Chapter – 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is a process of increasing interdependence and integration of economies and societies to such an extent that an event in one part of the globe affects people in other parts of the world. Thinkers and Scholars all over the world often talk of global culture, global economy and global governance. Under the norms of globalisation the political restrictions on the trade of goods, services, technology and information has reduced. Exchange of technology, information, goods and services has also been subject to the economic concerns rather than the political concerns which happened during the cold war. However, this process has not been consistent throughout the world; it has led to the conflict and fragmentation between different countries and even different groups of people within the same country. The impact of globalisation is relative to group identity, geographical location, culture, gender and the skill capacity of the individuals.

It is argued by the policy makers, researchers and academicians that the innovation in information technology has created a world which is more connected than ever before, as approach to the latest information in any part of the world is just a click away. The integration of world economy and the global linkage of various socio-cultural organisations have been working as agents for integrating local cultures and creating a global culture. However, the global agenda of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has been posing new challenges to the people living in the developing countries particularly the groups that were earlier supported by the state welfarism. The Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP) and New Economic Policy(NEP) which the developing countries adopted in the early1990’s have been posing new challenges to the political governance of the respective countries. The widening of gap between the rich and the poor, environmental concerns, the protests of the local people against mega projects and the gender issues have become the
major concern of national and international governance. Attempts have been
made both at the national and international level to rationalise the economic
development and to find alternative strategies and techniques for inclusive and
sustainable development.

The spread of modern information technology has been supporting the
movements at the local level by providing them opportunities to interact and
share their experiences with the marginalised groups in different parts of the
world. The global connectedness of local groups, particularly of women and
other marginalised sections of society like tribals, landless labourers etc., has
led to the creation of a new hope of the widening and strengthening of
democracy and democratic culture across the globe. The recent upsurge against
the dictatorial regimes and Arab Spring are viewed as the global upsurge for
democracy and human rights. The interaction and network of the human rights
groups from local to global level have further enhanced the capacity of human
rights groups to put global pressure on the national governments for
implementing the human rights laws under their territorial jurisdiction.

The promises and the efforts of global governance are aimed to improve the
condition of women across the globe. There is an emerging trend of linking
women rights with human rights, which demands equal and universal rights of
women across the globe. The present international view holds that women shall
be considered as one group, irrespective of their caste, colour, creed, language,
socio-political status and nationality and all the human rights shall also be
provided to the women as they are provided to men. The post war efforts of
the United Nations and the democratisation of the world have led to the
development and empowerment of women across the globe. The emphasis of
the national and international governments has been on the deepening of
democracy and expansion of the human rights to each and every deprived
section of society. The older concept of the national government and political
control of the nation is now being transformed into the new concept of human
governance, which aims at the inclusion of the deprived sections of the society into the socio-economic and political mainstream of the nations and expansion of the human rights to every citizen.¹

A unique mechanism for the development and empowerment of women at the international level came into existence in the United Nations Organisation (UNO) and Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW). The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was also established under the auspices of United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1946. CSW is dedicated exclusively to gender equality and the advancement of the status of women. It is the principal global policy-making body, meeting annually to evaluate progress on gender equality which identifies challenges, sets standards and formulates concrete policies to promote gender equality and the advancement of women worldwide. CSW prepares reports and recommendations to call the immediate attention of the countries all over the globe towards the promotion of women rights in all fields of the socio-economic, political and educational activities, and present the same before the ECOSOC². The convention on the Political Rights of Women (1954), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) (1976), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) (1997) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)(1976) are worth mentioning to the credit of United Nations.³

In a significant development, human rights discourse has been extended to private domain. Now the major societal issues like gender justice, domestic violence and child rights are no longer being considered a matter of individual prerogatives as argued earlier. The violation of human rights within and outside the private domains of households is being much debated upon in the globalised world. The socio-economic and political initiatives have also been taken to curb the menace of violence against women and children both at the national as well as at the global level. The global campaign for women rights, child rights and other deprived sections of society have become a matter of grave concern for contemporary political theory.

The important debates on the impact of globalisation on women move around the socio-economic and political aspects of their lives, particularly in developing countries. The development of information technology that connected feminist movements across the globe has been viewed as a new hope for the development of socio-economic and political rights of women across the globe. Late 1980’s and early 1990’s not only witnessed the rise of women movements at the global level but they also saw a global understanding among the women groups for the socio-economic and political development of women across the globe.

The development of industry and trade in the developing countries is also viewed as a positive development for women employment; the global industry is finding women as suitable employees. The free-flow of knowledge and information is also considered as a positive development to enhance the education and skills of women. They provide the new horizons of knowledge and information to the women, which were lacking earlier. The enhanced knowledge will help them to grow socially, economically as well as politically. Now women can share their work experience with the other women and the democratic and global governance will help to develop and implement the policies which favour women at the local and global levels.
Globalisation will enhance the exploitation of women as privatisation and liberalisation are solely guided by the principle of maximisation of profit. The employment opportunities will be provided by development of industry and trade, guided by the logic of maximisation of profit and minimisation of labour cost, but the new opportunities and employment of women will be provided only if the women prove themselves as cheap labour in comparison to male labour. The other observation is that the employment of women will be a double burden as social conservatism and patriarchal division of labour will force the women living in developing societies to do the house-hold chores along with their jobs. Thus the global flow of capital, technology and knowledge is also viewed as a double edged-sword.

On the one hand the global investment, technology and the free-flow of knowledge has been helping the rich, educated and skilled women to enhance their skills and income; on the other, it has marginalised the poor women from the economic realm. As the vast majority of poor women lack the technical skills to work in the modern industry. The marginalisation of the unskilled and semi-skilled labour from labour market will affect the poor women badly as their counterparts i.e. the male members also work as unskilled labour. The use of capital intensive techniques will reduce the demand of manual labour and it will force the poor strata to do the odd jobs for survival. The economic necessities may lead poor women to prostitution and other immoral economic activities.

Women have entered the workforce in large numbers in the developing countries as the global investment has opened the doors of employment at the initial stage of the liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. The critics of liberalisation and privatisation argue that the foreign investment and the setting –up of the industrial plants in the developing countries are conditioned by the concept of the maximisation of profit by the Multinational and Transnational Corporations. To allow the free entry of foreign corporations the developing
countries have been forced to bring changes in national industrial and labour policies and to give more incentives to big businesses houses rather than to small scale industries. The cheap labour, liberal environment and labour laws of the developing countries have been traced as the major reason for the global investment in the developing countries.

The use of the capital intensive techniques and acquiring of the big chunk of the agriculture and forest land under the policy of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and Export Processing Zones (EPZ) in the developing nations have resulted in further marginalisation of tribal, rural and indigenous people along with unskilled labour from the market. The marginalisation of the unskilled and indigenous labour from land definitely had an impact on the status of women.

The number of unpaid women workers has increased because of privatisation of economy and withering away of the welfare policies by the state in the developing countries. The private contractors and owners of the private firms don’t follow the labour laws and thus workers are forced to work for longer hours and under the inhuman conditions. It is necessary to mention that the vast majority of the workers who are employed in the unorganised sector of economy is constituted by women. The hire and fire policy adopted by industry in the liberalised and privatised economies has also forced the labour to dance to the tunes of the management as the unemployment level in the developing countries is very high as compared to the developed countries.\(^4\)

Women dominate the workforce in EPZs in most developing countries. For instance, in Philippines the share of women workers in total EPZ workforce was 74% in 1980, which remained the same till 1994. In Korea, it was 70% in 1990, which declined to 60% by 1993. In the Dominican Republic, it was 60% in 1995. In Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, it has been above 70%. Some argue that

the high proportion of female employment implies that the creation of SEZs does not reduce the local unemployment rate. This is because prior to being employed in the SEZs majority of them were not part of the labour force.\textsuperscript{5}

Studies have shown that increased employment opportunities have empowered women and have made them more independent improving their relative status and bargaining power within their households. Madani in the Dominican Republic found that SEZ wages were the main source of income for 38% of women working in these zones and that almost half of them were single, divorced or widows.\textsuperscript{6} According to Dunn many of the women workers were bread winners for their household as well. ILO in 1998 reports that in Guatemala 45% and in Honduras 22% of women reported that they were only bread winners for their family. It has been established that the economic participation of women their presence in the workforce in quantitative terms is important not only for lowering the disproportionate levels of poverty among women, but also for raising household income and encouraging economic development in countries as a whole.\textsuperscript{7} SEZs have provided job opportunities to many women from rural and adjoining areas who have been instrumental in reducing poverty in these regions. But there are several reports indicating exploitation of women due to SEZs.


The vast majority of workers in SEZ firms are young women aged 16–25 years. It is found that women are paid less than men for similar jobs and are subjected to sexual harassment and violence. Further, there is evidence that the type of employment generated in SEZ firms is generally poor. Female employment is concentrated in low-paid and low productive jobs. As the nature of employment in SEZs involves higher technology inputs, women are thrown out of employment. It has been observed that the proportion of women in SEZs has declined over time in many countries. As wages rise, more men are attracted to SEZ employment and as production requirements increase (such as supervisors or skilled workers), demand for male workers increases. Thus SEZs are a mechanism of exploitation of women and not of their empowerment, though country-specific experiences may vary. ILO in 1998 concludes that SEZs do play an important role in employment generation in developing countries, but employment generation by itself does not ensure human development and poverty alleviation. Thus the crucial question is whether employment in EPZs results in higher wages, better working conditions and higher levels of living.

The general perception is that minimum wages paid in the zones are lower than those paid outside the zones. This is because labour laws are not extended to the zone firms but where these laws are applicable, they are not enforced strictly.

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9 Kusago and Tzannatos, n.3, pp. 32-37.
In 2000, the Beijing+5 Document, while reviewing progress of women under the new world since 1995, noted that globalisation presents opportunities to some women but leads to the marginalisation of many and thus it advocated that gender mainstreaming be done in order to achieve gender equality.

The report of United Nations Development Fund for Women observed that in the past two decades the process of globalisation has contributed to the widening of inequality within and among countries. The developing economies of Sub-Saharan Africa and countries in transition like Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are facing problems of financial crisis and political uncertainties at the same time. The poor countries want that some measures should be taken to make globalisation people centric. Policies and Programmes must be reshaped under human and democratic norms; the global financial and capital agencies must realise their social responsibilities and should adopt a human centric approach instead of focusing on profit.10

At the same time, a debate on the social impact of the SAP and NEP has been initiated by many social scientists and policy makers. The main issues of their concern are: How women and other weaker sections of the Indian society will respond to challenges of NEP and the LPG regime? How women who form the traditional societies will respond to the market mantras? How they will budget their homes? As they have to pay for their children’s education and also face the problems of purchasing the basic goods from the open market, which was earlier protected by state welfarism and how the question of the freedom of choice is relevant and important for the Indian women under the given circumstances?

The new international economic order has not only changed international rules of trade and tariffs but it has also changed the life cycle of people across the globe. It has been noticed that the people of the same nation have different experiences of globalisation in relation to their socio, economic, political, geographical and personal skill positions. The present form of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has come under tough criticism due to the lack of principles of social-justice and sustainable development. The emphasis of the critics of the globalisation is that the welfare measures and policy initiative of the state should protect the vulnerable sections of society from the negative impact of globalisation.

Economic development in relation to socio-political changes is also facing many challenges from many quarters across the globe as a result of socio-cultural variations of the different groups. The global media and global information technology have different impact on different socio-religious and political identities. Role of women and their freedom in any society is also subject to the socio-religious set-up. On the one hand, it seems that the traditional societies in the developing nations are in fine tune with the global culture and global technology and on the other, suppression of women still continue in the name of culture, heritage, family values etc.

Women constitute half of the world population as well as of Indian population. The development and empowerment of women is on the top agenda of the global governance as well as that of the government of India. India’s commitment to the international conventions on the rights of women and other important documents and declaration like Beijing Platform for Action, Beijing +5, Beijing +10, Beijing + 20 show concern of Indian leadership towards gender equality. The advent of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation has led to the new changes and challenges in the socio-economic and political set-up of the Indian society.
The decade 1990s not only witnessed the opening of Indian economy to foreign direct investment, but it also witnessed many changes in the economic policy of the Indian government. A New Economic Policy was adopted by the Indian government under which the state not only made the new laws to promote private industry by ending the license, permit and inspector regime, it also went further with the de-regularisation and disinvestment policies on the direction of World Bank and IMF. However, the withdrawing of social welfare measures by the state and cutting of the financial deficit under the NEP and SAP have affected adversely the weaker sections of Indian society in general and women in particular.

The economic impact of globalisation on women and the socio-political changes along with the empowerment of women in India have been debated widely by social scientists and policy makers since 1990’s. Impact of the global capital, culture, media, technology and the emergence of global women movements for women empowerment has been a matter of serious analysis for them.

The western values and the NEP policy not only posed new challenges of competitiveness, privatisation and profitism, but also created many new avenues for employment and social exposure for Indian women. The global exposure and competitive market have posed new challenges of managing the house-hold affairs while sharing the burden of earning with their male companions outside, which has not only increased their responsibilities and working hours but also exposed them to exploitation and occupational hazards at the working places. Globalisation has provided them with more opportunities to work in solidarity at regional, national and international levels in order to demand their rights.  

Social impact of globalisation on the status and rights of women in the traditional and developing societies like India is one of the important issues of

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11 Ibid, pp. 93-95.
the policy analysis along with the economic effects of the globalisation. Change in the social status of women in the era of globalisation along with the economic development of women has become an important debatable issue these days across the globe. However, the researcher and policy makers across the globe are coming up with country and region specific data on various socio-economic, religious, political and cultural issues related to women with various interpretations.

The impact of globalisation is visible on women employment, development and empowerment across the globe which has witnessed both the positive and negative sides, if the educated and urbanite women are getting more opportunities to work in global industry than the unskilled and semi-skilled women who are working in the small scale industry and unorganised sector; these underprivileged women are becoming the victims due to the marginalisation of small scale industry. The other prominent area related to the political impact of the globalisation on the empowerment and political participation of women since the Beijing conference.

Comprehensive analyses of the socio-economic and political impacts of globalisation on the lives of women in India require a brief view of the socio-economic and political set-up of the Indian society before the advent of globalisation. The efforts for the socio-economic and political upliftment and empowerment are not a new concept for the Indian society, as full development of women along with the other weaker sections of the Indian society was one of the objectives of the India’s leadership during the independence struggle.

The constitution of India not only gave equal rights to women under the Fundamental Rights but also made certain special provisions for the socio-economic and political development in the Directive Principles of the State Policy. Irrespective of the constitutional provisions many legislative measures like, Equal Remuneration Act, Maternity Benefits Act, Sexual Harassment Act, Domestic Violence Act etc., have been formulated by the Indian Parliament to safeguard the economic interest of women. Some other provisions like Dowry...
Prohibition Act, Prohibition of Child Marriages Act, 73\textsuperscript{rd} and 74\textsuperscript{th} amendments along with 108\textsuperscript{th} amendment to the constitution and the reservation of 33% to 50% seats in the local government in the three tiers of Panchyati Raj and Municipal Corporation have also been enacted to enhance socio-political status of women in India.

Socio-economic and political development of women has always been a subject of five-year plans of Indian government. The aim of the First Five Year plan (1951-56) was to provide adequate services to promote the welfare of women so that they can play their legitimate role in the family and the community. It was noted that the position and functions of women differ to a great extent in different communities, and, therefore, community welfare agencies have to work out their programmes and activities according to the specific requirements in which they work.\textsuperscript{12}

The Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Plans continued the same approach for the welfare of women. The concept of Women’s development was mainly welfare oriented and it was clubbed with other categories of welfare schemes such as schemes for children, old and the disabled.\textsuperscript{13} The end of the Fourth Five Year Plan has seen the release of the monumental report of Committee on Status of Women in India entitled “Towards Equality”, which revealed that the dynamics of development has adversely affected a large section of women and has created new imbalances and disparities. This Report led to a debate in Parliament, which led to the emergence of new consciousness and a critical


\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid}, p. 13.
thinking for women development in the five year plans rather than the family welfare programme.\textsuperscript{14}

The report of CSWI led to a definite shift in the approach from welfare to development in the Sixth Plan (1980-85), which recognised women as participants of development and not merely as objects of welfare. The Plan adopted a multi-disciplinary approach with a special thrust on the three core sectors of health, education and employment.\textsuperscript{15}

The approach of the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) was to inculcate confidence among women and bring about an awareness of their own potential for development; special measures were initiated for strict enforcement of the Dowry Prohibition Act and also to prevent harassment and atrocities against women.\textsuperscript{16} The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) saw the setting up of National Commission for Women (1992), Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (1993), Mahila Samriddhi Yojana (1993) and Indira Mahila Yojana (1995) for upliftment and empowerment of women in India.\textsuperscript{17}

Empowerment of Women was one of the primary objectives of the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) through which efforts were made to create an ennobling environment where women could freely exercise their rights both within and outside home as equal partners along with men. The adoption of the National


Policy for Empowerment of Women by the government of India was one of the founding steps in actualising women empowerment through the proper monitoring of women development and linking of the Human Development Index with the Gender Development Index.\(^\text{18}\)

The Tenth Five Year Plan aimed at empowering women through translating the recently adopted National Policy for Empowerment of Women (2001) which came into action for ensuring ‘survival’, protection and development of children.\(^\text{19}\)

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) was aimed at inclusive development. Its vision was that every woman in the country should be able to develop her full potential and share the benefits of economic growth and prosperity. Towards the end of this plan the approach was adopted to empower women and recognise their agency thereby seeking to make them partners in their own development. It sought to do this by gender mainstreaming. The Government’s National Common Minimum Programme laid down six basic principles of governance, one of which was to empower women politically, educationally, economically and legally. Gender equality is the core of the achievement of Millennium Development Goals, which relate substantially to progress in the living conditions of women and children in India.\(^\text{20}\)

In the Twelfth Five Year Plan the main focus was on faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth. Planning Commission aimed to provide for special dispensation for single women, particularly those who are single by choice,


under various government schemes in the 12th plan. In addition to reserving a certain percentage of jobs for single women under centrally sponsored schemes, the plan also proposed for the promotion and strengthening the federations of single women at the block and district level.\textsuperscript{21}

Influence of the globalisation is different on the people of India in general and on socio-economic and cultural groups in particular. The gender perspective and the influence of globalisation on women also depend on their socio-economic and political background. On the one hand, globalisation has provided new avenues for higher education and employment for the women of upper class and also enhanced their status as the bread winners of the family. On the other, the use of capital intensive technology has resulted into the marginalisation of less privileged women from the unorganised sector of the economy like agriculture.

No doubt, reduction of the welfare measures has affected women along with the other weaker sections of Indian society, but special initiatives have been taken for the social economic and political development of women and girl-child by the government. The girl child education and financial initiatives by the centre and state government for the parents of single girl child and UGC scholarships for the higher education of girl child, along with of the mid-day food and scholarship for the students of weaker sections at the primary level are worth mentioning.

The problem of social conservatism is still dominating the Indian psyche and discrimination and violence against women still prevails inside and outside the home. The economic role of women is almost acceptable to every socio-religious group of the Indian society and they are allowed to work in the open market where the wages are relatively high. But the patriarchal set-up and social conservatism of Indian society still restrains their socio-economic role

and gender stereo-types prevail both inside and outside the home. The most shocking are the acts of female foeticide and honour killing of the young women, even after much exposure to other cultures. The acceptance of the western culture and modern-education by the Indian society seems to be of selective nature and dual -hearted, which may have different interpretation for the male and female.

The demand of equal political participation and women empowerment has been increased due to the global networking of women groups and global pressure on the government of India. The new innovations for the socio-economic development and political empowerment of women have been launched through five year plans since 1990’s. The gender-budgeting, gender-audit, gender mainstream and gender sensitisation has been made an essential part of the policy frame-work by the centre and state governments from 2000 onwards and the government servants and political leaders have been trained for gender sensitisation under the gender- specific programmes. However, the equal political participation of women has not been accepted by the Indian society in general and political leadership in particular. Although 33% reservation of seats at the grass root level has been recognised by 73rd and 74th amendments, the demand for the 33% reservation at the centre and state level has been pending for a long time.

Despite India’s commitment to the Beijing Platform of Action and to the Common wealth Nations for ensuring 30% reservation of women at centre and state level, the male-dominated Party politics is still not ready to enhance the political participation of women at legislative and party level. The male-domination still prevails and suppression of women’s rights inside and outside homes still prevails with impunity. The reality of the internationalisation of women rights is very different from the real position of women in India.

The present study is an attempt to understand the socio-economic and political impacts of globalization on the lives of Indian women across India in a holistic
manner. Relevance of the study emanates from the fact that earlier studies are lacking in a holistic approach and their analysis is limited to the specific schemes for women empowerment and development by the centre and state governments. These studies are not supported with country level data and are limited to a specific state, region and district. Moreover, these studies are unable to understand the socio-economic and political rights of women and the influence of globalisation on their rights. They are either limited to the analysis of the economic aspect of the globalisation, global demand of the political rights or political participation or the ending of violence against women through the social action and legislative framework. In this study an attempt has been made to understand the impact of globalisation on the socio-economic and political rights of women at the national as well as universal level. Looking into the nature of the study socio-economic and political rights of women are defined separately and linked to the socio-economic and political set-up of Indian society to assess the socio-economic and political influences on the rights of women separately.

**Research Problem**

Globalisation has been projected as a new era of gender equality and gender movement. It is argued that globalisation has increased the employment opportunities for women. The well-connected world and extended network of the information technology is also providing new avenues of interaction among the women movements. The concepts of inclusive growth, women development and empowerment along with gender sensitive development in India have been evolved by globalised India.

The researchers and women activists have argued that globalisation affects different groups of women in different places in different ways. On the one hand, it may create new opportunities for women to be forerunners in economic and social progress. But on the other, it is proving as a bane to the uneducated and unskilled women as they are not able to cope up with or adopt new
technology of production. The advent of global communication networks and cross-cultural exchange has no doubt influenced on the lives of women across the boundaries’ both in negative and positive ways. The wide spread network of communication technology has promoted ideas and norms of equality for women in implicit and complicit ways. It has, no doubt, brought about awareness and acted as a catalyst in their struggle for equitable rights and opportunities but the rise of fundamentalism, global terrorism and complex cultural set-up and the global propaganda of the fundamentalist groups may led to the further marginalisation of women and put them on the peripheries of the socio-economic and political set-up of the traditional societies.

The legislative frame-work of the national governance and the International Conventions on the rights of women became a matter of serious concern not only for the women group but also for the national governments due to the international pressure of the women groups. The collective action of women organisations and the gender views of the socio-economic and political developments across the globe are now expressed every year at the annual review of Beijing Platform for Action. Irrespective of Beijing +5, Beijing + 10, Beijing + 15 and Beijing + 20 a mechanism, which respond to women in conflict and sporadic violence against women have been developed at the UNO and Regional levels across the globe. The opening of trade borders, liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has been a matter of concern for global women’s movements from its very inception. The global platform for action is not only critical to the imperialist and capitalist policies of privatisation and liberalisation; it is also presenting an alternative model of development through the lense of sustainable development and global peace.

Attempts have been made to incorporate the international efforts and international laws into the policy and legal frame-work of the political governance to protect women from violence both in the private as well as public domain. Special laws like Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Sexual
Harassment at Work Place Act, 2013 and enactment of certain policies for the development and empowerment of single women in the Twelfth Five Years Plan are the recent efforts of Indian Parliament to protect the socio-economic and political rights of women both at the private and public domain.

The researchers, policy makers and non-government organisations are coming out with different perspectives, interpretations and impact of globalisation on socio-economic and political rights of women. These studies are inadequate due to lack of a holistic approach and their analysis is limited to the specific schemes for women empowerment and development. Moreover, these studies are limited to specific state, region or district. It is under this backdrop that the present study aims at analysing the socio-economic and political impact of globalisation on the lives of women in a holistic and universal method. This study focuses on the analysis of the data, policy frame-work and legal mechanisms which are related to the socio-economic and political rights of women in India.

A brief review of the relevant literature provides significant insights and approaches for understanding the issues and challenges women are facing due to the liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation across the globe. Plenty of literature is available on the rhetoric of globalisation and its impact on the socio-political and economic rights of women particularly in the developing countries. A few of these deal with the impact of foreign capital, technology and industry on the lives of women in India, however, these studies are limited to a particular region or district or to a specific policy or programme for the development and empowerment of women in India. These studies are not well supported with country level data and the interconnectness of the socio-economic and political rights of women.
Review of Literature

The Millennium Development Goals Report 2014\textsuperscript{22} examines the latest progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It reaffirms that MDGs have made a profound difference in the lives of the people. Global poverty has been halved five years ahead of the 2015 timeframe. The narrowing down of the gap between the boys and the girls in enrolment in primary education in the developing countries has also been highlighted. The improvement in the facilities and controlling of the dangerous disease like malaria and tuberculosis has been presented with country-wise data.

Anupma Hazra\textsuperscript{23} deals with the recent dynamics of the social security in India from the lense of Millennium Development Goals and focuses on the strategies adopted to address poverty, food security, primary education, women empowerment and primary health care. By linking India’s strategies to deal with the endemic problems like poverty, illiteracy and the lack of primary health care, he suggests some comprehensive measures which will help in the better implementation of social security and sustainable growth of the social sector.

Monica Chawla\textsuperscript{24} examines the prevailing laws for the promotion and protection of women rights in India. She elaborates on the marriage & divorce laws and offences affecting the dignity and body of women. The laws related to the economic rights of women like labour laws, Maintenance, Adoption, Guardianship and Succession are duly focused upon.


\textsuperscript{23} Anupma Hazra, \textit{India’s Social Sector and Millennium Development Goals}, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2013.

M.R. Biju\textsuperscript{25} examines the influence of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation on the employment and working conditions of women in the developing societies. By focusing on the rhetoric of liberalisation and privatisation and their real impact on the weaker sections in general and women in particular, he holds that women have been left far behind men in the unequal world. The study expresses the need for their upliftment and empowerment to ensure a sustainable and progressive world.

Tinku Paul Bhatnagar\textsuperscript{26} examines the importance of gender equality in the development of a country. Tinku focuses on the importance of women contribution to the welfare of the family and society. He holds that despite the role played by women in running the human generations they are yet deprived of their full maternal rights.

Rameshwari Pandya & Sarika Patel\textsuperscript{27} deal with the problems of women in unorganised sector of economy. They have examined the government policies and programmes regarding the problems of women in unorganised sector, by narrating a case study of women in the embroidery industry of Surat. By analysing the overall situation of women workers in unorganised sector, they have called for intervention of government to protect women rights in unorganised sector.

A.N. Das\textsuperscript{28} in his book discusses the linkage of women rights and human rights which emerged during the decades of 1980’s and 1990’s at the international level. He elaborates on the women movements around the world.


their networks and coalitions, which give greater visibility to the problem that a woman, face every day and to the centrality of women’s experiences in economic, social, political and environmental issues. He vividly links the human rights frame-work with women rights of health, reproduction etc.

T. Lavanya\(^29\) comprehensively examines the provisions and policy frame-work of the Indian government which it adopted for the development and empowerment of women. While analysing the historical perspective of women development in India, she holds the Eleventh Five Year Plan as the first major attempt of Indian government for addressing the issue of women development and empowerment. She appreciates the intervention and long-term strategies of government to end the violence and discrimination against women in the globalised India.

Indrani Mazumdar\(^30\) analyses the impact of globalisation on women workers in India. She demystifies the phenomena of globalisation, offering an overview of its prime drives, processes and forces. Four sectoral studies of women are provided; two on factory women in garment exports and electronics, the third on home based workers in a range of manufacturing processes and industries and the fourth on middle class women working in information and technology services.

Monica Chawla\(^31\) deals with the status of women and efforts made at the international level to remove all kinds of discrimination against women. She examines various constitutional provisions, the criminal law and the labour and industrial laws which benefit and protect women workers. She also explains the


special laws enacted for the welfare of women. She has criticised the Indian state for keeping the religions personal laws regarding marriage and divorce of women despite well developed legal mechanism for the protection of women’s rights in India.

Niroj Sinha argues that women political participation has to be discussed in the context of gender and patriarchy. He explains that division of work in public and private sphere should be done in the light of political participation of women. In his study Sinha discusses the impact of political participation on the status and role of women in decision making.

Uma Narula traces the evolution of sensibilities of women across generations in India since 1900. She narrates the growth of women over a century, which epitomises continuity and change. Narula offers the analytical interpretations of attitudes and behavior of these women across generations through the analysis of their experiences and actions. She argues that women have come a long way since a century back although development has not been positive in all cultures.

Seema Singh discusses in detail the political status of women in Panchayati Raj institutions. She examines the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by them in shaping and sharing of power. She holds that inspite of the fact that women constitute almost 50% of the total population of India, they are not recognised as active members in the context of political participation and decision making process.

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Nomita Aggarwal\textsuperscript{35} discusses various national and international provisions for the protection of socio-economic and political rights of women in India. She elaborates on the constitutional provisions relating to the rights of women, Penal Laws, Labour Laws and the 73\textsuperscript{rd} and 74\textsuperscript{th} constitutional amendments in the first section of this book. In the second section she discusses the international provisions for human rights and women rights along with the current issues of domestic violence and legal aid in India.

Vibhuti Patel\textsuperscript{36} examines the social movement of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century from the political economy perspective. She explores the socio-economic and political disparities created by globalisation and their impact on the lives of women in India. By focusing on their survival, health and education rights, she narrates the saga of women movements in India for the socio-economic and political rights of women in India.

Neera Desai and Usha Thakkar\textsuperscript{37} discuss the changing perceptions of the status and role of women at the threshold of the new millennium. They vividly define the emergence of women issues regarding health, employment and media projection of women. At the end of their study Neera and Usha have examined both the negative and positive aspects of liberalisation, Privatisation and globalisation of Indian economy to women rights.

Flavia Agnes\textsuperscript{38} explores strategies, which could safeguard women rights within a sphere of complex social and political boundaries. She condemns the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
  \bibitem{38} Flavia Agnes, \textit{Law and Gender Inequalities}, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.
\end{thebibliography}
thumbnail sketch of the origin and development of family laws in India, along with an exploration of the state interventions at various strategic points.

Shri Kudchedkar and Subiha AL-Issa\textsuperscript{39} deal with the twin issues of violence against women and women against violence. They have argued that although violence against women has attracted so much attention in recent years, all the claims of gender sensitivity and human rights to establish the social justice have proved fruitless when one sees mass violence against the weaker sections of society on the basis of class, caste, race, religion and gender.

Pam Rajput & Hem Lata Sawrup\textsuperscript{40} deal with the most critical concerns of globalisation, which were initiated in the last decade of the twentieth century. They focus on the global policies and initiatives of IMF/WB and the conditions imposed by the structural adjustment programme on the developing countries.

In his article Vinoj Abraham\textsuperscript{41} presents the recent trends of labour market and fluctuations in the labour participation of women which is probably due to short-term shifts in activities responding to favourable economic conditions. It argues that fluctuations in the labour market hit women hard. He explains that such fluctuations need to be placed in the context of a structural change in labour participation. It is found that the decline of women’s share in the labour force as well as labour participation rate of women is linked with the social setup of Indian society. The study holds that upward social mobility of women in Indian patriarchal society in the wake of growing incomes is probably symbolised by their withdrawal from paid labour and their confinement to unpaid domestic activities. Even under such adverse conditions employment

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\textsuperscript{40} Pam Rajput & Hem Lata Sawrup, \textit{Women and Globalisation}, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1994.

\textsuperscript{41} Vinoj Abraham, “Missing Labour or Consistent De-Feminisation?” \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, vol. XLVIII, no. 31, August, 2013.
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growth of women is not stagnant. Those who do enter and remain in the labour market are women from the most vulnerable households, as marginalised informal paid labour, thus feminising the most precarious forms of labour in the country.

In their paper Yamini Mishra and Navanita Sinha, highlight the importance of gender responsive budgeting while analysing the manner in which the government of India has planned out this process appears to be a classic case of putting the cart before the horse. This article analyses the two prime strategies adopted by the Government of India for institutionalising gender responsive budgeting, namely, the "Gender Budget Statement" and Gender Budgeting Cells to highlight what has gone wrong, and what needs to be fixed. The authors also draw on experiences from other countries, to argue that gender responsive budgeting in India needs a completely different rhythm if it has to translate into better outcomes for women in India. With the formulation of the Twelfth Plan under way, the moment is opportune to push for groundbreaking changes in the policy discourse on gender responsive budgeting.

In his paper Himanshu examines the trends of employment and unemployment as thrown up by successive National Sample Surveys from the mid-1970s onwards. By analysing the employment trends, he suggests that the euphoria about high employment growth during 1999-2004 was not justified nor does the concern about jobless growth in the subsequent years capture the changes in employment structure. The study suggests that long-term analysis of employment trends reveal that changes in the employment pattern and workforce structure have been sluggish and do not conform to the standard

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employment-output relationship. The analysis also flags certain issues which have bearings on the comparability of employment data before and after 1993-94. Large fluctuations seen after 1993-94 appear to be a result of the movement in and out of labour force of a substantial section of the population which is vulnerable and in the informal sector in a phase of rising overall rates of economic growth. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the results of the recently released 2009-10 survey of NSSO.

In her article Harini Narayanan\textsuperscript{44} explores the political dimensions of health policy and examines how the political processes influence the health and reproductive rights of women in India. While tracing the gender mainstream and recent discussions on the health policy and women's health in India she holds that the political intervention and corruption have complicated the process of the implementation of health policy. Women health and safety suffer due to the target-oriented approach of population control in India. The sterilisation of women is considered as a viable option by government doctors as performing of sterilisation is linked to their promotion and other initiatives under the designated policy.

In her paper Kanchan Mathur\textsuperscript{45} focuses upon United Nations conferences on women in Cairo and Beijing and their influence on women’s health and reproductive rights in India. It examines the National Health and Family Welfare schemes of Indian government under the social and cultural set-up of Indian society. It focuses upon the socio-cultural determinants to women's health in Rajasthan in the light of the National Family Health Survey-3 data as

\textsuperscript{44} Harini Narayanan, “Women's Health, Population Control and Collective Action”, \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, vol. XLVI, no. 08, February, 2011.

well as the current policies and programmes affecting women's health. It asserts that in the present context, women's bodies, health and sexuality are being grossly neglected and abused in Rajasthan and there is a dire need for reform in the state's attitude towards women's health needs.

In her article Nalini Nayak\textsuperscript{46} examines the conditions and percentage of woman work-force in the unorganised sector of Indian economy. This study shows that 92 per cent of the total work force employed in the unorganised segment, with the entire farm sector falling under the informal category, while only one-fifth of the non-farm workers are found in the organised segment. By giving illustrative figures she suggests that in the non-farm sectors, as we move up the income ladder, the share of the informal sector gradually declines. However, as far as the agriculture sector is concerned, irrespective of economic class, the share of the unorganised workforce remains flat. Further she reveals that the lack of social security in the unorganised sector of economy has not only impacted the working conditions but also worsened the lives of the poor people in their old age.

In her article Nirmala Banerjee\textsuperscript{47} presents the pattern of economic development during the Nehruvian era. It provides important information on the failure of the modernisation project in getting rid of gender discrimination within the household and at the workplace. It explores how the issue of women development and empowerment has been negated by the Indian leader after the independence. Inspite of presiding in the 1930s over a committee on women's status, Nehru and the Planning Commission under his leadership in the post-independent India proceeded to discard the radical economic measures the

\textsuperscript{46} Nalini Nayak, “Unorganised Sector Workforce in India”, \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, vol. XLI no. 21, May, 2006.

committee had recommended to establish parity between men and women. Instead, the unproblematic tradition of regarding women as targets for household and motherhood-oriented welfare services was given recognition in official policy documents.

In her article Madhu Kishwar\textsuperscript{48} highlights the marginalisation of women from politics due to the violence and criminalisation of politics and links the marginalisation of women with the other vulnerable people. By highlighting the set-up of political parties and marginalisation of women from political office of the parties in India, she argues that the electoral reforms to curb the patriarchal set-up of politics and political parties in India. The paper concludes with the recommendation of reservation and quotas in the political parties as well as at the centre and state levels.

In her article Supriya\textsuperscript{49} attempts to cover the theoretical approaches of the feminist discourse, while focusing on the diversions of women movement in India. The paper argues that recent post-modernist trends in feminist theorising and organising have opened up important debates on organising politics at different levels. It seeks to enter into a debate by contextualising its analysis in the Indian context. Supriya has expressed her concern over the sectarian and divisive tendencies within women movements in India. The article seeks to explore ways to counter such tendencies within movement politics by asserting that the question of difference between women’s needs does not become a point of immobility, but a focus of solidarity.

\textsuperscript{48} Madhu Kishwar, “Women and Politics beyond Quotas”, \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, vol. XXXI, no. 43, October, 1996.

Sweta Mishra\textsuperscript{50} explains the historically marginal position occupied by the Indian women in the society and also in the political process institution of the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) due to socio-economic constraints. She focuses on the evolution of the Panchayati Raj and the position of the women in the PRIs before 73\textsuperscript{rd} Constitutional Amendment. In her article she gives a great importance to the 73\textsuperscript{rd} Amendment and holds that it will prove bring about a revolution in the history of women political participation in India.

In their article Ghosh and Mukhopadhyay \textsuperscript{51} analyse the available data on employment in India and point out that there has been severe reduction in the number of female workers. While highlighting their displacement in the Indian Labour force they have built three hypotheses around the reduction of women work force in India. First, the economic change might have caused the technological and occupational structure of the economy to undergo a transformation biased in favour of males. Secondly, the Indian economic scene, featured by growing unemployment and sluggish growth of income per head, has failed to provide sufficient opportunity or incentive to attract many of the potential workers, most of them female. Thirdly, the sex ratio might have undergone a change.

Rajeshwari Deshpande has written three papers on the rights and empowerment of women. In the first and third paper she deals with the voting behaviour and political empowerment of women. In her first paper Deshpande\textsuperscript{52} has linked

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the increasing voting and political participation of women with the political empowerment of women. While highlighting the increased political participation and voting of women in the 2004 election, she argues that the enlarged participation of women will lead to the positive changes in politics. It will secure the political future of women and will enhance the number of women in the political leadership of the country. Her third paper is based on the analyses of the voting behaviour of women in the 2009 National Elections. By using the data of contesting candidates of the various political parties and election manifestoes, Deshpande examines the linkage of women voting with gender politics in India. She finds the Congress Party as pro-women in comparison to the other national political parties. In her second article Rajeshwari Deshpande elaborates upon the lack of social security for workers in the unorganised sector and comprehensively explains the provisions made for social security under the proposed bill for assuring the same. While analysing the position of women workers in the unorganised sector, she argues that the workers will lose their traditional rights if certain modifications in the proposed bill are not made.

**Objectives of the Study**

- To examine women rights in historical perspective in India.
- To examine impact of globalisation on women rights in India.
- To examine social impact of globalisation on women rights in India.
- To examine economic impact of globalisation on the rights of women in India.

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• To examine the political participation and political rights of women in
globalised India.

Scope
The present study is aims to analyse the impact of globalisation on the socio-
economic and political rights and status of women in India. It examines the
impact of the New Economic Policy and Structural Adjustment Programme on
the socio-economic and political rights of women along with the analysis of the
policy initiatives and legislative measures of the Indian government enacted for
the development and empowerment of women.

Methodology
A holistic approach has been adopted. The historical and analytical methods
have been used to understand the socio-economic and political status of women
in the different stages of history and the influence of the globalisation on the
rights of women in India. The study is based on both primary and secondary
sources. The primary sources will include the Government reports, reports of
the international and national agencies like Census, NSSO, UNO, World Bank
and World Health Organisation reports etc. The secondary sources will include
books, journals, newspapers and internet websites etc.

Chapter Scheme
The study has been divided into 6 chapters in all.

Chapter 1 entitled introduction and it refers to the liberalisation, privatisation
and globalisation and its impact on the rights of women. It includes the review
of existing literature and objectives of the study, scope of the study,
methodology and a brief introduction of the study.

Chapter 2 entitled Evolution of Women Rights is an attempt to analyse
political history of India along with the development of women rights. The
chapter focuses upon the socio-religious, political-cultural factors which have
imposed restriction on the rights and status of women in the ancient, medieval and modern India.

**Chapter 3** entitled Social Rights of Women examines the social impact of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation on the status and rights of women in India. Three aspect of the social change and social development of women in India like education, mental and physical health and crime against women have been focused upon.

**Chapter 4** entitled Economic Rights of Women examines the economic aspects of globalisation and its impact on the economic status and rights of women in India. The New Economic Policy, Structural Adjustment Programme along with liberalisation and privatisation of Indian economy has been duly focused upon.

**Chapter 5** entitled Political Rights of Women deals with women empowerment and political participation of women in globalised India. It examines the political rhetoric of the Indian leadership and India’s commitment to the political empowerment of women along with the real position of women in the Indian politics.

**Chapter 6** is conclusion. The major findings of the study have been discussed and suggestions have been made for the better protection of socio-economic and political rights of women.