CHAPTER I

CAREER WOMEN: INTRODUCTION AND POLICY ISSUES

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CHAPTER I
CAREER WOMEN: INTRODUCTION
AND POLICY ISSUES

The value assigned by society to women's and men's work differ to a great extent as men are seen as breadwinners while women are seen as supplementary income providers. Gender perspective thus brings out the differential impact of society on structures and processes involving women and men. Such a perspective further helps examine the content and form of division of labour in different societies and in different contexts.

In India, traditionally, agriculture was the prime occupation yet the land was not privately owned. The king appointed region specific revenue collectors. The artisans under the Jajmani system served others in return of some definite agriculture product. Craft production was not a full time occupation but secondary to agriculture yet it was a definite source of earning. The Jajmani system and household enterprise provided cash income or in kind as a barter which in fact kept the demand of their goods high as
well as provided earnings. In towns artisans and craftsmanship at times took the form of a full time occupation. British strongly curbed Indian Industries by levying high taxes and also flooding the Indian market by British manufactured goods. They thus began the process of "de-industrialisation" of India.

The farmers under the new land tenure system entered the perpetual circle of debt and the artisans were rendered jobless. In the first half of the century the industrial employment for men rose while for women it reduced sharply. Due to a change in the traditional set up of the trade and commerce the participation rate of women was adversely affected. As women were traditionally highly involved in the economic activity of the household whether agriculture or crafts making; they were reduced to non-workers due to the modern set up of the markets. Women found it difficult to respond to the market by gaining new skills as much as it was near impossible for them to alter their social role; unlike men. Thus their traditional skills were rendered useless and they were absorbed in unremunerative and unrecognized occupations. Even though they carried out economic activities, it was not linked directly to monetary gains. The disappearance
of these two systems, namely, traditional jajmani system and the household enterprises left women with no earnings. By mid-nineteenth century the first factories were set up in Bombay and Bengal presidencies. In 1930, 22.9 percent of the mill workers were women but by 1939 their employment reduced to 14 percent due to automation.

Industrialization is in itself a process on world scale which was triggered by the Industrial Revolution of Britain. It affected the economy of the society as also the women and men within it. The process of industrialization has a definite impact on the economy and societal values. Though its economic impact can be quantified to some extent, it is rather difficult to quantify its effect on societal institution and values. Institutions like family, education, religion e.t.c., all undergo a change. It became a cause of social change and a continuing process began. In India factory setup lead to the men moving to towns along with their wives which resulted in the bifurcation of the joint families into nuclear

families. Hence it needs to be analysed qualitatively. The Industrial capitalism as an externally imposed system created major discontinuity for the Indian economy.

The division of labour which existed in factories thus was extended to the houses where in it resulted in gender division of labour. Thereby meaning that the women were forced to become economically unproductive and were associated solely with the household chores while men after gaining adequate training were seen as bread winners selling their labour to the factory to earn money. Durkheim emphasised division of labour in an industrial society where women were house makers and men were the income providers. Women were pushed back home and were involved in nurturing roles.

I.1 DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The United Nations has set up a Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). Its main responsibility lay towards assessing the status of women. Also it

2. Ibid Pg53.
broadly aimed at achieving equal rights for women and men. The next remarkable step taken by the United Nations was the declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women 1967. It essentially proclaimed that discrimination against women in any form or limiting their equality of right with men is fundamentally wrong and unjust.

The United Nations General Assembly in 1972, decided to proclaim 1975 as International Women's Year. Also in 1974, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations decided to hold an International Conference in Mexico in 1975 which was the First World Conference on Women. Here one of the main issues was to pursue with the United Nation, the implementation of the recommendations for the elimination of discrimination against women. As an effect of their perusal, in 1979 came the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination which came in force only in 1981.

International Action Programme was launched which

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aimed at integrating women as equal partners with men and participating fully in the total development process. The United Nations General Assembly on their part proclaimed the decade 1976-85 as the United Nations Decade for Women. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted a Plan Of Action in June 1975 with a declaration and resolution on equal opportunity and treatment for women workers.

The Second United Nations World Conference on Women was held in July 1980 at Copenhagen, Denmark. It adopted a Programme of Action. It continued with the earlier objectives of equality, development and peace with emphasis on employment, health and education. This conference left its marks as it took concrete steps to ensure the implementation of objectives set by Mexico Conference, namely, economic, legal and social rights of women.

With a gap of five years, the Third United Nations World Conference on Women was held in 1985 at Nairobi, Kenya. It adopted "Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women" (FLS). It intended to provide a strategy to advance the status of women in national and international, economics, social, cultural and legal spheres by the year 2000 A.D. The document had five sections dealing with the equality, development, peace, areas of special concern and international/regional corporation. It also emphasised full participation of women in the development process.

The United Nations has had a number of conferences since 1990. Though not all of them have been primarily on women's issues yet they have given a global recognition that gender arts across all kinds of issues. In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment & Development (UNCED) was held in Leo de Janeiro, in Brazil. It focussed attention on global environmental crises & provided forum to Governmental & Non-Governmental Organisation (WGO's) to review & evaluate development approaches and practices. It succeeded in acknowledging that improvement of women's livelihood is a necessary pre-condition to sustainable development.
World conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria in 1993 recognised the women's rights as human rights in private and public sphere both. In the process it understood economic rights to include poverty issues and the employment inequalities in the labour market.

1994 saw the International conference on population and Development (ICDD) in Cairo, Egypt. It emphasised that women should be central to any population policy and development goals. The priority areas in development were women’s improvement, health and reproduction rights.

The World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) held in Copenhagen, Denmark in March 1995 focussed on poverty. It recognised that women bear a disproportionate burden of poverty. Also it understood poverty as gender inequity. The UN declared 1996 as the International year for the Eradication of Poverty. Copenhagen Declaration called for measures to address the feminization of poverty but it also aimed at empowering women.

All these conferences led to a significant achievement, in that, it highlighted the 'gender perspective' meaning thereby that no development issues such as environment, human rights, poverty and population can be discussed without debating on issues of gender. In the process it spread awareness and understanding that women play a significant role in all spheres of life – productive, reproductive, social, cultural and political.

Beijing, China was the venue of the fourth UN World Conference on Women in Sept 1995. The slogan at the conference was 'Look at the World through Women's Eyes'. Economics and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) played a vital role in the preparation of this conferences. It organised a number of Ministerial Conferences on Women in Development. A Plan of Action for the Advancement of women in Asia and the Pacific was prepared at the Meeting of the senior officials held at Jakarta, Indonesia in June 1994. The critical areas identified were (a) access to power (b) education and literacy (c) health (d) economic activities, (e) poverty and (f) women's rights as Human Rights. Elimination of poverty can be targeted not through anti-poverty programmes but by
focusing on issues related to women's lack of economics opportunities.

India, attempts to follow the footsteps suggested by the United Nations. It has taken initiatives to bring about qualitative changes in the status of women through economic growth and simultaneously reduce the social disparities. Appropriate Policy planning is the key to usher in an era of change in attitude towards women in home and in workplace. An overall consciousness has to be developed so that the programmes and projects undertaken at various levels affect the position of women favourably. It thus entails the policy planning to be undertaken very carefully after adequate exposure to the situation. India has so far attempted a change with the help of provisions made in the Constitution, the legislations and certain programmes expected to benefit the women.

II.2 GOVERNMENTS ENDEAVOUR SINCE INDEPENDENCE
After Independence the Government of India began a systematic endeavour to safeguard the rights of all aimed at integrating women as equal partners with
the citizens. The Indian Government has been attempting to ameliorate the economic status of women by various policies and development measures. It also undertook welfare measures and stressed on education.

The Constitution of India grants equality to women under Article 14, and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, etc. under Article 15; and Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in public employment. It also empowers the State to take positive discriminatory measures which would counter at least to some extent the discriminatory social, economic and political structure of our Indian society. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts of 1993 mark historic events in the progressive strides of the Indian Women as they ensure one third of total seats for women in all elected offices of local bodies, in rural and urban areas.

To give legal teeth to the provisions of the Constitution, various Legislative Acts have been enacted. These Acts are intended to counter the inequality, social discrimination and the various forms of violence. Further they are meant to support the working women.
Some of the laws are as follows:

* The Plantation Labour Act, 1951.
* The Special Marriage Act, 1954.
* The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.
* The Hindu Succession Act, 1956.

The Planning Commission defined three major areas in which they have paid special attention to women's development, -- education, social welfare,
and health. Employment, technical education and other necessary amenities for women were thus absent in their agenda. The policy planners attempted to reach the needs of women which would help them becoming a part of main stream society. Growth with equality characterised India's policy planning. The Government of India has constituted various Committees and Working Groups from time to time to meet the changing needs of women.

In the following paragraphs the researcher only highlights the efforts to improve women's status in the five year plans of the Government. The first five year plan (1951-56) aimed at reducing the women's mortality rate during child birth and measures to control the population growth. They emphasised on family planning, health care, maternity and welfare of women. In 1953, the Central Welfare Board was established, which looked after activities


at the State level along with the State Social Welfare Boards. It also undertook number of welfare measures.

The second five year plan (1956-61) focussed attention on working women and their conditions of work. It further emphasised maternity benefits, creche facilities, paid rest intervals for feeding infants. Also equal pay for equal work, training facility to upgrade one's skills and possibilities of part-time employment should be explored. "Mahila Mandalas" were organised at the grass root level.

The third five year plan (1961-66) noted the alarming disparity in the education of girls and boys and hence took measures to promote girls education at various academic levels.

From 1966 to 1969, there were three Annual Plans. The fourth five year plan (1969-74) further emphasised,

specialised education like the vocational training. It also allowed voluntary agencies to undertake welfare measures.

The **fifth five year plan (1974-78)** gave priority to training needy women with dependent children and working women. There was a shift in the approach from 'welfare' to 'development'. It attempted to integrate welfare with developmental services. It focussed attention on women from low income families, needy women with dependent children. The Integrated Rural Development (IRDP), 1978-79 envisaged that at least 30 percent of the beneficiaries should be women. To realise this, stress was laid on giving adequate employment to women under National Rural Employment Programme and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Scheme. Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) was also expected to have one third as women beneficiaries.

The **sixth five year plan (1980-85)** was a landmark as


it had for the first time, an exclusive chapter on "Women and Development", hence recognising women's development as a special sector. It adopted a multi-pronged strategy as essential for women's development — (a) employment and economic independence; (b) education; (c) access to health care and family planning; (d) support services to meet the practical gender needs of women, and (e) the creation of an enabling policy, institutional & legal environment.

The seventh five year plan (1985-90) continued the developmental programmes for women. They were aimed at enhancing the women's economic and social status in order to bring them into the main-stream of national development. They aimed at promoting 'beneficiary-oriented programmes' which would directly benefit the women. It suggested that biases against training for non-traditional jobs should be removed and women should not be confined to low paid and less skilled jobs.

The **eighth five year plan** (1992-97) marked the shift from 'development' to 'empowerment' and women should be participants to development rather than passive recipients of help. A conscious effort is being made to ensure that the benefits of development from different sectors do not bypass women. In addition to it, special programmes are to be implemented to compliment the general development programmes. The core sectors of development continue to be health, education and employment.

The Planners adopted the strategy to strengthen women's groups at the grass-root level, to reduce the drudgery of rural women through promoting the rural technology, expand women's employment in the household sector, enforcement of social legislation for women and encouraging women's participation in sciences and medical courses. It promoted schemes like Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme, Minimum Needs Programme, Science and Technology for Women, use of Smokeless Chullahs, Support to Training-cum-Employment Programme (STEP).

etc. To promote saving Mahila Samriddhi Yojana (MSY) was initiated among the women. The Government of India also set up the National Credit Fund for Women with the objective of developing a national network of credit services for women in the informal sector to generate self-employment, micro-enterprises and small businesses.

To carry-out the welfare and development programmes on women and children the plan outlay increased from Rs. 4 crores in first Plan to Rs. 2000 crores in the eighth plan. In 1971, the Government appointed a Committee on the Status of Women in India, which submitted its Report entitled 'Towards Equality'. It noted that only the second five year plan emphasised the need for generating and improving employment of women. Other plans restricted their concern for women's development to education, health and welfare. It pointed out that the dynamics of social change and development had affected the majority of women adversely, and had created new imbalances and

disparities. The report explained that such disparities exist amongst women, men, adults and children hence the whole society. Thus, it is impossible to eradicate it in isolation only in case of women. It thus requires a programme for overall development of all sections which are being oppressed by the social exploitative system. Gradually this line of reasoning brought about a change in the policy. The women were then seen as subjects who would participate in the developmental programmes rather than as targets of welfare policies. Also, by this time it was becoming evident that women as a group are adversely affected by the process of economic transformation.

The highlights of the Committee's report – 'Towards Equality' (1974) were:

1. Child marriages of girls in particular was very prevalent in the country.
2. The sex ratio, number of females per thousand males was steadily declining.

18. Ibid, Pg.332.
3. Literary rate of female were much lower as compared to males.

4. Socio-culturally women's status was lower than that of men's.

5. Work participation of women was very low.

6. Legislation has not made much change in the women's position.

7. Women's participation in educational and economic fields are very low.

8. Women's participation in political activities like voting is also marginal.

9. Policies and programmes for women's welfare and development are not fully implemented.

According to the suggestions of the Report, the Government framed a National Plan of Action for Women, in 1976 to ensure positive measures for the development of women. Family Planning, health, nutrition, education, employment, social welfare, and legislation were areas identified for development programmes. In consonance with it, a conscious effort to improve the status of women was aimed at. An immediate outcome of National Plan Of Action for Women was the setting up of Women's Welfare and Development Bureau. The Planning Commission also
appointed a Working Group on Employment of Women in 1977 to identify the strategies to increase the employment opportunities for women. Other groups were also appointed by select Ministries to review the employment of women. The Ashok Mehta Committee (1977) report laid special emphasis on the need to reorganise and strengthen women's constructive decision making and managerial role.

Support to Training and Employment Programmes (STEP) launched in 1987 aims to upgrade the skills of poor and asset less women and provide employment to women in the traditional sectors such as agriculture, dairy, fisheries, sericulture, hand-looms and handicrafts. STEP's three special features are 'gender sensitisation', 'women in development inputs' and 'support services'. It has provided employment to around 1.52 lakh women.

Another programme called Training-cum-Employment-cum-Production Centres was started. Financial assistance


is provided to public sector undertakings, corporations, autonomous bodies and voluntary organisations to train women in non-traditional trades and ensure employment to them in these areas.

The National Perspective Plan for Women 1988-2000 A.D (NPP) was drawn in 1988. It aimed to bring policies and programmes of women's concern to the mainstream. It is guided by the national targets of standard development set by the country's national policies. It is a comprehensive report and it had chalked out action points relating to sectors of rural development, health, legislation, political participation, education, employment, support services, communication and voluntary action.

National Commission for Self Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (1988) submitted its report entitled 'Shramshakti'. This report highlighted the important contribution of the marginalised poor women


in both rural and urban areas, to the growth of the formal economy. The significant findings were that one third of all house-holds were solely supported by women and in another third, over 50 percent of the earnings were contributed by women. Also 94 percent of all women were found to be working in the unorganised sector such as agriculture, dairy, animal husbandry and fisheries. The study included self-employed and wage labour, paid and unpaid workers, and contractual employees.

The recommendations included recognition of women's work as home-makers, as social and economic producers, enlarging the definition of women-workers in all subsequent data collection efforts to contain all paid and unpaid work performed at home and outside, linking all training programmes to employment and better remuneration. Further the key factor of women's exploitation in the informal sector was the lack of organisation.

The National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (1991-2000) was prepared in 1992 to take care of her gender specific needs. Amongst other goals it included enactment of legislation to ban sex-determination tests
so as to prevent female foeticide and mounting of multi-media campaigns to develop a positive image of the girl child.

For the first time in India's demographic history, the 1991 census data collectors were trained for Gender Sensitisation. It helped to recognise women's work in the informal sector. Provisional data on "Workers and, their Distribution" has shown a substantial increase in female work participation during the 1991 census compared to that of 1981.

The National Commission for Women was set in 1992, as an national apex body to review the Constitutional and legal safe-guards for women but implementation is not in their hands; recommend remedial legislative measures; facilitate redressal of grievances and advise Government on all policy matters affecting women.

The National Machinery set up in 1975 consists of,-
(a) a National Committee; (b) a Steering Committee of the National Committee; (c) a Women's Welfare and Development Bureau. Diagram on Page - 25 depicts the National Machinery with its institutional support. The term 'National Machinery' became a part
of regular parlance during the International Women's Decade and the three World Conferences on Women, namely, the Plan of Action (Mexico), the Programme of Action (Copenhagen) and Forward Looking Strategies (Nairobi). National Machinery was understood, in the UN and th the WID context, to mean any body(ies) created or designated by Governments for advancing the cause of women.

The objective of the National Machinery was to integrate planning and implementation of strategies for the advancement of women. The National Machinery has been unable to serve its purpose. The reasons amongst others are - their locale in obscure ministries with limited resources, over-loaded functions, and their ability to reach the target group of women.

The India country report of the 'Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995 called attention to certain critical areas. They concern the following aspects.


25. Ibid., Pg2.
* Inadequacy of institutional mechanism for the advancement of women.
* Persistent and institutionalised discrimination against the girl child.
* Feminization of poverty.
* Gender blindness in micro-economic policies.
* Invisibility of women's contribution to the economy and environmental sustenance.
* Poor participation by women in decision making structures and processes.
* Gender gaps in literacy, education and health.
* Growing trend of violence against women.
* Barriers encountered by women in accessing legal entitlements.
* Gender biased societal norms.
* Negative portrayals and perpetuation of gender stereotypes by mass media.

I.3 EDUCATION POLICY

In the last few decades the policy makers have realised the eminence of education in ameliorating the conditions of women. Development and education is intertwined and the lack of either has a bearing on the socio-economic conditions of the society.
At the very outset of Independence, Country's Directive Principles emphasised the growth of an efficient educational system. Article 45 mentions that the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the constitution, compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. The Government's efforts towards girl's and women's education is affirmed by the Report of the Committee on Education of Women (1958-59). The Education Commission, 1964-66 expressed concern at the education of girls.

The significance of the education of girls cannot be over-emphasized. For full development of our human resources, the improvement of homes, and for molding the character of children during the most impressionable years of infancy, the education of women is of even greater importance than that of men. The education of women can assist greatly in reducing the fertility rate. In the modern world, the role of women goes much beyond the home and the bringing up of children. She is now adopting a career of her own and sharing equally with man the responsibility for the development of society in all its aspects. This is the direction in which we shall have to move. In the struggle for freedom, Indian women fought side by side with men. This equal partnership will have to continue in the fight against hunger, poverty, ignorance, and ill-health.

Taking cognisance of the Report of the Education Commission 1964-66, the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1968 was formulated. Not much development took place with regard to the development of education of girls. Hence the Government formulated a new National Policy on Education in 1986 and a Programme of Action (POA) along with it. This policy focussed on development of new values through redesigned curricular, text-books, training of teachers, decision makers etc. It also emphasised on women's participation in vocational, technical and professional education and training.

The Programme of Action, 1972, aimed at increasing the educational opportunities and regarded the following actions as imperative. It targeted at overall development of women, hence their socio-psychological mind set. A few were: enhancing self-confidence of women; built a positive image of women by recognising their contribution socially, economically and politically; enabling women to take conscious decisions in the choice of education, employment and health; developing critical thinking. The Programme encouraged the participation of many organisations and institution to meet these parameters. Equal emphasis
was laid on research pertaining to women's socio-economic status, political participation, familial role and their development.

The National Policy of Education (NPE) 1986, amended in 1982 was a landmark as it intended to achieve gender justice and equality. It contained an exclusive chapter and Programme of Action on Education for Equality. It proposed a dual track approach designed to promote adult literacy and primary education focussed on girls. In addition it aimed at designing the curricula such that vocational, technical and professional education is accessible to women.

Government also set up a National Literacy Mission (NLM). The objective, in quantitative terms was, to start with, to impart functional literacy to 80 million adult illiterate persons in the age group of 15-35 (30 million by 1990 and an additional 50 million by

I.4 IMPACT OF ECONOMIC POLICIES ON WOMEN.

The balance of payment crisis of 1991 made it necessary to rethink on the development policy and also on the macro economic policies. The new macro economic policies consists of both stabilisation measures and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), under the guidelines of liberalisation, Restrictive fiscal and monetary policies aim to squeeze overall demand within the system so as to reduce imbalances in the external balance of payments and overall budgetary deficit, and reliance on market forces.

A women's role is multiple; she is a home manager, child bearer, caretaker of children and the elderly and lastly but not least an economic producer. They work for longer hours with minimal resources and are paid lower also. Women continue to be employed in majority in the informal sector and only a small stratum has entered organised sector. A sign of positive development is the gradual

sector. A sign of positive development is the gradual decline in under-employment even within the unorganised and informal sector. The economic policies of liberalisation and globalisation will push the women in the unorganised sector out of job but due to inflation and increase in cost of living, one pay packet is insufficient for a family. This would result in pushing women to go for higher education and enter the job market in newer fields and other male dominated fields.

The market mechanisms do not regard activities as valuable unless they are economically productive unlike the housework. On the other hand, women's time and unpaid labour is assumed to be infinitely elastic and any additional manpower requirement can be filled by women increasing their workload.

Some researchers anticipate that economic policies may lead to increase in unemployment specially for women. Also inflation is likely to squeeze real incomes and push women to seek alternate ways to supplement their income. The gender concerns are two-fold firstly, during the period of stabilisation when costs have to be borne would poor women benefit from social safety
nets put in position by the Government, or not. Secondly, when the benefits begin to accrue, will they trickle down to the poor women.

The SAP may result in employment opportunities for women in export oriented industries, expansion of private sector in the core areas, expansion of service industry like finance, banking, insurance, etc, and cash crop cultivation and agri-business.

Women constitute the majority of the work force in modern export industries and Multi-National Corporations (MNC's) based in Free Trade Zones (FTZ's) and Export Processing Zones (EPZ's). Yet the question lingers what increase in women's contribution lead to increase in their cash income flow. Due to liberalisation of trade the FTZs may close down. But the women trained here, now would be employed in the new MNC's entering the country.

Though India is going through the process of trade liberalisation it needs to be examined how it will affect women. Most economically active women operate in the informal sector, producing goods which are very sensitive to external competition. Women dominate in
sectors such as electronic assembly, agriculture, textiles and clothing which in the near future will be closely integrated with the global trading system. The productive role of women has not been taken cognisance of in the foreign trade policy. It is mandatory that women are represented in the trade policy so that their needs and concerns can be voiced.

I.5 MAHARASHTRA STATES' POLICY FOR WOMEN

In June, 1994, a separate Policy for Women was brought out by the State of Maharashtra. This was the first distinct policy in India. Also Maharashtra was the first State to follow the Central Government with a State Legislation setting up a State Commission for Women in January, 1993. The policy further states that the document - Policy for Women would be reviewed and updated every three years to keep pace with evolving social needs in a fast changing world.

I.5.1 Goals and Objectives of the Policy:

The goal of the Government as indicated in the policy is to ascertain improvement in the physical, mental and emotional quality of life of the women of the State.

They emphasise the role of the Government in recognising the gender inequalities existing in the society and further to assist different agencies to alter this inequitable relation keeping in mind the 'needs and realities of today's society'.

I.5.2 Strategies

* In order to make women active participants of development, the Government now believes that women should represent at all levels of decision making, political, financial and administrative.

* The Government will provide 10 percent of all Government/Gram Panchayat land at the village level, and 10 percent of the income of the Gram Panchayat will be placed under the control of local women's committees headed by the elected women representative of the villages. These assets would be used for economic activity to benefit the local women.

* If 75 percent of the women present in a Gram Sabha vote for the closure of country liquor shops, Government will ensure that existing licenses are revoked and new ones are not sanctioned.
* All grants/leases/allotments made of Government property will be in the name of husband and wife.

* Reservations of seats for employment of women would be followed by Government and Semi-Government Organisations.

* The development programmes will keep in mind that a large number of households are maintained by women; hence such case treat women as head of the household.

* The State will encourage agencies to set up training modules for women which will enable them to include a section on empowerment in all their courses. Also it will promote other such institutions and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs).

* The Government will campaign to educate its implementing machinery and society on the need to focus on improving the status of girl child.

* In each district the Government will set up Mahila Kendra for such purpose, run by voluntary agencies. In urban areas one center will cover 1.5 lakh population.
* The focus of development programmes in rural areas will be on sanitation, water supply, fuel and social forestry.

The policy has also identified its focus areas. Remedial and developmental measures have been chalked out for violence against women. To further its plans the Government has also geared up supportive administration which includes the Government itself, other agencies like 'Maher Yojana', 'Mahila Kendra', 'Annapoorna Yojana', etc.

A distinct section on 'women and law' is also included. Legal Advice Cell has been set up to identify any gender bias in legislation and Government rules and also to propose new legislation to enable women to attain genuine equality in society. Certain other changes in the legislations are also suggested.

I.5.3 Improvement in the Economic Status:

The State believes that women's contribution to the economy has gone unnoticed due to which they are unable to reap its economic benefits. Moreover it has been noticed that 'income in the hands of the woman' results
in improved health and educational status of the family.

* Poverty alleviation and enhancement of the economic status of women in the Organised Sector will be achieved through three different approaches: (i) Ensuring that existing regulatory mechanism protect women's interest; (ii), Actively promoting women friendly personnel policies in the organised sector of the economy; and (iii) Initiating measures to directly contribute to women's economic development.

* The policy suggests that the employment policy needs to be reviewed keeping in mind the biological and social role of women which entails them to take leave and hence the concept of "permanent" jobs may be suitably modified. The recruitment conditions could also be amended and provision for sabbaticals be made.

* The concept of flexi-time will be promoted by the Government in Government departments, public and private sector. Work would be defined by output and

30. Government of India, June 1994, Policy For Women, Pg.18
31. Ibid.
time rather than the routine eight hour schedule. It would reduce the economic insecurity for women.

* Government would take measures for women's economic growth.

* The Mahila Arthick Vikas Mahamandal (MAVIM) will be restructured to enable it to promote self-employment and in improving the economic status of women. For this it may liaison with NGOs. In addition it will identify non-traditional avenues of self-employment; markets in local areas, and also liaise with quality control agencies to monitor standards in the products.

* In the unorganised sector the Government will undertake measures to provide access to information; credit facilities; vocational training and upgrading of skills and markets.

* The Labour department will also look into the problems of female domestic workers and female construction workers.

The policy has very detailed section on the role of media and advocacy. It has emphasised the subordinate,
vulnerable position of women as shown by the Television, and also the Cinema. To build positive image of women it is essential to depict women in the same light. Further time slots devoted to advertisement on women should be at the prime time viewing.

The State Policy for women was conceived with a good objective of empowering women and bringing status equality however even before it was implemented the Government was changed and the new Government is still in the process of formulating the implementation strategies.

Other sections include Panchayati Raj Institutions, Involvement of non-government bodies, health, education, technical education, women's commission for women, monitoring and evaluation system, and delivery mechanisms of their schemes and programmes to reach the women.

I.6 GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN AND WORK
The word gender came in use in development studies in the 1980s. This was with particular reference to women's development and was referred to in the phrase
"Gender and Development". Gender perspective thus examines analytically the psychological, social and cultural differences which also get reflected in women's and men's economic position. Anthony Giddens explains:

While sex refers to physical differences of the body, gender concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females. The distinction between sex and gender is fundamental, since many differences between males and females are not biological in origin.

Industrial development has changed the work profile of women and men. "Women's work, women's fertility, and women's role in the family and in society at large are radically changed by economic development". Prior to the Industrial Revolution women were involved in home based production. But with the coming up of factories, the skills of the women involved in the home-based production were increasingly rendered useless. This forced them to gradually acquire modern skills and techniques which were acceptable


to factory running. This work focuses on the changing societal values, economic needs and such factors which lead women to acquire newer skills and hence occupations. Women of the higher social and economic class too acquired technical skills of a higher degree and begun working outside the house.

Industrialization in India first began in Bombay in the Eighteen sixties and the Bombay Factory Commission was set up in the year 1875. The First attempt at starting a factory in Pune was made in 1885 by Shri Anantrao Bhau Godambe. Full-fledged growth of industrialization began in Pune in the last four decades. The details of industrialization in Pune are given in Chapter five of this thesis. With the beginning of factories, women too started to take up factory work. They have been working since then, outside their houses in various occupations. Women have been more involved in jobs which can be linked to the feminine caring and nurturing roles. They were predominantly involved in teaching, nursing, and

clerical work. Recent trends indicate that increasingly more women are taking up professional education which are technical in nature, for eg., Engineering, Electronics and Computers. They are also being employed in such jobs though initially they had to go through a period when male employers would not employ them as they had doubts about the efficiency of women engineers. They are now being accepted more easily and in differential work profiles in the field of engineering and computers.

Engineering has been a well known/popular profession for the past couple of decades. Also it has been regarded as a technical field and hence regarded as a male domain. Computers is relatively new in India. It entered Pune in the 1970s as part of Physics as a subject. Eventually it attained its own identity. Though computer is more close to science and other technical subjects, many women began opting for it. Initially it was more popular with women. The clerical work, data feeding etc. began to be done on computers and it was seen as being modern and up-to-date. As the specialization in computers began, a shift was noticeable. Initially women were understood to be more interested in Computers due to its
resemblance to their secretarial role and role as clerks, later termed as 'data entry operators'. Yet the specialized expert professionals in computers are men. Computers as a profession is still vacillating between a masculine and a feminine profession.

Another prominent change visible is the acceptance of women professionals in such technical fields.

This thesis thus addresses the impact of industrialization on women's technical education and on their technical profession which carries high status in the society. This was earlier completely the preserve of men. In a society individuals occupy a number of social positions known as statuses. "Ascribed statuses are usually fixed at birth. Achieved status is entered as a result of some degree of purposive action and choice." It is further elaborated that "each status in society is accompanied by a number of norms which define how an individual occupying a particular status is expected to act. This group of norm is known as a role". Role is sociologically important because it demonstrates how individual

36. Ibid., Pg8.
activity is socially influenced and thus follows regular patterns. R. Linton's role theory "derives from the society's culture, typically regarded in functionalist accounts as a unified cultural system, and they are expressed in the social norms that guide behaviour in roles". Along with status of an individual, comes prestige. There are two factors which account for greater prestige specially if taken together. They are according to Harry Johnson, "first, the functional importance of an occupation to the social system in which it is rated; and second, the scarcity of personnel for the occupation relative to demand." Also three factors have secondary effect on the prestige of an occupation: "the average income, the prestige, on other grounds, and the publicity given to those who engage in it." An individual hence acquires a social position. It has two parts- its role and its status where 'role' refers to obligations.


39. Ibid., Pg489.
Another issue of crucial importance here is the differential role model which stems from the belief that sex also determines his or her 'role' in society. It relates to production, reproduction, marriage and family. While women are seen as suited for familial responsibilities of caring and nurturing, men are seen as protectors and providers. The division of labour then is based on the biological sex which is manifested in the society's attitude towards what is 'feminine' and 'masculine'.

Traditionally, the professions which were understood to be best suited for women and were regarded as "feminine" jobs by men included teaching, nursing, clerical & secretarial work and to a certain extent medical doctors. With the progress of industries and the development of economy, many new professions have emerged. These include Banking, Media, Computer and Manufacturing & Service Industry. The census statistics do not give the statistical breakup for these particular categories but for occupational groups it is available. Table 1.1 highlights the
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>40,967 (8.30)</td>
<td>17,030 (21.50)</td>
<td>25,840 (7.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ADMIN &amp; EXECUTIVE</td>
<td>35,151 (7.13)</td>
<td>1,946 (2.46)</td>
<td>29,084 (8.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>CLERICAL</td>
<td>67,149 (13.61)</td>
<td>12,241 (15.47)</td>
<td>46,865 (14.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>SALES</td>
<td>48,809 (9.89)</td>
<td>5,944 (7.51)</td>
<td>38,733 (11.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>41,274 (8.37)</td>
<td>14,951 (18.89)</td>
<td>33,665 (10.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>FARMER</td>
<td>6,939 (1.41)</td>
<td>900 (1.14)</td>
<td>5,734 (1.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>PRODUCTION WORKERS</td>
<td>238,078 (48.26)</td>
<td>23,371 (29.53)</td>
<td>147,923 (44.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>NOT CLASSIFIED</td>
<td>14,896 (3.02)</td>
<td>2,763 (3.49)</td>
<td>5,675 (1.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>493,263 (100)</td>
<td>79,147 (100)</td>
<td>333,519 (100)</td>
<td>42,167 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
main occupational groups in Pune Urban Agglomorate as described in the census. Meera Bapat and Nigel Crook note that in Pune Urban Agglomorate, "High growth rates in female employment are to be observed in the higher status professional and administrative/executive jobs". The growth rates over the 1971-81 decade, expressed as average annual percentages for professional and administrative occupations for females were 6.1 and 22.7 as against 4.6 and 1.9 for men. High growth rates in female employment are also observed in clerical jobs.

Women have been employed in Banking service in large numbers in the last two decades (since 1970’s). Today women constitute the majority of human resource employed in banks. The researcher has been unable to get authentic data for the exact number of women employed in the banking sector. They are employed in


Census Of India, 1971, Maharashtra State, Series 11, Part II, B(ii), General Economic Tables.
all categories -- starting from clerical level to Chief Manager. Media, which includes performers, stage artists, actors among others has been existing in India since earlier time. Pune, in particular, has had a well developed Theater. Traditionally, women did opt for this occupation but now newer fields such as electronic media have emerged where women are consciously being employed in.

A routine, static work where women have been employed in large numbers is in the clerical staff. Now increasingly they are acquiring computer literacy and are being replaced as Computer Data Entry Operator and as (Personal) Assistants. Advanced education in Computers enables them to be Programmers and Software Developers. Another prominent job category in the market is the Manufacturing as well as Service Industry. The Electronic Industry in particular prefer to employ women. They strongly believe in the "Nimble Finger" Theory and also the "non-militant" nature of women ensures their inability to participate in Union activities. With technical qualification women are being employed as engineers or as technical human resource in the industry.
Traditionally, India is an agricultural country where jajmani system required the contribution of all the members of the household irrespective of sex. Women were major contributors in such economic household enterprise. Due to industrial revolution production shifted away from the houses to the factories. This adversely affected the role of women as economic contributors. Women were forced to stay at home doing the household chores.

Gradually when they acquired education, they were employed in the nurturing roles like teaching, nursing, doctors etc. After much time women have now began to be occupied in "masculine" jobs like Engineering and now emerging professions like Computers, Electronics and Banking. The Government on their part has attempted to make policies and programmes which would help ameliorate the status of women. The next chapter focuses on the objectives of this study. The review of literature attempts to highlight the focus areas of studies undertaken so far. A detailed description of research and method adopted to undertake this study is also included in the next chapter.