CHAPTER III

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CHAPTER III
GENDERED EMPLOYMENT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The last chapter has initiated us to an understanding of the objective of this thesis. The review of literature has introduced us to the various usage of the concept of gender and women's work participation. This chapter throws light on the concept of gender and its various usage as well as its varied interpretations in societies. The developmental efforts taken up by different agencies including the Government have reworked their approach and understanding of women's problems over time. This the researcher has sought to study by tracing the approaches of 'Women in Development' (WID) to 'Women and Development' (WAD) and finally to 'Gender and Development' (GAD). The different theories on gender is also focussed as it attempts to explain the division of labour in the labour market which in fact originates from the division of labour at home. This has a significant effect on the employment of women in the industrialised setting. Gender division of labour extended to the
labour market has bifurcated the job into categories of "feminine" and "masculine". Yet a silent process of changes is visible as the traditional gender division of labour in employment is undergoing a shift where in women are taking up technical professions.

Hilary Standing very rightly points out that the terms "employment" and "work" are used interchangeably, yet "employment" is not synonymous with "work" and hence employment assumes a concept of gainful economic activity which is measured in economic terms. It thus gets related as "paid work".

Specially in the third world countries women have always worked in the agricultural fields and have been involved in the allied activities. They have played a major role in agriculture. Women have always been a part of the work-force. In the pre-industrial society women worked for the home-based production where the roles and tasks, whether important were seen

Industrialisation has brought changes in the family. Harriet clarifies that, "if families are no longer strictly patriarchal they are still transmitters of sex inequalities". Naila Kabeer makes a sharp distinction between the pre-capitalist societies and the contemporary industrialised societies:

In pre-capitalist societies, kinship was the key idiom of social interaction, organising economic, cultural and political activities as well as sexual and reproductive practice. Clearly, in such contexts, the domestic domain was the primary site of most social relations, including those by gender. By contrast, one of the pivotal features of contemporary market-based societies has been the institutionalised separation of the 'private' domain of family and kinship from other more 'public' institutions of the market and the state. The familial domain still remains a critical site of gender relations in capitalist society, but has ramifications that reach deep into the apparently separate public arena.


3. Ibid 151.

III.1 THE CONCEPT OF GENDER

The sex differences are biological but gender differences have evolved out of social division of labour. The relations between the two sexes are socially constituted and not derived from biology. Sex is a biological determinant which is fixed and unchangeable while gender is a social construction which has taken its shape through the history of social relations and interactions. Osterguard notes, 'Gender relations are constituted in terms of the relations of power and dominance that structure the life chances of women and men'. Oakley clears it further:

Gender is a psychological and cultural term. The general understanding is that the female sex automatically belongs to the feminine gender and the male sex to the masculine gender.

She again points out:

To be a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, is as much a function of dress, gesture, occupation, social network and personality, as it is of possessing a particular set of genitals.


7. Ibid.
Ann Oakley stresses on the role of culture to understand the basis of gender. She is of the view that 'sex' differences may be 'natural' but gender differences have their source in culture, not nature. Our biological sex is given. Feminity and masculinity are built on the biologically distinct sex and this biological distinction is interpreted by our culture.

Through various definitions, the concept of gender is well understood, yet there seems to be no single definition encompassing all the aspect and perceptions. According to Maria Mies the understanding of gender are based on four beliefs such as:

1. Gender is a social constraint: This conveys that social meanings are attached to biological sex. The term is used to denote socially and culturally determined differences between male and female as opposed to the biological differences determined by factors which are chromosomal, anatomical, hormonal are chromosomal, anatomical, hormonal and

physiological. Thus according to Sherry Ortner it implies that the male and female are made rather than born.

2. Gender is a system of asymmetric cultural valuation of human beings, in which certain traits and work profile (activities) associated with men are assigned higher value than those associated with women.

3. Gender is an ideology which generates and perpetuates differential positions assigned to the two sex categories.

4. The outcome of these processes is sex privilege to men and degradation to women.

The extant literature tends to interpret gender in three ways:

(1) as social role, (2) as a social relation and (3) as a practice.

1. Gender as a social role: This approach is used

9. Ibid.


by some authors to identify what women and men do. It reflects what is learnt by women and men in socialization which is different and in fact opposite. The term aims to highlight the role and responsibilities that differentiate women from men. Other external factors such as economy and the political state also have an impact on the society due to which the social role models of gender are constantly under the process of slight change. Hence the social role is in fact constantly changing, though they continue to find their roots in the traditional roles. This term becomes more acceptable as both male and female roles and differentiation of work are discussed.

2. Gender as a social relation: This term comes more in use when gender not only denotes differences but also underlying issues of 'power'. It thus asserts the relationship of power. 'Gender relations' are used as a blanket cover to describe the political character of male-female relations within the household and in public life, in economic and political structures. This is most pronounced when modernization or so to say 'development' was undertaken in the colonial and traditional society and this ushered in an era of dramatic changes in the gender
relations.

3. **Gender as a practice**: Connell suggests that the interpretation of gender as a practice is the notion that women as social actors use already existing systems to achieve ends. This approach focuses on what people do by way of shaping the social relations they live in.

Women thus make efforts to organize, voice, or systematically strategise to publicize their inferior status by being within the existing social structure. They mould and portray their objectives to be accepted by men in the prescribed framework and hence, avoid the conflict of being termed as deviant. This is a strategy to negotiate for spaces not normally available in a patriarchal society.

### III.2 GENDER ROLES:

Gender roles are a set of roles which by its own inherent characteristics communicate to others that we are feminine or masculine. Harry Johnson notes that from a sociological point of view, `social roles are

12. Ibid.
among the most important 'objects' that are internalised in the course of socialization'. As Julia Cleaves Mosse puts it:

This set of particular behaviours which embraces our appearances, dress, attitudes, personalities, work both within and outside the household, sexuality, family commitments and so-on together make up our gender roles.

Each society has its own distinct codes of conduct for its members to follow and they learn to act out their feminine or masculine role. The gender roles have in built gender biases which throughout the world places "masculinity" on a pedestal. Yet gender roles change over time and also differ from culture to culture. They are influenced by social class, age and ethnic backgrounds. Women in certain communities are not expected to work outside their home for wages yet some other women do work for formers as domestic servants hence it cuts across class as much as the biological sex.


III.3 VARIATION OF GENDER ACROSS CULTURE

Gender roles and the behaviour of men and women differ vastly in various cultures because of different levels of understanding of feminity and masculinity. This only indicates that gender (gender roles) is much removed from biological sex. While every society uses biological sex as a starting point for describing gender, no two cultures would agree completely on what characteristics distinguishes one gender from another. Because 'Gender is not a permanent definition of the 'natural' way for women and men to behave, even if it is often presented, or experienced, as such'.

Gender is drawn from the manner in which society views the relationship of male to man and female to woman. Every culture has its own image of what men and women are "supposed" to be like? What does maleness mean? What does femaleness involve? How are women and men supposed to relate to each other? Christine Ward Gailey in further opines that gender as a social

15. Ibid Pg 4.
concept is developed by the society and it can take different forms in different circumstances. As a result, in different cultures and nations the concept may differ to certain extent yet may remain the same. The reason why the essence remains the same is because the universal form it takes is of female subordination and male dominance.

Female subordination is illustrated in women's unpaid domestic work, negligible control on economic resources of the family, lack of decision making ability, lack of authority, lack of power and low-wage in labour market. Because different cultures look at gender differently, it percolates within the various spheres of life differently. It may be more pronounced in certain institutions of the society. In certain societies the gender division of labour is one of the key ways in which all economic tasks are organised. In others, gender division of labour is found in domestic (or reproductive) sphere. Gailey provides an example of how gender roles are decidedly different from sex roles by illustrating the lives of Lovedy people of

17. Ibid., Pg36.
Zambia (prior to British colonisation).

Among the Lovedu, a woman arranged the marriages of her brothers' children. Often, this paternal aunt would arrange a marriage between her son and brothers' daughters. However, a high-ranking or ambitious woman might elect to marry her brother's daughter herself. The young woman would live in her husband's/paternal aunt's compound and any children born to the young wife (sired by lovers of her choice) would have a female father. At least some Lovedu women were simultaneously wives and mothers and husbands and fathers. They absorbed both genders in a range of masculine and feminine kin roles.

This only shows that there is a wide variation in the understanding of gender. However, the most important fact is that every society believes that its own definition of gender correspond to the biological duality of sex.

III.4 SOCIAL CONSTRUCT OF GENDER

Family members gather together for the birth of a child. They welcome the child differently depending on whether it is a boy or a girl. Their joy and celebrations too differ on the basis of sex. To illustrate, high quality sweet is distributed to friends and relatives in case of birth of a boy and low quality sweets for a girl. So, by knowing the type of sweet being distributed to mark the celebration, one can make out whether the child born is a girl or a boy. Hospitals too play their part. Many maternity hospitals have pink and blue colour blankets for the female and male babies respectively. Hence the process of gender learning starts in the maternity hospital itself. Here onwards the (society) culture plunges into socialising the baby on the basis of definition of gender differences and gendered behaviour. As the child grows so does the gender differences. It permeates into their lives by different channels - manner of conducting one-self, dressing sense, education, employment, control of resources and last but not the least, power and authority. Giddens points out that early aspects of gender learning by infants are almost certainly unconscious. Referring to the beginning of gender learning process, he says "they
precede the stage at which children can accurately label themselves as either 'a boy' or 'a girl'. The following points highlights this observation:

* A baby girl may be dressed in a feminine fashion and told how pretty she looked.
* The toys given to the child are indicative of the gender they (should) belong to. The child is thus given a direction to think of its own gender identity.
* Verbal appellation too are indicative to child as to which sex he/she belongs to. This further leads the child to identify herself or himself with other males or females around.
* Gender also gets transmitted when elders speak to the child. The behavioural characteristics which are associated with either of the two genders reaffirm the manner in which the child as a female or male is "supposed" to be. For eg., "You're a naughty boy", ; 'That's a good girl'. This conveys to the child how they (as they belong to a particular sex) are expected to behave and what is not expected of them. Both female and male children are thus exposed to the culturally defined feminine and masculine activities.

Girls are more involved in domestic chores while boys are sent outside the house with their father to do outside jobs. As the children grow up their domestic responsibilities are split between their siblings on the basis of sex. This is the process of active socialization.

* Dress code of kinder garden school too perpetuates the same. Frocks for girls and short-pants for boys.

Most of the societies in the world are patriarchal. Every society is made up of certain institutions which acts like a confirming body for the furtherance of patriarchy and smooth functioning of its society. The power structure of the society and the traditional gender roles (which is a eminent value system) in which women are subordinated are upheld and perpetuated.

Let us examine how the relationship of powerful and subordinate are made to continue generations after generations.
III.4.1 Cultural Traditions And Rituals

The ideas which are traditionally regarded as correct gender behaviour has immense effect on women's lives. It proves to be a strong agent of reinforcement of gender patterns in society. Puberty marks a turning point in a girl's life. In many societies elaborate rituals are followed to mark the stage of puberty. It, in-fact indicates that the girl is ready for marriage. Puberty also marks a number of restrictions. Thus a certain change in the behavioural pattern is expected. The different rituals which mark puberty, marriage and child birth carry in itself the belief that these practices hold communities together and enrich the social fabric of people's lives.

Widowhood for women and men may denote different meanings. A widow in India for eg. is not expected to remarry, especially incase she belongs to the upper-caste yet maintain her children with her 'non-marketable' labour. To remarry is considered unchaste. For a widower it is sympathetically understood that a wife (women) is essential, not so much to bring up the children but as his companion.
The ownership and control of property is almost always in the hands of the male members of the family. Only during the division of the property may be the female members come in picture. Though lawfully the property has to be equally divided amongst the sons and daughters; daughters may be sidelined.

Religion as an institution is a binding thread within a society. Values and traditions are often sanctified by religion. Julia Moose opines that "religion is the foundation stone of gender difference. Various religious traditions indicate that they accord a secondary and subordinate role to women. In Christianity there has been a ongoing debate whether women should be ordained. The reasons vary from fundamental biological difference, child bearing to going backwards in history and tradition. Hindu religion can draw upon the dictates of "Manusmiriti". Woman's position is spelt out by Manu in the following stanza:

Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.

As a social group women are subordinate, in terms of social authority. They have little or no control on decision making which would affect their own future. This is basically a gender based subordination. Socially, women are thus made to follow what others feel is right. They are not in any position to determine their own course of life. This subordinate position gets reflected in other aspects of life as well as in economic terms, the low position is visible; in discriminatory hiring practices, in pay scales, job security and promotion schedules. This could be called economic subordination. Thus both political and economic subordination can be understood as an

21. In many texts the Sanskrit word has been translated variously, as 'support', 'contact', 'govern'.

22. Manu V. 148 quoted in Dissertation of Thorat Minakshi P, Colonial Law, Women and the State: A Gender Perspective on Social Reform in Maharashtra in the Late Nineteenth Century, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1992, Pg. 17.
extension of cultural phenomenon. Sherry Ortner claims that it is not biology as such that ascribes women to their status in society but the way in which every culture defines and evaluates female biology. She opines that a higher value is placed on culture than on nature. Culture is the means by which man controls and regulates nature. She further explains that women are seen as closer to nature than man and therefore as inferior to man.

III.6 GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

In the pre-capitalist era, when the society prescribed, mainly to the ideology of patriarchy, women were largely bound at home, while men went out to earn money. The socialisation which build the concept of masculinity and feminity prepared the girls for submissive roles and boys for dominant roles in all activities of life. Women were made to move away from politics and only involve themselves in public life as prescribed by their traditionally assigned roles. Not only is it ingrained that they are meant to be the

agents perpetuating the patriarchal social structure. They are taught to think of themselves only as limited beings. While conventional women's role discourages them to include "achievement" as an ideal, men's lives are surrounded by the sense of 'motivation and achievement' to the extent it may cause 'social stress' induced illnesses. Perpetuation of patriarchal division of labour can be summarized as follows:

* Women through biological reproduction perpetuate the labour force.
* Women are, by the social tradition expected to nurture the child and maintain the household. This relegates them to a disadvantaged position in the labour market.
* All this results in sexual division of labour and is reflected by the subordination of women.
* In order to maintain this subordination, the societies exercise control over the sexuality of women.

In the last twenty years there has been a change in the thinking of what is proper/better for middle class women and men. It is reflected in the fact that women have begun working outside the household much more than before. They are exposed to education and are active in politics and public life. It is crucial/vital at
this stage to know whether it corresponds to any genuine shift in values and attitudes with regard to gender equality.

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Three kind of orientations are possible as follows:

1. Traditional: It supports a strict division of gender roles in society, based on the belief that men’s and women’s predispositions are different and that men are superior;

2. Egalitarian: It claims that the division of roles are based not on gender differences but on individual abilities which in reality diversify people. Acquired expertise and abilities are the determinants of division of roles;

3. Radical Feminists: It maintains that it is necessary to reverse the traditional divisions of roles, giving, even of temporary, more power to women than to man.

The egalitarian concept accepts occupational activities

rather than division of roles based on housework or participation in public life. Women's involvement with varied activities is reflected by their different values, attitudes and expectations. The political state and economic change may induce emergence of new ideas and institutions which result in some kind of change in individual behaviour even though it may differ from a person's value system.

III.6 GENDER AND LABOUR MARKET

Gender is a major variable in determining labour market placement. Gender cuts across class, caste (in case of India) and sectors of job. In order to understand where and why women are placed in the employment pattern, it is mandatory to understand the environment because the social relations are essential determinants of division of labour.

Women and men are distributed unevenly within the sectors of the labour force and women tend to be located in lower paid and less skilled jobs. The different characteristics attributed to the sex, produce hierarchies of gender-related skills, in which women are placed in 'unskilled' category. Added to it is the fact that women themselves compete for
employment on terms laid by these social relations and expectations. This differentiation of job also leads to different pay packets. On average the women do not earn the same as men. Women and men have been attributed to possess certain characteristics which permeates sectors, and jobs through what is called 'sex typing'.

This results in hierarchies of skills based on gender, where women are positioned with 'unskilled or semi-skilled' job profile. In the long run it is recognized as gender segregation of productive work meaning wholly women or men enclaves of employment.

Industrial revolution was a prime agent in creating the division between home and work-place. This is now gradually pronounced as a continuing reason for sex differentiation used by the employers. It rests on the simple logic that women run the home and men do not. Further capitalism gains from the segmented labour market which conducts itself on the basis of approved (popular) cultural norms and values and hierarchies of

sexual-cum-caste/ethnic domination. Segmented Labour Market (SLM) theory defines places in the labour market, to be filled to the benefit of man by virtue of their power over women at the expense of, or even in collusion with capital. Women and men earn at different rates because they concentrate on different type of job as the labour market is segmented. The market forces besides working on the demand and supply of trained professionals also depend on the society's definition of feminine jobs and male jobs. In fact all jobs are invariably defined as either feminine masculine by the society. Here it is essential to remember that norms and values of every society defers and women and men are placed differently in different society. Though the underlying commonality is women always remain in a subordinate position to men.

The invention of state of art machinery, relieving the worker of the physical burden, has not weakened sex differentiation in the industry. In factories the division of labour between the two sexes is always maintained and is justified with the belief in 'natural' differences between the sexes and the

economic drawback which would result due to interchanging the roles of women and men.

Men do not work under women because 'women are not good technician' and it hurts the male ego to work under the instructions of a women. Hence upsetting the traditional setting at the shop floor would result in unrest and low productivity. Employers thus feel it convenient to place women in jobs which are unskilled, routine and requiring constant supervision than ones which are skilled and autonomous. Women or their part accept such routine jobs, stagnant of any upward mobility and lack of independence associated with such jobs. For instance,

* Women are better nurses because they possess better nurturing instinct that men lack.
* Most secretaries are women because of their feminine characteristics like co-operative temperament and willingness to be supervised, which men dislike.
* Women sell goods in department stores because female characteristics are best gentleness and the ability to adjust.

This kind of gendered reasoning maintains the sex differentiation in work profile and extends it to new
spheres of job activity. Haralambos explains it:

As in a family, there is a sexual division of labour in the job market. Women are concentrated in particular types of jobs which are typically seen as female occupations. They include nursing, primary school teaching, factory work involving packing, and producing domestic product, secretarial and lower level clerical jobs, lower grade catering work and retail sales occupations such as cashiers and shop assistants. Oakley argues that the position of women in the family is reflected in the employment sector. Women's jobs are often extensions of their domestic role which involves caring for, waiting on, serving, clearing and tidying up after others.

The Swedish study for example brings out the tendency of employees to class industrial occupations as feminine if the activity can be identified with traditional female work, such as cooking, sewing and nursing in the electrical industry. Winding work was labeled as feminine because of its resemblance to sewing. Gender differentiation by and large remains in an industrial society because people continuously reaffirm their stance to the concept of feminity and masculinity.

27. Haralambos Michael, 1980, Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, Delhi: Oxford University Press, Pg.381-382

Women have invariably been considered as the 'reserve army of labour'. They are called for employment when the economy is on a boom and expelled back into the home during recession. When employed, they are absorbed as unskilled labour and their bargaining power remains low. Also women confine themselves to home during the child bearing and child rearing stage. As they remain solely responsible for the maintaining the housework, they can venture out to work only if the house-front is taken care of. Any diversion would lead to the women quitting her job or taking leave. Employees thus blame women for such unreliable behaviour which in fact originates from cultural deprivation.

The money earned by women is many a times regarded as pocket money. The linkage as seen between women and housework, men and outside work in reflected in the attitude towards the relationship of women with paid work and that of man. It is largely assumed that paid work means to men a variety of things, a self identity, a self-work and basis of other activities. Where-as for women family is seen as the sole basis of other activities and that they seem to carry the attitude of no loss no gain towards their holding or losing jobs.
Jobs/career is not expected to mean much to women.

III.7 THEORIES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LABOUR MARKET

III.7.1. Neo-Classical Theories

Neo-classical theories are also called the Human Capital theory. These theories emphasize the differences between the women and men labour based on the capital investment done on them. The variables used for differentiation are those which affect labour productivity and labour supply and their differential economic gain. Variables are family responsibilities, education, training, physical strength, hours of work, absenteeism and turnover. This theory thus explains the position of women in paid work in terms of their lower human capital focusing on the fewer acquired skills and qualifications and also the less labour market experience. Thus neo-classical theorists like D.I. Trieman and P.A. Roos suggest that women earn less than men because they have lower levels of human capital mainly education, training and on-the-job experience and therefore lower level productivity.

Though the participation of women in the household matters and of men in the paid jobs is strategic; it is accepted at individual level due to the rationality it holds with regard to the interest of the family. The employers too are reluctant to train the women workers as they leave due to marriage, child bearing, etc. This leads to discontinuity in their job hence their skills are not only optimally utilized but also deteriorate over time. Assumptions of the Neoclassical economics are:

1. In conditions of competitions the workers are paid the value of their marginal product. Hence the differences in male-female earnings are either due to low productivity of women or due to market imperfections.

2. Family as a unit allocates resources such as time and money amongst its members, and women receive less of such human capital investment when young and they stay home to take care of children when older.

This theory has been criticised on two grounds:

i) The labour market segmentation and gender theorists point out that the women's labour force

30. Ibid., Pg.9.
participation is of intermittent necessity because of their 'natural' child-rearing role. Yet on the other hand, except pregnancy and breast feeding there is no biological reason why child rearing should be done by women.

ii) Another underlying assumption is that men and women have equal access to job opportunities and so compete on equal basis for jobs. This assumption disregards the gender differences in the labour market and it cannot be explained by differential investment in human capital alone.

III.7.2. **Segmented Labour Market Theory**

In the labour market theories there is a slight confusion as regards the distinction between segregation and segmentation. "Segregation is the concentration of persons by ascribtive criteria such as sex and race in particular sectors (here in employment), while segmentation is the differentiation of the labour market into distinctive types of employment, which may or may not be filled disproportionately by members of different gender or ethnic

31. Ibid.
groups "hence segmented labour market theories infact attempt to explain the segregation of genders and ethnic groups into different types of occupations. It view the labour market as segmented or stratified by institutional barriers .

III.7.2a Dual Labour Market Theory

Doeringer P.B. and Piore M.J. distinguish two types of jobs. One is primary sector jobs which have better pay packets, security and opportunities for advancement. The second is secondary sector jobs which are characterised by low pay, low security and less chances of employment. Primary sector jobs employ workers whose skills are tailors made to suit the requirement of the employer and hence it demands stability and less absenteeism which the men can afford. While women are likely to faulter in these two parameters. Hence they tend to qualify for secondary jobs where the wages and possibility of training and promotion are less.


employers also feel that due to women's orientation towards domestic work and socialisation they are less committed to jobs as also the advancement in work. They are also seen as not so keen to work hard in order to gain higher monetary rewards.

Barron and Norris identifies five characteristics which puts women in the category of secondary workers. They are: dispensability, clearly visible social differences, little interest in acquiring training, low economism and lack of solidarity. Further they attribute the origin of these characteristics to the individuals experience in the labour market and the social structure surrounding them. Two major characteristics of this theory are:

i) It recognises the importance of entry positions into an organisation which in the long run determines the future job profile of the worker. It could either be progressive where skills are sharpened through trainings and is upgraded or static where no inputs are added and upward mobility is sealed.

ii) It attempts to explain that it is not women who tend to be absent or the cause of increased turnover.

but it is the nature of the job at the lower level which employers also feel that due to women's orientation induces such behaviour.

III.7.2b Marxist Segmented Labour Market Theory
Theoretically the Marxist approach has focused on the relations between capital and labour; gender segregation at work has been of very remote interest to them. Further whatever little attention 'gender segregation' received, its explanation was found in the institution of family and the capital. Edwards, Gorden and Reich have worked on Marxist analysis of gender and ethnic segmentation of labour market. Edward argues that different stages of capitalist development give rise to different forms of work place relations - the controls and resistance by the employer and the workers. But Edward is ambivalent about what marks the distinction of the stages which would affect the relations at the work-place and also vacillates in answering whether the social grouping are structured by the labour or the employer as a part of his divide-and-rule tactic.

III.7.2c Gender Equality and Empowerment Strategy
Cultural variables are regarded as the pivot of Gender
theories. Women’s low status jobs in the labour market and the subordinate position at home are recognised as inter related. The Second United Nation’s development decade emphasised social development instead of economic development. It included education, health etc., besides the focussing on empowerment which entailed increasing their skills for employment. On much the same lines the Indian government in the Eighth Five Year Plan, consciously included the ‘empowerment of women’ as an strategy for upliftment of women. In this effort they attempted to give technical education, develop their entrepreneurship skills, and initiated self employment programmes. Uptill then the Five Year Plans saw women only as targets of development programmes. Now the understanding had changed and women were increasingly seen as participants of development programmes.

III.8 STRATEGISING WOMEN’S PATH TO EMPOWERMENT

Women are engaged in productive as well as reproductive activities. Their reproductive role entails bearing and nursing the baby but it is wrong to assume that this natural biological activity also makes them perform the domestic activities and housekeeping.
Women are productive as unpaid labour in the house and paid labour outside. Hence, it was difficult to define 'women'. Position of women in all societies are different and moreover women's status differ more according to class and ethnic background rather than their gender. It can be well illustrated with the fact that a poor woman would have much in common with the men of her class rather than with women of a higher class.

While trying to overcome this difficulty of defining women and generalising the extent of their subordination in diverse societies, it was realized by some scholars that the term 'gender' is more suitable because it covers the social roles of both women and men. Also it emphasizes the fact that men too need to be involved in understanding and supporting the changes in gender relations. This is an essential requirement when we want to achieve a more equitably balance between the sexes in society.

The colonies which attained freedom after the II World-War, received a fillip in their process of development. The word "development" meant planning for an economy accompanied with banking and credit. It also
simultaneously meant industrialisation and economic growth. This was also referred to as modernization. Development assistance meant receiving capital inputs and technical assistance. Also emphasis was laid on providing the infra-structural facilities and institutions such as school, hospitals, airports, hotels, etc. to assist the transition towards modern, capitalist, industrialised societies. But this did not benefit all the socio-economic classes equally. It thus gave rise to a debate regarding the inequitable distribution of resources, facilities and also the lack of opportunities to some. At this point it was learnt that this development model excluded a very crucial dimension - "social condition". The "human factor" was missing which was considered a non-capitalist and non-commercial forms of production. Hence they did not perceive women and men as having different interest and different needs.

Gender and Development emphasise the fact that any development initiative will affect the lives of both women and men. It is not probable to alter the dynamics of the society to such a manner that it only affects women or men. Every development has an impact and effect on both, but in different ways and extent.
This is because of the differing positions they occupy. The relationship which exists between men and women is often crucial in determining their position. The kind of relationship which exists between them depends on what the society has defined and prescribed as appropriate gender behaviour. Women and men stay with families which is an institution in itself and it prescribes the gender relations, the power and authority et al. The work women and men perform in a particular society is determined by class, gender and ethnicity. Due to this the interests of women and men in the same family may also differ. Such interests are thus referred to as 'gender interest'.

III.8.1 Women In Development

WID movement drew the world’s attention to the fact that women represent powerful important resource in development. WID as it finds its roots in the modernization paradigm is understood to mean the integration of women into the global processes of development. These include the processes of economic, political and social growth. Ester Boserup analyzed the change in the agricultural processes which occurred

due of industrialisation. She examined the differential impact of market economies on the division of work between women and men. It was in her pioneering book that the term 'Women in Development' became popular. Her study focused on gender as a parameter for analysis on the data available. This term was then popularly used by the women's committee of the Washington, DC, chapter of the Society for International Development to bring out the factual impact of modernization on gender to attention of policy makers.

The American liberal feminists used WID to propagate egalitarianism and development of programmes that would negate the subordination of women in the productive sector. Modernization theories were dominating the thinking on international development. Hence it was inferred that modernization would give a fillip to educational institutional and industrialization. It would give rise to a rich human resource as managers, workers et al. The agrarian economies would so transcend into modernized and industrial economies. They would thus become more educated, their wages would

rise, have better living conditions and much capital would be generated. These economic changes would affect all the institutions of a society. They impressed that the growth and changes would on its own trickle down to all levels and it would thus bring equality between the sexes. Building a strong 'human capital' was regarded as achieving modernisation. In all this effort, women were considered as no separate unit. It was 'natural' for women to be included as 'people' who would participate and benefit from this process. It was assumed that experience of a 'man' could be generalised for women and all would benefit equally as modernization affects the societies.

By the 1970's the researchers began to question modernization and searched for alternative analysis and models because in the 20 years, the position of women had improved negligibly. In fact Boserup's book revealed that 'as the new technologies were introduced they usually were directed at men rather than women '. Women were much less benefited by the expansion of education. The concept of 'development' then

broadened its purview to include the urban and rural poor and among them a special focus on women. Until then family as a unit was the last target of receiving these benefits and within the family, the men were regarded as the receivers. With this the women were forcefully relegated behind.

A view which got recorded in the concept of WID was that women's experiences of development and societal change, was different from that of men. The perception and opinions of women should thus be given adequate weightage. Irene Tinker describes the meaning of Women in Development as "The new concept of ensuring women a fair stake in economic development carried with it the earlier ideas of legal equality, education, employment, and empowerment".

The reasons why WID approach could not achieve the desired change in the position of women and men was that its basic assumptions were questionable. Firstly, it was based on traditional modernization theory where development was understood as a slow and steady,

linear progress. Any development was to effect all the sections of society and so women also. Secondly, rather than to examine why women in actuality had remained relegated to bottom rung of society, in spite of the development efforts, they focused on strategies to increase women’s participations in education, employment and other areas of the society. It carried a ahistorical approach and disregarded the traditional socio-cultural setting of the society. Thirdly, the strategies adopted in WID approach to integrate women equally tended to focus solely on the productive aspects of women’s work. The reproductive aspect was not considered at all. The project undertaken by WID have basically been income generating whether teaching them skills or co-operative marketing. It had a welfare outlook also, as it taught hygiene, child care, etc.

WID approach in principle did not take cognisance of the basic social relations of gender. They believed that women by the act of generating income would become equal partner in the development processes. Economic independence to women would automatically lead to equality between the sexes.
III.8.2 Women And Development

WAD, also called as the neo-Marxist feminist approach, emerged in the later half of the 1970's. It grew with the conscious view that women have to be included in the development project unlike in the WID approach. The theoretical base was drawn from the Dependency theory. The WAD perspective focussed on the relationship between women and development process instead of strategies to integrate women in the development process. They felt that women have always been economically active in the private sphere as well as in the public sphere, which has contributed to the maintenance of the society and also served to sustain the existing international structures of inequality.

WAD does not give much attention to the social relations of gender within classes or even gender issues per se. Theoretically WAD perspective focuses on class but practically, in project design and implementation, it tends to group women together irrespective of their class, race or ethnic background like the WID approach. These factors, in reality exercise a powerful influence on actual social status. Due to the influence of Dependency theory WAD assumes
that women's position will become more equitable only when the international structure become equitable. It neglects the nuances of a patriarchal structure, women's subordinate position and different modes of production. Women's continuing lower status in economic, social and political structures is to be overcome by planned intervention strategies. They too do not attempt to create any fundamental change within the society. There exists a dichotomy in WAD in that they disapprove the focus towards women alone as an analytical unit since both the sexes are seen as oppressed under the global capital system. The women's condition is perceived within the structure of international and class inequalities (and not patriarchy). WID also prescribed to this perspective.

Both WID and WAD approaches emphasised and targeted only the economically productive work of women while they sidelined the reproductive function of the women's lives. In implementing their income generating strategies they only caused additional time constraint on the women. They regarded the work involved in child bearing, rearing, maintaining the household, caring for the ill, elderly as a part of the private sphere, and so of no economic value. Also they felt it outside the
purview of development projects.

III.8.3 Gender And Development (GAD)

GAD came up in the 1980's, primarily as an alternative to WID. It drew its theoretical base from socialist feminism unlike WID and WAD which were rooted in economic or political-economy paradigm. Its main contribution lay in considering the reproductive lives of women and analyzing the relations of productions to the relations of reproduction. Socialist feminists identify the gendered patriarchal relations, to be the basis of women's subordination. They questioned the gendered roles and the social construction of production and reproduction. They dwell over the inferior and secondary role assigned to women. Socialist feminist combine the analyses of patriarchy and some aspect of traditional - Marxists approach.

Young identified the vital aspects of GAD. The significant aspect of this approach is that it followed a holistic approach, taking into account "the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspect of
society "). GAD approach is not concerned with women per se but with the social construction of gender roles, responsibilities and expectation to women and to men. Unlike radical feminists who focussed exclusively on women, the socialists feminists are open to men who share their concern for social equity and justice. GAD studies the reproductive as well as the productive aspect of women’s and men’s lives. It does not prescribe to the public and private dichotomy of the women’s lives. It hence values the work done by women in the household which includes child bearing, rearing, maintenance of house, etc. and attempts to understand the underlying biases within a family. It goes a step further by emphasising the role of the State in providing social services to women in the private sphere which would help in their emancipation.

The GAD approach sees women as agents of change rather then as passive recipient of development assistance, and it stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political

40. Young Kate, 1987, "Gender and Development", Notes for a training courses on Gender and Development, Toronto: Aga Khan Foundation, Pg. 2.
voice. As the ideology of patriarchy operates, across the class boundaries to oppress women, it is essential to understand the class solidarity and its distinction. Further race, ethnicity, regions and gender play an important role in development of the society. GAD focuses on more effective legal rights for women including inheritance and land laws which are invariably suitably moulded for the convenience of men. GAD primarily re-examines the basis of social structure and institutions. Hence, aims at shifting the political and economic power leading to structural change in the existing social order. This means that it would shake the basis of society, which lies in patriarchy and other politico-economic paradigm. This in particular has not been accepted in practice by many developing agencies as it amounts to reducing the gender bias.

III.6 SUMMARY

As women step out to work and make a career, the image they hold of themselves changes, her self reliance heightens, and she still remains as much an integral

41. Eva M. Rathgeba ‘WID, WAD, GAD : Trend and Research and Practice’ in Journal of Developing Areas, 21 July 1990, Pg. 494
part of her family. When exposed to trade union activities, they may develop interest in broader issues of political and economic nature which will necessarily develop their skills for political mobilization. This would give rise to collectively organized activity.

This chapter thus understands gender as an economic, cultural and social interpretation rather than mere biologically distinct entities. Gender specific socialization begins immediately after birth. The hospital, the family and the society at large contribute to perpetuate the gender inequalities. In the pre-industrial societies the family and kinship organisations were the main agents of socialisation while industrialisation has added the 'public arena' of labour market forces as another agent. Some theorist indicate that selective unequal distribution of resources compels women to seek low paying and low status jobs, thus further impairing them from development. The sexual division of labour contends that women are suitable for caring and nursing related job while men have no such jobs. Yet academically and professionally qualified women who do take up varied jobs feel confident about their self-esteem and are able to have control over their own lives.
Gender division of labour became prominent after the Industrial Revolution where the home and work place were separated. International agencies like the United Nations, today have putforth the concept of Gender and Development. With reference to the present study and other studies in general, gender and development approach is sought to be discussed. One, gender perspective emphasises the gender division of labour which has adversely affected the status of women, whether economically or socially. Secondly, in consonance with this approach, the restoration of equal participation of women and men in the economic activity is inferred. Since women are working outside they want equal sharing of work at home. Women who are employed have economic independence to some extent. Now the stage has come to empower women in order to bring them in mainstream labour market. This can be achieved through equipping them with appropriate training. They should be in a position to enter any sphere they choose after due training. Education should reduce gender division of labour. Also with education they are able to enter male occupations.
Here we thus attempt to examine whether the concept of equality is achieved, whether the dual role burden is shared, and what changes have taken place in the perception of the society and the individual.