
UNIT 31 WOMEN AND WORK

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31.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the various social aspects of women's work. After studying this unit you should be able to

- describe the distinctive features of women's work
- describe the nature of paid and unpaid work within and outside the household
- explain the factors which determine women's work
- discuss the social, political and economic processes which transform women's work roles.

31.1 INTRODUCTION

In unit 29 of this Block we discussed how traditional expectations and concept of women's role have affected their status in our society. Work participation is an important indicator of one's status in the society. Women's work participation

has been affected by various socio-economic factors and traditional role expectations. Besides a significant amount of their work has remained invisible and unrecognized. In this unit we discuss some of the important aspects of women's work. This unit begins with a discussion on the nature, range and patterns of women's work within and outside the household. Here we will introduce you to the concept of 'work' and why much of the work which women do is not included while accounting for working population. The unit is divided into three major sections.

The first section (31.2) describes what women do and their direct and indirect contribution to the family and society both as paid and unpaid workers. An understanding of the determinants of women's work will help you understand the differentiation in men's and women's work roles in different socio-economic categories. The second section (31.3) of the unit provides an in-depth view of how such factors as sexual division of labour, differential socialisation of girls and boys and different role expectations, differential investment in their education, training and skill development, directly and indirectly lead to gender inequalities. The last section (31.4) discusses the processes, which transform women's work role in society.

31.2 NATURE, RANGE AND PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S WORK

In this section we shall be dealing with the various components of women's work. Women do various types of work. Their household work remains mostly invisible and unrecognized. Here it is essential to categorise various types of work done by women in terms of paid and unpaid work. This will give us a broad idea to understand the significance of women's work both in the family and in the society. Let us begin with the nature of women's work.

31.2.1 What is Women's Work?

According to anthropologists and some historians, women were the major producer of food, textiles and handicrafts throughout human history and continue to provide a major labour input where production is still in the small scale subsistence sector.

Defining the exact nature, scope and magnitude of women's work remains a problem area because a good deal of women's work is either invisible or is only partially accounted for in the data on workforce participation.

Components of women's work include housework, paid and unpaid work related to home-based craft activities, family enterprise or business and paid work outside home. You must have observed differential work participation of men, women and children within the family both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The kind of work women do is determined by women's position in the society and family's location in the social hierarchy. Figure 31.1 shows various forms of women's work.

The basic elements of women's work within the home are related to the division of labour between men and women. Activities included under 'housework' broadly differ according to age, gender, income, occupational group, location (rural/urban), size and structure of the family.

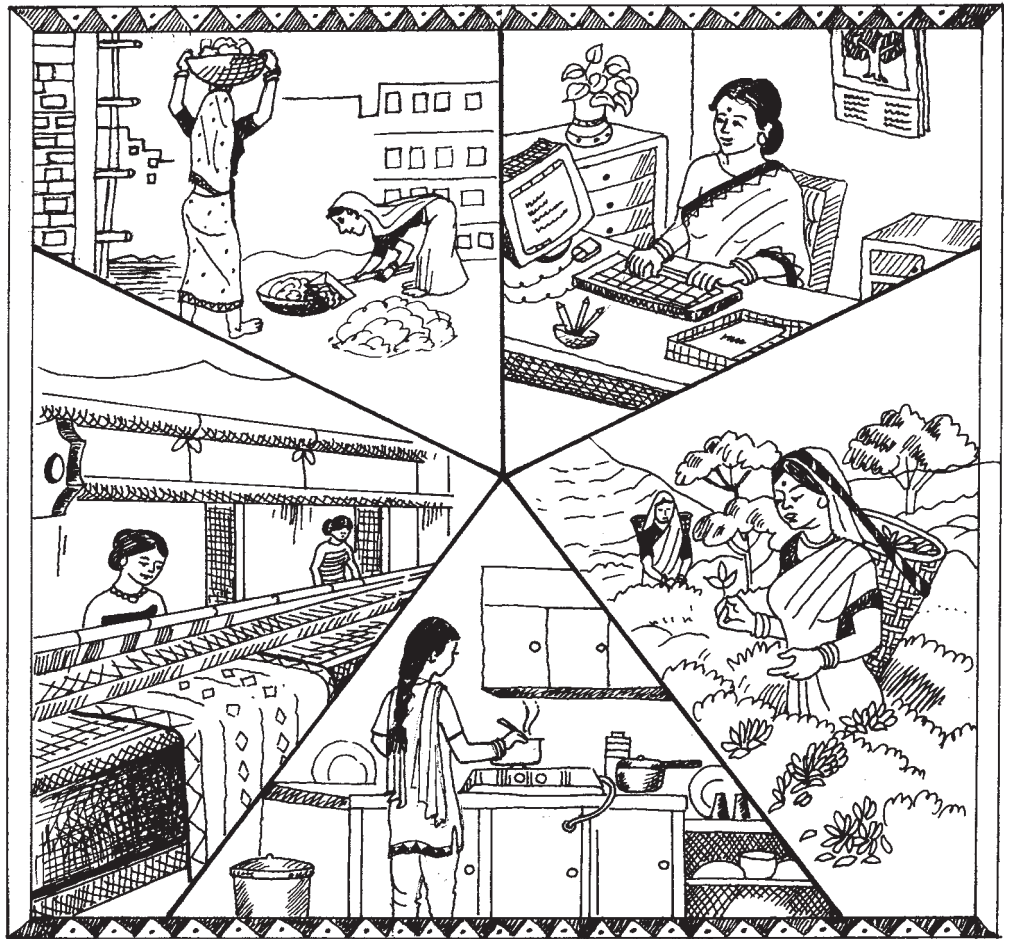


Figure 31.1 Women and work

31.2.2 Unpaid Work in Home-based Production and Family Farms

Economists distinguish between production for **self-consumption** and production for the market. Only the latter is counted as ‘work’. The parameters of work used in official data reflect this bias. Much of the work that women do in household industries and processing of agricultural products, if unpaid, is not recognised as ‘work’ in the data systems.

In rural areas the women from the poorer households engage in various activities such as cooking, processing of food for household consumption, storing grains, childcare, fetching fuelwood, fodder and water, collection of forest produce, preparation of cow dung cakes, care of livestock and cattle and house repair and maintenance. Much of this work, which is important for the maintenance of families, is largely done by women. However, this work is unpaid and is not accounted for as productive work as it is meant for self-consumption. The conventional definition of ‘work’ does not include activities, which are of **use-value** and do not have **exchange-value**.

In the agricultural sector small and marginal farmer households utilise family labour as they cannot hire labour like big landlords. In the non-agricultural sector such as handicrafts, handloom weaving, pottery, food preservation and processing etc., a large proportion of women are home-based workers.

Activities like dairying, small animal husbandry (poultry, piggery, goaterly etc.) fisheries, weaving, handicrafts, are family activities and every member assists

in some aspects of production. A major part of the work is done within the home and yet a woman is not accorded the status of a worker. Non-valuation of women's unpaid work within the home results in non-recognition of women's crucial economic contribution.

31.2.3 Female Child Labour

Girls continue to provide free labour in home-based production. Studies on rural girl child labour show that she works nine hours a day providing goods and services, which keep her out of school. She works on an average 318 days a year in the fields and at home providing free labour.

The 1981 Census reported that there were 1.4 crore child workers in India constituting 4.3 per cent of girls and 2.1 per cent of boys under fourteen years of age. Between 1971-81 while the percentage of working boys in rural areas declined, the percentage of working girls increased. This means that more girls are being inducted into work while more boys are sent to school thus widening the gap between boy's and girl's opportunities. According to the 1991 census figures there were 4.3 million female child labourers, out of which a vast majority (eighty one per cent) were engaged in agriculture and related activities.

Girls are also employed in large numbers in carpet industry of Kashmir, in lock making in Aligarh, in gem polishing in Jaipur, in match industry in Sivakasi and in bidi rolling. In match industry of Sivakasi, ninety per cent child workers are girls under the age of fourteen. They work under hazardous condition. Female children working in home based industries are beyond the purview of child labour laws. These laws are not enforced even in factory based industries. Even in piece-rate system, her labour is seen as an extension of her mother's labour and is not given an independent value.

Such work cuts them off from schooling, literacy, learning technical skills and improving their job prospects. These handicaps remain insurmountable throughout the life.

31.2.4 Paid Work

Women also work for wages in fields, forests, mines, factories, offices, small scale and household industries. The nature and extent of such work differs according to the location of family in the social hierarchy. In the rural sector the subsistence work burden falls heavily on women, while in higher castes and higher income groups 'non-work' of women is given more value. Many micro studies have reported inverse relationship between income level of the household and nature of women's work participation. Women in the subsistence sector have no option but to work. However, their options are limited as they are non-entrants or drop-outs from school. They are often the primary breadwinners of the family, but the ideological bias views men as the primary breadwinner of the family. Let us examine some other important aspects of women's paid employment.

i) Education, Paid Employment and Household Responsibilities

The spread of education among the middle and upper class women has opened up new avenues of employment. However, we are to keep in mind here that education does not necessarily lead to employment. On the one hand, illiteracy

among the majority of women in the lower socio-economic group constitutes a major barrier to increasing and diversifying work and training opportunities. On the other hand, pre-defined roles, ideology and labour market forces in a labour surplus economy effectively restrict women's work opportunity among educated women of certain sectors. (Studies have shown wastage of skill and ability among women scientists and degree holders.)

In middle class families, women work for improving or maintaining the standard of living of the family or to provide a cushion against rising cost of living. Working outside home on the same terms and conditions, as men, does not absolve them from their domestic responsibilities. The **dual burden of work** creates physical, mental and emotional strain. Very few women may be lucky to get domestic help or kin-support. One of the consequences of double burden may be delayed promotions or sacrificing new job opportunities due to family responsibilities. Employment by itself does not guarantee equal sharing of work at home or better status of women.

ii) **Agricultural and Industrial Sectors**

Gender inequalities exist in all sectors. Inequalities are reflected in distribution of women workers in different sectors, in job hierarchies and in wages and earnings between men and women.

In the latter half of the twentieth century there was very little structural change in women's employment. The proportion of female agricultural workers which was less than one-third of the total workforce in 1951 rose to more than fifty per cent, which means greater dependence on agriculture sector. In 1993-94,

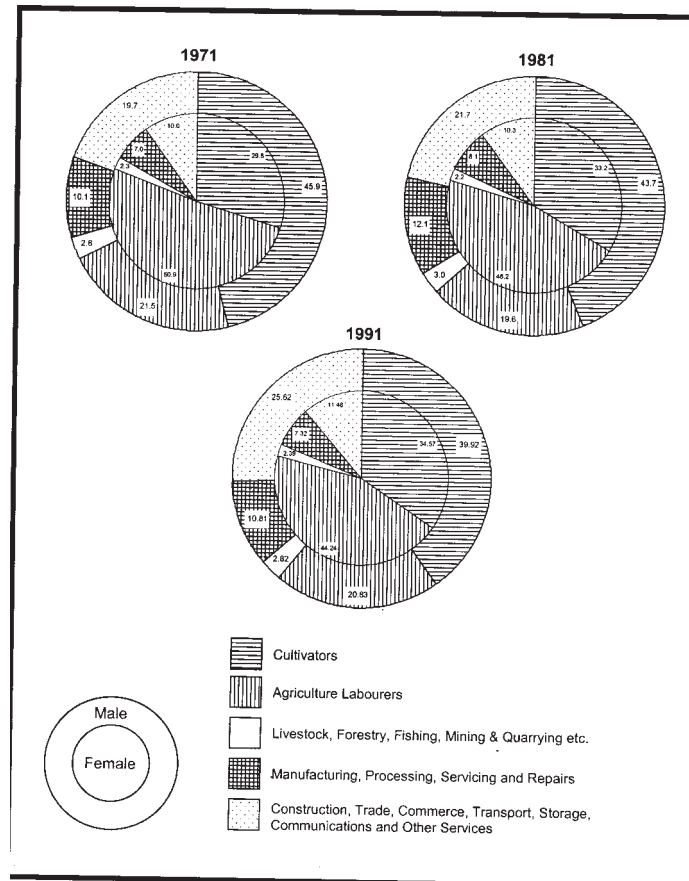


Figure 31.2 Work participation rate by sex in different sector of economy during 1971-1991

as many as 86.2 percent female workers were engaged in the primary sector, which includes agriculture and allied sector such as forestry, livestock etc., in the rural areas. Agriculture accounts for eighty seven percent of women work force in the rural areas and 17.5 percent in the urban areas. Within agriculture they mostly work as agricultural labourers or cultivators (NSSO 1996). Figure 31.2 shows the work participation of both men and women in different sectors of economy during 1971-1991 and figure 31.3 the work participation rate of the total population by sex and place of residence during 1961-2001.

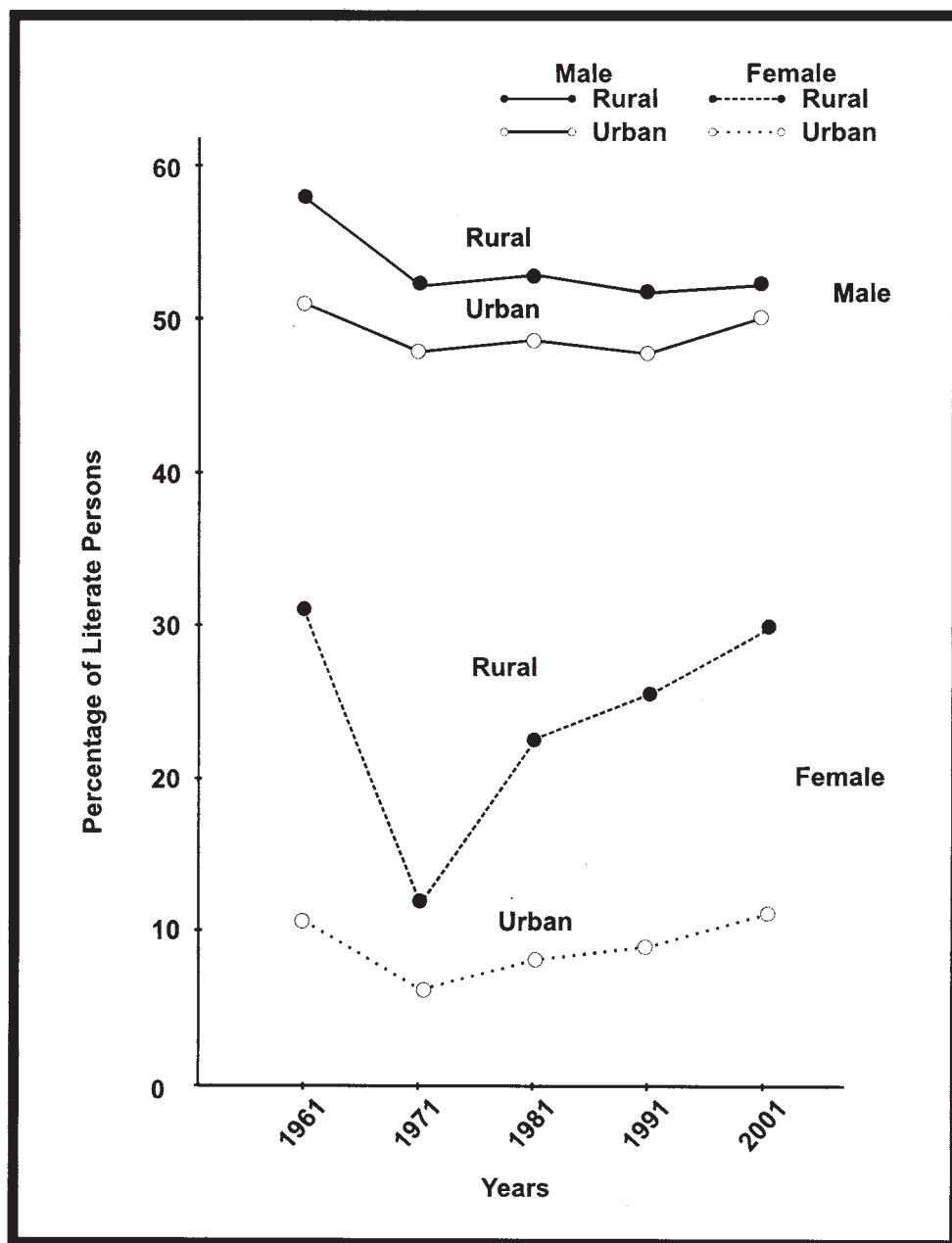


Fig. 31.3: Work participation rate in India by sex and place in residence (1961-2001)

Industrialisation has created more work opportunities for a small section of educated women but at the same time has reduced work opportunities for unskilled women workers who were the traditional workers in textiles, jute, mines etc.

Women workers are concentrated in plantations (seventy two per cent), food products, tobacco and textiles, cane and bamboo work, silk worm, rearing coir products, domestic services, education and health services. The high concentration of women in household industries rather than factory-based production affects their status as workers with no control on their labour and earnings.

iii) Women in Services and Professions

As far as women in services and professions are concerned there is no wage discrimination but they are concentrated in certain types of jobs like teachers, nurses, typists and stenographers and very few occupy higher positions in administration, business, technical jobs and professions.

Despite impressive increase in the number of educated women in urban areas the gap between men and women in the services and professions is large. The reasons are many. Some of them are given below.

- a) Girls are generally socialised for their domestic roles
- b) Less investment in the vocational and technical training of girls and female and male stereotypes determine attitude to work and differential expectations from girls education, which is rarely seen as an investment for future. In the middle class families it is seen as a contingency to be drawn on in times of need.
- c) Higher concentration of girls is found in humanities and social sciences rather than vocational and technical courses.
- d) There is less physical mobility among women after marriage.

iv) Earning Differentials

Earning differential has been a crucial feature of women's paid employment. The division of labour between men and women works against women. An expression of discrimination against women in labour market is wage differential. They not only get unequal pay for equal work but many jobs that women do are categorised as low skilled jobs for which lower wages are paid. For example, men usually do weaving which is better paid while spinning, usually done by women, is low paid. In construction also men are supposed to do skilled jobs and women do unskilled work and get lower wages. Sexual divisions of labour and lower duration of women's work are reflected into lower wages for women. Women workers on an average are found to earn only sixty percent of male wage for full time work. Wage differentials exist in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. The ratio of male to female real wage rates in agriculture is calculated as around 1.3 in 1995, i.e. for every one rupee earned by a female, the male earns 1.3 (thirty three percent) more (NSSO, 1996). Earning differentials also reflect differences in skill acquisition, education and training.

31.2.5 Women Workers and the Growth of Unorganised Sector

A majority of women (eighty seven per cent) are working in the rural and urban unorganised sector without the protection of labour legislation regarding

wages, hours of work, working conditions, health and maternity benefits and childcare services. Those women workers include agricultural and construction labourers, women in dairying, small animal husbandry, fisheries, forestry, handlooms and handicrafts, small vendors and hawkers selling vegetables and food items, washer-women, scavengers, domestic servants, crafts workers and **piece rate** workers in home based production. The labour force in this sector is characterised by higher incidence of casual labour and intermittent nature of work, low wages, and low capital incentives.

In 1988, a National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector carried out a comprehensive analysis of the problem of these workers and suggested to undertake concrete actions for their protection and organisation. According to an estimate of the Commission ninety four percent of the total women labour force were in the unorganised sector. The Commission produced a report entitled '*Shram Shakti*', which made a number of important recommendations for legislative changes for the benefit of women.

Check Your Progress 1

i) What are the major components of women's work? Use three lines to answer.

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ii) Write a short note on the types of unpaid work done by the women from the poor households in the rural areas. Use seven lines to answer.

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iii) Briefly narrate in about five lines, the impact of industrialisation on women.

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31.3 DETERMINANTS OF WOMEN'S WORK

There are various factors, which determine women's work. We can classify them under two broad headings: structural factors and socio-cultural factors. In this section we shall be examining these factors in detail. Let us begin with the structural ones.

31.3.1 Structural Factors

The key structural variables, which determine women's work, are: i) the family, caste, class and community, ii) regional differences, iii) labour market iv) environmental changes; and v) the growth of unorganised sectors.

- i) **Family, Caste, Class and Community:** The inequalities in our social structure based on caste, class and community have a significant influence on women's work roles.

As you have already noted the basic elements of women's work within the family are related to division of labour between men and women. Learning role ideology is not only confined to family but to the world of school, media and work which also play an important role in perpetuating attitudes and beliefs regarding women's work roles.

Women from upper caste in rural areas do not engage in out of home wage employment, as 'non-work' is linked to the notion of 'higher status' and prestige. There are some caste-based occupations also such as smithery, pottery, weaving, leather work etc. where there is a well-defined sexual division of labour.

There are different notions among different classes, castes and community about 'appropriateness' or 'suitability' of certain types of work for women. For example, teaching and nursing are considered to be suitable jobs for women. So also in agriculture the tasks of sowing, threshing, breeding transplanting etc. are women's job. Differential access of women to education, training, and resources and skills among different classes also determines the types of work women do.

Majority of the schedule castes and schedule tribes have been socially and economically deprived. The Indian Constitution has made special provision for them and government has followed the policy of reservation of seats in educational institutions and jobs. However, majority of them are not able to take advantage of these provisions. Within these groups women are more deprived. The enrolment of girls is far below that of boys. In the year 2000-01, out of 10,995 students enrolled in the primary school only 4665 were girls. The reasons are both socio-economic and environmental constraints. Large number of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women are landless labourers.

- ii) **Regional Differences:** Another structural factor affecting women work participation in India is the regional variation. In the South, North-East and Central tribal belt, women's work participation is high in comparison to North India. Women's work participation is higher in rice growing areas than in wheat growing areas. The reasons are both cultural and economic.

- iii) **Labour Market:** The family ideology which determines 'suitability' and 'unsuitability' of certain jobs for women is also reflected in job stereotyping in labour market. For example, in agriculture women do not plough, they do weeding, transplanting and harvesting. In industries like electronics women are mostly employed in assembly jobs. Similarly, in services women are concentrated in teaching, nursing and office jobs.

Activity 1

Observe the daily activities of two employed women preferably from different socio-economic backgrounds, continuously for one week. While observing please note the types of work done by them inside the house and, if possible, at the work place. Now write an essay in about 20 lines on the double burden of work regularly undertaken by them. Exchange your notes, if possible, with your co-learners at your Study Centre.

- iv) **Environmental Changes and Women's Work:** You have read earlier that women in poorer households spend a great deal of time in providing goods and services for family's needs. Many studies have shown that in the areas hit by water scarcity and deforestation, women spend long hours in collecting fuelwood for cooking, fodder for cattle and water for home consumption. In the hill areas of Uttar Pradesh women actively participate in the *Chipko* movement to prevent destruction of forest as it resulted in increasing difficulties in the collection of fuel, fodder and water and other daily requirements of their life (see Jain 1984).

31.3.2 Socio-cultural Factors

Values, institutions, norms, attitudes, customs, family ideology, process of socialisation, sexual division of labour, and self-perception are important socio-cultural variables affecting women's employment. Let us examine these variables briefly.

- i) **Values, Norms, Attitudes and Customs:** Values, norms, attitudes and customs governing women's work are not static and keep changing over time and space, however these exercise greater control over women's work than in the case of men. For example, agricultural development has brought significant changes in the life style of the villagers in many agricultural developed areas. It has changed the values and attitudes to work among certain caste groups. Hence the obvious result has been that of the withdrawal of women from manual agricultural activities among these caste groups. Similarly, the process of Sanskritisation leads to the withdrawal of women from manual activities in the families moving up in the social hierarchy. Besides change in the values, norms and attitudes, existing social customs also affect women's work. For example, *purdah* system restricts women's mobility and work pattern.
- ii) **Family Ideology and Socialisation of Girls:** Family ideology expresses itself in so many ways i.e. control over girls and women by defining sex roles, notions of family prestige/status, de-value women's work, girl's entitlement to family resources (health, nutrition, education) and structures of male dominance, supportiveness and conflict. Girls are socialised from their childhood to accept the family ideology. The traditional social isolation

process introduces gender stereotyping. It not only affects the women’s work roles, but also determines the self-perception and role expectation. We have already discussed these aspects in unit 29 of this Block.

- iii) **Gender-based Division of Labour:** The gender-based of labour not only defines the nature of work to be done by the women, it also imposes discriminatory work norms for them. It is one of the important reasons for the high concentration of women workers in the low paid jobs.
- iv) **Self-Perception of Need to Work-choice vs. Compulsion:** Women internalise the ideology of gender roles. Their own perception of work and their attitude to work stems from the link seen between education, earnings and family’s status and the importance of their economic contributions to the family. For middle class women in white-collar employment and for women in higher professions, work or employment has a different meaning than for agricultural labourers or factory workers or domestic workers. Clearly there is a difference in attitude to work depending on whether women are working for subsistence or for social mobility. The rationale for work is different in different sections. In poorer households women have no options but to work, yet their choices are severely restricted.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Narrate in six lines how caste values and sexual division of labour affect women’s work participation.
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- ii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Tick mark T if it is true or F if it is false.
 - Women’s work participation is higher in the rice growing areas than in the wheat growing areas. True/False
 - In India, eighty-seven percent of the women working forceis engaged in the rural and urban organised sector. True/False

31.4 PROCESSES WHICH TRANSFORM WOMEN’S WORK ROLES

Social, economic and political processes transform women’s work roles. In this section we shall discuss how these processes transform women’s work role in society.

31.4.1 Education and Training

There are strong links between education, training and better-paid jobs. It is argued that women's education can help them to seek higher quality employment. Such evidence is visible among middle class educated working women in large cities.

There are a few problems still to be tackled. You must have noted that quality of education and access to professional and higher educational institutions differ according to class and gender.

The problem of retaining girls in school and high drop-out rate is due to the fact that poor families rarely see education from the point of view of better prospects or investment for the future. The compulsions of daily living deprive girls of any meaningful investment in their education.

Only a small section of educated girls among middle and upper classes plan their careers. Sometimes their education is viewed as 'deferred' investment to be utilised when the need arises. Women opt for liberal arts, humanities and home science due to sex stereotyping of roles and sometimes reluctance on the part of families to make a long-term investment in technical and vocational education and training of girls and for various other reasons. This is clear from the enrolment figures of girls in vocational and technical institutions.

31.4.2 Technological Changes

Questions of technological changes and women's work cannot be studied without considering the issues of division of labour, ownership of means of production and inequality between men and women in control over resources and access to education and training.

For reasons stated earlier and class and gender bias in technical education, women are often at a disadvantaged position when technical changes are of labour-replacing type.

Agricultural modernisation and industrialisation have displaced women unskilled workers. For example, in green revolution areas mechanisation of farm operations like weeding, harvesting, threshing etc. has replaced women from their traditional jobs.

Data from several studies on the impact of technology on women industrial workers (in food, tobacco, textiles and minerals) demonstrates that capital intensive industries had adverse effect on female labour absorption. Introduction of technology needs new skills and training and women are often disadvantaged.

31.4.3 Access to Land and Other Productive Resources

In a culture with a universal preference for sons and a predominantly male inheritance system, gender often determines women's access to productive resources (Land, Capital and Technology). A combination of socio-economic factors determine women's access to resources further strengthening the barriers to their access to credit, technology and skill development to improve their earning opportunities. For example, women have low access to land. Since most of the land is owned by the male members of the family, institutional credits including technological know-how are sanctioned by the development agencies in the name of the male members of the household. Thus, deprived

of the productive resources, women become increasingly dependent on men. However, the dimension of this problem varies in different classes.

31.4.4 Women Producers and Worker's Organisation as Pressure Groups

Poor working women largely in the unorganised sector have gained very little from the trade union movement. Over the years the participation of women has not only decreased in the organised workforce but also within the trade unions. It is only since the nineteen seventies that efforts to organise women workers had slowly begun. Women workers organised to protect their rights and demanded access to resources, land, credit, market, raw material and training.

Activity 2

Interview five women, preferably from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Enquire from them about the form and extent of their ownership of land, household assets and the other productive resources. Now based on your findings write a note on women's assets and other productive resources. Compare your note, if possible, with the notes of your co-learners at the Study Centre.

31.4.5 Macro Processes and State Policies

Changes in and expansion of work opportunities for women may be brought about through government policies in different sectors of economy and employment share of various sectors. For example, growing need for women doctors, teachers, nurses and functionaries for development programmes, i.e., health, education, welfare, rural development etc. will expand women's work opportunities. Similarly, location of industries or promotion and credit support for handicrafts, handlooms, dairy and fisheries etc. can bring about expanded work opportunities for women. Modernisation of industries or agriculture operations where women were employed earlier may, on the other hand, cause displacement. Policies of economic development relying on technological progress, export promotion and capital intensive industries have serious implications for women workers in the factory sector, if they do not have adequate training opportunities.

Within these given social processes women's work has to take into account the interconnections between gender-based division of labour, household work, access to resources, education and skill development and their economic roles. All women workers carry double burden. However, their family maintenance work remains invisible and unaccounted for. In poorer households the distinction between subsistence work and economic activity is very thin and is largely a matter of subjective judgement.

Most women work in the unorganised or informal sector marked by low wages, occupational segregation, exploitative working conditions and insecure employment. Only a small section of educated middle and upper class working women has benefited from expanding educational and employment opportunities.

Most of the women workers face varying degrees of discrimination (overt or covert) and forms of control due to gender-based division of labour and cultural factors. Gender-based role ideology of the patriarchal family restricts women's options by accentuating gender inequalities in education, vocational training and diversified job opportunities. Labour market discrimination partly reflects these differences, which is itself a consequence of discrimination within the family.

The year 2001 was declared by the government of India as 'women's year of empowerment', which had promised to ensure for women their rightful place in nation's social, political and economic life apart from equitable distribution of resources and a just social order (India 2003). But in contradiction to this promise of the government, more and more women are pushed to the labour market for survival mainly to the informal sector market which is highly exploitative and with little labour protection. The Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) was adopted by the government in 1991 as a part of the wider economic reforms, designed to open up the economy to the international competitiveness. Among other policy changes it included privatisation of public enterprises, devaluation of rupee, progressive abolition of subsidies, and financial cuts to the social programmes. Privatisation and export oriented production have given rise to a major increase in unemployment and the women are the worst affected since they are the ones to be sacked first. They find it hard to re-enter the organised work force. In the emerging scenario more and more women enter the unorganised sector, which is notorious for its exploitative labour, flouting of labour laws and hazardous to health.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) What has been the impact of modern technology on women's employment?
Answer in four lines.

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- ii) Write in five lines about the ways to bring about changes and expansions in women's work opportunities.

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31.5 LET US SUM UP

Work participation is an important indicator of status of an individual or a group in society. In this unit, we discussed the nature, range and patterns of

women's work participation in India. We discussed that women's work incorporates unpaid work in home-based production and family farm, women's work participation is affected by various structural and socio-cultural factors. Lastly, this unit examined the social, economic and political processes that may transform women's work roles in society.

31.6 KEY WORDS

Dual burden of work	Burden of unpaid household chores and paid employment
Exchange value	Price of a commodity or a service
Earning differentials	Difference in the earnings based on certain socio-economic attributes
Piece-rate system	Money paid per piece or for a fixed job
Self-consumption	Goods and services produced and consumed by a person or a family
Use-value	Intrinsic value of a commodity or service, which is not exchanged for money in the market

31.7 FURTHER READING

Committee on the Status of Women in India 1974. *Towards Equality*. Deptt. of Social Welfare, Govt. of India: New Delhi, Chapter V

Desai, N. and M. Kishnaraj (Ed.) 1987. *Women in Society*. Ajanta Publications: New Delhi

Jain, D and N. Banerjee (Ed.) 1985. *Tyranny of the Household - Women in Poverty*. Vikas Publishing House: New Delhi

Marthe, Fetherold Loutifi 2002. *Women, Gender and Work: What is Equality and How do We Get it*. Rawat: New Delhi

31.8 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) The components of women's work include housework, paid and unpaid work related to home-based craft, activity, family enterprise or business and paid work outside home.
- ii) In rural areas women from the poorer households engage in activities such as cooking, processing food for household consumption, storing grains, childcare, fetching fuelwood, fodder and water, collection of forest produce, preparation of cow-dung cakes, care of livestock and cattle and house repair and maintenance. Much of this work which is important for

the maintenance of families is largely done by women is unpaid and is not accounted for production work as it is for self-consumption.

- iii) The impact of industrialisation on women's work has not been uniform one. Though industrialisation has created work opportunities for a small section of educated women at the same time it has reduced work opportunities for unskilled women workers who were the traditional workers in textile, jute, mines etc.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Women from upper caste in rural areas do not engage in out of home wage employment as the state of 'non-work' is linked to the notion of higher status and prestige. The basic elements of women's work within the family are related to division of labour between men and women. There are some caste-based occupations such as smithery, pottery, weaving, leather work etc. where there is well defined sexual divisions of labour.
- ii) True, True

Check Your Progress 3

- i) Agricultural modernisation and industrialisation have displaced women unskilled workers. For example, in green revolution areas mechanisation of farm operations like weeding, harvesting and threshing etc. have replaced what were primarily women's jobs.
- ii) Changes and expansion of women's work opportunities may be brought about through government policies in different sectors of economy and changes in employment share of various sectors. For example, growing need for women doctors, teachers, nurses and functionaries for development programmes will expand women's work opportunities.