and the practice of midwifery became practically non-existent. • Cult of Domesticity. True manhood depended on how well a male provided for a family, true womanhood depended on how well a woman performed duties of a wife, mother and homemaker. • Body Consciousness Increased - Both men and women became more occupied with body image as jobs became less physical and more sedentary. Mass media influenced this by showing images of thin, attractive people in movies, advertisements and television shows.
Post-Industrial Society	• Service based economy brought out more women out of the home and into the workforce. As a result, women's status increase. • More women receive college education and higher paying jobs. • Inheritance is bilateral. • Men have less control over procreation as more women enter the medical field. • Dual Earner Marriages - Both husband and wife must work outside the home in order to make a living. • Second Shift - Women are forced with more work today; after working a full time job, they do most of the work at home, including child rearing, cooking and cleaning. • Feminisation of Poverty - Due to increase in the divorce rates, there are more female headed single parent families. Women are paid lower wages than men and these results in increase in poverty rates among these families. • Eating Disorders - Prevalence of anorexia and bulimia in young women who are increasingly concerned about body image.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

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

1. Economic activities of Women in Pre-Industrial Societies.

2. Women's Labour in Feudal Societies.

3. Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

3.8 SUMMING UP

As societies modernise, women gain more rights through the democratic process. Since social stratification is less extreme in modern societies, women have been treated more equally. However due to nature of socialisation and internalisation, gender roles have not changed as much. Poverty is higher among women and children. These patterns show the power and pervasiveness of the social structure. Gender stratification has been built into our social institutions and women are trying to bring about change at the level of social structure.

3.9 GLOSSARY

Pastoral Society: Societies whose subsistence derives from the rearing of domesticated animals; there is often a need to migrate between different areas according to seasonal changes or to seek fresh grazing.

Post-industrial society: A notion advocated by those who believe that processes of social change are taking us beyond the industrialized order. A post-industrial society is based on the production of information rather than material goods. According to post-industrialists, we are currently experiencing a series of social changes as profound as those that initiated the industrial era some two hundred years ago.

4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

1. In the Pre-Industrial society, food production, which is carried out through the use of human and animal labour, is the main economic activity. These societies can be sub-divided according to their level of technology and their method of producing food. These sub-divisions are: (i) Hunting and Gathering, (ii) Pastoral, (iii) Horticultural, (iv) Agricultural and (v) Feudal.
2. Women, whether nobles or peasants held difficult position in the feudalistic society. They were largely confined to household tasks such as cooking, baking bread, sewing, weaving and spinning. However, they also hunted for food and fought in battles, learning to use weapons to defend their homes and castles. Some medieval women were blacksmiths, merchants and apothecaries, while others were midwives or worked in fields or engaged in creative arts or preferred to enter the monasteries as nuns.
3. Emile Durkheim (1893) introduced the concepts of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity. These solidarities can be distinguished by morphological and demographic features, types of norms in existence and the intensity and content of conscience collective (Annex - I)

4.10 REFERENCES

Bell, Daniel ((1973) *The Coming of Post Industrial Society - A Venture in Social Forecasting*; Basic Books, New York, USA

Durkheim, Emile (1897) *De La Division Du Travail Social* (Fr.) (Translated into English by Simpson, George) as *Division of Labour in Society* (1947), Free Press, New York, USA.

Ensminger, Jane (1983) *Monetization of the Galole Orma Economy: Changes in the Use of Fuel and Woodstock*. In *Rural Household Energy Use in Kenya*: C. Barnes and J. Ensminger (Eds.) Stockholm: Uppsala (Scandinavian Institute of Africa Studies).

Fukuyama, Francis (1999) *The Great Disruption*; Free Press, New York, USA

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels (1863) Theories of Surplus Value, Progress Publishers, Moscow

Redfield, Robert (1947) The Folk Society. In American Journal of Sociology 52: 293 - 308

Smith, Adam (1776) An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations; W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London

Toonies, Ferdinand (1887) Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. (Edited and Translated into English by Loomis, Charles, P) as Community and Society (1957); The Michigan University Press.

4.11 QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND PRACTICE

1. Describe participation of women in Pre-Industrial/Industrial Societies
2. Provide a comparative picture of Gender Stratification in Pre-Industrial, Industrial and Post Industrial Societies.
3. How do you distinguish between the two types of solidarity?

Annexure - I

MECHANICAL VERSUS ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

FEATURE	SOLIDARITY	
	MECHANICAL	ORGANIC
Morphological	Based on resemblances (predominant in less advanced societies) Segmented type (first clan based, later territorial) Little interdependence (social bonds relatively weak) Relatively low volume of population Relatively low material and moral density	Based on division of labour (predominantly in more advanced societies) Organised type (fusion of markets and growth of cities) Much interdependency (social bonds relatively strong) Relatively high volume of population Relatively high material and moral density
Type of Norms (Typified by Law)	Rules with repressive sanctions Prevalence of penal law	Rules with restitutive sanctions Prevalence of cooperative law (civil, commercial, procedural, administrative and

		constitutional law)
Formal Features of Conscience Collective	High volume High intensity High determinateness Collective Authority absolute	Low volume Low intensity Low determinateness More room for individual initiative and reflection
Content of Conscience Collective	Highly religious Transcendental (superior to human interests and beyond discussions) Attaching supreme value to society and interests of society and interests of society as a whole. Concrete and specific	Increasingly secular Human oriented (concerned with human interests and open to discussions) Attaching supreme value to individual dignity, equality of opportunity, work ethic and social justice. Abstract and general

Mechanical solidarity is the foundation for social unity. A society based on mechanical solidarity achieves social unity through a consensus of beliefs, values and norms; strong social pressures for conformity; and dependence on tradition and family. In this type of society, which is best observed in small and non illiterate societies, people tend to behave, think and feel in much the same ways, to place the group above the individual, and to emphasise tradition and family.

In contrast, in an industrial society, members depend on a variety of people to fulfil their needs - barbers, bakers, manufacturers and other suppliers of services. This modern industrial society is based on organic solidarity. It achieves social unity through a complex of specialised statuses that makes the members of the society interdependent (farmers produce the food to feed the factory workers who produce the tractors that allow the farmer to produce the food).