<div align="right">**Lecture 01**</div>

GENDER STUDIES: AN INTRODUCTION

Topic: 01-04

Topic 01: Gender Studies: an introduction

It is a discipline which discusses the many ways in which the gender of people affects / may affect their status in society; how people's health, education, economy, social treatment, and access to resources may vary with their gender.

Sex versus Gender

Sex refers to the biological characteristics distinguishing male and female. Distinction made in terms of chromosomes, anatomy, hormones, reproductive systems, and other physiological components. It refers to the social, cultural, and psychological traits associated with men and women; males and females. Sex is a fixed category whereas gender is fluid. Sex is ascribed, gender is achieved, taught, and learnt. Social context is important. Sex means being male or female. Gender means being masculine or feminine.

Topic 02: Gender Studies: Nature and Scope

Gender Studies is a social science with a wide scope. It emerged as a separate discipline out of women's struggle across the globe. Concern for women's rights and the consequent struggle paved way for the development of this discipline. In the early 20th century, women were struggling for their rights. Feminist movement was behind this struggle. Struggle for political rights, suffrage, was a distinct feature. Women were successful in this struggle. There had been a growing consciousness that women and men had been treated differently. After attaining right to political participation there was a realization that women could attain equality with men in all spheres of life which in turn would change their status in the society. Feminist movement became intense over decades.

In the 1960s, when the second wave of Feminist Movement was intense, there was a strong realization that the traditional curriculum needed to be revisited and changed. Women perspective was to be added. There had been a demand for adding Women Studies to the curriculum. Subsequently, programs in Women Studies were introduced. Mary Ritter Beard is said to have developed perhaps the first such course In 1934. The course "A Changing Political Economy as it Affects Women" was designed by her. She developed a 54-page syllabus for this purpose. The course could not be formally used for teaching. The first formal program in Women Studies in the US was approved in 1970 by San Diego State University. The first milestones were followed by many other universities by introducing programs and departments of Women Studies across the globe. In Pakistan, the first department of Women Studies was established in 1989 in Karachi by the Ministry of Women Development. Gender Studies has a wide scope and it covers a broader horizon of topics of interest. It discusses issues, from a gender perspective, involving Psychology, Sociology, Health, Religion, Politics, Art and

Literature, Environment, Law, Economic Development, Leadership, Entrepreneurship, and much more. A student having studied Gender Studies can go into research, teaching, GOs or NGOs.

Topic 03: The international and Pakistani perspective

For many years the programs in Women Studies focused on different aspects of women's life alone. Courses like Psychology of Women, Women's Health, Women's Political Participation, Women and Religious Perspective, Women in Art and Literature and similar courses were taught. Women Studies or Feminist Studies was the in thing. Men's Studies, Men and Masculinity, Men's Movement were generally not considered for teaching. With the growing influence of the third wave Feminism changes in perception were taking place.

Women Studies to Gender Studies

In the 1980s there was an awareness and realization that 'Gender' rather than 'Women' needed to be focused on. The agenda of Gender Equality can not be attained unless all the gender categories are kept in view. There was a growing use of terms like 'Gender and Development' by international agencies like the UN. Gradually, more departments and programs in Gender Studies and Gender and Development Studies began to be established. However, programs in Women Studies are still present.

Topic 04: Multidisciplinary nature of Gender Studies

Gender Studies has a multi-disciplinary approach. Gender specialists working in gender related spheres are not necessarily degree holders in Gender Studies alone. Anthropologists, Psychologists, Sociologists, Lawyers and other experts with a back ground of gender research are also contributing. We may be carrying out research on social phenomena, psychological issues, legal matters, health problems, and/or cultural practices from a gender perspective. Research on art, literature, movies, theater, electronic media can be done using a gender lens. Gender Studies is often offered as a foundation course in many programs. Similarly, in a program in Gender Studies the commonly taught courses include Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, Politics, Media, and Law.

Significance of Gender Studies for students of Sociology

Sociology is one of the disciplines most closely related with Gender Studies. Sociology studies social institutions. Social institutions affect socialization and socialization is related with learning of gender roles and development of gender identities. Sociology equips us with an understanding, know how, and skill to identify gender issues, to examine them, and to analyze them.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER

Topic: 05-07

Topic 05: Sociological perspective on gender

Theoretical perspectives refer to "general ways of understanding social reality that guide the research process and provide a means for interpreting the data" (Lindsey, 2011).

Sociological perspectives may operate at two levels of analysis:

Macro-sociological

Focus on information or data on large scale social phenomena. Large scale social phenomena: health, education, industry, politics, economy etc.

Micro-sociological

Focus on information gathered from small groups and details of gender related interaction between individuals or small group members. Small groups and details of interaction: family, spouses, close friends and their interaction.

Topic 06: Basic Sociological Concepts

All societies are structured around relatively stable patterns that establish how social interaction will be carried out. One of the most important social structures that organizes social interaction is **status**—a category or position a person occupies that is a significant determinant of how she or he will be defined and treated. We acquire statuses by achievement, through our own efforts, or by ascription, being born into them or attaining them involuntarily at some other point in the life cycle. We occupy a number of statuses simultaneously, referred to as a **status set**, such as mother, daughter, attorney, patient, employee, and passenger. Compared to *achieved* statuses occurring later in life, *ascribed* statuses immediately impact virtually every aspect of our lives. The most important ascribed statuses are gender, race, and social class. Because a status is simply a position within a social system, it should not be confused with rank or prestige. There are high-prestige statuses as well as low-prestige statuses. In the United States, for example, a physician occupies a status ranked higher in prestige than a secretary. All societies categorize members by status and then rank these statuses in some fashion, thereby creating a system of **social stratification**. People whose status sets are comprised of low-ranked ascribed statuses more than high-ranked achieved statuses are near the bottom of the social stratification system and are vulnerable to social stigma, prejudice, and discrimination. To date, there is no known society in which the status of female is consistently ranked higher than that of male.

A **role** is the expected behavior associated with a status. Roles are performed according to social **norms**, shared rules that guide people's behavior in specific situations. Social norms determine the privileges and responsibilities a status possesses. Females and males, mothers and fathers, and daughters and sons are all statuses with different normative role requirements attached to them. The status of mother calls for expected roles involving love, nurturing, self-

sacrifice, homemaking, and availability. The status of father calls for expected roles of breadwinner, disciplinarian, home technology expert, and ultimate decision maker in the household. Society allows for a degree of flexibility in acting out roles, but in times of rapid social change, acceptable role limits are often in a state of flux, producing uncertainty about what appropriate role behavior should be. People may experience *anomie*—normlessness—because traditional norms have changed but new ones have yet to be developed. For example, the most important twentieth-century trend impacting gender roles in the United Sates is the massive increase of women in the labor force. Although women from all demographic categories contributed to these numbers, mothers with preschool children led the trek from unpaid home-based roles to full-time paid employment roles. In acting out the roles of mother and employee, women are expected to be available at given times to satisfy the needs of family and workplace. Because workplaces and other social institutions have not been modified in meaningful ways to account for the new statuses women occupy, their range of acceptable role behavior is severely restricted. As a result, family and workplace roles inevitably collide and compete with one another for the mother– employee's time and attention.

As key components of social structure, statuses and roles allow us to organize our lives in consistent, predictable ways. In combination with established norms, they prescribe our behavior and ease interaction with people who occupy different social statuses, whether we know these people or not. Yet there is an insidious side to this kind of predictable world: When normative role behavior becomes too rigidly defined, our freedom of action is often compromised. These rigid definitions are associated with the development of **stereotypes**—oversimplified conceptions that people who occupy the same status group share certain traits they have in common. Although stereotypes can include positive traits, they most often consist of negative ones that are then used to justify discrimination against members of a given group. The statuses of male and female are often stereotyped according to the traits they are assumed to possess by virtue of their biological makeup. Women are stereotyped as flighty and unreliable because they possess uncontrollable raging hormones that fuel unpredictable emotional outbursts. The assignment of negative stereotypes can result in **sexism**, the belief that the status of female is inferior to the status of male. Males are not immune to the negative consequences of sexism, but females are more likely to experience it because the status sets they occupy are more stigmatized than those occupied by males. Compared to males, for example, females are more likely to occupy statuses inside and outside their homes that are associated with less power, less prestige, and less pay or no pay. Beliefs about inferiority due to biology are reinforced and then used to justify discrimination directed toward females.

Sexism is perpetuated by systems of **patriarchy**, male-dominated social structures leading to the oppression of women. Patriarchy, by definition, exhibits **androcentrism**—male-centered norms operating throughout all social institutions that become the standard to which all persons adhere. Sexism is reinforced when patriarchy and androcentrism combine to perpetuate beliefs that gender roles are biologically determined and therefore unalterable. For example, throughout the developing world, beliefs about a woman's biological unsuitability for other than domestic roles have restricted opportunities for education and literacy. These restrictions have made men the guardians of what has been written, disseminated, and interpreted regarding gender and the placement of men and women in society. Until recently, history has been recorded from an androcentric perspective that ignored the other half of humanity . This perspective has

perpetuated the belief that because patriarchy is an inevitable, inescapable fact of history, struggles for gender equality are doomed to failure. Women's gain in education is associated with the power to engage in research and scholarship that offers alternatives to prevailing androcentric views. We will see that such scholarship suggests that patriarchal systems may be universal, but are not inevitable, and that gender egalitarianism was a historical fact of life in some cultures and is a contemporary fact of life in others.

Topic 07: Sociological Perspectives on Gender Roles

Sociologists explain gender roles according to several *theoretical perspectives*, general ways of understanding social reality that guide the research process and provide a means for interpreting the data. In essence, a **theory** is an explanation. Formal theories consist of logically interrelated propositions that explain empirical events. For instance, data indicate that compared to men, women are more likely to be segregated in lower-paying jobs offering fewer opportunities for professional growth and advancement. Data also indicate that in the United States and cross-culturally, the domestic work of women performed in or near their homes is valued less than the work of men performed outside their homes. Because the issue of gender crosses many disciplines, explanations for these facts can be offered according to the theoretical perspectives of those disciplines. Biology, psychology, and anthropology all offer explanations for gender-related attitudes and behavior. Not only do these explanations differ between disciplines, but scientists within the same discipline also frequently offer competing explanations for the same data, and sociology is no exception. The best explanations account for the volume and complexities of the data. As research on gender issues accelerates and more sophisticated research tools are developed, it is becoming clearer that the best explanations are those that are interdisciplinary and that incorporate concepts related to diversity. Sociological theory will dominate this text's discussion, but we will also account for relevant interdisciplinary work and its attention to diversity issues.

Functionalism

Functionalism, also known as "structural functionalism," is a macro sociological perspective that is based on the premise that society is made up of interdependent parts, each of which contributes to the functioning of the whole society. Functionalists seek to identify the basic elements or parts of society and determine the functions these parts play in meeting basic social needs in predictable ways. Functionalists ask how any given element of social structure contributes to overall social stability, balance, and equilibrium. They assert that in the face of disruptive social change, society can be restored to equilibrium as long as built-in mechanisms of social control operate effectively and efficiently. Social control and stability are enhanced when people share beliefs and values in common. Functionalist emphasis on this value consensus is a major ingredient in virtually all of their interpretations related to social change. Values surrounding gender roles, marriage, and the family are central to functionalist assertions regarding social equilibrium.

Preindustrial Society Functionalists suggest that in preindustrial societies, social equilibrium was maintained by assigning different tasks to men and women. Given the hunting and gathering and subsistence farming activities of most preindustrial societies, role specialization according to

gender was considered a functional necessity. In their assigned hunting roles, men were frequently away from home for long periods of time and centered their lives on the responsibility of bringing food to the family. It was functional for women—more limited by pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing—to be assigned domestic roles near the home as gatherers and subsistence farmers and as caretakers of children and households. Children were needed to help with agricultural and domestic activities. Girls would continue these activities when boys reached the age when they were allowed to hunt with the older males. Once established, this functional division of labor was reproduced in societies throughout the globe. Women may have been farmers and food gatherers in their own right, but they were dependent on men for food and protection. Women's dependence on men in turn produced a pattern in which male activities and roles came to be more valued than female activities and roles.

Contemporary Society Similar principles apply to families in contemporary societies. Disruption is minimized, harmony is maximized, and families benefit when spouses assume complementary, specialized, nonoverlapping roles (Parsons and Bales, 1955; Parsons, 1966). When the husband–father takes the **instrumental role**, he is expected to maintain the physical integrity of the family by providing food and shelter and linking the family to the world outside the home. When the wife–mother takes the **expressive role**, she is expected to cement relationships and provide emotional support and nurturing activities that ensure a smoothly running household. If too much deviation from these roles occurs or there is too much overlap, the family system is propelled into a state of imbalance that can threaten the survival of the family unit. Advocates of functionalist assumptions argue, for instance, that gender role ambiguity regarding instrumental and expressive roles is a major factor in divorce (Hacker, 2003).

Critique It should be apparent that functionalism's emphasis on social equilibrium contributes to its image as an inherently conservative theoretical perspective. This image is reinforced by its difficulty in accounting for a variety of existing family systems and in not keeping pace with rapid social change moving families toward more egalitarian attitudes regarding gender roles.
Often to the dismay of the scientists who developed them, scientific theories and the research on which they are based are routinely employed to support a range of ideologies. Functionalism has been used as a justification for male dominance and gender stratification. In the United States, functional analyses were popularized in the 1950s when, weary of war, the nation latched onto a traditional and idealized version of family life and attempted to establish not just a prewar, but a pre- Depression, existence. Functionalism tends to support a white middle-class family model emphasizing the economic activities of the male head of household and domestic activities of his female subordinate. Women function outside the home only as a reserve labor force, such as when their labor is needed in wartime. This model does not apply to poor women and single parents who by necessity must work outside the home to maintain the household. It may not apply to African American women, who are less likely by choice to separate family and employment and who derive high levels of satisfaction from both of these roles.
Research also shows that specialization of household tasks by gender in contemporary families is more dysfunctional than functional. Women relegated to family roles that they see as restrictive, for example, are unhappier in their marriages and more likely to opt out of them. Despite tension associated with multiple roles and role overlap, couples report high levels of gratification, self-

esteem, status security, and personally enriched lives . Contemporary families simply do not fit functionalist models.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Topic: 08-10

Topic 08: Conflict Theory

With its assumptions about social order and social change, the macro sociological perspective of conflict theory, also referred to as social conflict theory, is in many ways a mirror image of functionalism. Unlike functionalists, who believe that social order is maintained through value consensus, conflict theorists assert that it is preserved involuntarily through the exercise of power that one social class holds over another.

Marx, Engels, and Social Class

Originating from the writings of Karl Marx (1818–1883), conflict theory is based on the assumption that society is a stage on which struggles for power and dominance are acted out. The struggles are largely between social classes competing for scarce resources, such as control over the means of production (land, factories, natural resources) and for a better distribution of all resources (money, food, material goods). Capitalism thrives on a class-based system that consolidates power in the hands of a few men of the ruling class (*bourgeoisie*) who own the farms and factories that workers (*proletariat*) depend on for their survival. The interest of the dominant class is to maintain its position of power over the subordinate class by extracting as much profit as possible from their work. Only when the workers recognize their common oppression and form a *class consciousness* can they unite and amass the resources necessary to seriously challenge the inequitable system in which they find themselves (Marx and Engels, 1964; Marx, 1967). Marxian beliefs were acted out historically in the revolution that enveloped Russia, Eastern Europe, and much of Eurasia, propelling the Soviets to power for a half a century of control over these regions.

Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), Marx's collaborator, applied these assumptions to the family and, by extension, to gender roles. He suggested that the master–slave or exploiter–exploited relationships occurring in broader society between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are translated to the household. Primitive societies were highly egalitarian because there were no surplus goods—and hence, no private property. People consumed what they produced. With the emergence of private property and the dawn of capitalistic institutions, Engels argued that a woman's domestic labor is "no longer counted beside the acquisition of the necessities of life by the man; the latter was everything, the former an unimportant extra." The household is an autocracy, and the supremacy of the husband is unquestioned. "The emancipation of woman will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims but an insignificant amount of her time" (Engels, 1942:41–43).

Topic 09: Contemporary conflict theory, Gender and the family

Contemporary Conflict Theory

Later conflict theorists refined original Marxian assertions to reflect contemporary patterns and make conflict theory more palatable to people who desire social change that moves in the direction of egalitarianism but not through the revolutionary means outlined by classical Marxism (Dahrendorf, 1959; Collins, 1975, 1979). Today conflict theorists largely assert that social structure is based on the dominance of some groups over others and that groups in society share common interests, whether its members are aware of it or not. Conflict is not based simply on class struggle and the tensions between owner and worker or employer and employee; it occurs on a much wider level and among almost all other groups. These include parents and children, husbands and wives, young and old, sick and healthy, people of color and whites, heterosexual and gay, females and males, and any other groups that can be differentiated as minority or majority according to the level of resources they possess. The list is infinite.

Gender and the Family

Conflict theory focuses on the social placement function of the family that deposits people at birth into families who possess varying degrees of economic resources. People fortunate enough to be deposited into wealthier families will work to preserve existing inequality and the power relations in the broader society because they clearly benefit from the overall power imbalance. Social class *endogamy* (marrying within the same class) and inheritance patterns ensure that property and wealth are kept in the hands of a few powerful families. Beliefs about inequality and the power imbalance become institutionalized—they are accepted and persist over time as legitimate by both the privileged and the oppressed—so the notion that family wealth is deserved and that those born into poor families remain poor because they lack talent and a work ethic is perpetuated. The structural conditions that sustain poverty are ignored. When social placement operates through patriarchal and patrilineal systems, wealth is further concentrated in the hands of males and further promotes female subservience, neglect, and poverty. Contemporary conflict theorists agree with Engels by suggesting that when women gain economic strength by also being wage earners, their power inside the home is strengthened and can lead to more egalitarian arrangements.

    The conflict perspective is evident in research demonstrating that household responsibilities have an effect on occupational location, work experience, and number of hours worked per week, all of which are linked to the gender gap in earnings. Those lacking resources to demand sharing the burden or purchasing substitutes will perform undesirable work disproportionately. Because household labor is unpaid and associated with lack of power, the homemaker (wife) takes on virtually all domestic chores (Lindsey, 1996a; Riley and Kiger, 1999). The more powerful spouse performs the least amount of household work.

Critique

Conflict theory has been criticized for its overemphasis on the economic basis of inequality and its assumption that there is inevitable competition between family members. It tends to dismiss the consensus among wives and husbands regarding task allocation. In addition, paid employment is not the panacea envisioned by Engels in overcoming male dominance. The gendered division of household labor does not translate to significant wage reductions for employed women outside the home or reduced in-home responsibilities (Tichenor, 2005;

Lincoln, 2008). In the former Soviet Union, women had the highest levels of paid employment in the world but retained more household responsibilities than comparable women in other countries and earned two-thirds of the average male income. In post-Communist Russia, there is no change in women's domestic work, but women now earn less than half of men's average earnings. Research unanimously concludes that even in those cultures where gender equity in the workplace is increasing, employed women globally take on a "second shift" of domestic work after returning home.

Topic 10: Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction, also called "the interactionist perspective," is at the heart of the sociological view of social interaction at the micro level. It is a highly contextual explanation for interaction, accounting for details of the setting itself. With attention to people's behavior in face-to-face social settings, symbolic interactionists explain social interaction as a dynamic process in which people continually modify their behavior as a result of the interaction itself. Herbert Blumer (1900–1987), who originated the term *symbolic interaction*, asserted that people do not respond directly to the world around them, but to the meaning they bring to it. Society, its institutions, and its social structure exist—that is, social reality is bestowed—only through human interaction (Blumer, 1969). Reality is what members agree to be reality.

People interact according to how they perceive a situation, how they understand the social encounter, and the meanings they bring to it. Another important step in the interaction process involves how they think other people who are part of the interaction also understand the encounter. Each person's definition of the situation influences others' definitions. To illustrate symbolic interaction's emphasis on the fluidity of behavior, I developed the concept of the **end point fallacy**, asserting that the negotiation of social reality is an ongoing process in which new definitions produce new behavior in a never-ending cycle. The end point fallacy is an excellent way to explain the inconsistencies between people's behavior as they move from setting to setting.

We have latitude in the way we act out our roles. Because the context of the interaction is a key determinant of role performance, the role performance that is appropriate in one context may be inappropriate in another. Cultural norms are modified whenever social interaction occurs because people bring their own definitions about appropriate behavior to the interaction. These definitions shape the way people see and experience their group lives in the daily worlds they occupy.

Social Constructionism

Social interaction is a process governed by norms that are largely shaped by culture. This process is referred to as the **social construction of reality**—the shaping of perception of reality by the subjective meanings brought to any experience or social interaction. Consistent with Herbert Blumer's view, every time social interaction occurs, people creatively "construct" their own understanding of it—whether "real" or not—and behave accordingly. Concepts such as gender, therefore, must be found in the meanings (constructs) people bring to them (Deutscher and

Lindsey, 2005:5). These constructions emanate from a variety of sources, such as our families, schools, and media and are embraced during socialization. Shared and defined by the larger society, these cultural norms offer general guidelines for role behavior that are selectively chosen and acted on in various social settings. Social constructionism is also consistent with the end point fallacy because the definitions are never completely rigid; they are always in a state of flux. Workplace definitions of gender appropriateness, for example, are modified when men and women replace one another in jobs that earlier would have been defined as "gender inappropriate." Today nursing and elementary school teaching for men and science and soldiering for women are more likely to be socially constructed as normative and gender-appropriate jobs.

Doing Gender This idea of what is appropriate or inappropriate for gender is further extended in ways consistent with both social constructionism and symbolic interaction. Concepts used to collectively categorize people—such as race, ethnicity, and gender—do not exist objectively, but emerge through a socially constructed process. Gender emerges not as an individual attribute, but as something that is "accomplished" in interaction with others. People, therefore, are **doing gender** (Fenster-maker and West, 2002). In "doing" gender, symbolic interaction takes its lead from Erving Goffman (1922–1982), who developed a **dramaturgy** approach to social interaction. Goffman maintained that the best way to understand social interaction is to consider it as an enactment in a theatrical performance. Like actors on a stage, we use strategies of impression management, providing information and cues to others that present us in a favorable light (Goffman, 1959, 1963, 1971).

Think about the heterosexual bar scene where men sit at the counter and operate from a script where they are expected to make the first move. If a woman is with friends, she must disengage herself if she is "selected" by the man. It is probable that the women drove separately. Data from television also illustrate these concepts. Prime-time television commonly depicts traditionally scripted sexual encounters according to gender and beliefs about heterosexuality that sustain power differences between men and women. Although there are many cultural variations, gender-scripted rules are laid out, negotiated, and acted upon in bars and meet-ups for singles and witnessed by TV viewers across the globe (Kim et al., 2007). Gender roles are structured by one set of scripts designed for males and another designed for females. Although each script permits a range of behavior options, the typical result is that gender labels promote a pattern of between-sex competition, rejection, and emotional segregation. This pattern is reinforced when we routinely refer to those of the *other* sex (gender) as the *opposite* sex. Men and women label each other as opposite to who they are and then behave according to that label. The behavior serves to separate rather than connect the genders.

In any social interaction, information about gender is presented. Gender scripts about heterosexuality sustain power differences not only between women and men, but also between players who may define themselves as gay, straight, bisexual, or transgendered. Gender-based *heteronormative* cultural scripts invade all sexual encounters. For these scripts to be acted on, however, "gender" must first be determined. "Determining gender" is a social process accomplished by "authenticating another person's gender identity" (Westbrook and Schilt, 2014:33). The process begins under a heteronormative umbrella (social constructionism), but it may be transgressed after all parties in the interaction "agree" on who everyone "is" and what is

expected to occur (symbolic interaction). Men in all sexual categories are evaluated by other men (and women) according to degree in which they adhere to masculinity norms. These evaluations set up powerful differentials based on beliefs about gender. Determining gender challenges as well as suggests the rigidity of gender norms.

Doing Difference Research on men and women in various social networks—formed at school, work, and in volunteer activities—further illustrates this process. From early childhood, these groups are usually gender segregated. Gendered subcultures emerge that strengthen the perceptions of gender differences and erode the common ground on which intimate, status-equal friendships between the genders are formed. Differences rather than similarities are more likely to be noticed, defined, and acted on. When cross-gender social interaction occurs, such as in the workplace, men and women are not likely to hold statuses with similar levels of power and prestige. Once the genders are socially constructed as different, it is easier for those with more power (men) to justify inequality toward those with less power (women). Social difference is constructed into social privilege (Fenstermaker and West, 2002).

On the other hand, research on social dancing and its highly sexualized "grinding" form demonstrates ways females challenge scripts on the dance floor. In hip-hop clubs, young women of color set the dance stage for negotiating sexual and emotional encounters (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2007). These women challenge "hyper-masculine" privilege by determining the form of dance, by taking the lead, by dancing with women, and by rejecting (or accepting) sexual groping by male partners. Other data suggest that young women of all races use social dance as escapism, fantasy, and compensatory sexuality, especially when dancing with acquaintances rather than friends.

> You buy into this scenario that … we're all willing to pretend in this one place … that we're allowed to do things with each other that maybe you would think about doing off of first glance anyway…. [I]t's kind of like a … simulated closeness with people. (Hutt, 2008:12)

Gendered scripts invade their dance space even as they transgress its boundaries.

Critique Symbolic interaction's highly contextualized doing gender approach needs to account for processes that often limit choice of action and prompt people to engage in gendered behavior that counters what they would prefer to do. This focus may undermine fluidity to recast gender norms in ways that benefit both men and women. Divorce allows for the "redoing" of gender— housework, parenting, and breadwinning roles are repudiated (Walzer, 2008). Traditional gender accountability may no longer apply in the post-divorce lives of former spouses and children.

Cultural norms may be in flux at the micro level of social interaction, but they remain a significant structural force on behavior. In some cultures, for example, women and men are dictated by both law and custom to engage in certain occupations, enter into marriage with people they would not choose on their own, and be restricted from attending school. Larger social structures also operate at the family level to explain family dynamics. Men and women interact as individual family members, and also according to other roles they play in society and the prestige associated with those roles. For example, a wealthy white man who holds a powerful position in a corporation does not dissolve those roles when he walks into his home. They shape his life at home, in the workplace, and in the other social institutions in which he takes part. Race, class, and gender offer a range of privileges bestowed by the broader society that also

create a power base in his home. Power and privilege can result in a patriarchal family regardless of the couple's desire for a more egalitarian arrangement.

<div align="right">**Lecture 04**</div>

BRANCHES OF FEMINISM

Topic: 11-14

Topic 11: Sex versus Gender

As gender issues become more mainstreamed in scientific research and media reports, confusion associated with the terms *sex* and *gender* has decreased. In sociology, these terms are now fairly standardized to refer to different content areas. **Sex** refers to the biological characteristics distinguishing male and female. This definition emphasizes male and female differences in chromosomes, anatomy, hormones, reproductive systems, and other physiological components. **Gender** refers to those social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females through particular social contexts. Sex makes us male or female; gender makes us masculine or feminine. Sex is an ascribed status because a person is born with it, but gender is an achieved status because it must be learned.

This relatively simple distinction masks a number of problems associated with its usage. It implies that all people can be conveniently placed into unambiguous either-or categories. Certainly the ascribed status of sex is less likely to be altered than the achieved status of gender. Some people believe, however, that they were born with the "wrong" body and are willing to undergo major surgery to make their gender identity consistent with their biological sex. **Sexual orientation**, the preference for sexual partners of one gender (sex) or the other, also varies. People who experience sexual pleasure with members of their own sex are likely to consider themselves masculine or feminine according to gender norms. Others are born with ambiguous sex characteristics and may be assigned one sex at birth but develop a different identity related to gender. Some cultures allow people to move freely between genders, regardless of their biological sex.

From a sociological perspective, this text is concerned with gender and how it is learned, how it changes over time, and how it varies between and within cultures. Gender can be viewed on a continuum of characteristics demonstrated by a person regardless of the person's biological sex. Adding the concept of role to either sex or gender may increase confusion in terminology. When the sociological concept of role is combined with the biological concept of sex, there is often misunderstanding about what content areas are subsumed under the resultant *sex role* label. Usage has become standardized, however, and most sociologists now employ *gender role* rather than *sex role* in their writing. **Gender roles**, therefore, are the expected attitudes and behaviors a society associates with each sex. This definition places gender squarely in the sociocultural context.

Topic 12: Key concepts: Gender roles, gender identity, and gender stereotypes

Gender Role

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Gender Identity

Gender identity is defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). This concept is intimately related to the concept of gender role, which is defined as the outward manifestations of personality that reflect the gender identity. Gender identity, in nearly all instances, is self-identified, as a result of a combination of inherent and extrinsic or environmental factors; gender role, on the other hand, is manifested within society by observable factors such as behavior and appearance. For example, if a person considers himself a male and is most comfortable referring to his personal gender in masculine terms, then his gender identity is male. However, his gender role is male only if he demonstrates typically male characteristics in behavior, dress, and/or mannerisms.

Gender Stereotypes

Preconceived ideas whereby females and males are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their gender. Gender stereotyping can limit the development of the natural talents and abilities of girls and boys, women and men, as well as their educational and professional experiences and life opportunities in general. Stereotypes about women both result from, and are the cause of, deeply engrained attitudes, values, norms and prejudices against women. They are used to justify and maintain the historical relations of power of men over women as well as sexist attitudes that hold back the advancement of women.

Topic 13: Gender Equity and Gender Equality

Gender Equity

Gender Equity is the process of allocating resources, programs, and decision making fairly to both males and females without any discrimination on the basis of sex…and addressing any imbalances in the benefits available to males and females.

Gender Equity is the process of allocating resources, programs and decision-making fairly to both males and females. This requires ensuring that everyone has access to a full range of opportunities to achieve the social, psychological and physical benefits that come from participating and leading in sport and physical activity. It does not necessarily mean making the same programs and facilities available to both males and females. Gender equity requires that girls and women be provided with a full range of activity and program choices that meet their needs, interests and experiences. Therefore, some activities may be the same as those offered to boys and men, some may be altered, and some may be altogether different. Human rights legislation, including the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has affirmed the

principles of equity while making provisions for affirmative action programs to eliminate disadvantages.

Gender Equality

Gender equality is achieved when women and men enjoy the same rights and opportunities across all sectors of society, including economic participation and decision-making, and when the different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men are equally valued and favoured.

> Gender equality, equality between men and women, entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities. — ABC Of Women Worker's Rights And Gender Equality, ILO, 2000. p. 48.

Gender equality is the goal, while gender neutrality and gender equity are practices and ways of thinking that help in achieving the goal. Gender parity, which is used to measure gender balance in a given situation, can aid in achieving gender equality but is not the goal in and of itself. Gender equality is more than equal representation, it is strongly tied to women's rights, and often requires policy changes. As of 2017, the global movement for gender equality has not incorporated the proposition of genders besides women and men, or gender identities outside of the gender binary.

Gender Equity versus Equality

"Gender equality, equality between men and women…does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they were born male or female"…… United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESDOC).

"Gender equity means fairness of treatment for men and women according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations, and opportunities." United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESDOC).

Issues of gender equity and equality may arise in the society at large as well as the workplace.

Topic 14: Gender Discrimination, Gender Bias, Gender Stratification

Gender discrimination

Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on the basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Gender Bias

Gender bias is behavior that shows favoritism toward one gender over another. Most often, gender bias is the act of favoring men and/or boys over women and/or girls. However, this is not always the case. In order to define gender bias completely, we first must make a distinction between the terms gender and sex. When we use the term gender, we mean socially constructed expectations and roles for women and men, for girls and boys. Specifically, girls and women are expected to demonstrate feminine behavior, and boys and men are expected to act masculine. By sex, we mean biological differences assigned to females and males in order to distinguish between the two. The biological characteristics assigned to females and males often consist of primary or secondary sex characteristics.

Gender stratification

Gender stratification refers to the social ranking, where men typically inhabit higher statuses than women. Often the terms gender inequality and gender stratification are used interchangeably. There are a variety of approaches to the study of gender stratification. Most of the research in this area focuses on differences between men's and women's life circumstances, broadly defined. Scholarly debates focus on which dimensions of inequalities are most relevant and the level at which inequalities are generated and maintained (i.e., individual, couple, family, group, or societal level).

GENDER STUDIES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Topic: 15-18

Topic 15: The Feminist Movement

The term feminism can be used to describe a political, cultural or economic movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women. Feminism involves political and sociological theories and philosophies concerned with issues of gender difference, as well as a movement that advocates gender equality for women and campaigns for women's rights and interests. Although the terms "feminism" and "feminist" did not gain widespread use until the 1970s, they were already being used in the public parlance much earlier; for instance, Katherine Hepburn speaks of the "feminist movement" in the 1942 film Woman of the Year.

The Feminist movement emerged from women's struggle for:

 i. Education for all

 ii. Women's political and other rights.

 iii. Women's independence and financial decision making .

The feminists advocate that:

- Change is important.

- All human traits are found in all humans .

- Everyone should have equal rights and gender stratification should be eliminated.

- All forms of violence against women need to be curbed and brought to an end.

- Sexual autonomy is important.

According to Maggie Humm and Rebecca Walker, the history of feminism can be divided into three waves. The first feminist wave was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the second was in the 1960s and 1970s, and the third extends from the 1990s to the present. Feminist theory emerged from these feminist movements. It is manifest in a variety of disciplines such as feminist geography, feminist history and feminist literary criticism.

Feminism has altered predominant perspectives in a wide range of areas within Western society, ranging from culture to law. Feminist activists have campaigned for women's legal rights (rights of contract, property rights, voting rights); for women's right to bodily integrity and autonomy, for abortion rights, and for reproductive rights (including access to contraception and quality prenatal care); for protection of women and girls from domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape;for workplace rights, including maternity leave and equal pay; against misogyny; and against other forms of gender-specific discrimination against women.

During much of its history, most feminist movements and theories had leaders who were predominantly middle-class white women from Western Europe and North America. However, at least since Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech to American feminists, women of other races have proposed alternative feminisms. This trend accelerated in the 1960s with the Civil Rights movement in the United States and the collapse of European colonialism in Africa, the Caribbean, parts of Latin America and Southeast Asia. Since that time, women in former European colonies and the Third World have proposed "Post-colonial" and "Third World" feminisms. Some Postcolonial Feminists, such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty, are critical of Western feminism for being ethnocentric. Black feminists, such as Angela Davis and Alice Walker, share this view.

History

Simone de Beauvoir wrote that "the first time we see a woman take up her pen in defense of her sex" was Christine de Pizan who wrote Epitre au Dieu d'Amour (Epistle to the God of Love) in the 15th century. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa and Modesta di Pozzo di Forzi worked in the 16th century. Marie Le Jars de Gournay, Anne Bradstreet and Francois Poullain de la Barre wrote during the 17th.

Feminists and scholars have divided the movement's history into three "waves". The first wave refers mainly to women's suffrage movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (mainly concerned with women's right to vote). The second wave refers to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement beginning in the 1960s (which campaigned for legal and social rights for women). The third wave refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to the perceived failures of, second-wave feminism, beginning in the 1990s.

Topic 16: Three waves of Feminism

First wave

First-wave feminism refers to an extended period of feminist activity during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in the United Kingdom and the United States. Originally it focused on the promotion of equal contract and property rights for women and the opposition to chattel marriage and ownership of married women (and their children) by their husbands. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, activism focused primarily on gaining political power, particularly the right of women's suffrage. Yet, feminists such as Voltairine de Cleyre and Margaret Sanger were still active in campaigning for women's sexual, reproductive, and economic rights at this time. In 1854, Florence Nightingale established female nurses as adjuncts to the military.

In Britain the Suffragettes and, possibly more effectively, the Suffragists campaigned for the women's vote. In 1918 the Representation of the People Act 1918 was passed granting the vote to women over the age of 30 who owned houses. In 1928 this was extended to all women over twenty-one. In the United States, leaders of this movement included Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony, who each campaigned for the abolition of slavery prior to championing women's right to vote; all were strongly influenced by Quaker

thought. American first-wave feminism involved a wide range of women. Some, such as Frances Willard, belonged to conservative Christian groups such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Others, such as Matilda Joslyn Gage, were more radical, and expressed themselves within the National Woman Suffrage Association or individually. American first-wave feminism is considered to have ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1919), granting women the right to vote in all states.

The term first wave was coined retrospectively after the term second-wave feminism began to be used to describe a newer feminist movement that focused as much on fighting social and cultural inequalities as political inequalities.

Second wave

Second-wave feminism refers to the period of activity in the early 1960s and lasting through the late 1980s. The scholar Imelda Whelehan suggests that the second wave was a continuation of the earlier phase of feminism involving the suffragettes in the UK and USA. Second-wave feminism has continued to exist since that time and coexists with what is termed third-wave feminism. The scholar Estelle Freedman compares first and second-wave feminism saying that the first wave focused on rights such as suffrage, whereas the second wave was largely concerned with other issues of equality, such as ending discrimination.

The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political" which became synonymous with the second wave. Second-wave feminists saw women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized and as reflecting sexist power structures.

Legal victories during Second Wave Feminism

- In 1963, John F. Kennedy formulated presidential commission on the status of women.

- Many Acts were approved.

- In 1963, Equal Pay Act; in 1964, Civil Right Act; in 1972, Women Education Equity Act; in 1974, Equal Credit Opportunity Act; in 1978, Pregnancy Discrimination Act.

By this time, women in most countries had been granted the right to franchise and to contest election for public office. They were working for equality, both economic and social.

Topic 17: Third wave of Feminism

Third-wave feminism began in the early 1990s, arising as a response to perceived failures of the second wave and also as a response to the backlash against initiatives and movements created by the second wave. Third-wave feminism seeks to challenge or avoid what it deems the second wave's essentialist definitions of femininity, which (according to them) over-emphasize the experiences of upper middle-class white women.

A post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality is central to much of the third wave's ideology. Third-wave feminists often focus on "micro-politics" and challenge the second wave's paradigm as to what is, or is not, good for females. The third wave has its origins in the mid-

1980s. Feminist leaders rooted in the second wave like Gloria Anzaldua, bell hooks, Chela Sandoval, Cherrie Moraga, Audre Lorde, Maxine Hong Kingston, and many other black feminists, sought to negotiate a space within feminist thought for consideration of race-related subjectivities.

Third-wave feminism also contains internal debates between difference feminists such as the psychologist Carol Gilligan (who believes that there are important differences between the sexes) and those who believe that there are no inherent differences between the sexes and contend that gender roles are due to social conditioning.

Victories and Achievements

- Internationally, many achievements made.

- 1992, year of women.

- 1992, four women entered US Senate.

- 1993, family and medical leave act passed.

- US, 1994, the Act for violence against women was passed.

- 1995, United Nation's fourth world conference on women held in Beijing.

Significant developments had been taking place in Pakistan too.

Topic 18: Historical development of Women's Movement

A Brief History of the Feminist Struggle

Christine de Pizan:Generally considered the first feminist writer. Wrote in the 14th and 15th century and was known as the first full time female writer.In the 17th and 18th century, women propagated the significance of women's education Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Marquis de Condorcet : worked on women's education.The earlier works laid foundation for women's struggle in various domains.

- 1785: The first scientific Society for Women established in Middleberg, Dutch, Republic.
- Women's journal's writing on science and other similar issues became popular.
- During the French Revolution the two first truly feminist pieces of literature or documents were written.
- 1791: "Declaration of the Rights of Women and the Female Citizen" developed by Olympe Gouges.
- The "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789) were paraphrased.

It was the French revolution's central document foundation Stone for Women Suffrage Movement

- 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman". She called for full participation of women in the rights and duties of citizenship. She said that

women were fragile and dependant upon men as a result of the way the society operates. She advocated equality of education and opportunity between men and women. Intellectual championship was the ideal for marriage. The modern feminist movement emerged from the west. A number of men as well as women contributed to the cause of improving women's status in the society. The political, economic, and social spheres were focused upon. All societies were prceived, by the feminists and their sympathizers, as patriarchal, male dominated, where women were generally oppressed and home bound. Women were denied the right to franchise, to go for education, and profession. Woman was treated as a second rate citizen with limited or no ability, little or lower grade intelligence and skill that could not be trusted upon.

- 19th century Reform Movement was a landmark in the history of women liberation.

- 1848: New York: The first Women's Rights Convention was held.

J .S. Mill wrote "The Subjection of Women" in the mid 1800s. He was influenced by his wife Harriet Taylor. Emmeline Pankhurst formed WSPU/ Women's Social & Political Union. She was one of the prominent founders of the suffragette movement. She and her daughters founded the Women's social and political union with the motto "Votes for Women". She struggled for exposing the institutional sexism in the British society. A reform movement for attaining the goal of suffrage to women The movement had political and social aims.Suffragists: supporters and leaders of the suffrage movement

- Suffragettes: Female supporters of the movement.

- 1776: New Jersey: first women suffrage. People were called people, not men.

- 1807: The right was rescinded.

- 1838: The Pitcairn Islands: Women were allowed suffrage in this small British Colony.

- 1861   South Australia: Restricted women's suffrage.

- 1871: The Paris Commune allowed the right that was later cancelled

- 1944:   President de Gaulle reinstated the right.

- 1893, New Zealand; 1894:South Australia; 1906,Finland;

- 1907: Finland had the world's first female member of parliament.

- Finland had 19 women members of parliament after the election

- 1913, Norway and Denmark; 1917,Soviet Union and Canada.

- Quebec permitted suffrage in 1940.

- 1918, All German and Polish women, and British women above 30 years of age got the right.

- 1920: remaining American states followed.

- 1928: All British women were granted suffrage

- 1926: Women suffrage in Turkey.

- 1984: Liechtenstein: to women.

- Pakistani women had the right in 1947.

Today, women have the right to franchise almost everywhere in the world. The struggle of earlier   men and women has provided stability and an elevated status to the women of today.

BRANCHES OF FEMINISM

Topic: 19-21

Feminist theory and its attention to intersectionality and diversity offer a sound framework for organizations working to change women's inferior social position and the social, political, and economic discrimination that perpetuates it. Many of these organizations come together in networks under the umbrella of **feminism**, an inclusive worldwide movement to end sexism and sexist oppression by empowering women. Forty years ago the women's movement faltered because it did not realistically account for how intersecting categories of oppression can divide women. With intersectionality as a foundation efforts of feminist networks across the globe, often in partnership with the United Nations and the women's conferences they organized, many of these divides have been bridged

Topic 19: Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminism, also called "egalitarian or mainstream feminism," is based on the simple proposition that all people are created equal and should not be denied equality of opportunity because of gender. Because both genders benefit by the elimination of sexism, men are integrated into its ranks. Liberal feminism is based on Enlightenment beliefs of rationality, education, and the natural rights that extend to all men and women. This is articulated in John Stuart Mill's (1869/2002) *The Subjection of Women*, with his statement that "what is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced oppression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others." Women can work together within a pluralistic system and mobilize their constituents to effect positive and productive social change. Demands will be met if mobilization is effective and pressure is efficiently wielded (Deckard, 1983:463). Liberal feminists believe society does not have to be completely restructured to achieve empowerment for women and to incorporate women into meaningful and equitable roles. This view tends to be adopted by professional middle-class women who place a high value on education and achievement. These women are likely to have the economic resources to better compete with men for desirable social positions and employment opportunities. Liberal feminism thus appeals to "mainstream" women who have no disagreement with the overall structure of the present social system, only that it should be nonsexist. The National Organization for Women is the formal group representing liberal feminist ideas with a statement of purpose calling for an end to restrictive gender roles that serve to diminish opportunities for both women and men.

Topic 20: Cultural Feminism, Socialist Feminism

Cultural Feminism

To serve women's empowerment, cultural feminism seeks to reappropriate socially undervalued qualities associated with women's roles, such as cooperation, caring, nurturing, openness, and connectedness to others. This process of revaluing roles that are often ignored or, at worst, maligned is consistent with a social constructionist theoretical perspective. The issue of how much women are alike as a "group" and how much they are different from men as a "group" is highlighted in this emphasis. Although criticized for implying that biology is the root of

differences between men and women, cultural feminism's consistency with social constructionism belies this view. The debate around the "degree of gender difference or similarity" also suggests that cultural feminism is incorporated in all feminisms at some level. Liberal feminists, however, are more likely to be aligned with these principles than those in other feminist categories.

Socialist Feminism

Also referred to as "Marxist feminism," socialist feminism generally adopts the Marx–Engels model described earlier that links the inferior position of women to class-based capitalism and its alignment with the patriarchal family in capitalistic societies. Socialist feminism argues that sexism and capitalism are mutually supportive. The unpaid labor of women in the home and their paid labor in a reserve labor force simultaneously serve patriarchy capitalism. Many socialist feminists—both men and women—also believe that economic and emotional dependence go hand in hand. Fearful of the loss of economic security, a husband's power over his wife is absolute. Repudiating capitalism, socialist principles need to be adapted to both home and workplace. Sexism and economic oppression are mutually reinforcing, so a socialist revolutionary agenda is needed to change both.

Socialist feminism appeals to working-class women and those who feel disenfranchised from the presumed economic opportunities in capitalism. It has made more headway in Latin America and has served as a powerful rallying point for women in other developing nations. It is ironic that its most vivid expression occurred in the former Soviet Union, where women continued to carry the heavy burden of unpaid household labor while also functioning in the paid labor force. Today socialist feminists support and work in the Occupy Movement in its efforts to draw global attention to oppression related to both gender and class.

Although socialist feminism is tied to Marxist theory, there are key differences between the two. Whereas Marxist theory focuses on property and economic conditions to build an ideology, socialist feminism focuses on sexuality and gender. Men and women retain interest in their own gender group, so it is unclear whether the socialism being struggled for is the same for both men and women. Some argue, for example, that American socialist feminism has no loyalty to any regime that defines itself as Marxist (Gordon, 2013). A humanistic socialist approach to feminism requires consensus on how the new society would be structured. Men would voluntarily renounce their privileges as men.

Topic 21: Radical Feminism, Theological Feminism and Multiculturalism

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is said to have emerged when women who were working with men in the civil rights and anti–Vietnam War movements were not allowed to present their positions on the causes they were engaged in. These women became aware of their own oppression by the treatment they received from their male cohorts, who insulted and ridiculed them for their views. The second wave of feminism leading to the rebirth of the women's movement in the United States in the twentieth century may be traced to the women who found themselves derided and ignored by the people they believed to be their allies; history repeated itself. The roots of American feminism in the nineteenth century are traced to the women who were denied

expression of their views by the men they worked with in the abolitionist (antislavery) movement. The condescending attitudes of the men of that era provided the catalyst for women to recognize gender-based oppression and then organize to challenge it. Radical feminists believe that sexism is at the core of patriarchal society and that all social institutions reflect it. Whereas liberal feminists focus on the workplace and legal changes, radical feminists focus on the patriarchal family as the key site of domination and oppression (Shelton and Agger, 1993). They believe that because social institutions are so intertwined, it is virtually impossible to attack sexism in any meaningful way. Women's oppression stems from male domination; if men are the problem, neither capitalism nor socialism nor any other male-dominated system will solve the problem. Therefore, women must create separate institutions that are women centered—those that rely on women rather than men. Radical feminists would agree with cultural feminists that women may choose a variety of paths that are more or less different but that women as a group are different from men. They, too, envision a society where the female virtues of nurturance, sharing, and intuition will dominate, but in a woman-identified world.

Acknowledging the impossibility of removing sexism from all institutions, radical feminists work at local levels and in their neighborhoods to develop profit and not-for-profit institutions that are operated solely by women to serve other women, such as small businesses, day care facilities, counseling centers, and safe houses for women escaping domestic violence.

Reflecting more overall diversity than any of the other feminisms, especially related to race and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender identities, these localized institutions vary considerably in structure, philosophy, and strategies to attain their goals. The blueprint for the women-identified society they envision is stamped on their activities that are much more individualized than in other feminist categories. Radical feminism's disparate elements coalesce with the conviction that male supremacy and female oppression define and structure all of society.

Theological Feminism

Looking into the traditions, practices, writings, and theologies of different religions from a feminist perspective. Feminist theologians analyze the situation of women in church (and other religious institutions) and society….. in the historical perspective.

Multicultural Feminism

The attention to diversity at the macro level is evident among feminists who organize around multicultural and global issues. These feminisms are interwoven, focusing on the intersection of gender with race, class, and oppressions tracked to colonization and exploitation of women, primarily those in the developing world. Multicultural feminism focuses on the specific cultural elements and historical conditions that serve to maintain women's oppression. In Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, specific patterns of punishment and sexual enslavement are devised for women who oppose oppressive regimes. (Global feminism works to empower South Asian and Middle Eastern women who are restricted from schooling, health care, and paid employment simply because they are women.)

FEMINISM AND FEMINISM MOVEMENTS

Topic :22-27

Topic 22: Global Feminism, Ecofeminism, and other variations

Global Feminism

Global feminism is a movement of people working for change across national boundaries. The world is interdependent and becoming more so. Global feminism contends that no woman is free until the conditions that oppress women worldwide are eliminated (Bunch, 1993:249).

In efforts to empower women, these feminisms disparage cultural relativism when it is used to justify violation of human rights, such as restricting a girl's access to education on religious grounds. Through global strategizing, they advocate for immigrant women in economically developed nations who cannot access health care for their families or employment for themselves. The well-being of *all* women is addressed. The women who came together for the United Nations Conferences on Women are representative of these views.

Ecofeminism

Some women are drawn to feminism by environmental activism. These women are the catalysts of ecofeminism, a newer branch of feminism. Ecofeminism connects the degradation and oppression of women with the degradation of the ecosystem. Drawing on earth-based spiritual imagery, ecofeminism suggests that the world's religions have an ethical responsibility to challenge a patriarchal system of corporate globalization that is deepening the impoverishment of the earth and its people. In this sense, ecofeminists and socialist feminists share the understanding that unleashed, unregulated global capital dependent on women's labor is held responsible for the plight of women and the plight of the planet. Healing the planet requires political action emphasizing equality and social justice globally (Ruether, 2005; Salleh, 2009). With its holistic viewpoint and emphasis on interdependence in all of its forms, ecofeminism is also compatible with global feminism.

Emerging Feminisms

All feminisms pay attention to the intersection of gender with other social categories relevant to their agendas. The categories discussed here may best be viewed as umbrellas with spokes linked to many emerging subsets and shifting layers. Cultural feminism may host Latina and Asian feminisms, focusing on the family strength and resilience in adversity attributed to women's roles. Native American feminism and indigenous feminism may be aligned with the holistic principles explicitly linked to ecofeminism. Spawned by the Internet technological revolution, cyberfeminism creates, structures, and owns the virtual worlds in the women-identified societies envisioned by radical feminists. They form virtual kinships and connect with one another, literally, in styles that cultural feminists celebrate (Blair et al., 2009). Also capitalizing on Internet image technology, "Guerrilla Girls" are a group of radical feminist pop artists who don guerrilla masks ("go ape with us") to highlight sexism and racism in the art world. With "in your

face" website images, like other feminists, they are "re-inventing the f-word" to publicize their ideas (Guerrilla Girls, 2014). These "emerging" feminisms are expanding diversity and represent feminisms' next generations. All of these varieties of feminists negotiate how gender is constructed according to their own needs and priorities. Different feminisms result from these constructions.

Topic 23: Some earlier feminist writers

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797)

Before The Feminine Mystique, there was A Vindication of the Rights of Women. Written in 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft's book is widely considered to be one of the earliest works of feminist philosophy. In it, she champions educating women and argues that the two sexes deserve equal access to fundamental rights. Wollstonecraft argues that women are seen as inferior to men only because they have been denied sufficient education.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902)

American social activist and suffragist leading role in the American women suffrage movement. Wrote a number of pamphlets and articles about women's movement and suffrage. Author of books. Three volumes of History of Woman Suffrage written with colleagues.

Alice Stone Blackwell (1857- 1950)

Feminist, human rights advocate, and suffragist Chief Editor of the leading American women's rights paper. Women's Journal.

Virginia Woolf (1882- 1941)

 English writer. One of the first writers who brought a woman's inner life to the forefront. Also one of the only women who noted that misogyny and militarism tend to go together. Wrote in a variety of   genres. Two famous books; Mrs. Dalloway and A Room of One's Own.

Topic 24: Feminist writers of the 20th century

Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986)

Simone de Beauvoir helped renew feminist discussion in 1949 with her book The Second Sex. The tome — it's 800 pages — seeks to dissect the history of women's oppression (the length seems perfectly justifiable now, doesn't it). The book is pure feminist philosophy, and the points de Beauvoir raises remain relevant even today. She argues that women's oppression stems from the fact that men view women as the Other, thus effectively placing themselves in opposition to women and viewing them as something more akin to the subject rather than the self.

Betty Friedan (1921-2006)

American activist and feminist writer. Wrote The Feminine Mystique in 1963. Cofounded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.

Sylvia Plath (1932-1963)

American short story writer, novelist, poet. Wrote on bold issues. The Bell Jar; a mix of novel and autobiography. She also highlighted the issues experienced by 1950s working women. She believed that women were restricted to lower level jobs like secretarial roles whereas they were actually capable enough to be writers and editors.

Audre Lorde (1934-1992)

American writer, poet, civil rights activist, womanist, and feminist. A radical feminist and civil rights activist.Effective expressive poetry. Challenged racism.The poetry of Audre Lorde speaks volumes in just a few lines. A radical feminist and member of the LGBT community, Lorde was also a civil rights activist whose expressive poetry beautifully communicated her anger at the civil and social injustices happening around her. At one point in her career, Lorde turned her attention to challenging racism in the feminist movement. In Sister Outsider, Lorde examines how race left some women on the outside of the feminist movement — not because women found themselves to be different, but because they refused to acknowledge those differences and how they defined our individual experiences.

Gloria Steinem (1934-)

American social and political activist, journalist. Her article, After Black Power, Women's Liberation (1969) made her most famous as a feminist. She cofounded Women's Media Center with colleagues (2005) to make women powerful and prominent in media.

Judith Butler (1956-)

American philosopher, academic, and gender theorist Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1990). Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex (1993).

Some other significant names

Angela Carter (1940-1992)

Though many Americans might not have heard of her, across the pond she's one of the most famous feminist writers of the 20th century. Though she was mostly known for her fantastic fiction work, the truth is that all of Angela Carter's work had strong feminist elements to them — especially her hit, The Bloody Chamber. Much of Carter's works focused on sex, sexuality, and the way that people treated women who were openly sexual. As one of the first women to actually buck the "pure and chaste" veneer that society expects of girls, Angela Carter was a major trailblazer in her own feminist right.

Monique Wittig 1935-2003)

Hardcore feminists already know about Monique Wittig. She's actually one of the first female writers to focus exclusively on overcoming the need for gender roles — and regularly talked about the problems that come with the life women are supposed to live with male partners. She was the woman who coined the term the "heterosexual contract," and thus, definitely deserves a place on any list of the most famous feminist writers of the 20th century. Monique Wittig was

very much ahead of her time — and to a point, still might be too edgy for some. If you want to get a better idea of her platforms, reading The Straight Mind and other essays can be a good way to go about it.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

OK, so you've probably already heard of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The Nigerian feminist author skyrocketed to pop culture fame after Beyonce sampled her 2013 TED talk in her hit song Flawless. I recommend reading all five of Adichie's novels, as her writing is eloquent and powerful. That being said, read We Should All Be Feminists first. The book is an extension of Adichie's TED talk and delves decisively into how gender expectations have had a detrimental affect on our society. Adichie also argues that modern-day feminism should promote inclusion and awareness.

Mona Eltahawy

Egyptian-American journalist Mona Eltahawy is an outspoken advocate for women's rights in the Arab world, and has spoken candidly about whether one can be both a feminist and a practicing Muslim. Her book Headscarves and Hymens hit bookstore shelves in 2015, and focuses on the two revolutions women in the Middle East have been fighting since the Arab Spring.

Headscarves and Hymens by Mona Eltahawy,

Middle Eastern women are in a unique position, according to Eltahawy. They took to the streets to protest oppressive regimes alongside their male compatriots in 2010, but have also been simultaneously waging war on another front. Along with fighting oppressive governments, women in the Middle East are also battling sexism and repression long found in the region's political and economic systems.

Topic 25: Women's movement in pre partition Indo - Pakistan sub-continent

Three phases:

- Colonialism
- Education Reform Movement
- Rise of Anti-colonial Nationalist Movements in India

Colonialism

British colonialism in India did not have uniform effects. On the one hand, it brought Indians face to face with alternative ways of conceptualizing the world, different political and economic arrangements, and new visions of reality and knowledge based on science and a secular ethos. On the other, the British government in India reinforced traditional cultures and religions by maintaining religious law in the personal sphere while secularizing laws in the public one. The British dual policy of ushering in modernity and reinforcing tradition was evident in the realm of law. By 1790, the system of law in India was anglicized but Personal Laws of each of the religions of India were retained and continued to govern relations between men and women.

Customary and religious law that subordinated women was left untouched. The British law in fact deprived women of their right to inheritance recognized even in religious law. Nonetheless, the Muslim Personal Law of 1937 recognized the right of Muslim women to inherit property, with the exception of agricultural land due to an understanding reached between the large landowners in the Punjab and the British administration. The public/private divide was thus maintained and strengthened.

Education Reform Movement

The British replaced the traditional educational systems prevalent in India with their own, not with the idea of liberating the local population from the shackles of feudal and traditional arrangements; rather the express purpose was to create a class of loyal Indians schooled in British traditions who would owe their position in society to the colonial intervention. Unsurprisingly, there was resistance against as well as accommodation with the colonial administration in the sense that certain social classes in India eagerly espoused an English education and English political ideas, while others resisted it as an imposition of an alien and antagonistic culture. The Muslims of India were caught between the desire to retain a sense of continuity with the past and tradition, while simultaneously acquiring modern knowledge in order to compete in the re-ordered world of politics, commerce and the economy. The contradictory imperatives of preservation of the old order, while stepping reluctantly into the new one, were reconciled by a strict public/private division in which women would guard the symbolic frontiers of identity by maintaining tradition and culture, and the men would enter the fields of politics and commerce where transactions occurred with the colonial state and competing religious communities.

This tendency was clearly visible in the education reform movements of the time. Modernist leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan fervently supported the education of Muslim males of the Ashrafiya (Muslim gentry) while warning against the polluting effects of a secular western education upon Muslim women. For the latter, a traditional education, steeped in religious and domestic values, was considered appropriate. Similarly, while Nazeer Ahmad favored the education of women in secular subjects to make them rational, modern and moral mothers and housewives, he was also opposed to the insertion of western liberal values in the lives of Muslim women. The need to maintain patriarchal control and domination in the home and family, even as the outside world of commerce and politics was slipping away rapidly, was a measure to ensure continuity with the past while stepping into an uncertain future created by an 'other' or outsider.

In the second half of the 19th century and early decades of the 20th, debates on the issue of purdah (veiling) raged between modernist and traditional Muslims. For instance, the poet Akbar Allahabadi in particular wrote a large number of poems on the loss of veiling among Muslim women which he saw akin to the loss of masculinity among Muslim men. He viewed the aggressive intervention of the masculine colonial state as an emasculation of the Muslim nation which was unable to protect Muslim women from the gaze of the colonial outsider. One finds similar echoes of nostalgia for bygone Muslim masculinity in the poetry of Allama Iqbal who

lamented the loss of Muslim male of the past who could defend his ideological and geographical boundaries.

Nevertheless, one can discern a great deal of ambivalence among the Muslims of India with regard to the modernizing of Muslim women. The woman question was first raised by men in 1886 at the annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference (MEC). Shaikh Abdullah of Aligarh was the principal advocate of women's right to education but he was opposed by a number of seemingly progressive men. However, in December 1899 a women's teacher training school was opened in Calcutta, especially because one argument used against Muslim women's education was that there were few women teachers. The Begum of Bhopal took a keen interest in women's education and supported the Mohammadan Girls School of Aligarh started by Sheikh Abdullah. The management of the girls' school was looking for an acceptable curriculum, but was hampered by a lack of funds. The Begum of Bhopal donated generously to develop a curriculum for women's education. She developed an outline of the curriculum and presented it in her Presidential address at the women education session of the annual Muslim Educational Conference on 5th December 1911. She proposed the idea of Home Science in the curricula of women education to make it more palatable for conservative Muslims. In her visit to Aligarh in 1915, she inaugurated the Girls Schoo

Women's Rights Between the years 1886 to 1917, ideas regarding women's roles and status in society were transformed among Muslim communities in India. The spread of education among the Muslim elite classes gave further impetus to the breaking of traditional moulds. At that time, the first women's organization was born due to the efforts of Sir Muhammad Shafi, who lived in Lahore and was a strong advocate of women's rights. He was opposed to veiling and supported the right to inheritance. In 1908, the Anjuman-e-Khawateen-e-Islam was founded in Lahore for the promotion of the rights of women in Islam. This organization also carried out social work among the destitute women living in villages. In 1915, the first All-India Muslim Ladies conference was attended by a few select women from among the elite. In 1917 this organization passed a resolution against polygamy causing a major stir in Lahore. The same year, a delegation led by Begum Hasrat Mohani met the Secretary of State Montagu, demanding increased educational facilities for women along with better health and maternity services. The delegation also demanded equal franchise for women in the forthcoming MontaguChelmsford reforms. In 1918, both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress announced support for women's franchise. However, in 1919 when the reforms were instituted, the colonial government refused arguing that conditions were not conducive in India for women's franchise and left the matter to the provinces. In 1921 Madras granted women's franchise and by 1925 all the provinces except Orissa and Bihar granted voting rights to propertied persons, men and women. In the First Roundtable Conference in 1930-31 a memorandum was presented by Jahanara Shahnawaz, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi. It demanded rights for all, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex. In 1932, the All-India Muslim League expressed its support for women's demands. The Government of India Act of 1935 enfranchised six million women and, for the first time, reserved seats for women were allocated in both the Council of State (six out of one hundred and fifty) and the February Assembly (nine seats out of two hundred and fifty). The

slow awakening and increasing consciousness which began with the right to education, was by then beginning to transform into a struggle for women's political rights.

Rise of Anti-colonial Nationalist Movements in India

Women were massively mobilized in the Pakistan Movement. As increasing numbers of women joined the Muslim League, a women's section was formed. In the famous Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940, an unprecedented number of women participated. The same year saw them take out a procession for the Pakistan Movement. In April 1940, women took out a protest demonstration against the arrest of Muslim League leaders and the banning of the Khaksar Tehreek. This was the first time that women took to street politics clad in burqas (veils). Not surprisingly, the press condemned them as shameless women who would usher in the downfall of Muslims. But the women were not to be deterred and in June the Khaksar Tehreek women organized another demonstration led by eleven year old Saeeda Bano from Delhi, an eloquent speaker. On June 18, women joined men in another procession and the police made arrests when they defied their orders. The men asked the women to return to their homes but they refused and, for the first time in the history of the sub-continent, women were arrested for political action.

In 1943, when a devastating famine in Bengal disrupted lives, the Muslim League women organized relief efforts and collected funds and provisions for the affected families. Poetry recitations meetings were called to raise funds in Lahore. Over time, the wider struggle for liberation rendered women's social and political activism acceptable and respectable. In 1943, five thousand women participated in the All-India Muslim League annual session in Karachi. The newly-formed Women's National Guard, which later became Pakistan Girl Guides, was also present. While women's collective participation in relief and social work became acceptable in the context of the national struggle, such activities were extensions of women's traditional and maternal roles of providing succor and comfort in difficult times.13 Veiling and segregation enabled such activities because women were protected from the gaze of strange men. In the 1946 elections, two women candidates from the Muslim League, Salma Tassaduque Hussain and Jahanara Shahnawaz, participated. When the Muslim League was not allowed to form the government, five hundred women demonstrated in Lahore. As the level of activity increased, the colonial government banned the Muslim League National Guard. Upon offering resistance, several League leaders were arrested including Jahanara Shahnawaz, and other women courted arrest in her support. Begum Kamal-ud-Din Ahmad from the then North Western Frontier Province was taken to a women's jail in Lahore. On the following day, a large number of Muslim women came out on the streets to protest. They were baton-charged and tear-gassed, the first time that such tactics were employed against women in the Indian sub-continent. Four of the women leaders were arrested by the colonial state and three girls were injured. As more and more women came out on the streets, they were arrested. In January 1947, sixteen League leaders, including Salma Tassaduque Hussain, were arrested and Section 144 was imposed which prohibits any public gathering of over four people. One tactic deployed by the colonial government was that the arrested women would be taken to various places outside the city and forced to find their own way home. The arrested women were kept in Gora Barracks, and in February three young burqa-clad girls entered the criminal wards for women, climbed the

building and hoisted the Muslim League flag, all the while chanting slogans of Allah-o-Akbar. The Superintendant Jails arrived and had them beaten up by other inmates before they were dragged out of the premises. News of women breaking into jail and facing barricades and batons spread like wildfire and, towards the end of February, a large number of women marched towards the Secretariat Building. Thirteen year old Fatima Sughra climbed up the gate, removed the Union Jack and replaced it with her dopatta fashioned to look like the Muslim League flag. It was for the first time that the Muslim League 'flag' was hoisted on a government building replacing the government one. In 1947 when the Civil Disobedience movement was launched, women from the North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) were mobilized by the Khudai Khidmatgar and nationalist movements. Pathan women marched unveiled in public for the first time and scaled walls to hoist the Muslim League flag. They went to jails and were tear-gassed and batoncharged. On April 3, 1947 fifteen hundred Pathan women publicly protested in the form of picketing. They also formed the 'War Council' and set up mobile radio stations and an underground radio station called, Pakistan Broadcasting Station, which operated right up to the time of independence in August 1947. However, the records as well as schools of the Khudai Khidmatgars were burned soon after the formation of Pakistan.

Indian Muslim women had radically altered the parameters of their own existence and emerged as vocal and active individuals.Participation in the nationalist struggle led to an awareness of their oppression and rights as women. They had won the right to education, to vote and to own property in the course of the nationalist struggle. They became aware of their ability to mobilize, organize and provide services in crisis situations. However, their own struggle as women was subsumed under the larger nationalist struggle for independence. Nevertheless, the larger struggle created the space to break traditional norms, become politically active in the public sphere and violate the traditional boundaries of 'good Muslim womanhood'. They could cast off the veil, talk to strangers, enter politics, take out processions, shout slogans, hoist flags and face police brutality. The national struggle made it possible to transgress traditional boundaries, an act which otherwise would receive disapprobation.

Topic 26: Women's Movement in Pakistan

Once freedom was attained from colonial rule, new forces emerged on the political and global scene which directed the re-structuring of the state and society. In post-partition Pakistan, the religious forces that had opposed the idea of Pakistan because of the secular bent of mind of the Muslim League leaders became active. Even though Jinnah was secular in outlook and personal lifestyle, he resorted to the strategic use of religion in an effort to garner support among conservative Muslims. In his speech at the 1940 annual Muslim League meeting in Lahore, he reiterated the religion-based two-nation theory premised on irreconcilable, eternal and irrevocable Hindu-Muslim differences.15 This set the stage for the move toward an Islamic state early on when, after Jinnah's death in 1948, the Constituent Assembly passed the Objectives Resolution in 1949 despite strong reservations expressed by the minority members.16 Jinnah's arguably secular position, taken a year earlier in his address to the Constituent Assembly, was shunned under the pressure of the Islamic lobby that now gained strength. In the early period of Pakistan's history, the struggle for women's rights was piecemeal, gradual and evolutionary.

Progressive legislation was often resisted by the clergy, which perceived the steps in the direction of women's rights as western and antithetical to religion and culture. Nonetheless, women belonging to ruling families continued to struggle for inclusion in the political process and rights. The first legislature of Pakistan had two women representatives, Jahanara Shahnawaz, the Muslim League veteran who had been elected to the All-India Muslim League Council in 1937; and Shaista Ikramullah from the Suhrawardy family of East Pakistan.

In the early period of Pakistan's history, women began to make demands for their own rights now that the nationalist struggle was over. In 1948, the first attempt was made to secure economic rights for women during the budget debate. When the Shariat bill was removed from the agenda of the assembly, the women legislators were furious and took up the issue with the Muslim League Women's Committee. Thousands of women marched to the Assembly chambers shouting slogans, led by Jahanara Shahnawaz and other women leaders and finally the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948) became effective recognizing women's right to inherit property. The first piece of legislation may have been for the propertied classes only, but women took a stand against their male colleagues in the assembly for their own rights as women. The first Constituent Assembly had several special committees, including the Basic Principles Committee, Fundamental Rights Committee and Nationality Committee. In each of these, Jahanara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah countered male chauvinists and religious ulema. In the Zakat committee the ulema refused to sit with women members, arguing that only burqa clad women above the age of fifty should be allowed to sit in the Assembly, a demand that was to be raised again by the Ansari Commission in the decade of the 1980s. The earliest echoes of contestation and challenge between the women and the religious lobby had begun to be heard.

The women leaders had begun to make political demands also, for example, they raised issue of 10% reserved seats for women in the legislatures at the Round Table Conference in the 1930s. At that time, they could only get 3% reserved quota. In September 1954, at the final meeting of the Constituent Assembly, when the draft bill for the Charter of Women's Rights prepared by Jahanara Shahnawaz was discussed, the reserved seats remained at 3% for both the central and provincial assembly. The other demands in the Charter included equality of status, equality of opportunity, equal pay for equal work and guarantee of inheritance rights for Muslim women under the Islamic personal law of Shariat. The Charter of demands was supported by members of minority communities and Muslim politicians, and was passed unanimously. Initially it was opposed by Sir M. Zafarullah, who was chairing the meeting, on the grounds that a new-born state could not afford justiciable fundamental rights. At this stage it seems that women were making demands for rights granted within religious law. They were working within a religious framework which enabled them to succeed without too much backlash. In 1951, the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat became effective and women received the right to inherit agricultural land for which they had been fighting since 1948. In an assembly full of males, women legislators pushed forward their agenda successfully.

In the 1956 Constitution, the principle of female suffrage for women's reserved seats was accepted on the basis of special women's territorial constituencies, thus giving dual voting rights to women for both general and reserved women's seats. This was a major achievement, given the

conservative lobby that constantly militated against women's rights. Unfortunately, Ayub Khan's takeover and martial law in 1958 led to the abrogation of the constitution of 1956.

Based on the success of the Women's Voluntary Service and the interest of a large number of women, in 1949 Ra'ana Liaquat invited a hundred women to a meeting in Karachi and from this was born the All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) which, in the context of the time, made invaluable contributions not only to welfare but also in the arena of legal reform. APWA was a voluntary non-political organization open to all women over sixteen years of age irrespective of class, caste, color or creed. The objectives were to be a welfare organization for Pakistani women. It focused on creating educational, social and cultural consciousness and improving the economic participation of women for national development. Urban women from well to do classes joined and it became an acceptable avenue for women's activities outside the home.

APWA opened girls' schools, health centers and industrial homes, and imparted sewing and related skills for incomegeneration. Most of its activities were concentrated in Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar with district and divisional headquarters in other parts of the country. APWA's relationship with the government was one of mutual accommodation and co-operation. It, therefore, received government funding as well as patronage. It was a non-threatening organization because of the focus on welfare and development. Its main work was on women's education, development skills and incomegeneration. It opened schools, colleges, industrial homes and organized meena bazaars to market the products of needy women.

Most other organizations were formed with specific objectives including, the Family Planning Association of Pakistan (FPAP), The Pakistan Child Welfare Council (PCWC), The Pakistan Red Cross, The Pakistan Nurses Federation (PNF), The Housewives' Association, Girl Guides Association, and the International Women's Club. There was growing social awareness and each of these selected a specific area of expertise and worked on women's social and economic issues.

The absence of a vibrant women's rights movement or feminist struggle was one of the reasons that when Fatima Jinnah stood in the elections against Ayub Khan in 1965, he used the Ulema to declare that a woman could not be the head of state in a Muslim country. Ayub Khan's accusations that Fatima Jinnah was an Indian and American agent, and an unfeminine and un-motherly figure were not met with indignation and anger, unlike the effect of such accusations against Benazir Bhutto decades later, when they were met with scorn, anger, and uproar. Ironically, in an attempt to remove Ayub Khan and gain power, the Jamaat-e-Islami supported Fatima Jinnah and radically altered its earlier position that women could not become heads of state in an Islamic country.

Ayub Khan's regime ended in 1968 after massive street protests against his dictatorship. However, power was grabbed by another military dictator, Yahya Khan during whose tenure national elections were held and won convincingly by the Awami League, a party based in East Pakistan. However, the West Pakistani civil and military rulers failed to transfer power and initiated a military operation in East Pakistan which ended in 1971 with the secession of the province which became Bangladesh. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) that had won the general

election of 1970 in West Pakistan assumed power in 1972. The transformations in the state and reconfiguration of power did not change the relationship with women's groups and the mutual accommodation and collaboration of the Ayub era continued during the brief period of democracy.

In the 1970 elections, it was widely believed that women, for the first time, voted independently of their male kin on account of being attracted by Bhutto's rhetoric of equality and justice for the oppressed. Nasim Jahan, a founder member of PPP, mobilized educated women in Lahore as in other cities and spread the PPP ideas in various localities and neighborhoods. Women, who had participated in PPP election campaigns, became a part of PPP's mohalla committees. Women from low-income areas as well as educated middle class were drawn to the dream of a just and socialist society. Nasim Wali Khan was the first woman to win the election on a general seat but did not take oath as many of the parties seeking provincial autonomy were labeled 'traitors' by the PPP government, and the National Awami Party government in Balochistan was dismissed. In spite of such undemocratic measures, the PPP government was regarded as more womenfriendly than its predecessors. In 1972 the PPP formed a constitution-making committee which had two women, Nasim Jahan and Ashraf Abbasi. The 1973 Constitution gave more rights to women than in the past. Article 25 of rights declared that every citizen was equal before law and Article 25 (2) said there would be no discrimination based on sex alone. Article 27 of fundamental stated that there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for appointment in the service of Pakistan. Article 32 of the Basic Principles of State Policy guaranteed reservation of seats for women, and article 35 stipulated that the state shall protect marriage, family and mother and child. The constitution was unanimously ratified in the Assembly and later Article 228 was amended to accept the principle of at least one woman member on the proposed Council on Islamic Ideology. In spite of women's efforts, however, the idea of female suffrage for reserved seats for women was rejected, both in the constitution committee and the National Assembly.

In the 1973 constitution women continued to be indirectly elected members of the Assemblies. The PPP government took other measures to raise women's status and a cell was set up to evaluate the status of women. Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali was made Governor of Sindh and Kaniz Yousaf was made the Vice-Chancellor of a university. Begum Ashraf Abbasi was elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and all government services were opened to women through administrative reforms in 1972. Women could enter the services from which they were hitherto debarred, such as the Foreign Service and management groups. Women could now be Prime Minister, Governor or Cabinet minister. A massive induction in the Foreign Service through lateral entry led to 121 entrants and the first ever women Foreign Service cadre came into being. In 1975, the International Women's Year (IWY) was launched. The Prime Minister's wife, Nusrat Bhutto, went to Mexico to represent Pakistan and signed the Mexico Declaration. Following this, a semi-autonomous Pakistan Women's Institute was set up in Lahore to mark the IWY. In 1976, a thirteen-member Women's Rights Committee was set up chaired by Yahya Bakhtiar, the first Attorney General of Pakistan. It included nine women some of whom had been pressing for a commission to determine the status of women to make recommendations to improve their situation.

In the 1970s, women's organizations such as Shirkat Gah, Aurat Foundation and the Women's Front arose. The Women's Front, based in Lahore, was a small group of aggressive and radical Left-wing Punjab University students, but it petered out after the students graduated and moved on. This group contested union elections and won both seats for women and organized chapters in other cities such as Sargodha and Multan. Their slogan was, 'women and politics are one.' Aurat, based in Islamabad, was composed of Left-wing university teachers and students and worked in lowincome neighborhoods for the depressed classes. The organization brought out a newsletter which focused on the class struggle and wrote about male domination. However, lack of funding and human resources meant that it could not be sustained. Some members of the organization later founded the Aurat Foundation which focused on a range of women's issues. Several organizations for women began to emerge in various cities, however some became pivotal in launching an active and vibrant women's movement.

Cold War Imperialism and the Rise of Islamization

The year 1979 was a watershed in the history of Pakistan as well as globally. The orthodox revolution in neighboring Iran, and the Soviet Union incursion into Afghanistan, foreshadowed massive reconfigurations of power globally, along with the radical reconstruction of the state in Pakistan. Pakistan became the frontline state in the Cold War contest between competing imperialisms in Afghanistan. While the Soviet imperialism was based on a communist perspective, the competing US one sought an ally in a specific version of Islam to fight against 'ungodly' communism.

The entire legal structure was reconstructed to institutionalize discrimination against women and non-Muslim citizens. A number of discriminatory laws including the Hudood Ordinance of 1979, the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance and the Law of Evidence of 1984 were promulgated. The Qisas and Diyat law privatized the crime of murder and saved the perpetrators of 'honor killing'. The Law of Evidence reduced women's testimony in a court of law to half that of men. In 1983, the Ansari Report of the Council of Islamic Ideology recommended that women's participation in politics should be limited to nominated women over the age of fifty. In 1985, the Shariat Bill (9th Amendment) threatened to abolish the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961. In the early years, women belonging to various organizations watched with incredulity the spate of laws and measures to control and order their lives in accordance General Zia's vision of religion. There were dress code restrictions, coupled with restrictions on participation in spectator sports, and enhanced segregation with a proposal for a separate women's university. By that time, a new generation of middle class women, which had studied in western universities and was exposed to the feminist movements in those countries, had entered the workforce in various fields. They were seriously perturbed over the continuous attacks on a relatively tolerant and diverse culture of previous decades.

The Zina Ordinance of 1979 conflated adultery with rape and erased the distinction between them. This law made it virtually impossible to prove rape and, upon failure to prove it, the woman was transformed into the culprit while the rapist went scot-free. The punishment for adultery was stoning to death. The harsh punishments in the name of Islam mobilized the women into taking action. Following the year of its promulgation, a large number of rural and urban

women from the economically marginalized groups were booked under false cases of Hudood and languished in jails for years. In 1981, a group of women met in Shirkat Gah Karachi and formed the Women Action Forum (WAF). In a short span of time, there were chapters in Lahore, Islamabad and Peshawar. For the next decade, WAF became the face of the women's movement in Pakistan, although the Sindhiani Tehreek in Sindh was a radical organization which used direct action as a method to fight not only the military regime but also patriarchy as articulated in interior Sindh.19 WAF used picketing, demonstrations, processions, rallies, signature campaigns, consciousnessraising, telegrams, writing and other strategies to register protest and oppose the regime's draconian measures. Each chapter functioned somewhat differently, depending upon the local context and ethnic mix, nevertheless WAF fought against the discrimination in law, spectator sports, educational segregation, media regulations, dress codes, and the steady march towards a theocratic state. In 1983, when the Pakistan Women Lawyers gave a call to march to the High Court with a petition against the then proposed Law of Evidence, a large number of WAF members joined the demonstration and were batoncharged and tear-gassed on the Mall Lahore. WAF's profile was raised internationally and it made headlines in the national press as well as the international media. Subsequently, there was no turning back and WAF frequently resorted to pickets, demonstrations and protest rallies.

Secular versus a Religious Framework

Initially, WAF had no clear position on Islam although several of the founding members were secular and socialist in personal orientation. However, since WAF was a lobby cum pressure group consisting of individuals and organizations, there was wide variation in beliefs and sentiments. Many of the members were believers, while some were practicing Muslims. WAF, as a platform was diverse, therefore ambivalent with regard to Islam. Islam was a class-based issue as women from the urban lower middle classes were relatively more conservative and religious. The regime was justifying its measures by invoking its preferred version of Islam which was being imposed uniformly on all sects and all citizens. Hence the laws were made to appear divine and not open to challenge. Some of the members felt that that WAF would have to engage with Islam as it was being relentlessly imposed. Additionally, it was felt that women from the lower middle and conservative classes had to be mobilized, since it appeared to become a matter of the word of God versus the word of women

Feminism or Women's Rights

 Women Action Forum was composed of individuals as well as organizations subscribing to differing perspectives on many issues. This diversity was at once WAF's richness as well as its pitfall. Some of the staunch feminists were academics who had studied feminism seriously and believed in deep structural change in society wherein tribal, feudal, capitalist and other structures that reflect patriarchy would be challenged. On the other hand were women who felt comfortable with the narrower focus on women's rights but were uneasy about the word 'feminism' as it seemed to imply hatred, exclusion or rejection of the male altogether. This was the result more of lack of understanding than any real or deep disagreement. A narrow focus on women's rights constitutes liberal feminism, which is less radical than socialist feminism in terms of challenging socioeconomic and political structures, but demands equality for women within the given

framework of the nationstate. Marxist and socialist feminisms challenge the class divide and demand a fundamental change in the social and economic structures of exploitation and extraction. On the other hand, Radical feminists point to the ideological and material structure of patriarchy and its specific articulation within tribal, feudal and capitalist forms. A number of women's rights activists found feminism to be too radical and often perceived it to be anti-men, even though this was not the case. WAF, which had come to be dominated by lawyers in Lahore, became a women's rights lobby rather than a strongly feminist organization even though many of its founder members had a distinctly feminist and socialist outlook. In Lahore, WAF remained preoccupied mainly with discriminatory laws and practices.

Sindhiani Tehreek

During the martial law regime of General Zia, WAF was generally recognized as the formal face of the women's movement. However a lesser known but vibrant peasant movement, the Sindhiani Tehreek (ST), was simultaneously active in Sindh.31 Sindhiani was initially born in the towns of Thatta and Badin and soon gained supporters from large parts of rural Sindh. Sindhiani Tehreek formed the women's wing of the Awami Tehreek, a political party, but took major stands against patriarchy as well as dictatorship. Basically a Sindhi nationalist movement, Sindhiani mobilized a very large number of peasant women at its gatherings. The four main issues addressed by ST were the following: 1) Sindhi nationalism and provincial autonomy, 2) social class distinctions and conflict, 3) patriarchy and the subordination of women, and 4) the struggle for democracy. From its inception, ST believed that all issues are women's issues and those of democracy and nationalism cannot be separated from the issues of women. From the beginning, it was aligned with other movements as Sindhiani believed that all those who are oppressed on the basis of class, caste, gender, nationality or religion have the right to a just society.

Democracy and the Rise of Neo-liberalism

The decade of the 1990s was a game-changer at both the global and national levels. The last years of the 1980s saw the end of the Cold War and the breaking down of the Berlin wall. The US heralded the New World Order and the era of neoliberal ideology became ascendant. One of the outcomes of neo-liberal globalization, and the ascendancy of the Bretton Woods Institutions, was the mass proliferation of non-governmental organizations funded by western countries, ostensibly for development but also for the more insidious purpose of rolling back the state for trade liberalization, and opening borders for goods and services though not for labor. For an understanding of the manner in which states were restructured and non-governmental organizations created to provide services in place of the state, it is important to briefly understand the ideology and practices of neoliberal ideology, which is premised primarily on three major tenets: privatization, trade liberalization and de-regulation.

Despite the 1990s being to an extent a period of desertification for the women's movement, individual women and some women's groups made substantial and serious contributions to feminist theory. A great deal of self-reflection was carried out regarding the direction of feminism, its visions, goals and impediments. Ironically, this was possible because of the same

donors and NGOs which de-politicized the movement. The sudden availability of a large amount of funding and other resources, made it possible for women to pursue academic and research interests. A substantial body of literature on nationalism, militarism, the state, human rights, ethnicity, religious domination, informal economy, globalization and neo-liberalism was produced from a feminist perspective. This is one of the positive outcomes of donor funding and NGO formation which otherwise contradicted feminism since activism became nine-tofive and sterile. In recent years, donor funding acquired the characteristics of the corporate business model, in the process creating large conglomerates which monopolized funding. As a result, not only was competition created among recipients for donor funds, elements of corruption also set in as very large amounts of money became available. For example, in Lahore a family theater enterprise was accused of massive misappropriation of donor funds. In Islamabad, a major NGO think tank was blacklisted for financial irregularities. The idea that the NGO sector would be the model third sector, free of the profiteering of the private sector and corruption of the public one, proved to be false. The NGO-ization of feminist politics and the corporatization of social sector development both served to weaken a focus on patriarchy and capitalism as the two main systems that subordinate women and engender inequalities.

Global War on Terror and the Post-9/11 Reconstruction of Identities

The September 11, 2001 attacks on the US symbols of military, political and economic might became a defining moment in world history, changing the way the world thinks about justice, right and wrong, death and life itself. It was another watershed moment as massive reconfigurations of power took place globally, and had a significant impact on Pakistan, turning it once again into the frontline state, this time in the Global War on Terror (GWoT). This war quickly turned into a racist war defining virtually every Muslim as a terrorist or suspected terrorist. Muslim countries were attacked and millions of Muslim civilians - men, women and children - were massacred by states which had claimed to be based on human rights.

General Musharraf's was a time when increased donor funding became available to women's organizations, such as Aurat Foundation, for programs to train newlyelected women councilors under the Women's Political Participation Project (W3P), which ran from February 2002 to March 2004. More than 80 percent of elected women councillors from the local government elections of 2000-2001 were given training under the W3P project. Due to his eagerness to present himself to the world as an enlightened, liberal and modern leader, Pakistani women made a few significant gains. In the local government, their representation was a historic 33% while 17.5% seats were reserved for women in the provincial and national assemblies.

In 2002-2003, the Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) proposed a coherent gender reform agenda to align policies, structures, policies, programs and projects for enabling governments to implement promises, both national and international, on gender equality. GRAP was based on the idea of political, administrative, public sector employment policy and fiscal reforms. A number of major gender equality goals were achieved under the GRAP. These included the setting up of a Provincial Gender Mainstreaming Committee in Punjab, amendments in the Rules of Business for Women Development Departments, the Restructuring of Women Development Departments, Career Development Centers in Universities, establishment of Gender

Mainstreaming in eight departments of the Punjab Secretariat and electronic and print media campaigns to create awareness about women's rights.

In 2003, the National Commission on the Status of Women, constituted as a statutory body in July 2000, brought out a report recommending the repeal of the Hudood Ordinance as it degraded women and deprived them of their rights thereby making the law iniquitous.The Commission recommended not only the repeal of the Hudood laws but also the removal of sections of the Penal Code that carry enabling provisions. The Chairperson, Justice (Retd) Majida Rizvi, along with most of the other members strongly supported the suggestions with only two members dissenting. One of the dissenting members was Dr. S.M Zaman from the Council of Islamic Ideology whose task is to ensure that all laws comply with Islamic provisions, even though there is no agreement over such provisions. However, right up to 2005 before her term ended Majida Rizvi campaigned for the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances.

In 2006, the Women Protection Act was passed and the crime of rape was taken out of Hadd (maximum) punishment and placed in Taazir, Pakistan's criminal procedure. Rape would now be investigated in the manner done in other countries and the conflation between rape and adultery would end. General Musharraf, aiming to reinforce his credentials as an enlightened and moderate leader, thus proceeded to undo the most grievous harm inflicted on the women of the country by his predecessor, General Zia. In the Musharraf era, the women's relationship with the state was once again characterized by quiescence, silence, frequent collaboration and co-operation. Aside from a condemnatory statement by WAF, there was hardly a voice to challenge the illegal transfer of power to the military.

Topic 27: Women's movement in Pakistan: challenges and successes

- Women's movement in Pakistan: challenges and successes
- Perception of conflict with religious beliefs
- Women's perception of own ability
- Interests of political parties and the ruling parties
- Patriarchal barriers
- Lack of organization'
- Glass ceiling
- Reaching empowerment
  - o   Women excelling in education
  - o   Joining all professional fields
  - o   Political empowerment
  - o   Posted at highest positions
  - o   Success as dual career citizens

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FEMINISM: RELATED APPROACHES

Topic 28-31

Topic 28: Black Feminism, and Postmodern feminism

Black Feminism

Black women have a long history of actively resisting these controlling images and articulating alternative definitions of their reality. Because, however, black women's experiences have historically been excluded from the traditional sites of knowledge – government agencies, academia, mass media, etc. – black women have voiced their knowledge of their reality in different sites: in everyday conversations with family, friends, and neighbors; through literature, poetry, art, music, and independent documentary films; and in the calland- response discourse of church meetings (see Collins 1990: 91–114). Black feminist thought is thus produced by black feminist sociologists such as Collins and, importantly, by all black women who vocalize their experiences of and responses to the cultural contradictions they encounter as black women, caught between two histories of oppression (1990: 14–15).

And, as the popularity of Toni Morrison's novels and Maya Angelou's poetry attests, when black women have the opportunity to speak and to act, many blacks and whites, women and men, want to hear and are moved by what they say and do. Black feminist thought, somewhat akin to white women's knowledge, is outside the paradigm of objective knowledge, i.e., that which Smith (1987: 1) and Collins (1990: 201–206) debunk as the allegedly universal knowledge created from the standpoint of (Eurocentric white) men. Collins further underscores, however, that "Black feminist thought, like all specialized thought, reflects the interests and standpoint of its creators" (1990: 201). Therefore, while all women share a standpoint by virtue of their historical oppression as women, black feminist thought comes from a different standpoint than that of white feminist thought. It is knowledge that has a distinct African historical consciousness; "Black societies reflect elements of a core African value system that existed prior to and independently of racial oppression … Moreover, as a result of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, apartheid, and other systems of racial domination, Black people [whether living in the UK, Europe, North America, South America, the Caribbean, or Africa] share a common experience of oppression," though their specific histories differ (1990: 206). Therefore, "Because Black women have access to both the Afrocentric and the feminist standpoints, an alternative epistemology used to rearticulate a Black feminist standpoint should reflect elements of both traditions," and by highlighting the points of contact between the two, enrich understanding of how the experiences of subordinate groups "create knowledge that fosters resistance" (1990: 207).

Postmodern feminism

Postmodern Feminists have built on the ideas of Foucault, de Beauvoir, as well as Derrida and Lacan (who I'm not going to talk about). While there is much variation in Postmodern feminism, there is some common ground. Postmodern Feminists accept the male/female binary as a main categorizing force in our society. Following Simone de Beauvoir, they see female as having being cast into the role of the Other. They criticize the structure of society and the dominant

order, especially in its patriarchal aspects. Many Postmodern feminists, however, reject the feminist label, because anything that ends with an "ism" reflects an essentialist conception. Postmodern Feminism is the ultimate acceptor of diversity. Multiple truths, multiple roles, multiple realities are part of its focus. There is a rejectance of an essential nature of women, of one-way to be a woman." Poststructural feminism offers a useful philosophy for diversity in feminism because of its acceptance of multiple truths and rejection of essentialism." (p. 19, Olson).

This is in contrast to some other feminist theoretical viewpoints. Feminist empiricism, or liberal feminism, sees equal opportunity as the primary focus. They are concerned with "leveling the playing field." It does not question the nature of the knowledge or the structure of human interactions, but rather the events that go on within that structure. Accepting the idea that there is a single knowable truth has led liberal feminists to use the accepted methodologies in research, believing that they just need to be used in different ways.

Topic 29: Islamic Feminism

'Islamic feminism' is a relatively recent current of thought being developed by a transnational network of activists in widely contrasting socio-political contexts.1 Islamic feminists are concerned with developing an ethical reading of the bases of Islam, namely the Qur'an and the Sunna, in order to find a form of religious exegesis that will support their feminist viewpoint. It is therefore legitimate to speak of the production of a new Islamic discourse and, in general terms, of the appropriation of the religious.

"feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islamic paradigm. Islamic feminism derives its understanding and mandate from the Quran, seeks rights and justice for women, and for men, in the totality of their existence". (Badran, 2013)

Islamic feminists are carrying out a critical review of classical commentaries to Islamic sources and providing new interpretations of the latter aimed at socio-political and economic equality with men. They take a dynamic, gendered approach that connects precepts contained in ahadith2 – the words and actions of Muhammad written down by his early followers – to the social and political context of 'revelation', rather than to any concordance with a supposedly timeless 'message' and its ideal of equality and social justice. By historicizing the sources in this way, they relativize their legal consequences, thereby deconstructing the legitimacy of the traditional 'patriarchal settlement' crystallized in the form of certain key concepts such as that of qiwâma (male supremacy).

Drawing on post-colonial criticism, Islamic feminism reveals how the trope of 'saving Muslim women' is produced by the colonial nature of power.6 However, any attempt to de-colonialize thought also requires transcending the notion of 'post' and looking at history 'backwards', as Achille Mbembe asks us to do.7 This process of transcending requires us, from the outset, to recognize ways in which the past is present and then to 'unlearn how to learn', so as to free ourselves from colonial bonds and enable the emergence of new perspectives in political imagination 'in common'.

Topic 30: Feminist Sociological Theory

By calling attention to the powerful impact of gender in the social ordering of our relationships (micro-level analysis), how they are socially constructed (mezzo-level analysis), and our institutions (macro-level analysis), the feminist theoretical perspective in sociology emerged as a major paradigm that has significantly reshaped the discipline. By the research it spawned, feminist sociological theory offered empirical work at all levels of analysis and illuminated the androcentric bias in sociology. Disagreement remains on all elements that need to be included in feminist theory; at a minimum, the consensus is that a theory is *feminist* if it can be used to challenge a status quo that is disadvantageous to women (Chafetz, 1988; Smith, 2003).

The feminist perspective provides productive avenues of collaboration with sociologists who adopt other theoretical views, especially conflict theory and symbolic interaction. The feminist perspective is compatible with conflict theory in its assertions that structured social inequality is maintained by ideologies that are frequently accepted by both the privileged and the oppressed. These ideologies are challenged only when oppressed groups gain the resources necessary to do so. Unlike conflict theory's focus on social class and the economic elements necessary to challenge the prevailing system, feminists tend to focus on women and their ability to amass resources from a variety of sources in their individual lives and through social and political means. Feminists work as academics, researchers, and activists to increase women's **empowerment**—the ability for women to exert control over their own destinies.

Symbolic interaction and feminist theory come together in research focusing on the unequal power relations between men and women from the point of view (definition of the situation) of women who are "ruled" by men in many settings. For example, corporate women who want to be promoted need to practice impression management based on acceptable gender role behavior of their corporate setting, but at the same time, they need to maintain a sense of personal integrity. The feminist perspective accounts for ways to empower these corporate women by clarifying the relationship between the label of "feminine" (symbolic interaction) and how these women are judged by peers and, ultimately, themselves.

Intersections of Gender, Race, and Class One of the most important contributions of the feminist perspective to sociology is its attention to the multiple oppressions faced by people whose status sets are disadvantaged due to distinctive combinations based on their gender, race, and social class. The gender–race–class linkage in analyzing social behavior originated with African American feminists in the 1960s; they recognized that an understanding of the link between these multiple oppressions is necessary to determine how women are alike and how they are different. For example, when the issue of poverty becomes "feminized," the issue is defined primarily by gender—women are at a higher risk of being poor than men. A focus on the feminization of poverty ignores the link among race, social class, and marital status that puts certain categories of women—such as single parents, women of color, and elderly women living alone—at higher risk than others. To explain poverty, racial and class oppression must be considered along with gender. When white middle-class feminists focus on oppression of women, they may not recognize the privileges that come with their own race and class.

Today feminists are keenly aware that combined oppressions have multiplicative effects. Building on the foundation of earlier African American feminists, seminal work by Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 2000) further elucidated the powerful results of these linkages. **Intersectionality** describes the process that combines risks from multiple statuses associated with disadvantage that result in a matrix of domination and oppression. Intersectionality highlights diversity in all of its forms and draws attention to a wider range of categories of risk, including sexual orientation, age, and disability. It seeks to gain an understanding of women's lives from the various statuses they occupy. Hearing the personal stories of women in these statuses is an important goal. However, intersectional research is also moving beyond any one specific configuration of risk statuses to account for how some configurations have more or less risk than others. Sociology as a science is served when data can be generalized. Women also are better served when interventions can be tailored to a group of similar configurations and can capitalize on any opportunities from privileged statuses (Anthias, 2013; Chua, 2013). Feminist activists use intersectional approaches to shape strategies to meet the needs of the constituencies they serve. The attention to sociocultural diversity that originated with the gender–race–class link has reverberated throughout sociology and other disciplines, generating a great deal of *both* interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research. For example, Collins's work synthesized ideas from intellectuals, activists, and writers in the humanities, philosophy, and social sciences. Similar work leads to new academic programs in Women's Studies, Men's Studies, and Gender Studies, increasing dialogue between men and women inside and outside the academy. Feminist scholarship provides opportunities for men to view themselves as gendered beings and to make visible their concerns. With gender–race–class intersectionality as a foundation, feminist researchers are identifying other sites of oppression that put people at risk both inside and outside their families, such as religion, sexual orientation, age, and disability.

Topic 31: Gender and Media

Is feminism still considered the "f-word"? Feminism is a movement to end the oppression of women. It uses women's perceptions and experiences to devise strategies for overcoming oppression. It embraces political goals that offer gender equality. We will see throughout this text that public support for feminist goals and women's empowerment is widespread. A large majority of American women agree that feminism has altered their lives for the better. Many women, however, refuse to identify themselves as feminists. Passivity has been replaced with open and critical debate between feminists and those who agree or disagree with various feminisms. This debate is stimulating, is necessary, and fuels empowerment. As noted earlier, inclusiveness feeds disagreement. Feminists may have different priorities and different streams of feminist thought to address these. They can agree to disagree. Feminists understand and accept the distinctions, but they are usually presented to the public in highly distorted ways.

Portrayals of Feminism

Media have a formidable influence in reinforcing gender role stereotypes, and the "feminist" stereotype is no exception. Both feminist agreement and the feminist value of disagreement are ignored or ridiculed in conservative media, but also throughout mainstream, cable news, and entertainment media. These portrayals also illustrate key features of **misogyny**, the contempt and

disdain of women that propels their oppression. Media messages implicitly supporting misogyny propel stereotypes about feminism.

Media latch onto disagreements among feminists and present sound bites giving the impressions that feminism has split into irreconcilable warring factions. This negative media attention is reinforced with news format entertainment shows suggesting that women have already achieved political parity and legal parity with men and that because feminists have nothing else to fight for, they fight among themselves. Young women appear to be receptive to these messages because self-identification for feminism decreases significantly with age (Hogeland, 2007).

In addition to highlighting disagreement among feminists, media depict feminists as being puritanical, hating men, taking unfair advantage of men in the workplace, and controlling men in their homes. College students who identify themselves as "nonfeminists" believe many of these stereotypes (Houvouras and Scott, 2008). Prime-time television series portray feminists in negative and highly stereotyped ways. Jokes deriding feminists about their appearance, sexuality, and love life and how they control their children and husbands are common. Boys who support assertive girls fear homophobic labels casting doubts about their masculinity. Assertive girls are silenced when they are "accused" of being feminists. Young women and teens are often the targets of sexist jokes. Sexism is reinforced by the contemptuous statements about feminists routinely made by the popular and attractive characters in the shows. Given the power of the media to construct gender roles, it is difficult for young women and men who may identify with feminism in principle to do so in public.

Racist comments are unacceptable in entertainment and news media. Sexist comments are acceptable. Consider the infamous response by John McCain to a female supporter (referring to Hillary Clinton) when he was asked, "How do we beat the bitch?" Although momentarily taken aback by her comment, amid the laughter, he smiled and responded, "But that's an excellent question" (Kantor, 2008). Consider his probable response if his supporter had used a racist slur rather than a sexist one? The Obama campaign remained silent about sexist commentary or intrusion into the personal lives of opposing candidates until after the primary election.

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DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER ROLES

Topic 32-36

Topic 32: Nature versus nurture

How much of our gendered behavior is determined by nature (heredity, biology, and genes), and how much is determined by nurture, the environment or culture in which we live and learn? Sociological explanations for gender differences are rooted in the nurture side of this question. Certainly males and females are different. Patterns of differentiation include not only physiology, but also differences related to demographics, attitudes, and behavior, especially related to sexuality. Are these differences significant enough to suggest that patriarchy is inevitable? Do the differences outweigh the similarities? What role does biology play in determining these differences? An examination of the research and theory generated by these questions—and the controversy surrounding them—will help shed light on the "it's only natural" argument. We will see that controversy and even tragedy surround how some of these questions are answered. The "only natural" argument is in fact an extension of the nature *versus* nurture debate. Because this chapter's focus is on biological issues, the categories of male and female will frequently be referred to as (the) "sexes."

Margaret Mead

Famed anthropologist Margaret Mead (1935/2001) was interested in exploring sex differences when she journeyed to New Guinea in the 1930s and lived with three different tribes. Among the gentle, peace-loving Arapesh, both men and women were nurturing and compliant, spending time gardening, hunting, and rearing children. The Arapesh gained immense satisfaction from these tasks, which were eagerly shared by both men and women. Arapesh children grew up to mirror these patterns and became cooperative and responsive parents themselves, with a willingness to subordinate themselves to the needs of those who were younger and weaker. Personality, Mead concluded, could not be distinguished by gender. What many societies would define as maternal behavior extended to both men and women. By contrast, the fierce Mundugumor barely tolerated children; they left the children to their own devices early in life. Children were taught to be as hostile, competitive, and suspicious of others as their elders were. Both mothers and fathers showed little tenderness toward their children, with harsh physical punishment being common. Children quickly learned that tribal success was measured by aggression, with violence as an acceptable, expected solution to many problems. Because both males and females demonstrated these traits, the Mundugumor, like the Arapesh, did not differentiate personality in terms of gender. Finally, the Tchumbuli demonstrated what would be considered a reversal of gender roles. This tribe consisted of practical, efficient, and unadorned women and passive, vain, and decorated men. Women's weaving, fishing, and trading activities provided the economic mainstay for the community; men remained close to the village and practiced dancing and art. Women enjoyed the company of other women. Men strived to gain the women's attention and affection, a situation women took with tolerance and humor. Contrary to her original belief that there are natural sex differences, Mead concluded that masculine and feminine are culturally, rather than biologically, determined.

Arapesh

- From the conventional western viewpoint, they were "feminine" in their extremely similar attitudes and behaviors.

- Both men and women were gentle, sensitive to others and cooperative.

Mundugumor

- The Mundugumor were cannibals and head hunters.

- Men and women had similar roles, masculine.

- As opposed to Arapesh, they were typically selfish and aggressive.

Tchambuli

- Gender differentiation.

- Clearly defined gender roles.

Men performed the roles traditionally performed by females in other societies. Tchambuli men were submissive, emotional, and nurturing towards children; women on the other hand tended to be dominant, and rational (Macionis, 1995). People are taught to be masculine or feminine.

Genetics and biology

- Difference in sets of genes, hormones, reproductive system.

May not cause gender roles but facilitate performance of certain gender related behaviors

Topic 33: The Psychological Perspective

The Biological Approach

Processes and constitution that cause physical differences between men and women.
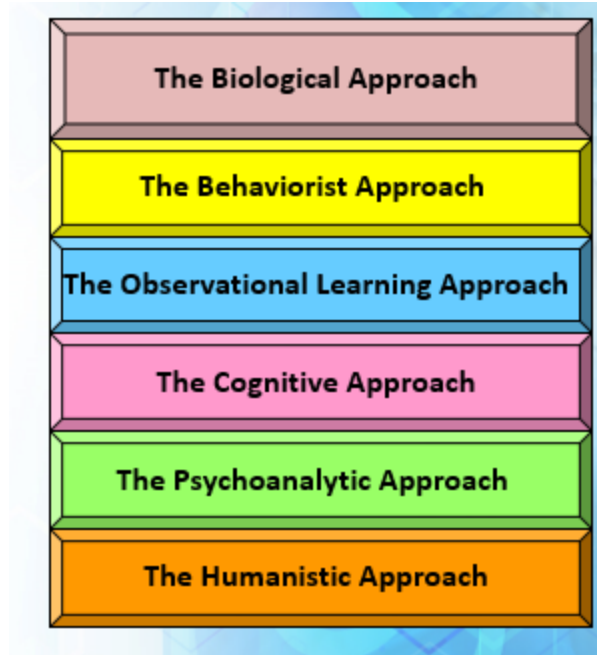
The Behaviorist/Learning Approach

Learning of gender roles can be explained in terms of:

Classical Conditioning

Learning by association of specific behaviors with specific gender

Operant Conditioning

The type of learning in which a voluntary response becomes stronger or weaker depending on its consequences.

The Biological Approach
The Behaviorist Approach
The Observational Learning Approach
The Cognitive Approach
The Psychoanalytic Approach
The Humanistic Approach

Observational Learning Approach

Learning through observation of others' behavior / as a result of modeling.

Cognitive approach to gender roles

Focus on interaction of mental schema and social experience in directing gender roles. Information about gender is organized into sets of beliefs about the sexes i.e. gender schema. Gender schema is a mental framework that organizes and guides a child's understanding of information relevant to gender, e.g., information about which toys are for which gender.

Topic 34: The Socialization Process

From the moment a girl infant is wrapped in a pink blanket and a boy infant is wrapped in a blue blanket, gender role development begins. The colors of pink and blue are among the first indicators used in American society to distinguish female from male. As these infants grow, other cultural artifacts will ensure that this distinction remains intact. Girls will be given dolls to diaper and tiny stoves on which to cook pretend meals. Boys will construct buildings with miniature tools and wage war with toy guns and tanks. In the teen and young adult years, although both may spend their money on digital music, girls buy cosmetics and clothes and boys buy sports equipment and technical gadgets. The incredible power of gender socialization is largely responsible for such behavior. Pink and blue begin this lifelong process.

Socialization is the lifelong process by which, through social interaction, we learn our culture, develop our sense of self, and become functioning members of society. This simple definition does not do justice to the profound impact of socialization. Each generation transmits essential cultural elements to the next generation through socialization. **Primary socialization**, the focus of the research and theory overviewed in this chapter, begins in the family and allows the child to acquire necessary skills to fit into society, especially language and acceptable behavior to

function effectively in a variety of social situations. **Continuing socialization** provides the basis for the varied roles an individual will fill throughout life.

Socialization not only shapes our personalities and allows us to develop our human potential, but also molds our beliefs and behaviors about all social groups and the individuals making up those groups. **Gender socialization** is the process by which individuals learn the cultural behavior of femininity or masculinity that is associated with the biological sex of female or male. The forces of social change have collided with gender socialization on a massive scale. To explain gender socialization in contemporary society, it is necessary to understand cultural diversity in all its forms.

Social Institution

- Organize cultures and ensure the established and predictable ways for provision of basic needs to the society. (Lindsey, 2011)

- Family, Economy, Religion, Government, Leisure, and Recreation.

Topic 35: Theories of Gender Socialization

Social Learning Theory

Unlike Freud's psychoanalytic approach, which focuses on internal conflict in socialization, social learning theory focuses on observable behavior. For social learning theorists, socialization is based on rewards (reinforcing appropriate behavior) and punishments (extinguishing inappropriate behavior). They are concerned with the ways children model the behaviors they view in others, such as cooperation and sharing or selfishness and aggression. Imitation and modeling appear to be spontaneous in children, but through reinforcement, patterns of behavior develop that eventually become habitual.

As with other behaviors, gender roles are learned directly through reprimands and rewards and indirectly through observation and imitation (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Mischel, 1966). The logic is simple. In gender socialization, different expectations lead to differential reinforcement from parents, peers, and teachers for doing either "boy" or "girl" things. Boys may be praised by peers for excelling in male sports such as football but derided for excelling in female games such as jump rope. Girls may be praised by peers for embroidering table linens but derided for preferring to play with toy soldiers rather than baby dolls. Gender identity is developed when children associate the label of boy or girl with the rewards that come with the appropriate behavior and then act out gender roles according to that perception. Parents and teachers model gender roles during the critical primary socialization years, and children imitate accordingly. This results in continued reinforcement of the valued gender identity. Social learning theory thus assumes that "knowledge about gender roles either precedes or is acquired at the same time as gender identity" (Intons-Peterson, 1988:40).

Gender Socialization for Boys

According to social learning theory, boys and girls are not parallel in the acquisition of gender role knowledge during the primary socialization years. Early research on gender socialization conducted by David Lynn (1969) accounts for his assertion that boys encounter more difficulty on the socialization path than girls. Lynn asserted that because fathers are not as available as mothers during early childhood, boys have limited opportunities to model the same-gender parent. And when the father is home, the contact is qualitatively different from contact with the mother in terms of intimacy. Given that adult male role models are generally scarce in early childhood, boys struggle to put together a definition of masculinity based on incomplete information. They are often told what they should not do rather than what they should do. "Don't be a sissy" and the classic "big boys don't cry" are examples. Girls have an easier time because of continuous contact with the mother and the relative ease of using her as a model.

Lynn further contended that it is the lack of exposure to males at an early age that leads boys to view masculinity in a stereotyped manner. For males, masculine gender roles are more inflexible than those offered to females. It is this gender role inflexibility that is a critical factor in making male socialization difficult and may explain why males express more insecurity about their gender identity. The consequences of this narrow view of masculinity are many. Male peer groups encourage the belief that aggression and toughness are virtues. Males exhibit hostility toward both females and homosexuals, and cross-gender behavior in boys ("sissies") is viewed more negatively than when it occurs in girls ("tomboys"). Women are more accepting of children who cross gender lines in their behavior. Fear of ridicule propels males, especially adolescents, to use homophobic and sexist remarks to ensure that they are protecting their masculinity. Although research does not confirm that modeling per se is responsible for gender role acquisition, it does suggest that gender-appropriate behavior is strongly associated with social approval. Although laden with uncertainty and inflexibility, boys express adamant preference for the masculine role. A boy learns that his role is the more desirable one and that it brings more self-esteem.

Gender Socialization for Girls

Other social learning theorists state that it is a mistake to conclude that the socialization path for girls is easy simply because mothers are more available to girls as models during early childhood. Even young children are bombarded with messages suggesting that higher worth, prestige, advantages, and rewards are accorded to males compared to females. Boys can readily embrace the gender roles flowing from these messages. Girls, in contrast, are offered subordinate, less prestigious roles that encourage deference and dependence, and they must model behavior that may be less socially valued. Research on teen movies shows that girls are often portrayed in negative, gender stereotypical ways—as socially aggressive, bullying, selfish, and disloyal to female friends (Behm-Morawitz and Mastro, 2008). If modeling and reinforcement are compelling enticements to behavior, as social learning theory suggests, a girl would understandably become quite anxious about being encouraged to perform roles or model behavior held in lower esteem. For socialization overall, girls have the advantage of gender role flexibility, but boys have the advantage of a higher-prestige gender role.

<u>Critique</u> Children are not the passive recipients of rewards and punishments that social learning theorists envision. Because children routinely choose gender-inconsistent behavior, the

reinforcement and modeling processes are far more complex. First, children may not model same-gender parents, teachers, or peers or may choose other-gender models outside the family who offer alternatives to gender role behavior that enhance self-esteem. A girl may be rewarded for a masculine activity, such as excelling in sports, but she keeps a tight hold on other aspects of her feminine role. Second, social learning theory minimizes the importance of social change, a significant factor in gender socialization. Families are more diverse than the stereotyped "at-home mother and outside home father" that are used to explain the rocky socialization paths for girls and boys. Divorce, blended families, single parenting, and an increasing number of nonresident parents who are mothers instead of fathers have created a wide range of models for gender socialization. Third, other statuses also vie for the attention of both child and parent during primary socialization. Birth order and age of child may be as important as gender in determining how parents behave toward their children. Finally, children experience subcultural family influences in which siblings and adults take on a range of nontra-ditional roles, such as in single-parent families. And regardless of the different paths offered to them, both girls and boys learn to prefer their own gender and strongly endorse the roles associated with it.

Topic 36: Cognitive Development Theory

Cognitive development explanations for gender socialization contrast sharply with social learning theory. Jean Piaget's (1896–1980) interest in how children gradually develop intelligence, thinking, and reasoning laid the foundation for cognitive development theory. His work is consistent with symbolic interaction theory regarding his ideas that cognitive abilities are developed in stages through ongoing social interaction. Simply stated, the mind matures through interaction with the environment. Behavior depends on how a person perceives a social situation at each cognitive stage (Piaget, 1950, 1954). Cognitive theory stresses a child's active role in structuring and interpreting the world.

Building on Piaget's work, Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) claimed that children learn their gender roles according to their level of cognitive development—in essence, their degree of comprehension of the world. One of the first ways a child comprehends the world is by organizing reality through his or her **self**, the unique sense of identity that distinguishes each individual from all other individuals, and a highly valued part of the child's existence. Anything associated with the self becomes highly valued as well. By age 3, children begin to self-identify by gender and accurately apply gender-related labels to themselves and often to others. By age 6, *gender constancy* is in place. Gender is permanent: A girl knows that she is a girl and will remain one. Only then, Kohlberg asserts, is gender identity said to be developed. Gender identity becomes a central part of self, invested with strong emotional attachment. Studies on gender concepts of children ages 3–5 offer support for the cognitive development approach to using gender identity to organize and label gender-related behavior. These labels form the basis for gender stereotypes and expectations about gender-related behavior (Martin et al., 2004). Thus, cognitive development theory offers a good explanation for the development of gender-typing during primary socialization: When children finally figure out what gender means in their lives, they embrace that understanding in ways that create and then reinforce gender stereotypes.

Once gender identity is developed, much behavior is organized around it. Children seek models that are labeled as "girl" or "boy" and "female" or "male," and in turn, identification with the

same-sex parent can occur. Although children base much of their behavior on reinforcement, cognitive theorists see a different sequence in gender socialization than do social learning theorists. This sequence is "I am a boy; therefore, I want to do boy things; therefore, the opportunity to do boy things (and to gain approval for doing them) is rewarding" (Kohlberg, 1966:89). Reinforcements are important, but the child chooses behavior and roles according to the sense of self. Even young children use their knowledge of gender roles to bolster this sense of self by engaging in gender-typed behaviors. In this way, cognitive development theory supports a self-socialization process. Children choose whom they want to imitate and how the imitation may be played out (Zosuls et al., 2011; Patterson, 2012). Individual differences in gender roles are accounted for by the different experiences of children. Children may subsequently repeat these experiences based on reinforcement, so there is some consistency with social learning theory. There is wide support for the cognitive development approach to gender role socialization. Children are gender detectives. Their interests and activities—such as appearance, play, toys, and friendships—are based on their beliefs about gender compatibility, a pattern that cuts across race, ethnicity, and social class (Alexander and Wilcox, 2012; Halim et al., 2014). Children value their own gender more and believe theirs is superior to the other. Early in life children develop the ability to classify characteristics by gender and choose behavior according to that classification (Miller et al., 2006).

Critique Like social learning, cognitive development theory cannot account for all gender role socialization. The cognitive development model also has been criticized because a key assertion is that children will actively choose gender-typed behavior only after they understand gender constancy. Gender constancy appears by age 6, but gender-typed preferences in play and toy selections are already in place by age 2 or 3. Cognitive development theory assumes that these preferences are based on gender identity. For the model to fit neatly with the stages outlined in cognitive development, gender identity must come before an understanding of gender constancy. To date, research has been unable to confirm this sequence. In countering this criticism, cognitive theorists suggest that all that is needed for gender identity is simple, rudimentary knowledge about gender. *Gender stability*, where the child views the same gender role behavior over and over in a variety of contexts, will suffice even if the child cannot fully comprehend gender constancy. Simple knowledge about gender stability allows children to begin to label accurately who is a girl and who is a boy. Critics still argue, however, that the acquisition of knowledge about gender stability is not as simple as cognitive development theorists describe. For children to determine patterns of gender stability, they must experience social interaction in a relatively large number of contexts. It is unlikely that this interaction will be either uniform or consistent in terms of gender. Understanding the supposedly simple idea of gender stability may be as complicated for children as understanding gender constancy (Renk et al., 2006; Stockard, 2007).

Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory is an important subset of cognitive development theory. **Schemas** are cognitive structures used to understand the world, interpret perception, and process new information. Sandra Bem, one of the most prominent gender schema theorists, contends that once the child learns cultural definitions of gender, these schemas become the core around which all other information is organized (Bem, 1981, 1983, 1987). Consistent with cognitive development

theory, before a schema is created to process gender-related information, children must be at the cognitive level to identify gender accurately. Infants as young as 9 months can distinguish between male and female, but it is between ages 2 and 3 that this identification becomes associated with giant leaps in gender knowledge. Schemas tell children what they can and cannot do according to their gender. Even coloring books are highly gender stereotyped. Equalitarian images are hard to find, and very few female characters engage in male activities or occupations. Gender schema theory suggests that limited and stereotyped images for girls may disallow them from thinking about different alternatives in life (Fitzpatrick and McPherson, 2010). Schemas affect children's behavior and influence their self-esteem. A child's sense of self is linked to how closely his or her behavior matches accepted gender schemas. When a girl learns that prescriptions for femininity in her culture include being polite and kind, these behaviors are incorporated into her emerging gender schema, and she adjusts her behavior accordingly.

Gender schemas of parents impact how they behave toward their children and, in turn, how this influences their children's development. Significant, positive correlations between parent and child gender schemas are consistently reported. Parents with traditional gender schemas are more likely to have children with gender-typed cognitions than are parents with nontraditional schemas (Leaper and Friedman, 2007). By 18 months, children can associate cultural symbols with gender—pictures of fire hats and hammers are associated with males; pictures of dolls and teddy bears, with females (Eichstedt et al., 2002). As adults, gender-based processing directs people to use language according to gender role orientation). These studies support Sandra Bem's contention that the way parents behave toward children and the way symbols are classified are directed by a gender schematic network of cultural associations that we learn to accept. In cultures that rigidly adhere to beliefs about gender differences, gender schemas are likely to be even more complex.

Other support for the influence of gender schemas comes from research indicating that people have a selective memory bias for information congruent with gender. Children and adults can recall personal experiences, activities, people, media, and reading material more accurately and vividly when the information is presented in gender stereotypical ways (Ruble et al., 2006). Schemas are guided by gender to fill in gaps when other information is ambiguous. In the absence of relevant information about the strengths of a political candidate, for example, people default to gender of the candidate to process the information (Chang and Hitchon, 2004). We also revert to gender schema to sort out information that is gender inconsistent. Gender stereotype–congruent tasks are completed more quickly. Boys can manipulate mechanical toys faster than girls; girls can dress a doll quicker than boys (Knight et al., 2004). Children presented with pictures of girls and boys engaged in nontradi-tional roles, such as a girl sawing wood or a boy sewing, will recall the picture in a gender-consistent way—the boy is sawing, and the girl is sewing (Martin and Ruble, 2004:68). Even young children exaggerate or invent male–female differences even if none exist, a pattern carried through to adulthood.

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AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

Topic: 37-38

Topic 37: Agents of Socialization: Family, peers, school, and media

Agents of socialization are the people, groups, and social institutions that provide the critical information needed for children to become fully functioning members of society. Functionalists point out that if these agents do not carry out their socialization tasks properly, social integration may be compromised. Conflict theorists point out that these agents offer varying degrees of power, allowing socialization advantages to some groups and disadvantages to others. These agents do not exist independently of one another and are often inconsistent in the gendered messages they send. Later chapters will be devoted to each agent, but the focus here will be on those agents that are the most influential in determining gender roles during primary socialization.

The Family

The family is by far the most significant agent of socialization. Although social change has increased family diversity and created more opportunities for children to be influenced by other social institutions, the family continues to play the pivotal role in primary socialization. The family is responsible for shaping a child's personality, emerging identity, and self-esteem. Children gain their first values and attitudes from the family, including powerful messages about gender. Learned first in the family and then reinforced by other social institutions, gender is fundamental to the shaping of all social life. Gender messages dominate and are among the best predictors of a range of later attitudes and behaviors.

Do You Want a Boy or a Girl? The first thing expectant parents say in response to this question is "We want a healthy baby." Then they state a gender preference. Preference for one gender over the other is strong. Most couples agree on their preference for male over female children, especially for a first or only child, a consistent finding for over half a century in the United States (Newport, 2011). We will see that it also holds true for most of the world. Males are stronger in these preferences than females. There are important exceptions, however, to the son-preference finding when surveying individuals rather than couples. Reviews of data from the United States and some European countries, including gender-equitable Scandinavia, find that college women, first-time pregnant women, and middle-class young adults state a daughter preference or no preference more often than a son preference (Andersson et al., 2006; Dahl et al., 2006; Strow and Bras-field, 2006).

A key issue in understanding parental gender preferences is parity. The ideal for couples in the United States and much of the developed world is to have two children, one boy and one girl. It is well documented that couples with two children of the same gender are more likely to try for a third child than those with one son and one daughter (Andersson et al., 2007; Kippen et al., 2007). Parity is also related to sex selection technology (SST), which increases the chances of having a child of the preferred gender.

Data on attitudes toward use of SST for a firstborn child show a preference for a firstborn son. When considering the gender balance issue, couples who use SST are more likely to try for a boy if they have two girls compared to couples who try for a girl if they have two boys. Such choices have a major impact on these families because the number of children is significantly higher in families with firstborn girls (Swetkis et al., 2002; Dahl and Moretti, 2008).

Internet sites spawned by SST increase public awareness and bolster its legitimacy. Regardless of whether a boy or girl is preferred, it is clear from blogs, self-help sites, and Internet support forums that SST strongly reinforces the gender binary. The following research examples from such sites suggest this legitimacy.

> These women do not question whether the sex of the child should matter. They take it as a given. Just as it is different being a boy or a girl, they say it is equally different being a parent to a boy than to a girl (As described by an SST research participant). I wanted have someone to play Barbies with and to go shopping with; I wanted the little girl with long hair and pink and doing fingernails. They speak of Barbies and ballet and butterfly barrettes. They also describe their desire to rear strong young women. (Cited in Bhatia, 2010:268, 271)

Gender Socialization in Early Childhood Gender-typing begins in the womb. Evidence suggests that when the sex of the fetus is known, mothers modify activities according to beliefs about male strength and female fragility. She may engage in more rigorous exercise and physical activities if she is carrying a male. Parents talk about the fetus in gendered terms. Males may be described as active and kicking; females, as quiet and calm. Gender of the child is one of the strongest predictors of how parents will behave toward their children, a finding that is reported globally and one that crosses racial and ethnic lines in the United States (Raley and Bianchi, 2006; Carothers and Reis, 2013). Parents are likely to describe infant sons as strong, tough, and alert and infant daughters as delicate, gentle, and awkward, regardless of the weight or length of their infants. Fathers are more stereotyped in their assessments than mothers. Socialization by parents encourages gender-appropriate norms allowing separation, independence, and more risk-taking for boys and connection, interdependence, and more cautious behaviors for girls (Kline and Wilcox, 2013). While Dick is allowed to cross the street, use scissors, or go to a friend's house by himself, Jane must wait until she is older.

Gendered Childhood: Clothing, Toys, and Play Proud parents deposit their newborns in a household ready to accommodate either a boy or a girl. The baby also is welcomed into the home by greeting cards from friends and family that display consistent gender-stereotyped messages. Indeed, gender-neutral cards for any age are largely nonexistent. Pink- and pastel-colored cards for darling, sweet, and adorable girls and cards in primary colors for strong, handsome, and active boys are standard. The first artifacts acquired by the infant are toys and clothes. In anticipating the arrival of the newborn, friends and relatives choose gifts that are neutral to avoid embarrassing themselves or the expectant parents by colors or toys that suggest the "wrong" gender. When they know the gender of the child in advance, these selections are much easier. Teddy bears and clothing in colors other than pink or blue are safe bets.

Most parents, however, do know their baby's sex before birth and decorate the child's room accordingly. If parents choose not to know the sex of the baby in advance, decorations for either

gender will be chosen. But within weeks of the baby's arrival, the infant's room is easily recognizable as belonging to a girl or a boy. Until recently, toys for toddlers were likely to be gender neutral, but that pattern has changed dramatically in less than a decade. Manufacturers offer gender lines for almost all their toys, even if the toys have the same function. Girls and boys play with the same building blocks but in different colors; girls' are pink and purple and boys' are in darker primary colors. Infant girls cuddle pink-clad teddy bears and dolls, and infant boys cuddle blue-clad teddy bears and dolls. When you inspect toy ads, note that these dolls are virtually indistinguishable in all of the features except the color of the clothing. By age 2, children begin to reject toys designed for the other gender and select those designed for their own gender. By preschool, children have a firm commitment to own-gender toys and tend to reject other-gender toys as well as the children playing with other-gender toys, especially if a boy is playing with a girl's toy.

Color-coded and gender-typed clothing of infants and children are widespread and taken for granted (Paoletti, 2012). Pink and yellow on girls are sharply contrasted with blue and red on boys. Although pants for school and casual wear are now more common than dresses, girls' clothing is likely in pastels with embroidered hearts and flowers. Given that pants for girls often do not have pockets, a purse becomes a necessity. Both boys and girls wear T-shirts and sweatshirts. Boys wear those that have superhero and athletic motifs, and girls wear those depicting female television characters or nature scenes. Pictures of outstanding male athletes are typically represented in nonathletic clothing for boys and sometimes for girls, but it is unusual to find female athletes depicted on clothing for girls. Halloween costumes provide a good example of gender-typing in clothing. Gender-neutral costumes are rare at Halloween, with hero costumes highly favored by both boys and girls. Girl heroes are clustered around beauty queens and princesses, and boy heroes are clustered around warriors, especially villains and symbols of death. Animal costumes are favored for younger children, but these, too, are gender-typed. The pink dragon is female, and the blue teddy bear is male (Nelson, 2000). Gender-oriented clothing and accessories provide the initial labels to ensure that children are responded to according to gendered norms. If an infant girl's gender is not readily identifiable by her clothing, she may have a bow attached to her bald head so that she will not be mistaken for a boy.

Dolls A clothing–toy link carries a formidable force for socialization, especially for girls who buy "fashions" for their dolls. Dolls for girls, especially Barbies, and "action figures" for boys (advertisers will never call them dolls) are standard gifts to children from parents. Not only are messages about beauty, clothing, and weight sent to girls via Barbie, but girls also learn about options and preferences in life. Barbie has held a variety of jobs, including flight attendant, ballerina, fashion model, teacher, and aerobics instructor. At the height of the women's movement in the 1970s, she graduated from medical school as a surgeon and joined the army in the 1980s. Regardless of job, she prefers pink and purple outfits and accessories. She broke up with Ken after 43 years together, but they recently reunited. Barbie does have nonwhite friends, but except for skin color, they are identical in shape and size to classic white Barbie. Celebrating her fiftieth birthday in 2009, Barbie remains a powerful socialization icon for girls throughout the world.

Dolls for girls are increasingly sexualized, a trend Barbie has largely avoided. Dolls wear black leather miniskirts, thigh-high boots, and thongs, with the same items appearing on shelves in

clothing stores for tween girls, often under "eye candy" and "wink wink" slogans. The theories of socialization reviewed in this chapter may explain the process differently, but all recognize the gender detriment that is associated with childhood sexualization. With its powerful media connection, the sexualized dolls and clothing for tween girls are linked to self-objectification, feelings of powerless and vulnerability, and threats to desires, competency, health, and overall well-being (Hatch, 2011). Parents who are dismayed by the grip of Barbie in their households may find an advantage to encouraging their preadolescent daughters to continue to play with Barbie-type dolls until they are out of the doll stage of life.

A generation ago the male counterpart of Barbie was G.I. Joe. Although today G.I. Joe is sold mainly to nostalgic adult men, it was the prototype for subsequent action figures. The action figures currently sold to boys have larger body frames and are more muscular than the original figures. These figures can be bent, and their bodies can be manipulated to emphasize movement and complex activities. Except for baby-type dolls, girls play with dolls that have few joints and limited options for staging movement. Girls equate beauty and style with Barbie. Boys equate good looks and ruggedness with heroic action figures. Messages about masculine and feminine embodiment ideals are sent to both boys and girls through these toys. Today G.I Joe has his own franchise, including movies in a military-themed universe (Truitt, 2013). Combined with an entertainment-based youth culture, gendered toys are another link to lower self-esteem, damaging notions regarding physical activity, and the origins of eating disorders in children.

Toys and Gender Scripts Toys for girls encourage domesticity, interpersonal closeness, and a social orientation. Boys receive more categories of toys, their toys are more complex and expensive, and the toys foster self-reliance and problem solving. Toys for boys are likely to be designed for action (race cars, trains, weapons, building, and outdoor play. Toys for girls are likely to be designed for housework (ironing, cooking, sewing, cleaning) and beauty (hairstyling, cosmetics, glamorous clothing for dolls). As they get older, Dick and Jane acquire toys that encourage more imagination, pretense, and role-taking. Pretend play is developed earlier in girls, but by second grade, boys surpass girls in imaginative play. Girls script their play and stage their activities more realistically, largely having to do with caretak-ing of dolls and playing house. The major exception to this pattern is the prevailing "princess" scenario that girls embrace, often to the chagrin of their nontraditional parents (Orenstein, 2006). Boys script their play around fantasies related to super-heroes, dragons and dinosaurs, wars in space, and aliens. The toys associated with the scripts are rated as competitive, violent, exciting, and dangerous (Blakemore and Centers, 2005). Girls do have one advantage over boys in their toy selections: They are allowed to cross over and play with toys designed for boys. Even so-called gender-neutral toys still resemble toys for boys in color, such as primary color blocks. These keep the appeal for boys but allow them to be purchased for girls (Auster and Mansbach, 2012). Playing with male-oriented toys in childhood is associated with sports participation and early development of manipulative and mechanical skills. Given that boys are discouraged from playing with toys designed for girls, if boys are restricted in their play, it is due to lack of encouragement in scripting activities suggestive of domestic roles, such as caring for children (no dolls allowed) and doing housework.

Both parents and children express clear preferences for gender-typed toys. These preferences reinforce the persistent gender-related messages that are sent to children through the toys. On

your next outing to a toy store, note how shelves are categorized according to gender and how pictures on the boxes suggest how boys and girls should use the toys. Little Jane uses her tea set to give parties for dolls in her room, whereas same-age Dick is experimenting with sports or racing trucks outside in the mud. Siblings and peers ensure that the children will play with toys or stage games in gender-specific ways. The gender-related messages, in turn, show up in differences between girls and boys in cognitive and social development in childhood as well as differences in gender roles as adults. Despite massive social change impacting the genders, gender-typed preferences in toys not only persist, but also appear to be growing.

Gendered Parenting As social learning theorists suggest, through the toys and clothes children receive during early childhood, parents send powerful messages about what is or is not gender appropriate. In turn, children come to expect that their mothers will respond to them differently than their fathers. Parenting practices thus vary not only according to the gender of the child, but also according to the gender of the parent. By preadolescence, children expect responses from their parents according to traditional instrumental-expressive gender role stereotypes. Children as young as 3 years believe not only that their parents will approve of them more when they play with gender-typed toys, but also that fathers will disapprove more if boys play with girls' toys. Children expect mothers to soothe hurt feelings more than fathers. They expect to have more time with their fathers for recreation, especially rough-and-tumble play. Household chores are usually divided according to gender, but mothers are more likely than fathers to encourage both their sons and daughters to take on chores that would usually be assigned to the other gender. These patterns of gender intensification increase as children get older (Galambos, 2004; Freeman, 2007). Fathers may be more traditional than mothers in their stereotypes, but both parents have strong convictions about which gender is better suited to which activities. Parents perceive the competencies of their children in areas such as math, English, and sports according to their children's gender, even if these influences are independent of any real differences in the talents or abilities of the children (Marmion and Lundberg-Love, 2004; Kline and Wilcox, 2013). Children may recognize the inequity in their parents' actions, but largely accept the behavior as gender appropriate. Parent–child similarity about gender attitudes carries throughout childhood and adolescence (Degner and Dalege, 2013). This acceptance of stereotypes is consistent with cognitive development theory by suggesting that the development of gender role identity is linked to children's perception of adult behavior.

Sons and Daughters Gender of parent does not predict the level of respon-siveness—both parents respond swiftly and appropriately to the demands of their children—but it does predict the type of response. There are clear differences between men and women in gender role expectations concerning child rearing. Children of all ages spend more time with women than men. Girls do housework with mothers, and boys do yard work with fathers. Fathers spend more time with their sons and focus activities on instrumental learning—how to repair things, how to compete successfully in sports, and how to earn and manage money. Regardless of the child's gender, mothers talk to their children, are emotionally expressive, and stay closer to them more than fathers. Both mothers and fathers expect riskier behavior from their sons and believe that there is little they can do to prevent it. Fathers believe that overprotecting their children, especially their sons, limits opportunities for physical risk-taking that is unproductive (Morrongiello and Hogg, 2004). Risk issues show up in messages about sex and sexuality. Both parents send their daughters more restrictive sex messages than they do their sons (Morgan et al.,

2010; Brussoni and Olsen, 2012). Although mothers spend more overall time with their children than fathers, parental time spent with same-gender children is considered more productive in terms of socialization benefits (Gugl and Welling, 2012).

Today's parents are much more likely to support beliefs about gender equity and feminist values than did their parents. A growing new generation of feminist parents is socializing the next generation of feminist children. Parents who are forerunners of change, however, face difficult obstacles. This ideological shift toward equity is more strongly supported by mothers than by fathers. Fathers have less support for gender equity when they have sons only, but more support when they have daughters only. Feminist fathers may lag behind feminist mothers because the fathers tap into the gender differences that were part of their own socialization experiences (Risman and Myers, 2006; Blakemore and Hill, 2008). According to symbolic interactionists, beliefs about equity cannot fully erase these early family influences. In addition, children from egalitarian households—whether their parents are defined as feminist or not —are continually exposed to patriarchal families outside their homes, especially in the media. Until egalitarian behavior becomes normative throughout all social institutions, a cultural lag persists (McCorry, 2006). On the other hand, we have seen that socialization is a powerful force serving both gender role continuity and gender role change. As beliefs about gender equity become more widespread, the next generation of parents should socialize their children in less traditional ways than they were socialized.

Peers and Preferences

Children transfer gender role patterns established in the family when they begin to form friendships with their peers. With family gender role models as a foundation, peer influence on children's gender socialization is even more powerful. Parents initiate the first peer relationships for their children, with these often developing into later friendships chosen by the children themselves. Two- and three-year-olds delight in playing with their same-age companions, and parents are not compelled to separate them by gender at this early age. As school age approaches, however, this situation is altered dramatically.

Activities, games, and play are strongly related to gender roles and become important aspects of socialization. These are easily seen when a brother and sister play together. When Jane pressures Dick into playing house, she is the mommy and he is the daddy. Or she can convince him to be the student while she is the teacher and relishes the prospect of scolding him for his disruptive classroom behavior. On the other hand, if brother Dick coerces Jane into a game of catch, he bemoans her awkwardness and ridicules her lack of skill. What would social learning theory say about the likelihood of Jane becoming an expert in catch? Games such as these usually are short-lived, dissolve into conflict, and are dependent on the availability of same-gender peers with whom siblings would rather play.

Games Peer play activities socialize children in important ways. The games of boys are more complex, competitive, and rule-governed and allow for more positions to be played and a larger number of participants than games played by girls. Girls play ordered games such as hopscotch and jump rope in groups of two or three, which take up less space, minimize competitiveness, and tend to enhance cooperation. Both boys and girls play kickball, but boys play it at a younger

age than girls and graduate to more competitive, physically demanding sports sooner than girls. There are significant consequences of gender differences in games and play. Girls prefer to socialize and talk at recess rather than engage in any physical activity, a pattern more pronounced with African American and Latino girls (Kim, 2008; Holmes, 2012). When girls are weaned from sports and physical activities in early childhood, they lose strength, are less interested in exercising, stay indoors, and watch television more than boys (Cherney and London, 2006). By adolescence, they show some loss in bone density and are at increased risk for obesity. An important early study of these effects bitterly concluded that girls' games "teach meaningless mumbo-jumbo—vague generalities or pregame mutual agreements about 'what we'll play'—while falsely implying that these blurry self-guides are typical of real world rules" (Harragan, 1977:49–50). Decades later the pattern still holds. Skipping rope is a shared activity for girls in smaller spaces on playgrounds that are dominated by boys who play soccer and basketball. Boys and girls are proud of these activities and seize opportunities to show them off to the other gender. Boys act out hegemonic masculinity in their sports skills, and girls demonstrate friendship and precision in their skipping skills (Martin, 2011).

Later research lends support to the notion that girls lose out in early skill development related to competition. Girls also may take longer to develop the ability to take on the roles of several people at once—referred to as the *generalized other* by symbolic interactionists—which is valuable in understanding group dynamics by anticipating how others will react in a given group situation. Complex games such as team sports require this ability. Yet this learning process may have negative effects for both girls and boys. The games of young boys do provide early guidelines that are helpful for success later in life, such as striving for individual excellence through competition as emphasized in American culture. However, boys may be at a disadvantage because it takes them longer than girls to learn values such as consensus building, cooperation, and intimacy, which are also essential for interpersonal and economic success.

Cognitive development and social learning theory highlight the importance of peers in fueling gender segregation during early childhood. With strong gender cognitions about similarity, peer group influence increases throughout the school years, exerting a powerful effect on children. As any playground in the world demonstrates, children quickly gravitate toward same-gender peers. When children interact, positive reinforcement for the behavior of same-gender peers occurs more frequently than with other-gender peers (Martin et al., 2011).

Young boy show stronger gender-typed preferences in activities when they are with peers than when alone (Goble et al., 2012). Boys are mocked by other boys for displaying fear or for crying when they are picked on and applauded when they are aggressive. Even with zero tolerance school policies about bullying and fighting, think about when boys fight or taunt other boys, their peers on the sidelines cheer and spur them on. Boys are more tenacious in their gender typical behavior and exhibit strong masculine stereotyped preferences through preadolescence. But boys must walk a fine line between openly displaying too much or not enough aggression (Kochel et al., 2012). Boys are more likely than girls to be expelled from school for aggressive behavior. Both gender-typical and gender-atypical behavior is risky for boys who are concerned with maintaining positive peer relationships. Children prefer to interact with other children who have the same style of play as their own. In preschool, gender segregation is enforced by peers but high-activity girls originally interact more in games with boys. Over time, gender resegregation

occurs, but low-activity girls and high-activity girls interact in separate groups (Hoffmann and Powlishta, 2001; Pellegrini et al., 2007). Boys interact in larger groups and have more extensive but less communal peer relationships; girls interact in smaller groups and have more intensive and more communal peer relationships. Early intimacy with peers carries over to higher levels of self-disclosure and trust between women, especially best-friend pairs. The trust and openness that enhance same-gender relationships could inhibit later cross-gender friendships. Gender boundaries are strictly monitored and enforced by peers in childhood, and the worlds of male and female are further divided. Because they learn different styles of interaction, when boys and girls meet as teenagers, they may do so as strangers.

Shifts in Gendered Peer Behavior Recent research suggests that the peer socialization experiences of girls and boys differ depending on type and context of the experience. Since girls are often rewarded for masculine activities, they are able to be more gender atypical in their activities, However, peer harassment, social exclusion, taunting, and name-calling are associated with withdrawal. Adolescents withdraw from both masculine activities (for example, sports) and feminine activities (for example, cheerleading). As expected from ample research, peer harassment of boys predicts fewer feminine activities. Boys with fewer male friends and many female friends experience more peer harassment, but surprisingly, gender-atypical (feminine) behavior increases rather than decreases. The more excluded boys are from other boys, the *less* they engage in masculine activities (Lee and Troop-Gordon, 2011a; 2011b). As we have seen in this chapter, boys and girls undergo different socialization processes for gender role development. These findings need to be incorporated in the theories to explain both the similarities and the differences.

School

Family life paves the way for education, the next major agent of continuing socialization. The intimacy and spontaneity of the family and early childhood peer groups are replaced with a school setting in which children are evaluated impersonally with rewards based on academic success. School will play a critical role in the lives of both parents and students for the next 12–20 years. The intent here is to briefly consider its role in primary socialization. Regardless of the mission to evaluate children impersonally—by what they do rather than who they are—schools are not immune to gender role stereotyping and often foster it.

Teachers who sincerely believe they are treating boys and girls similarly are unaware of how they inadvertently perpetuate sexist notions. When Jane is ignored or not reprimanded for disruptive behavior, is encouraged in her verbal but not mathematical abilities, or is given textbooks showing women and girls in a narrow range of roles—or not showing them at all—gender stereotyping is encouraged, and Jane's self-esteem and achievement motivation decrease (Skelton, 2006; Brown, 2008). Dick discovers that his rowdiness will gain attention from his female elementary school teacher, that he can aspire to any occupation except nurse or secretary, and that he is rewarded for his athletic skills at recess. Unlike Jane, who may be grudgingly admired when engaged in "tomboy" behavior, Dick is loath to even investigate school-related activities typical for girls, lest he be called a "sissy." A decade of research on students of all grade levels conducted by Myra and David Sadker (1994) brings this point home. Their study asked: What would it be like to become a member of the "opposite sex"? Both boys and girls

preferred their own gender, but girls found the prospect intriguing and interesting and were willing to try it for a while. As girls wrote, "I will be able to be almost anything I want" or "I will make more money now that I am a boy." Boys, on the other hand, found it appalling, disgusting, and humiliating. Comments from two sixth-grade boys suggest the intensity of these feelings: "My teachers would treat me like a little hairy pig-headed girl" and at the extreme: "If I were turned into a girl today, I would kill myself" (Sadker and Sadker, 1994:83).

Functionalists emphasize the responsibility of schools to socialize children to eventually take on positions necessary to maintain society. Schools provide experiences that offer technical competence as well as the learning of values and norms appropriate to the culture. American culture places a high regard on the values of competition, initiative, independence, and individualism, and schools are expected to advocate these values. We have already seen how these values are associated more with masculinity than femininity. Also from a functionalist viewpoint, schools are indispensable in bringing together a diverse society through the acceptance of a common value system.

Unfortunately, many schools unwittingly socialize children into acquiring one set of values to the exclusion of the other. Stereotypical thinking assumes that to fill bread-winning roles, boys need to be taught the value of competitiveness and to fill domestic roles, girls need to be taught the value of nurturance. Although both are positive values and both are needed to function effectively, they are limited to, or truly accepted by, only one gender. As schools begin to foster gender-fairness in the curriculum and in school culture, gender role socialization harmful to both girls and boys can be altered.

Television

Television aimed at young children is a commanding source of gender socialization. This observation is empirically justified, considering that a child may spend up to one-third of the day watching TV. Heavy television viewing is strongly associated with traditional and stereotyped gender views. Children are especially vulnerable in believing that television images represent truth and reality. Television is by far the most influential of all the media. Television establishes standards of behavior, provides role models, and communicates expectations about all social life. Children are increasingly using messages from television to learn about gender and sexuality—a pattern found for both genders and for children of all races in the United States. When television images are reinforced by the other mass media, such as movies, magazines, and popular songs, the impact on socialization is profound.

Television Teaches Strongly supportive of social learning theory, children as young as 2 years of age copy what they see on TV, with imitation increasing through the elementary school years. Television encourages modeling. Children identify with same-gender characters. Boys identify with physically strong characters, especially athletes and superheroes. Girls identify with beautiful models, girls who are popular and attractive in school, and plain girls who are transformed into lovely and rich princesses.

Television is gender stereotyped. Gender role portrayals in shows that are deemed acceptable for children are highly stereotyped. Even *Sesame Street*, arguably the most popular children's show

for preschool children of all time, highly underrepresents female characters—human or Muppet—and portrays males more than females as dominant and in roles of authority. In cartoons for preadolescents, male characters outnumber female characters ten to one. Females are portrayed more in family roles and are more physically attractive and sexualized than male characters (*The Little Mermaid, Beauty and the Beast*). Cartoons usually have all males or have one or two females, often in helping or little sister relationships. Many of you may recall from your childhood the lone *Smurfette* among all of the other male *Smurfs*. When girls are portrayed with boys in dangerous situations, boys determine the story line and the code of values for the group. Girls are defined in relation to the boys. Television influences self-image. On Saturday morning T V, boys are more significant persons than girls, if only by the sheer number of male characters compared to female. This is bolstered by television's consistent and stubborn portrayal of stereotypical female characters, especially teenagers, existing primarily as add-ons to males (*SpongeBob, Phineas and Ferb*). It is interesting that children's programming that deviates from gender stereotypes is not only successful, but also hugely popular. Females are lead characters that are portrayed as heroic, smart, and adventurous; male and female characters are partners in adventures (*Dora the Explorer, Adventure Time, Doc McStuffins; Powerpuff Girls*). Although these are positive signs, Dora has taken on a more sexualized appearance, the *Powerpuff Girls*, alas, are still more puff than powerful, and it is difficult to find boys in roles that show caring and warmth. Factoring in race, young white boys are the largest beneficiaries in bolstering overall self-esteem from television programming for children.

Advertising Children's television is supported by commercials aimed at products for children—mainly toys, fast food, and sugared cereal. In the early days of television, advertising for children's items was targeted to adults. Today children are more likely than adults to actually watch the commercials. Marketing to the "child consumer" is a key tactic of the toy industry with age- and gender-linked ads designed to entice a specific niche of children (Pike and Jennings, 2005; Desmond and Carveth, 2007). Advertisers prompt children to believe that doing without these toys or other products is an unfortunate hardship. Commercials are blatant in creating desires for toys encouraging domesticity and passivity in girls and high activity in boys; girls play cooperatively, and boys play competitively and aggressively. Not only do these patterns show no sign of decreasing, but gender stereotypes are intensifying.

The entertainment industry has melded toys into television, and the child consumer it increasingly caters to is getting younger. Toy manufacturers such as Fisher-Price and producers of children's programs such as Disney have joined in creating a "baby market" targeting the 0–3 age niche. This industry defines babies as "early learners" and markets products such as Baby Einstein as "educational" and "developmental" (Hughes, 2005). As social constructionism tells us, when these definitions are accepted, the product is approved as more than merely a toy. The fact that these toys are packaged and sold as "gender appropriate" is ignored.

Regardless of how gender stereotyped toys are, television succeeds in pressuring parents to buy "learning tools" that also are fun for their children. Those who resist the pressure to buy products or find that the products children want are unavailable are made to feel guilty by advertisers and children alike. Remember the frantic search for limited supplies of Cabbage Patch Kids, Power Rangers, and Tickle Me Elmo by parents who feared a disappointed child during holidays or on his or her birthday? Picture, too, the angry exchanges we have witnessed between a parent and

child in front of the toy, candy, or cereal displays. Parents searching for nonstereotyped toy alternatives may feel demoralized when the offer of a tea set to their son or a truck to their daughter is met with resistance. Tantalized by television, the child's desire is within reach. The desire is likely to be gender role–oriented. The parent stands in between. Who is likely to give up the fight first?

Topic 38: Socialization for gender equity

Socialization is neither consistent nor uniform. It occurs via diverse agents at the cultural and subcultural levels. Yet identifiable gender role patterns still emerge, and children are taught to behave in feminine or masculine ways. But major contradictions also arise in this process. Girls climb trees, excel in mathematics, and aspire to be surgeons and professors. These same girls are concerned about being physically attractive, being financially successful, finding the right husband, and raising a family. Boys enjoy cooking and babysitting and cry when they are hurt or sad. These same boys are concerned about being physically attractive, being financial successful, finding the right wife, and raising a family.

Androgyny

The socialization theories and research overviewed in this chapter strongly support the notion that views of masculinity and femininity need to shift in the direction of gender role flexibility. Such flexibility offers two important positive outcomes. First, gender roles appear to be more constraining rather than liberating for the human experience. Second, socialization toward gender flexibility paves the way to increased gender equity. Regardless of how the various theories explain gender socialization, it is quite clear that they all agree that masculine and feminine traits are changeable. What socialization options might offer paths to achieving this flexibility? Ideally, then, socialization toward gender flexibility paves the way to increased gender equity. If gender constrains rather than liberates the human experience, perhaps "gender role" is an outmoded concept.

The concept of **androgyny** refers to the integration of traits considered to be feminine with those considered to be masculine. Large numbers of people can be identified as androgynous on widely used scales to measure the concept. Both men and women can score high or low on either set of traits or have a combination of them. People not only accept their biological sex (being male or female) and have a strong sense of gender identity, but also acknowledge the benefits of gender role flexibility. Gendered behavior does not disappear, but we adapt it according to the various situations and contexts confronting us and at the same time act on our own talents and desires. Parents who are identified as androgynous are less stereotyped about masculinity and femininity and offer a wider range of behavioral and attitudinal possibilities to their children. Many of these are the forerunner parents to the feminist kids mentioned earlier.

Critique Although androgyny is an encouraging concept, it has moved out of favor as applied to socialization for several reasons. It suggests that people can be defined according to a range of gendered behaviors and then classified accordingly. This in itself is stereotypical thinking. Media-inspired popular conceptions stereotype the "androgynous man" as feminine and often portray him as weak or ineffectual. When a woman exhibits masculine traits, she is less likely to

be portrayed negatively." Androgyny is associated more with femininity than masculinity; thus, it lacks the envisioned positive integration of gender traits. It may be masculine-affirmative for women, but it is not feminine-affirmative for men. According to Sandra Bem, a pioneer in measuring androgyny, even if we define what is masculine and feminine according to our culture and subcultures, we need to stop projecting gender onto situations "irrelevant to genitalia" (Bem, 1985:222).

For parents and teachers to embrace a socialization model for gender equity enthusiastically, they must believe that feminine traits in boys are as valuable and prestigious as masculine traits in girls. Because of lurking stereotypes and the higher cultural value given to masculinity, an androgyny model for socialization has been less successful.

Gender-Neutral Socialization

Given the power of the gender binary that generally values masculine traits, some parents who want to break its constraints adopt a gender-neutral approach to socialization. It may be akin to the degendered model discussed in that considers "what if" children were not divided and, in this case, not raised according to gender?"(Lorber, 2005:7). Gender-neutral parenting may exist on a continuum, with androgyny as one pole.

Raising Baby X The other pole would be raising a "Baby X," maintaining a genderless existence for the child, even by concealing the child's gender from others for as long as possible. Lois Gould's (1980) charming children's story published in *Ms.* magazine represents this pole:

> Once upon a time, a Baby named X was born. It was named X so that nobody could tell whether it was a boy or a girl. Its parents could tell, of course, but they couldn't tell anybody else. They couldn't even tell Baby X—at least not until much, much later. (p. 61)

The story revolves around how little X and its parents encountered and eventually overcame resistance from everyone who wanted to know what X was so that X could be treated as a boy or girl.

Raising a gender-neutral Baby X is virtually impossible. Parents cannot be gender blind as much as gender vigilant. They cannot ignore how gender roles seep into every aspect of our lives. A few examples, however, have surfaced in the media from Swedish, Canadian, and British couples who embraced such a parenting style as much as possible. These parents did not reveal their child's gender except to a very few people. Couples mention they want their kids to be just kids and not force their children into a gender mold. Like Baby X, clothes and toys were neutral, but although the British parents banned Barbie and guns, toy and clothes, selections were child driven rather than parent driven (Alleyne, 2012; Leaper and Bigler, 2011; Weiss, 2012).

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Lecture 11

GENDERED LANGUAGE USAGE

Topic 39-41

Topic 39: Gendered Language Usage

We are socialized into the language of our culture and subcultures. Increasing cultural diversity expands the way we use language. Women and men occupy overlapping subcultures but ones that also have distinctive differences. Although overlap is more apparent than it was even a decade ago, it is well documented that subcultures continue to be differentiated according to gendered language.

Registers

Sociolinguists use the term **register** to indicate a variety of language defined according to its use in social situations. Registers are gendered in that males and females who share the same formal language, such as English, also exhibit distinctive styles of communication, including vocabulary, grammar, sentence structure, and nonverbal communication. They are socialized into overall linguistic systems that are culturally shared but also into speech communities that are subculturally separate.

Female Register

Research identifies important aspects of female register that also highlight issues related to gender equity (Clearfield and Nelson, 2006; Stockwell, 2007; Murphy, 2010; Sneed at al., 2013).

1.Women use more qualifiers than men. These words usually hedge or soften evaluative statements: A friend is defined as "sort of" or "kind of" shy rather than simply "shy" to soften the statement. Another qualifier is when the sentence already begins with words that make it doubtful. "This may be wrong, but …" is an example.

2.Women may end a sentence with *a tag question*. When tags are used, a question follows a statement: "I enjoyed the concert, didn't you?" or "It's a beautiful day, isn't it?" Less assertive than declaratory statements, tag questions appear as if she was asking the other person's permission to express her opinion or feelings. Use of qualifiers and tag questions may suggest that women are uncertain, tentative, or equivocal in what they are saying. They may be used as defenses against potential criticism. Consider the impact of the following statements that use both qualifiers and tag questions in the same sentence: It's everything we imagined probably, isn't it? This sort of makes sense. Does it to you? I kind of liked the movie. What do you think?

3.Women use more intensifiers than men. Many of these words are employed as modifiers—adjectives and adverbs—that make up many word lists used by females: "This is a divine party," "Such a darling room," or "I think croissants are absolutely heavenly" serve as examples. Men do use intensifiers, but a pattern exclusive to women is literally to intensify the intensifier by heavily emphasizing and elongating the word. In describing a fine dining experience, for example, both men and women may say "It was so wonderful," but women will draw out and accent the adverb to become "It was so-o-o-o wonderful." An emotional overtone is added to a simple declarative sentence.

4.In those areas where women carry out their most important roles, vocabulary is more complex and descriptive than men's. Women express a greater range of words for colors, textures, food, and cooking. They are able to describe complex interpersonal relationships and emotional characteristics of themselves and others using a greater variety of words and communication styles that are adapted to the setting, a pattern found cross-culturally. Parents talk to daughters more than sons, but compared to those of fathers, mothers' conversations with both sons and daughters are longer and more detailed, explanatory, and interactive. African American mothers more than fathers talk with their children about sexual matters.

5.Female register includes forms of speaking that are more polite and indirect. By keeping the conversation open, asking for further direction, and not imposing one's views on another, polite requests rather than forced obedience result. Women will make polite requests to others, including children ("Please answer the phone" or "Will you please answer the phone?"). Men are more likely to use imperatives ("Answer the phone.").

Both men and women share the same view of what is considered polite speech—by what is said and who says it.

Male Register

For both men and women, specialized vocabularies and communicative styles emerge from specialized roles and gendered expectations. Male register, like female register, has important implications for gender equity (Coates, 2007; Andersen, 2008; Athanases and Comar, 2008; Talbot, 2010; McConnell-Ginet, 2011).

 1.Men use a wider range of words related to mechanics, finance, technology, sports, and sex. They choose words related to objects and properties of objects and to topics that are impersonal. Men use sexually related words much more frequently than women. Males in all age groups, but especially at adolescence, direct derogatory sexual slang to females ("bitch," "cunt") and gay men ("fag," "prick"). When boys use homophobic language, it is rarely challenged, especially by other boys who are present.

2.Although the use of profanity in public by both genders is now normative, profanity in general, especially sexual profanity, remains the province of men. Men and boys do not mask profanity. They use it more frequently, use it in more settings, and, compared to women, are not judged harshly—and may be judged more positively—when they use it.

3.Because men are more likely than women to be in authoritative roles, features of male register include being direct, succinct, instrumental, and personal. The personal feature may appear contradictory, given a man's tendency to distance himself emotionally from others. In the male register context, however, personal usage denotes language that is more informal and less precise. Men in leadership positions can be relaxed and friendly and therefore more personal with subordinates of either gender. They also can be more direct and less polite. When men use tag questions, for example, they tend to be more coercive: "Just get on with it, won't you?" (Hepburn and Potter, 2011).

4.Men talk more than women. Contrary to the stereotype of the bored man listening to the talkative woman, in mixed-gender conversations in a variety of contexts, research clearly indicates that men do the bulk of the talking. In classroom interaction at all educational levels, male students talk more and talk for longer periods than female students and are listened to more by teachers. Men talk more than women opponents in arguments, political debate, business negotiations, workplace meetings, and trials. Men are offered extra time to speak and exceed formal and informal time limits more often than women. However, the perception that women are more talkative than men persists. When men outspeak women by large margins, men do not believe they had a fair share of the conversation.

5.Because men dominate women in amount of talking, it is not surprising that communication domination of women by men carries over to what is talked about, how topics are switched, and the frequency of interruption. In conversing with women, men interrupt more and use interruption to indicate boredom and impatience and pave the way to a topic change. In conversing with men or with other women, when women interrupt conversations, they do so largely to indicate interest in what is being talked about, to respond, and to show support. Gender role expectations regarding a man's right to dominate a conversation are taken for granted by both men and women.

Topic 40: Nonverbal Communication

The language we verbalize expresses only one part of ourselves. Communication also occurs nonverbally, often conveying messages in a more forceful manner than if spoken. In addition to bodily movement, posture, and general demeanor, **nonverbal communication** includes eye contact, use of personal space, and touching. Women are better at communicating nonverbally and appear to be more accurate in decoding nonverbal messages, but men may have an advantage in communication online.

Facial Expressions and Eye Contact

In decoding nonverbal cues, females rely more on facial information and exhibit a greater variety of facial expressions than men do. The accurate decoding of emotions is associated with better social adjustment of children, with girls doing better than boys, a pattern found in many cultures (Leppänen and Hietanen, 2001). Females of all ages can accurately identify an emotion more often than comparable males and have less difficulty distinguishing one emotion from another (Hall et al., 2006; Beek and Dubas, 2008). Although the context may explain why males and females display certain facial expressions, the nonverbal expression of smiling is clearly gender differentiated.

Smiling

Photographs throughout the twentieth century show steady increases of both genders smiling, but women are still more likely to smile and smile more fully than men (Ellis and Das, 2011; Wondergem and Friedlmeier, 2012). At all age levels, females smile more than males, a pattern that peaks in adolescence and remains relatively constant through adulthood. As a test of this, take a look at your high school yearbook. Smiling increases for females in situations where

gender-appropriate behavior is more conspicuous (being in a wedding party) or more ambiguous (entering a mixed-gender classroom for the first time). In candid and posed photographs, females smile more, but also are more rigid in posture, seeming to show a higher level of formality than males (Hall et al., 2001; LaFrance et al., 2003). Gender roles for females appear to offer less latitude for ease in situations where they feel they are "on display." In these cases, smiling is likely to be staged and less spontaneous.

Anger

Boys are taught to resist displaying emotion and to mask it in facial expressions. Parents and teachers allow girls to display their emotions more openly. The notable exceptions to this pattern are fear and sadness and anger. Girls are allowed to display fear and sadness but not anger, and boys are allowed to display anger but not fear and sadness (Chaplin, 2013). What happens, then, when girls get angry and boys get sad and fearful? For girls, anger may be masked by crying, an acceptable outcome for young children in some settings. In contexts such as the workplace, when a woman's anger results in tears, she is judged as weak. If she does not confront the aggressor, she can be exploited. If she counters the anger with a verbal barrage, she is too aggressive. Compared to men, however, women have a greater repertoire of acceptable anger-coping styles and anger diffusion strategies (Linden et al., 2003; Guerrero et al., 2006).

For boys, anger is often expressed during sports, physical fights, or barrages of profanity, which are more acceptable for both younger and older boys in some settings. For adult men, overt aggression in the workplace is certainly discouraged, but occasional outbursts of anger are often overlooked. There are few instances where males of any age can express fear and sadness by crying. Parents and teachers frequently use the "big boys don't cry" reprimand. Peer disapproval for male crying is another effective mechanism of social control. For adult men, the expression of fear and sadness by crying in a workplace setting can amount to career suicide.

Some changes are evident however. The public expression of sadness by politicians and media figures of both genders is now acceptable and expected in tragic situations, such as President Obama's expression of grief in addressing the nation in the wake of the mass killing of children at Sandy Hook Elementary School in New-town, Connecticut.

Regarding research on gender differences in anger and fear, people are usually surprised by data showing that women engage in more eye contact than men. The stereotype is of a woman who modestly averts her eyes from the gaze of an adoring man. In both same-gender and other-gender conversational pairs, females of all ages look at the other person more and retain longer eye contact. Men have more visual dominance than women—a pattern of looking at others when speaking but looking away from them when listening. Direct eye contact increases perceptions of power, competence, and intelligence whether it comes from a man or a woman (Kirkland et al., 2013; Wagner, 2013). When men look at one another "eye to eye," it is often in an angry, confrontational manner. In countering verbal and nonverbal behaviors that may put women at a disadvantage in certain settings, to gain prestige and power, women may capitalize on their ability to retain eye contact without expressing anger.

Topic 41: The impact of linguistic sexism

We have seen that language subtly, and not so subtly, transmits sexist notions that are harmful to both men and women. Language influences our perceptions of what is proper, accepted, and expected. When we hear the words *man* and *he*, we conjure up male images. When *she* is associated with nurses and homemakers, men are linguistically excluded. Alternative images remain unexpressed because they remain unimagined.

Cognition and Self-Esteem

Ambiguous interpretations of masculine generics not only bias cognitions, but also differentially affect the self-esteem of people who read, hear, and use them. Those who use sexist language in written form are also likely to use it in oral form. During primary socialization, boys internalize masculine generics that they apply to their expanding environment. Their own sense of well-being is linked to that environment. When girls begin to expand their environments, they have no such set of referents. They must adopt symbols that are different and separate from the symbols used to identify people in general.

Language learning also produces a double bind for women who are socialized into believing they must speak politely and refrain from "man talk." Women's language is associated with maintaining both femininity and civility. Whether it is an acceptable assessment or not, female register may serve to deprecate, ignore, and stereotype women. In turn, women can internalize beliefs that they are lesser persons. Research on sexist remarks and jokes made by men suggests that women respect women when they confront the person who made the remark but that men do not like being confronted. The typical responses to women who express their dislike of being the targets of profanity and degrading sexual humor are "Can't you take a joke?" and "Don't take it personally." As evident in many CMC formats, with the negative repercussions that come with confrontation, women may believe silence is justified. Language learning for girls may be the counterpart for the difficulty boys may experience in gaining a sense of identity from incomplete information they are offered during primary socialization. In either case, the socialization road is not easy.

Resistance to Language Change

The evidence that sexist language creeps into our perceptions and does damage to both men and women is strong. Yet despite this evidence, people who would work fervently on other gender issues, such as equal pay or violence toward women, are mystified or even angry at calls to change language to make it more inclusive. Similar to the type of ridicule that surfaced when *Ms.* was introduced, media reports tell us that *he* is now a loaded word and that no one

> dares to show insensitivity to gender-neutral terminology in public, with people preferring to offend against rules of grammar rather than against women's sensibilities. Women should not be insulted but should remember that gender may be unrelated to sex in language. (*Economist*, 2001:20)

In this condemnation, rules of grammar are more important than how they are used against people and women are denied any emotional response by being told how they are supposed to feel about the issue. Those who advocate for gender-inclusive language are often labeled

"politically correct" in the media. The label sarcastically implies that people are required to change terminology on frivolous, inconsequential, and unreasonable grounds.

Formal Change

Although people tend to oppose what they perceive as invented language, examples from linguistic history show that "artificial" change may not be resisted if gender stereotypes are left untouched. The use of *he* as the required pronoun for referring to a single human being of indeterminate sex came into usage during the eighteenth century in England and the United States. Formerly, *they* or *he* or *she* were considered proper choices. The use of *they* as a plural word to identify a single entity was disdained by several powerful educators and self-styled language reformers who were able to establish *he* as the rightful substitute. An 1850 British Act of Parliament stated that "words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females." In both instances, language change occurred by fiat, not through "natural" evolution. Although the earlier usage may not have been as grammatically sound, it was certainly more accurate. It also created a great deal of interpretive problems. Still used today, *he* is presumed to be both generic (*he = he* and *she*) and nongeneric (*he = he*). The quick acceptance of the generic rested on cultural definitions that gave males more worth than females. To make language gender neutral today, it is necessary to challenge the taken-for-granted belief that males are regarded more highly than females.

Language Change as Gender Success

Despite resistance and inconsistent usage, linguistic sexism is on a rapid decline. In formal communication, such as in academic and corporate settings and in broadcast journalism, inclusive language is an emergent norm. Many writers use he/she, she/he, or s/he, or they explicitly note that both males and females are being discussed, using forms you will find throughout this book. Of these options, *they* is most accepted. Inclusive replacements for outmoded terms also are being ushered in. For instance, some schools use "first-year student" to replace the archaic and noninclusive use of the word *freshman*. Such changes offer the least cumbersome, most accurate, and now largely accepted solutions to the generic problem. Preferences notwithstanding, corporate and government offices, health care facilities, and public settings such as courtrooms and police precincts now typically require the use of *Ms.* when referring to adult females.

Recognition of the harm of sexist language is widespread. At the macro level, people are more supportive for incorporating inclusive language in government, schools, and media. Female teachers are leading the way as agents of change, selecting reading material with inclusive language, and offering students ways to avoid the gender-exclusive generic *he* in their writing (Pauwels and Winter, 2006). Prompted by requirements in virtually all style manuals, organizations, professions, and academic disciplines are adopting inclusive language standards in their correspondence, publications, and websites. These changes support the idea that the use of masculine generics is on the verge of extinction (Earp, 2012). At the micro and mezzo levels, although gender differences cut across context on many linguistic behaviors, girls and boys are more alike than different. Differences that do exist, especially in nonverbal communication, are differences in degree—not kind. Gender differences in conversational topics persist but are

getting smaller over time. The language of consensus and cooperation is moving into the workplace. This style of language is being reconstructed as beneficial for both employee satisfaction and company profit. Men are displaying more self-disclosing nonverbal behaviors such as hugging another man as a greeting rather than using the mechanical handshake of the past. Some media portrayals of men support this contention. Watch Jimmy Fallon, Conan O'Brien, or David Letterman as confirmation. Such behaviors are approved by both men and women and improve the rating of the shows and the likability of the male television hosts.

News media have powerful influences on public perception. Broadcasters now routinely report on the "men and women" soldiers or "service members." Ironically this neutral designation explicitly calls attention to gender and marks the fact that both men and women are in harm's way. Written and entertainment and broadcast media also are less likely than even a decade ago to use the generic *he* to refer to politicians, journalists, scientists, and world leaders. There are simply too many exceptions to expect audiences to overlook glaring non inclusive language. Overall, linguistic sexism continues to decline.

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GENDER AND FAMILY RELATIONS

Topic 42-

Topic 42: Gender and family relations

Women's destiny is received through messages about love, marriage and motherhood. As Simone de Beauvoir declared in one of the most important 20th century works on feminist philosophy, *The Second Sex* (1953), this destiny is difficult "to reconcile with the will to succeed."

Most people eventually become parents. Like those from many other cultures, Americans are propelled into parenthood by the gendered processes of love, cohabitation, and marriage that prime the couple for their new roles as mothers and fathers. Parenthood is structured by gender beliefs and produces powerful gender outcomes. These gender beliefs are so completely embedded in family practices that the differences and inequalities they produce are largely taken for granted. As we saw in previous chapters, challenges to taken-for-granted definitions about the family provoke highly contentious debates. These debates have profound consequences when one or another definition is used to determine public policy on a variety of family-related issues, including divorce, child custody, and benefits for single parents, cohabitating couples, and partners and children in gay and lesbian families. Political rhetoric usually highlights beliefs that when the traditional family structure is changed to accommodate change outside the family, such as women's massive entry into paid employment, disastrous social consequences follow. Other views celebrate family diversity, flexibility, and the creation of new roles for all family members in response to social change. Gender-based parental roles are called into question as alternative definitions of the family emerge. We will see in this chapter that narrow views of gender severely restrict opportunities for exploration and growth for both children and their parents. (Unless otherwise noted, statistics in this chapter are taken from U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

Topic 43: The Parenthood Transition; Motherhood

The transition from couple dyad to family triad is a momentous one. The first child brings numerous changes that affect the marriage and alter the lifestyle of the couple. New parents report that enormous joy is tempered with increased marital tension. To say that parenthood is filled with uncertainty is an understatement. Parenting is based on skills that need to be learned but cannot be effectively accomplished, if at all, until after the child is born. Socialization for parenthood is based on one's own family experiences, involvement with others' children, formal classes, folklore, and child care and parenting manuals. Whatever the degree of preparation, new parents discover that the anticipation of what it means to be a parent is far different from the reality. Gender is a key factor in accounting for this anticipation gap. Parenthood brings different experiences and produces different results for mothers compared to fathers.

Early sociological work on the transition to parenthood focused on parenthood as *crisis*. In this model, first-time parents encounter anxiety, uncertainty, loss of confidence—even shock—during the first days and weeks of parenting. The strains of parenthood can be overwhelming, and the demands alter the quality as well as quantity of time spent on the marital relationship.

More time and energy are spent on children-related issues than on marriage-related ones. When couples nurture their children but not their marriage, the risk of divorce increases. Traditional gender roles also can drive a wedge between the new parents. When women do virtually all of the infant care and take on the added housework demands, they adopt new roles. Men tend to maintain prefatherhood roles, often retreating to workplace roles that may find themselves emotionally distanced from both wife and newborn (Bell et al., 2007; Galdiolo and Roskam, 2012). The crisis of parenthood is eased when gender roles are more flexible and couples make a determined effort to enhance closeness.

Parenthood as crisis has been largely replaced with the view that parenthood is a normal developmental stage. The disorganization and seeming chaos when the newborn enters the household gradually give way to new routines and family norms associated with the tension first, but then the joy and gratification new parents experience.

Obviously, parenthood alters marital roles and creates new family roles. Whether the parenthood transition is seen as a crisis, a stage in normal development, or something in between depends on how a family responds to meet the parenting challenge. This response will be largely dependent on beliefs regarding gender roles. The labels "husband" and "wife" suggest different realities; the same can be said for motherhood and fatherhood.

Motherhood

The belief that a woman's ultimate fulfillment will be as a mother is a powerful socialization message girls hear very early in life. The **motherhood mandate** issues a command to females of all ages, instructing them that motherhood demands selfless devotion to children and subordination of one's own life to the needs of children and family. Although many other activities that she finds personally worthwhile are halted, the mandate assumes that a woman willingly submits herself to her child-rearing responsibilities first. The power of this mandate instills guilt in women who have small children and work outside the home, regardless of whether they are employed because they "want to be" (employment is personally rewarding) or they "have to be" (they need the money).

The Motherhood Mandate American culture idealizes motherhood, but the actual support new mothers receive varies considerably. If women are socialized into believing that being a good mother comes easily, they are severely jolted by parenting responsibilities. The tension and strain experienced by first-time mothers can be perceived as personal failure, in turn lessening their motivation to seek help. The notion of a maternal instinct is not empirically supported but the view that all females want to become mothers and that a mother's role "comes naturally" stubbornly persists. Ideal mothers are expected to enjoy the work of mothering and caring for home and family, regardless of how demanding or tedious the work is. Exclusive devotion to mothering is good for her children and promotes a husband's happiness and marital contentment (Hoffnung, 1995; Buchanan, 2013).**Functionalism** In emphasizing that the motherhood mandate is essential for social equilibrium, functionalists offer support for these qualities. Mothers are both the biological reproducers and the social reproducers. As a child's primary socializer, a mother provides the necessary ingredients for maintaining, producing, and continuing society. If socialization does not instill girls with the motherhood man-date—and the dream and idealism

associated with it—society may be compromised. Functionalism assumes that the traditional division of labor of nonoverlapping gender roles within a patriarchal family is the most efficient and least contentious arrangement. It is a mother's fault if children are flawed. She takes the responsibility, the blame, and ultimately the guilt (Garey and Arendell, 2001; Badinter, 2012).

Functionalists point to the responsibilities associated with motherhood. But rights accrue as well. The motherhood mandate is in tandem with the motherhood mystique, which is a glorification of the role. Child rearing brings joy and pride for a child's accomplishments, for which mothers take a great deal of credit. It is apparent, nonetheless, that mothers are more likely to share the credit for what goes right but assume the burden of blame for what goes wrong.

Conflict Theory Conflict theorists focus on the motherhood mandate as contributing to the social powerlessness experienced by women in their household and roles outside the home. Because a woman's earnings from paid employment alter the power relations within the family, men will evoke the motherhood mandate to ensure that women concentrate their energies on domestic roles. Careers and personal growth are impeded when family responsibilities intrude in the workplace. The choices wives make regarding child rearing weaken their bargaining power at home and on the job and reinforce economic dependence on their husbands. In the workplace, this translates to lower salaries and sagging careers. At home, it translates to shouldering the bulk of child care tasks. From a conflict perspective, not until as many men as women truly want to stay home with the children can women hope to achieve real economic parity.

Feminism The acceptance of feminist values by a larger proportion of women also affects notions about motherhood. Women who hold traditional gender role orientations desire larger families when compared to less traditional women. Traditional women also are likely to express higher levels of religiosity and have lower levels of education. College women who subjectively identify with feminism are less interested in motherhood or intend to delay marriage and motherhood until after they are established in their careers. Regardless of media hype, however, feminism and motherhood are not incompatible. Feminist mothers are realistic about the gendered pitfalls of mothering but also believe that motherhood offers opportunities for assertiveness, learning and mastering new skills, and ensuring that feminist principles are passed to the next generation of sons and daughters. The old view of motherhood is unacceptable because paid work has become so important to the identities of mothers. They recognize that simply staying home all day with preschoolers does not automatically qualify someone as a good mother.

Topic 44: The Parenthood Transition; Fatherhood

Cast into primary breadwinning roles, American fathers are viewed as more peripheral in nurturing and child care compared to mothers. This is a far different picture than the colonial fathers who were expected to provide for not only the economic needs of their children, but also their moral and spiritual development. In this sense, colonial fathers were nurturers as much as mothers. Public policy and legislation regarding custody of children, child support, definitions of desertion, and child neglect reinforce the emphasis on the father's role as the economic provider for the family. Increases in divorce and cohabitation have undermined father–child relationships, and nonresident fathers are increasingly absent from their children's lives. To get women off

welfare, public policy focuses on finding unwed, divorced, and married fathers who deserted their families. A father is targeted in order for him to meet his financial obligation to the family; his emotional involvement with his children is largely ignored.

The fact that fathers do take their breadwinning role very seriously does not diminish the interest or love they have for their families. Like women, men also see raising a family as a major life goal. Fathers today spend more time with their children and report greater overall family satisfaction. Quality family relations and supportive social connections are associated with better psychological health and well-being for fathers and better adjustment for their children (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2006; Rina and Feinberg, 2012; Lansford et al., 2013). Compared to non-fathers, contemporary dads exhibit two models of fatherhood: the "good-provider model," encouraging them to work more hours, and the "involved-father model," encouraging them to work less hours. The "forces pulling women out of the home are stronger than the forces pulling men into it" (Gerson, 2009:327). The models may seem contradictory, but they suggest that men regard their fatherhood role as a very significant one.

New Fathers As first-time parents, men adapt more easily to the rigors of fatherhood than women do to motherhood, and husbands can predict with more success than their wives what kind of parents they are likely to be. In the transition to parenthood, husbands' personal goals do not change substantially and husbands are less ambivalent about parenting responsibilities Fathers see themselves as less competent than mothers in dealing with daily child care. They internalize strong beliefs about their paternal responsibility, but largely surrender actual responsibility for child care to their wives. A father's level of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility are a fraction of the mother's. A father's time is spent more on recreational activities with their children than with the children's ongoing physical upkeep. The existing gender gap in housework is associated with traditional gender ideology. The gap increases with the birth of the first child and widens with more children. Women's housework and child maintenance tasks increase significantly (Craig, 2006; Baxter et al., 2008; Carlson and Lynch, 2013). Child care and housework are seamless for mothers but not for fathers.

Children's Development Because the prime directive for fathers is to provide for the economic support of their families, in comparison to mothers, the father's effect on the development of their children is often unheeded. Parental influence on childhood socialization is vitally important. Mothers accept the major responsibility in socialization of their children, but fathers send highly important early messages, especially regarding gender roles. These messages are powerful because fathers have less contact and quality of interaction with their children. Compared to mothers, fathers expect their adolescent sons to conform to gender roles much more than their adolescent daughters. Fathers are more likely than mothers to take into account gender when delegating chores and privileges, when showing affection, and when disciplining their children. Fathers are likely to use harsher discipline on sons, believing it enhances a son's masculinity. Fathers who are less traditional and stereotyped in their gender role beliefs have sons who match their fathers' beliefs.

Traditional fatherhood may bring less of the profound personal and marital changes that mothers experience, but fathers do form strong bonds with their young children and are successfully taking on child care tasks and nurturing roles more than fathers did in the past. When fathers

change, daughters—and especially sons— will follow. Egalitarian parenting clearly benefits children and enhances marital satisfaction.

A Fatherhood Mandate Continued gender role stereotyping severely limits options for fathers to explore new roles. Conflict theory and the feminist perspective argue that the motherhood mandate is a barrier to gender equity. But the opposite is true for a fatherhood mandate. Young men have not adopted a fatherhood mandate allowing them to move in the direction of androgynous, flexible gender roles. Functionalists also would support a fatherhood mandate that moves beyond the provider role so that fathers can effectively meet the challenges of social change and the new family processes that emerge as a result. The involved-father model appears to be gaining in prominence, and as discussed on , it may signal a crack in a masculine ethic that deters men from more meaningful parent–child relationships.

Topic 45: Parents as Dual Earners

Again, the entry of women into paid employment significantly altered the structure and function of families in the United States. Paid employment benefits women socially and psychologically, especially when they work in positions they find challenging, rewarding, and personally meaningful. Their marriage and sense of well-being are enhanced, and shared decision making increases marital satisfaction for both wife and husband (Han and Moen, 2001; O'Keefe, 2002; Kendall, 2007). As suggested in , dual-earning couples are more likely to have egalitarian marriages than those that have a wife as full-time homemaker. The cost for women involves maintaining responsibilities at home and for the children when husbands do not share household and child care chores on anywhere near an equal basis. Mothers, but not fathers, adjust their time use at work and in the home to accommodate these demands. Outsourcing child care narrows the gendered division of household labor, but overall, it remains unchallenged (Craig and Powell, 2012). Multiple roles of employed women also include other caregiving demands, such as caring for frail parents, which may compromise the benefits of employment and life satisfaction). In general, however, the evidence from dual-earner families shows that women are enriched by their labor force activities.

The dual-earner family is now the normative family. There are more dual-earning nuclear families with children present than one-earner nuclear families with children present. The largest overall increase is in families with preschoolers. Because women are traditionally responsible for child care, particularly in the preschool years, all eyes turn to them when questions arise as to how children are affected when both parents work outside the home. It is the wives rather than their husbands who reap society's disapproval if children suffer when both parents are in the labor force. How accurate is the "suffering children" theme?

Children of Employed Women

If parents are happy and the family is enhanced by a dual-earning family structure, this should logically carry over to the children. Not so, states writer Kate O'Beirne (2006:23–24), who maintains that

> …we know what is true about the bond between mother and child. Women fall madly in love with babies in a way that devoted fathers don't …Women would have to be snookered to leave their young children in the care of someone else.

This view asserts that a positive, sustained relationship with a caregiver is essential to healthy emotional childhood development, but a mother must be that caregiver. A person caring for a child out of love will do it better than one doing it for pay.

If parents, especially mothers, are not filled with remorse and guilt, these feelings increase with messages that care options must not include "paid strangers." These strangers are the female day care workers who will teach babies and young children "values, fears, beliefs and behaviors" (Robertson, 2003:48). Of course, the only option is mother care because even "devoted fathers do not fall madly in love with their babies like mothers do." These messages ignore or dismiss any "damages" to children of parents who do not have the option of working for pay. They also tell fathers that they do not (and cannot) love their children as much as mothers.

The Child Care Issue The contention from such writers is that a generation *denied* love when they were children will wreak havoc on them as adults and do untold damage to the social structure, an argument echoed by the family restorationists mentioned in the previous chapter. Parents are abandoning their children to day care so they can selfishly pursue their own careers, which in later years will harm the next generation of their children. What is the evidence to warrant this conclusion?

One major source of information is often overlooked in debates on this issue. When women were desperately needed to work in defense plants during World War II, they were recruited by the thousands through propaganda campaigns designed to alleviate anxiety and guilt about leaving their children with others. Creative approaches to day care became the norm of the day. Because women were needed, day care centers multiplied quickly since many had no other care options for their children. Any potential negative, long-term consequences on these children were ignored. After the war, traditional attitudes prevailed and women were expected to return home and be full-time housewives and mothers. They were not guilty of being neglectful mothers during the war, but if they chose to continue to work outside the home after the war, the guilt returned. The script that employed mothers are "bad" mothers returned with a vengeance.

Over a half century after World War II, there is near consensus by developmental psychologists that surrogate child care is not the major risk factor in the lives of children of dual-earner couples. The key problem is poor quality care. Fortunately for married and professional women, many employers provide benefit packages offering high-quality care options. The same cannot be said for most low-income, dual-earning couples and single-parent women who rely more on informal, less costly, and less desirable options of lower quality. On the other hand, an enriched group child care experience can stimulate the moral development and prosocial behavior of infants and preschoolers. Poor children or children from troubled families may have resources in their child care centers that are absent in their homes. Low-income mothers who can gain quality subsidized child care from employers or public policy are able to maintain steady employment (Albelda, 2011). One of the greatest challenges to these families is the availability of affordable, safe, accessible child care. Their satisfaction with child care carries over to the well-being of their children.

Children's Time with Parents There are no significant differences in the home environment or development of children in two-parent households with employed mothers than in households whose mothers who are not employed. Children with employed mothers gain their strongest sense of well-being and attachment from parents (Harsch, 2006). "Paid strangers" who are caring and compassionate may supplement primary socialization, but they do not substitute for it. Compared with homes where mothers are not employed, dual earners purposely build in "quality" parent–child time through reading, homework, and computer time. Working mothers with a college education spend significantly more time with their children than women who do *not* work outside the home. Employed mothers also spend more time with children than employed fathers. Mothers who do not—or cannot— shift their paid work time, shift the unpaid work time at home to enrich the time with their children (Guryan et al., 2008; Stewart, 2010; Moro-Egido, 2012). Consistent with conflict theory, fathers take on more care associated with responsibility for their children—not just child maintenance—when their wives spend more time at work. The ratio of "father care" to "mother care" rises when wives contribute a greater share to the household income (Raley et al. 2012a). Children benefit from more quality nonrecreational time with their dads. The amount of time working parents—both moms and dads—spend with their children or communicate with their children continues to increase.

Adolescents Any adverse effect of maternal employment would be expected to show up during adolescence, an often stress-filled time for families. Research does not warrant this conclusion. Adolescents express the desire that their mothers be at home more. They report concerns about rushed and confused schedules that are inevitable with the demands of job, school, and limited leisure time. Nonetheless, children's appreciation for their employed mothers' talents and accomplishments outside the home grows over time. Daughters especially want to follow in the professional footsteps of their mothers (Moen, 2003; Campos et al., 2013). Not surprisingly, children of dual earners have less traditional gender role attitudes than children from single-earner homes. Adults reflecting on the effect of their mother's employment viewed their family lifestyle positively and reported high degrees of parental closeness, supportiveness, and interest in their personal problems (Gambone et al., 2002; Kinelski et al., 2002). Fueled by media stereotypes and guilt messages from a variety of sources, however, parents still agonize over decisions to use surrogate care, for example, so that a mother can return to paid employment.

Topic 46: Families in multicultural perspective

The multicultural heritage of the United States is undoubtedly reflected in its families. Because this heritage is linked to race and ethnicity, minority families are impacted by the same disadvantages that affect them outside their homes. To account for gender patterns in these families, the multiple risks and experiences from their unique cultural histories also must be considered. Keep in mind, however, that white and European American families also vary in social class, cultural history, and other variables that impact gender roles in their families. Although not profiled in this section, they should not be viewed as the default, normative family in the United States.

African American Families

Contrary to stereotypes, there are two parents present in over half of African American families, and over half of the fathers in these families work full-time. Data from the turn of the century (1910) reveal that Africa American households were less likely to be nuclear and more likely to be headed by women, a pattern that persists today. The half of the African American households without two parents present are those headed by single parents, and 90 percent of these are single-parent women. Compared to European Americans, African American family life cycles are marked by less formal marriages, parenthood earlier in marriage, less likelihood of remarriage later, and a higher divorce rate. Over three-fourths of African American children are likely to live part of their life in a female-headed household, often with a female grandparent. The households are likely to consist of both kin and nonkin. The key factors in the development of these patterns are the legacy of slavery and economic oppression rooted in discrimination that led to the underemployment of African American men. These factors have a profound impact on gender roles in contemporary African American families.

Compared to all other racial groups, African American females have had a much longer legacy of paid employment essential to the stability and survival of their families. This legacy fueled the variety of family and household structures that African American families exhibit. Paid employment is central to African American women's mothering and to their family experience. It is the most important reason for the greater degree of role sharing by wives and husbands and has strengthened these families in several fundamental ways. First, families demonstrate a strong willingness to absorb others into kin structures by creating a network of **fictive kin**, where friends "become" family. African Americans tend to define the boundaries of their families with more flexibility than families of other races; so distant kin become primary kin, and close friends and neighbors become fictive kin. Women fill the fictive kin ranks. Women-centered networks of "bloodmothers" and "other-mothers" who share mothering responsibilities bring an array of exchange and support that benefits all household members. In turn, children are offered a diversity of parenting models that are seen as enriching children with a more multifaceted form of nurturing (Collins, 2009). Employed mothers who are the family's breadwinners often turn to these networks for child care needs.

The resilience and positive outcomes of fictive kin among African Americans has extended to a new law in Missouri allowing courts to define distant relatives and close friends legally as fictive kin to aid displaced children. By extending the boundaries of guardianship, children can be placed in homes of those they know and who invite them in. These arrangements have vastly better outcomes than with children in foster care with no family connection (Cambria, 2013).

Second, compared to white couples, for working-class and middle-class married couples, households are likely to be more egalitarian. These families have dual-earning husband and wife in stable employment. Egalitarian arrangements are bolstered by middle-class African American women who work outside the home by choice rather than economic necessity. Regardless of SES, however, most African Americans do not view their roles as wife–mother and wage earner as mutually exclusive. Research by sociologist Burt Landry (2000) suggests that these middle-class women were practicing an egalitarian lifestyle decades before white couples.

Third, African American husbands appear more willing than white husbands to take responsibility for child rearing and adapt themselves and the household to the needs of their

employed wives. However, the work is less satisfying if they hold traditional gender ideology. concerning the paradox of traditional attitudes about gender and simultaneous egalitarian behavior related to housework.) This last pattern is interesting because African American working-class and lower-class men tend to hold traditional ideas about gender roles. The intersection of race and social class helps account for this pattern.

Latino Families

For the first time in U.S. history, more people now identify themselves as Latino or Hispanic (15 percent) than identify themselves as black or African American (14 percent), making them the largest racial minority in the nation. Most significant, by 2050, the African American population is projected to increase by 1 percent and the Latino population is projected to double; one in three U.S. residents will be Latino. Latinos are very diverse, and the enactment of gender roles is a major indicator of that diversity. There are significant cultural and historical differences between Latinos, especially economic well-being and number of generations in the United States, that are important determinants of gender roles in their families. The three largest subgroups are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. Although all three groups suffer the economic burdens of minority status, poverty is most acute for Puerto Ricans and least acute for Cuban Americans.

Although Mexican Americans hover near the poverty line as a group, there are wide variations in overall economic status. Latinos share a heritage of Spanish colonialism and, through this, a solid connection to the Catholic Church. Several fundamental values related to gender and the family link these diverse groups. First, family relations are characterized by respect and honor. Second is the notion of **familism**, a strong cultural value emphasizing the family and its collective needs over personal and individual needs and any other groups to which a family member belongs. Familism creates strong bonds between nuclear and extended family members in terms of support, loyalty, and solidarity. Familism is associated with emotional protection, resilience, and guidance for Latino youth and a buffer against negative influences outside the home (Azmitia et al., 2009; German et al., 2009). These bonds ensure that family members remain intimately connected to one another throughout their lives.

Third, and the most important element related to gender roles and the family, is that familism is strongly gendered. There is an adherence to patriarchal gender roles in a well-defined system of mutually exclusive beliefs that separate men and women; these roles are found throughout all social classes in Latino cultures. Derived from the Spanish word *macho* ("male"), the man's role is associated with **machismo**, seen to include virility, sexual prowess, and the physical and ideological control of women. The woman's role is associated with **marianismo** (from the Virgin Mary's name Maria), seen to include the beliefs of spiritual and moral superiority of women over men, the glorification of motherhood, and the acceptance of a difficult marriage. Women are expected to have an infinite capacity for sacrifice in their role as mothers and to be submissive to the demands of the men in their family. These attitudes are associated with compromised emotional health for women (Bedolla et al., 2006; Steidel, 2006).

The beliefs that support marianismo remain strong, but changes are evident in what were once entrenched patriarchal gender roles in the family. Higher education for both males and females in

Latino subcultures is associated with more gender role flexibility in the home and a loosening of stereotyped beliefs about humble women and aggressive men. Older Latino males are more likely to resist these changes than are younger Latino females. Latina adolescents and young women entering new careers armed with college degrees are in the forefront of these changes (Denner and Guzman, 2006). It is clear that education, SES, and degree of acculturation affect how these values are translated into the home.

Puerto Rican Families By far, research on gender and the family in Latino subcultures centers on the link between employment and home for women and their families. Puerto Ricans have the lowest income of any Latino group, and it is the critical gender–family link that explains this fact. Women head half of all Puerto Rican households, and only half of Puerto Rican women are high school graduates. Women have been employed in low-paying jobs, such as light manufacturing, and these are quickly disappearing. Coupled with global economic recession, companies are moving operations to Asia, where even lower-paid female workers are hired. Families are often divided, with children being raised by grandparents in Puerto Rico and husbands migrating back and forth between the island and New York in search of employment. Marriages are fragile, but marianismo and the stigma of divorce keep many couples legally married but separated. About half of all heterosexual couples form *consensual unions*, different from cohabitation, that are recognized as informal marriage. Births to unmarried Puerto Rican women have soared over the last five decades, today comprising over 60 percent of all their births in the United States. Women who are recent migrants, especially those who are spouses in middle- and working-class couples, strive to maintain a continuity of family life. These families are more nuclear in structure and are at the forefront of the trend toward fewer consensual unions and more legal marriages. Consensual unions, however, are not necessarily associated with negative outcomes for children. From a social constructionism view, this definition of family is normative and accepted and may be the resilient form that children depend on for stability, strong family relationships, and cultural connections between Puerto Rico and New York. United States, Puerto Rican, and Latino families in general, do not fit the measurements of family structure in the United States (Fomby and Estacion, 2011). Being born in a consensual union is socially constructed as being born into a marriage. This construction works to the benefit of a child's development and may lessen, rather than increase, problem behavior.

Mexican American Families Mexican American (Chicana) women also confront gender roles tied to ideology surrounding marianismo–machismo and familism, factors that keep divorce rates low. The nuclear family is embedded in a network of kin who maintain intergenerational ties by passing on cultural traditions, fostering ethnic pride, and serving as social and economic support (Rinderle and Montoya, 2008). Early research interpreted machismo as a male defense against racial discrimination and poverty. The belittling daily world faced by Mexican-American laborers is reproduced in the home, so men are bolstered when women are "kept in their place." Notice how the concepts of machismo and black matriarchy can be used to justify the same conclusion and then be used to perpetuate gender inequality.

Subordination of women to men in families is evident, but recent research is challenging the model of the all-dominant and controlling male. Families are not as patriarchal as had been assumed, and there is a trend toward gender equity. Couples do report that the spheres of men

and women are still separated, but that they share child rearing and household tasks. Joint decision making is more apparent, especially when women are employed outside the home. Gender roles are less traditional because extended family ties also are weakening. There is a trade-off: Families may receive less child care support from older kin, but children are less likely to hear messages about female subordination. When pressures outside the home, such as job loss, a health crisis, or neighborhood deterioration, threaten family cohesion, families rally around traditional cultural values. However, these values are being adapted to fit family needs, even if they counter traditional beliefs about gender. Women may need to enter the world of work, and men may need to be family caretakers. In this sense, family stress functions to bolster family cohesion as well as encourage productive gender role change.

When compared to their immigrant parents, even as traditional cultural values offer protection and resilience during adversity, these patterns have been altered significantly for children born in the United States. Poverty significantly decreases by the second generation of immigration, college education for both men and women is increasing, and families are moving upward in SES. On the negative side, Chicana women are largely employed in occupations segregated by gender that offer little job mobility—both functioning to keep income levels low. Parallel to decreases for all U.S. women, teen pregnancy rates are on the decline, but more Mexican American women are entering the "single-parent" ranks. With weakening familism, child care and financial support are less available. The risks of class, race, ethnicity, and gender will determine whether the economic prosperity of second and third generation Mexican Americans can be sustained (Coltrane et al., 2008; Lam et al., 2012; Consoli and Llamas, 2013).

Cuban American Families Cuban Americans enjoy the highest standard of living of all Latino groups. Immigrants in the 1960s were highly educated, many drawn from Cuba's professional ranks. Even though women were not likely to be in the labor force, education for middle-andupper-class women was encouraged and helped bolster the prestige of the family. The double standard of sexual morality lives on in the Cuban American subculture. Parents want their daughters not only to be educated, but also to remain virginal, uncorrupted, and sequestered. Later immigrants were poorer, families more fragile and prone to breakup, and women in the workplace more common, a trend that continues today. However, Cuban American families are demographically more similar to European Americans. Compared with other Latino subgroups, these families have fewer children, are economically stronger, and are more likely to be headed by a married couple. Married couples with higher levels of education are less traditional and are slowly moving toward more gender-equitable family roles. Unlike European Americans, Cuban American families are more likely to be extended and children are expected to live with their parents until they get married. The elderly in these families offer child care services and in turn expect to be taken care of as they become feeble. The increased number of Cuban American women in the work force is associated with child care by elderly kin (Skaine, 2004). More egalitarian family and work roles are in line with the future expectations of Cuban American girls. As they become more acculturated, younger women are less likely to accept restrictions based on gender.

Asian American Families

The Asian American and Pacific Islander population is the fastest growing of all racial minorities, with projections that by 2050, they will represent just fewer than 10 percent of the population, double from 2008. Their numbers increase by immigration rather than increases in the resident population. Asian Americans—primarily Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino—have the highest number of married couples and the lowest divorce rate of all other racial minorities at a number similar to whites. Compared to other racial minorities in the United States, there is also a wider spread in income and poverty level. Cambodians, Native Hawaiians, and other Pacific Islanders have the highest poverty rates, and Japanese and Indians have the lowest. Chinese are in between but on the higher rather than the lower side of income levels. Gender is the one factor that shows the least diversity related to income: Regardless of subculture and education, Asian American women have lower incomes than Asian American men.

On the other hand, even more so than in Latino families, Asian Americans exhibit striking cultural diversity. In religion, for example, Koreans are predominantly Protestant Christian, Filipinos are Catholic, Japanese are Shinto and Buddhist, Pakistanis are Muslim, and Indians are Hindu. Religion has a powerful influence on beliefs about gender that are carried into the family
.

Asian American families share several other patterns that have important gender implications. Gender roles from the originating Asian cultures demonstrate collectivistic kinship traditions in which personal needs are sacrificed for family needs. Extended families are normative, and children are socialized to be obedient in the family and loyal to parents and elders. Conformity to cultural and family traditions is expected in children but much more for girls than boys. Obedience is played out by marriages that are commonly orchestrated by kin rather than left solely to the devices of children. These family traditions emphasize female subordination to all males and older females in a patriarchal family structure (Ternikar, 2004; Espiritu, 2008; Ahluwalia and Suzuki, 2009; Hall, 2009; Park et al., 2009). The comments of the baby boomer daughter of Chinese immigrants is a good representation of these traditions.

> Despite my deference to traditional Chinese behavior, the day finally came when I had to disobey my father. I had received several offers of full scholarships to attend college.… When the time came for him to sign the college registration forms, he refused. "The proper place for an unmarried daughter is at home with her parents," he insisted. He wanted to keep me out of trouble until I found a husband to do the overseeing. (Zia, 2009:44–45)

Education is the key for Asian American women from all cultures to challenge such subordination. Today Asian American women lead women of all racial minorities in obtaining college degrees and are close to par with white women. Shattering gender barriers and juggling divergent cultural expectations, however, also take an emotional toll by disappointing one's family.

The extent to which these patterns occur is linked to length of residence in the United States. Recent arrivals are strongly connected to their ethnic community, for example, which provides social support and jobs in family businesses. Chinese and Koreans in particular appear to benefit from community ties—they have high levels of education for both females and males and enjoy relatively fast upward mobility. Although still quite low, the divorce rate and the number of female-headed households are steadily increasing among all Asian American groups. When

children become more "Americanized," intergenerational conflict increases, with males more likely to challenge restrictions imposed by parents (Chen, 2009; Kim, 2009). Among Chinese Americans, for instance, children will gladly provide economic help for their parents but resist their parents' advice on personal matters such as whom they choose as friends or dates. Traditional expectations for marriage are eroding, and emerging norms are now emphasizing choice of partners based on romantic love. Whereas arranged marriages have not disappeared among Chinese Americans, formal arrangements have been replaced with "strong suggestions" from parents and elders, which children are at least expected to investigate (Luo, 2008). And as expected, boys are less likely than girls to take their parents' suggestions for investigating a possible marriage partner.

Native American Families

Native Americans comprise less than 1 percent of the U.S. population and include those reporting American Indian and Alaskan (Eskimo and Aleut) origin. Native Americans are rapidly being assimilated into majority culture, and intermarriage rates have soared. At the same time, resurgent cultural pride has fueled tribal diversity and contributed to a rise in the number of people claiming Native American origin. Nonetheless, Native Americans share some key patterns related to gender roles in family life.

About one-third of Native American households are female headed; most of these are in poverty. The remaining two-thirds are made up primarily of married couples. These households are at risk for social problems related to their poverty status, such as unemployment, dropping out of high school, illiteracy, and alcoholism. Historic governmental policy is fundamentally responsible for the current economic plight of Native Americans (U.S. Commission on Human Rights, 2000).

Colonialism accompanied by Christianity altered ancient tribal patterns drastically, particularly those related to gender roles in the family. Women's power and prestige varied by tribe, but historical evidence indicates that women lost status with colonialization. Many tribal units were *matrilineal*, the family name being traced through the mother's line, and *matrilocal*, a couple moving into the bride's home at marriage. Although gender segregation was the norm, complementarity, balance, and *gynocratic* (female-centered) egalitarianism also existed both in and outside the home. Women held important political, religious, and other extradomestic roles. With increased European contact, women were gradually stripped of these roles. To assimilate native people, the U.S. government first sought to obliterate ancient traditions—a policy that become known as "cultural genocide". Altered family patterns were its first expression, and an egalitarian family structure changed to a patriarchal one.

Cultural genocide did not succeed. Although ancient tribal customs were altered, they were not eradicated and they continue to reinforce family strength and stability. Women retain spiritual, economic, and leadership roles offering prestige and power in their families and communities. For those who live off the reservation, these roles contribute to more equally shared household and parenting responsibilities (Hossain, 2001; Coles, 2006). Unlike other racial, ethnic, and religious groups, a return to cultural traditions among Native Americans may signal more, rather than less, egalitarianism.

Topic 47: Divorce- Single parent families

An enduring marriage is not necessarily a successful one. Because Americans say that romantic love is the primary reason for marriage, "falling out of love" is a reason for divorce. The two intersecting factors that most consistently predict divorce—as well as a breakup after cohabitation—are age and social class. Teenage marriages and cohabitants of lower SES are most likely to dissolve, probably within five years. For teenage couples who start out with less education, fewer economic resources, and less emotional maturity, the idealization of love quickly fades when confronted with the stark reality of married life. Whether married or not, teenage males lose the idealization quicker than teenage females (Sawhill, 2006). Although subject to historical anomalies such as the Depression and World War II, the divorce rate steadily increased throughout the last century, peaking in the 1980s, but decreasing continuously, although modestly, since. The marriage rate is also declining .

It is easier to calculate marriage rates than divorce rates. Depending on which standard for calculating divorce rates is used, the future of marriage in the United States as well as for its individual couples appears rather bleak. When comparing the number of divorces with the number of new marriages, it is fair to say that half will end in divorce. The problem with this comparison is that it does not account for how long a couple was married, so it may inflate the failure rate of new marriages. It is more revealing to look at annual divorces per 1,000 married women (half of married couples), which is about 20. This indicates a less discouraging four-in-ten marriage failure rate. Because the divorce rate is so high, first marriages may be referred to as "starter marriages." By all measures, the divorce rate is rising throughout the world, but the United States remains at the top .

Gender and Adjustment in Divorce

Divorce has profound social, psychological, and economic effects on the divorcing couple and their families. Research shows that divorce is strongly gendered—in how it is carried out and in its differential impact on women and men.

Gender Role Beliefs and Emotional Well-Being Although it is difficult to separate economic from noneconomic factors, women tend to adjust better to divorce than men. However, both men and women who are nontraditional in their gender role orientation adjust better than those who are traditional. Men and women with less traditional gender ideology are better at reconciling themselves to divorce than men and women who hold more conventional gender role beliefs. Women of all races who have higher levels of self-esteem and independence opt out of unsatisfactory marriages at a faster rate and adjust better to their postdivorce lives. Although religiosity may predict more traditional gender role beliefs, spiritual well-being predicts better divorce outcomes for women. Nontraditional gender role beliefs, however, are less protective for divorced women with young children (Zimmer, 2001; Baum, 2007; Steiner et al., 2011). The powerful emotional toll of motherhood ideology works against a woman's well-being. Men who adjust better to divorce are likely to be connected to a new partner and quickly reestablish their preferred gender role pattern, whether or not it is a traditional one. Ex-spouses appear to adjust better when they attribute the cause of the divorce to the relationship rather than to themselves or each other (Amato and Previti, 2003; Natalier, 2012). In this sense, they leave the marriage with a more intact sense of self that serves as bolsters as they face a postmarried future.

Age Younger people are better at rebuilding their lives after a divorce, and the spouse who first sought the divorce adjusts to it more readily. Women are more likely to initiate a divorce than men, and younger women do so at higher rates than both older men and older women. Divorce at an earlier age can lead to more growth options and enhance the person's well-being over the long run. Older women suffer greater psychological trauma in divorce and may be more likely to stay in an unhappy marriage until a new partner is on the horizon (Sweeney, 2002; Pedrovska and Carr, 2008).

Employment Although most women are employed and may have the financial latitude to end an unhappy marriage, their income contributes more to marital happiness than marital dissatisfaction. A husband today is not only less likely to feel threatened by a wife who matches or outearns him, but also may celebrate the mismatch. As we have seen, for dual-earner couples, housework, rather than income, fuels marital problems. The most dissatisfied couples are those in which wives want joint decision making and household task sharing by husbands, whereas husbands prefer a more traditional, patriarchal style of family functioning—a pattern that holds for couples of all races (Ono and Raymo, 2006; Lucier-Greer and Adler-Baeder, 2011; Offer and Schneider, 2011). Shifts in gender role ideology help explain why today's women are now more likely than their mothers and grandmothers to initiate divorce.

Single-Parent Families

In 1980, 77 percent of children lived with two parents. In 2012, this number dropped to 64 percent. In single-parent homes, 24 percent of children lived with their mothers only and 4 percent lived with their fathers only; another 4 percent lived with neither parent Whereas about three-fourths of white children live with two married parents, the number falls to less than two-thirds for Latino children and about one-third for African American children. It is difficult to sort out these numbers to account for the increasing variety of households and families. When considering cohabitants, for example, approximately 40 percent of unmarried partners had children younger than 18 When considering solo parenting, however, it is safe to say that approximately one-third of all children are living with one parent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

Poverty risk in single-parent homes increases dramatically in female householder families that are African American or Latino. In the United States, over one-fifth of *all* children live in poverty, but about half of children in female single-parent homes live in poverty; single-parent mothers outnumber single-parent fathers four to one. The poverty is triple for African American children compared to white children, with Latino children faring only slightly better Almost half of African American children live in families headed by women, often with a female grandparent. The staggering statistic is that before they are 18, almost two-thirds of U.S. children will live part of their life in a single-parent household or in other households with adults who are not their parents.

Because the media focus most on the never-married rates of single-parent mothers, people often forget that single parents include divorced parents and an escalating subset of highly educated women who choose motherhood but not marriage or remarriage. These are college-educated— often postgraduate—degreeholding, financially secure women who adopt children—usually girls—or may choose birth through artificial insemination. These risk-averse women often wait

until after they turn 30 for their first child (Schmidt, 2008). With careers on track, financial security for their families is better ensured. They are single mothers with adopted children who spend time with each other and whose children grow up in the company of children much like themselves. Their households and families can be described as extended, platonic, female centered, and middle class. They have the resources and networks for support but rely on one another for help in a pinch.

Although the number of such financially secure unmarried mothers is growing, their percentage in the ranks of single-parent mothers is still quite small. That they are better off financially is what separates them from the majority of their singlemother counterparts.

Mothers and the Single-Parent Household

In mother- or grandmother-headed single-parent families, economic vulnerability is a way of life. Female-headed families are the fastest-growing type of family in the United States, and the odds that it is in poverty approach one in two. Single-parent families headed by mothers are more than twice as likely to live at less than 100 percent of the poverty level compared with single-parent fathers. Median income is an astonishing four times lower than in husband–wife families. Many factors contribute to this situation. We know that child support, alimony, and joint custody are not the financial salvation for these women. Neither are welfare payments in a restrictive system, which can contribute to, rather than deter, the cycle of poverty. Because women are more likely than men to be in low-paying jobs—if employed at all—their income is far from adequate to meet the needs of the family. The financial burdens of the single-parent family headed by a woman who is divorced, never married, or cohabiting fuel the feminization of poverty. The distinctive character of a woman's poverty is that she has the economic responsibility for children.

Financial uncertainty heightens the physical and emotional demands on single- parent women. Compared with married couples, they rely more on children for housework, have fewer social supports, and raise children who are also more likely to become single parents. Single mothers report higher rates of depression and lower levels of self-esteem than married mothers do, especially if they were teenage mothers and did not graduate from high school. Money is the key factor in these patterns. Support from kin, an important form of social capital, can help moderate these risks, but they will not be eliminated because of the ever-present money worries. All forms of social capital must be expansive enough to challenge the disadvantages of low-income single mothers (Taylor et al., 2014; Coley and Lombardi, 2014; Johnson et al., 2011). Women who are more financially secure adjust better to single parenting, feel better about their family and their jobs, and have better child care options. Their children tend to have better educational outcomes and fewer behavioral problems. Single women perched on the poverty line, however, experience chronic life strain, which impacts their physical, social, and psychological well-being.

Fathers and the Single-Parent Household

As single parents, men face a situation far different from that of women. Five percent of *all* households are *single-parent* male households; nearly 15 percent of all singleparent households are male households. These numbers are expected to increase as more fathers gain

custody of their children. Custodial fathers have more social support and fewer problems adjusting to single parenthood than do custodial mothers. Never-married custodial single fathers are viewed more positively than comparable mothers (Dejean et al., 2012; Haire and McGeorge, 2012). Fathers are usually better educated, occupy higher-level occupations, and continue their careers after becoming single parents. Remember, too, that financial strength is a key reason why fathers are increasingly awarded sole custody when they request it. Like single mothers, single fathers report problems balancing work and family. Single fathers who cope successfully have more flexible work situations and more support networks.

For child care and household tasks, single fathers appear to adapt well, perceive themselves as competent, are meaningfully involved with their children, and shoulder household responsibilities without much outside help (Linnenberg, 2007). When they become single fathers, many set out to learn new tasks and domestic skills. Fathers who are more involved with housework before the divorce make a smoother transition to their new domestic roles. After divorce, single-parent mothers do less housework; fathers do more. Although single-parent fathers rely on their children to help with housework, it is distributed along the gender lines found in two-parent families. Daughters do more housework and more "feminine" housework than sons (Pasley and Minton, 2001; Raley et al., 2006b). When fathers take on the role of the "primary" parent, they report close ties to their children and high levels of family satisfaction. But they still must deal with gender role stereotyping that assumes that they cannot be as competent parents as women.

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MEN AND MASCULINITY

Topic 48-52

Although comparisons between men and women—how we are alike and how we are different—are explicitly incorporated throughout this text, some may argue that men are cast into the "default" category and marginalized in a book focused on women. Feminists from all disciplines were the catalysts for early research on gender and the development of women's studies. An explosion of scholarship on women *and* gender followed. This scholarship made clear that books, research, law, history, and literature that did not mention women were about men. In this sense, women are the default category and men are the unquestioned norm. This argument is less meaningful today because of the parallel explosion of scholarship devoted to the rapidly emerging discipline of men's studies. It is difficult to sort out viewpoints about how much space should be devoted to men and how much to women. *Gender studies* may be the "legitimate" default category. It is through gender studies that men and masculinity are made visible (Hearn and Kimmel, 2006:53). As this chapter documents, therefore, men's issues are not excluded; neither are they marginalized.

Despite social change, men are still viewed as superior to women. Whereas women wage battles for economic, political, and social equality, men wield the power that often determines the outcome of the fight. All roles are made up of both rights and responsibilities, but *both* men and women perceive the rights and privileges of the male role as enviable, desirable, and well worth the responsibilities associated with the role. Men have careers; women have jobs. Men are breadwinners; women are bread bakers. Men are sexual leaders; women are sexual followers. A man's home is his castle. Father knows best. Is this the accurate story? The male mystique is based on a rigid set of expectations that, as we will see, few men can attain. The social and psychological consequences of striving for the impossible plus the impractical can be devastating. We will see that the role that appears to offer so many rewards also has its deadly side. In discovering more about this role, we can understand that a men's liberation movement is not a contradiction in terms.

Topic 48: Men and Masculinity

Definitions of masculinity have remained remarkably consistent over time. All sociological perspectives on masculinity highlight how masculine role ideals embodied in the historical standards have been adapted to the lives of contemporary men. Although the definitions may be consistent, as a result of these adaptations, masculinity is enacted in myriad ways.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Given the consistent definitions of masculinity, it may seem paradoxical that masculinity can be viewed as fragmented and uneven and at the same time tenacious and steadfast. The notion of hegemonic masculinity makes this paradox more understandable. This notion asserts that a number of competing masculinities are enacted according to particular places (contexts) and particular times. The characteristics of masculinity that become the idealized norm are those

acted out by the most powerful men. The taken-for-granted statuses are likely to be those men who are white, middle class, and heterosexual. In this process, all other masculine styles are rendered inadequate and inferior (Beynon, 2002:16). A good example of enactment of hegemonic masculinity is demonstrated by the gun culture of the United States.

Hegemonic masculinity harms men in subordinate statuses (men of color, poor men, nonheterosexuals) because it narrows their options to choose other enactments of masculinity. It also harms women because it positions masculinity in opposition to women (Gardiner, 2002). The key is to recognize who has the power in a given situation to determine what is a dominant masculinity and what is a subordinate one. Hegemonic masculinity of the white, middle-class, heterosexual variety not only is the dominant form, but also, in relation to women, is masculinity.

Topic 49: Masculinity Norms

Decades of research on hegemonic masculinity show that there are a number of ways masculinity (manliness) can be "successfully" acted out (Brannon, 1976; Smiler, 2006; Jandt and Hundley, 2007). These different enactments can be subsumed under categories that serve as both traditional and emerging norms of masculinity. There is overlap in these categories. They have been adapted here to incorporate recent work on masculinity and to use it as a framework for approaching a variety of issues concerning masculine gender roles. Most of these informal rules have become institutionalized norms (also referred to as standards, markers, or themes) that have strengthened over the decades.

Antifeminine Norm

This powerful norm stigmatizes all stereotyped feminine characteristics and the qualities associated with them, including openness in expressing emotions related to vulnerability. It is so closely tied to every other norm of masculinity that it may be viewed as the overarching norm that literally defines masculinity. Males are socialized to adamantly reject all that is considered feminine. Men dichotomize gender more often and more strenuously than women (Bosson and Michniewicz, 2013). Women and anything perceived as feminine are less valued than men and anything perceived as masculine. Acceptance of the antifemininity norm and the traditional scripts it includes comes with huge costs.

Interpersonal Relations

Beliefs about feminine behavior disallow many men from revealing insecurities and vulnerabilities to others who could help them cope with difficult life situations. Restraints in emotional openness are associated with suicide; Type A behavior; heart disease; and stress-related conditions such as ulcers, stroke, back pain, and tension headaches. Concealing emotions also inhibits development of the repertoire of interpersonal skills essential for successful relationships in all areas of life. Intimate friendships between males are discouraged, and intimate friendships between females are blocked by messages that tell men they will be judged negatively if they exhibit "too much" emotion or sensitivity. They believe emotional expression drives others away rather than bringing them closer.

Boys of all ages learn quickly that gestures of intimacy with other males are discouraged and that expressions of femininity, verbally or nonverbally, are not tolerated. Male role models—fathers, teachers, brothers, school athletes, peers—provide the cues and the sanctions to ensure compliance on the part of the young boy. The "boy code" is monitored carefully by other boys. Anger is accepted, but displays of "soft" emotion are swiftly censured (Serriere, 2008; Oransky and Fisher, 2009). As we will see, the culturally inbred antifemininity norm in particular keeps teenage boys from expressing feelings toward other boys on pain of being ridiculed as "sissies" at best or "fags" at worst.

To bolster their formative masculinity, boys strictly segregate themselves from girls in school. This segregation means that intimacy with boys must be achieved in other culturally acceptable ways. Throughout childhood and into adult life, male camaraderie occurs in male-only secret clubs, fraternal organizations, the military, sports teams, or the neighborhood bar. Although men are taught that too much intimacy among males is forbidden, the human desire for informal interaction is powerful. The separate groups allow men to act out this human need in safety according to masculinity's antifeminine norm; otherwise, people would be suspicious of such close male interaction. Men rarely talk about friendship in these groups. The antifemininity norm blocks the expression of the deepest feelings of affection between men. The norm also reinforces stereotypes about homosexuality and, in turn, breeds anger and antigay aggression (Parrott et al., 2008).

Men may be considered superior over women, but at the enormous expense of remaining psychologically defensive and insecure (Chodorow, 1993:60). Males of all ages are more likely to express feelings of uncertainty and anxiety to females, but the healthiest men are those who have an array of both male and female friends with whom they feel comfortable in expressing their emotions and concerns. Overall, men's endorsement of the antifemininity norm's quest for invulnerability has the opposite effect: It makes them more vulnerable than less vulnerable.

Success Norm

This norm suggests that men are driven to succeed at all costs. Also referred to as the status norm, men need to be looked up to, and prestige is associated with the belief that money makes the man. Manliness is tied to career success and the ability to provide for a family in his breadwinner role. The positive "good provider" role is salient in this norm, but it comes with more than an economic price. Men feel compelled to emulate other men, and in doing so, families become display cases for masculine success. Because prestige is gained from their work outside rather than inside the home, competency as a parent is less important than competency in the world of paid labor. It is expected that the wives, children, colleagues, and peers of these men judge them accordingly. As the Depression so aptly demonstrated, self-esteem is assaulted with the loss of a job. We saw earlier that unemployment for men is correlated with an array of risks to emotional well-being. Men are told that ensuring the family's financial security is their top priority in life, a message that eclipses every other role.

Gendered Occupations

In the workplace, men are threatened by women's competence and their entry into traditional masculine occupations, thereby kindling controversy about what constitutes a "man's" job. Blue-collar men express the most hostility, but the resistance comes from men in the professions as well. Consistent with both the antifemininity and the success norms, they may believe that their jobs will be tainted by femininity and regarded as less manly. Men who succeed in feminine jobs are frequently viewed as less competent than those who succeed in masculine jobs. An influx of women in an occupation decreases its attractiveness to men. Those outside the job may view males who do work in predominantly female fields as less competent, but they have more advantages than females in these fields. From a symbolic interaction and social constructionism view, a labeling cycle producing a self-fulfilling prophecy occurs: The job is "feminized," men desert it; working conditions deteriorate, and pay decreases. The job is resegregated, going from almost all men to almost all women. Success at a job where women are doing essentially the same work can be demeaning for men who favor conventional gender roles. Males are bound to a concept of masculinity that assumes they will dominate women occupationally and that they will enact a strong breadwinning role, with their self-esteem tied to both. Females may reinforce these beliefs by viewing men as success objects.

In the bleakest recession years, men flocked to female jobs as nurses, caseworkers, elementary school and preschool teachers, and even nannies. Men reported that even with lowered pay, working with children and in caregiving roles offered flexibility, satisfaction, and a belief that they were "making a difference." However, masculinity's stubborn success norm erodes these beliefs. If men feel that others view them as lacking ambition or being deficient in their provider role, they may wait out the economic downturn in female jobs and jump back into higher-paying, more prestigious male jobs when conditions improve. Men also face confusion when they are challenged by a new economy that has transformed the traditional provider role for men. As highlighted throughout this book, dual-earner couples are not the exception but the norm. Although beliefs about egalitarianism in the workplace are being expressed much more by men and women than in the past, a retrenchment favoring the conventional norm of male superiority in terms of the success norm remains. When wives work outside the home, both spouses—but particularly husbands—are reluctant to define her as being on equal footing in the provider role. Conflict theory suggests that one reason married men embrace the breadwinner role is that it entitles them to privileges in the home, including less housework, more time for leisure and recreation, and more services provided to them by wife and children.

Intellectual Success

In addition to economic success, males are expected to demonstrate intellectual superiority over women. The feminist movement ushered in the idea that intellectual companionship between the genders is possible and preferable. With a few modifications, however, traditional beliefs still hold. Men now expect that their wives will be wage earners, and they express admiration for their wives' careers. But they also believe that the bulk of child care and household responsibilities should rest with a wife and that her career should be interrupted if these responsibilities are jeopardized. Although one-third wives outearn their husbands, men also believe that a husband should outearn his wife and that her career success is less important than his. Men are threatened by female coworkers who are promoted over them, and husbands are threatened by wives who are equal or above them occupationally. Men are appreciative of their

wives' earnings and success, but men's self-esteem is threatened if they see their wives "winning" over them occupationally. Gender-related attitudes for men are reemphasizing work roles for men and maternal roles for women. Men's attitudes are strongly influenced by the social and historical period in which they live as much as they are influenced by personal experiences.

Toughness Norm

As embodied in war and sports, the toughness norm of masculinity tells men and boys to be strong, confident, self-reliant, brave, and independent. Any male must express confidence in his ability to carry out tasks that appear insurmountable. He must do so with a sense of stoicism that shows he is in command of the situation. Leadership is reinforced by toughness. Men believe that "If I ask for help, they may think I lack self-confidence or need reassurance." Any behavior associated with anxiety or lack of self-confidence is the antithesis of traditional male role behavior embodied in the toughness norm (Bruch, 2006:287). Rodeo cowboys exemplify this norm. The stoic and independent cowboy is iconic in American culture as is the samurai in Japanese culture. Contemporary cowboys who endorse masculinity norms, especially related to toughness, are less likely to seek help or talk to friends when they are experiencing a major depressive episode (Herbst et al., 2014). Suicide risk for all men is increased by lack of emotional openness to others. Antifeminine elements intrude here by implying that compliance and submissiveness are the negative qualities that the tough male disdains. The opposite of the tough male is the "wimp." Men may be labeled wimps for crossing boundaries and relating to their partners, wives, and children in "sensitive" ways. Indeed, this sensitive man view suggests that a "male" wimp is redundant.

Sensitivity may be the opposite of toughness, but like cowboys, in the strongly gendered world of oil rig crews, tough guy behavior can be personally harmful as well as dysfunctional and dangerous. Displays of risk-taking and masculine strength interfere with safety and performance in a potentially deadly environment, especially when men try to prove themselves through toughness. Beginning with the police shooting of unarmed African American teenager Michael Brown, continuing events in Ferguson, Missouri spotlight the ongoing challenge African American males in particular confront in navigating masculinity norms. Compared to white males, when a toughness norm is enacted, the consequences can be deadly. When tough guy hypermasculinity is abandoned in favor of working as a team, admitting mistakes, and showing interdependence, improvements in performance, safety, and efficiency follow (Ely and Meyerson, 2008). As explained by symbolic interaction, by risking a blow to their image, these men adjust their sense of self to accommodate a different, but nonetheless prized, form of masculinity.

Aggression Norm

As a key marker of manliness, aggression is associated with risk, lack of compromise, and unbending will in the face of adversity. Manliness as connected to aggression has been central throughout history and is often played out in revenge, a theme that endures today. Consider, too, that guns are a powerful symbol of masculinity. Masculinity motivates men to buy handguns, to legally conceal them, and to construct masculinity around them—whether they are fired or not

(Stroud, 2012:219). Abundant research indicates that males who adhere to traditional masculinity norms are more aggressive in the worlds they inhabit—whether in school, in the workplace, or in their families—compared to men who adhere less to these norms. Masculinity ideology is a better predictor of aggression than is gender (Cohn and Zeichner, 2006; Richardson and Hammock, 2007). Boys learn early that turning the other cheek is less respected than fighting one's way out of a difficult situation, especially if bullied. Media reinforce these images by aiming stories at youngsters who glorify violence and revenge in the name of a good cause. The cause itself is usually defined as patriotic, but is often portrayed ambiguously or personally, showing that war is comprised of guts and glory on the battlefield of honor. The title of "hero" is readily bestowed on those who win by using physical force. Diplomats who quietly work behind the scenes hammering out vital peace agreements are less likely to command public admiration than frontline soldiers. President Jimmy Carter, who pursued a diplomatic solution to the Iran hostage situation, was seen as soft for his refusal to use military channels. An ill-fated rescue attempt was a way to escape this pressure. President Obama faces the same challenge related to aggression by ISIS.

Functionalists emphasize that by socializing boys into masculinity with the aura of violence and aggression surrounding it, the soldier role, which they may eventually assume, will be easier to accept. In this view, the aggressive masculinity needed in wartime is latently functional. Such views also are linked to the antifemininity norm. Toughness, the repression of empathy, less remorse for "accidental" violence, and less concern for moral issues are deemed essential for winning. The human cost of war is cast aside. As a marine serving in Iraq reports,

> We had a great day…. We killed a lot of people … we dropped a few civilians … but what do you do? … [and for killing an Iraqi woman] I'm sorry … but the chick got in the way. (Filkins, 2003)

The problem with this view is that aggression and masculinity become inextricably linked and carry over into the nonwar existence of men. The hypermasculinity associated with the Iraq War and its warriors is simultaneously acknowledged and hidden (Pettigrew, 2007). Many soldiers also expressed great remorse about killing to journalists only under conditions of anonymity. They do not utter these things to other soldiers. A soldiering mentality is maladaptive in a man's daily life, but he hauls its baggage as surely as his battlefield pack.

Sexual Prowess Norm

The theme of sexuality permeates a norm that may be referred to popularly as "macho man." In this image, men are primarily sexual beings living and having ongoing heightened interests in sexuality in all of its forms. In the sexualized world they create and function in, men are judged according to their sexual ability and sexual conquest. Men who sustain injuries that compromise their beliefs about sexual prowess are prime candidates for depression, self-neglect, and suicide. Strong masculine role ideology, for example, is associated with barriers to effective treatment (Schopp et al., 2007). Male sexual identity is experienced as sensation and action. Sexual harassment is a case in point. This identity is so taken for granted that men's ogling, touching, or sexual remarks or jokes are dismissed as harmless fun rather than as sexual domination or exploitation. Men are mystified or angered when they are accused of harassment because they view it as normal gender interaction (Thomae and Viki, 2013).

This form of sexual identity is reinforced by essentialist beliefs that masculinity is biologically rather than socially constructed. An "impotent" man is cast into a stigmatized, demeaned category because the term is used to describe more than just his penis. Media depict a man's sexual performance as a way to confirm his masculinity, with success in sex linked to success in life. Mostly used as a front, boys develop stories and routines documenting their sexual escapades and describing successful pickup ploys. As boys mature and strive to be "masculine," they soon understand that credibility and bonding are achieved with male peers through sexual talk laced with aggressive overtones and sexist joking, with girls and women as their unflattering targets (Curry, 2004). As a staple for preadolescent boys, pornography provides their initial foray into sexual images of male and female. Of the numerous masculinity and guy code lessons learned from pornography, boys often choose two as standards to chart their fledgling sexuality: "porn makes the man" and "size matters" (Jensen, 2007). When boys and men rely on sexuality to define masculinity, their vulnerability inevitably increases. They gain a measure of respect for sexual talk and bravado of the locker room, but at the same time, they understand that they can never live up to the sexualized selves they present to others. And they are well aware of the disastrous consequences if they act on the aggression in their sexual talk. In the pursuit of the illusion of masculinity, one set of vulnerabilities is exchanged for another.

Tenderness Norm

This emerging norm is characterized by those men who reject a rigid cultural construction of masculinity that disallows them from displaying sensitivity or tenderness to others. Tenderness masculinity encompasses beliefs that expressions of sensitivity are beneficial to men, both personally and socially in their relationships with others. Referred to positively as "sensitive guys," men accepting this norm strive for more emotional openness with men and more egalitarian relationships with women.

Because tenderness masculinity allows for less emotional restriction, it is the healthiest of the masculinity norms . Willingness to forgive, reconcile, and maintain a positive outlook after an episode, for example, is associated with psychological benefits. Although "anger-out" is masculinity's accepted emotional display, it not only is the least healthy for men, but also is socially unproductive. Men and the people they display anger toward do not "forgive and forget." If forgiveness is viewed as feminine, then men also tend to reject it, a belief that cuts across race and social class. Men in supportive networks that include both genders also are more likely to forgive and to feel good about it (Hammond et al., 2006; Miller et al., 2008). The tenderness norm is emerging, but it competes with the more powerful aggression and antifeminine norms.

Whereas the sensitive guy image resonates with men and women seeking equitable partnering roles, it is a masculinity image that remains subordinate to all others. When images of tenderness masculinity make their way into the media, they are undermined by the more normative images. Think of classic Arnold Schwarzenegger in *True Lies* and *Kindergarten Cop* to understand how tenderness masculinity is subverted to the other types. Heterosexual men often are portrayed as exploitive sexual beings who strive to create pleasure for their partners. The latter more "sensitive" view is not particularly progressive or egalitarian if masculinity still is associated

with control. The male takes charge of sexual activity and decides the sequence, the pace, the positions, and the best way to stimulate his partner. Women may want to lead or to communicate other needs. Whenever the "crisis of masculinity" becomes a media focus, it is usually because women are outperforming men in traditionally male spheres and men are not being assertive enough to retain or regain their positions of dominance. Their lack of assertiveness is associated with being too nice, too tender, or too sensitive.

Topic 50: Stereotypes about men and masculinity

Gender stereotypes are commonly held beliefs about males, females, and the transgender.

- Men don't cry.
- Men are brave.
- Men are strong.
- Men are bold and courageous.
- Men are capable.

Stereotypes bring responsibility:

- Men are heads of family.
- Men earn for the family.
- Man is the provider.
- Men are the protectors.
- Men should be able to solve every problem.
- Men are strong.

Consequences of male stereotypes

Positive:
- Self fulfilling prophecy.
- Positive self image.
- High self esteem.

Negative:
- Burden of responsibility.
- Psychological problems

Topic 51: Masculinity and Fatherhood

Can men have it all? This question is usually connected to women who want to combine a career with marriage and children. Femininity norms have been flexible enough to accommodate women with such aspirations. Masculinity norms have not. The success and toughness norms dictate that men take on the responsibilities of parenthood primarily through their breadwinning roles.

Like women, men envision the American Dream in terms of successful marriage, satisfying career, contented spouse, and happy children. Idealism notwithstanding, men willingly abdicate

the daily household and child care responsibilities to their wives. Masculine images of success tied to career priorities do not allow the latitude necessary for the degree of family commitment that many men desire. Contrary to common belief, men do not "have it all."

Images of Fatherhood

Fatherhood means more than paternity. The word *fathering* is associated with sexual and biological connotations. The word *mothering* is associated with nurturance. The biological father who takes his provider role seriously has met the necessary criterion for masculinity. This narrow outlook disregards, even belittles, those men who want to expand their parenting roles and choose to be stay-at-home fathers (SAHFs). SAHFs report less traditional gender role attitudes. Employed fathers are viewed more positively than SAHFs; employed mothers are viewed more negatively than homemakers (Brescoll and Uhlmann, 2005; Fischer and Anderson, 2012). In families where men are SAHFs and women are breadwinners, ceding control of parenting to men is difficult. Women cast men in a suspicious light, as one SAHF explains at a playground:

> … you will get this stink-eye from the moms, this sort of 'Who the hell are you and what are you doing here?' (Rochlen et al., 2008a:200)

Complete role reversal is rare. On the other hand, despite beliefs about essentialism and the pervading norm that men are providers and success objects, SAHFs have high levels of psychological well-being, adjustment, and life and relationship satisfaction (Rochlen et al., 2008b). However, the demeaning stereotypes of bumbling men who do not know how to hold a baby, soothe a sobbing child, or buy groceries persevere and serve to lower the skill level that men need to succeed in domestic roles. Some men use the bumbling father stereotype as a strategy to get out of performing certain tasks:

•Getting the kids dressed—these buttons are so tiny—I can't do tiny buttons.
•Poor kids, they are always getting dressed backwards.
•When the kids hear daddy's going to make dinner they'd rather eat out. (Deutsch, 2004:470)

These men belittle their own efforts and at the same time praise their wives for succeeding where they have failed. This self-effacement also functions to maintain the traditional gendered division of labor in the household.

Regardless of whether he is "playing dumb" to get out of household work, masculinity's antifemininity norm bolsters his behavior. Men who freely choose to take care of their own children as househusbands or SAHFs, who take on equal partnering with their dual-earning or full-time homemaker wives, who take care of others' children, or who are early childhood educators are suspect in their masculinity. The exclusion of men from more meaningful participation in the lives of their children can devastate fathers who avidly desire these very roles.

Socialization

Although fathers have fewer expectations built into their roles regarding socialization of their children, the child-nurturing roles they do take on are extremely important. Strong father–infant attachment and involvement of fathers with their young children are linked to a child's personality adjustment, positive peer relationships, level of self-esteem, and overall sense of well-being (Brand and Klimes-Dogan, 2010). Regardless of race or social class, in homes where fathers are absent or gone much of the time, children are at greater risk for maladaptive psychological, social, and development outcomes. Increases in divorce and cohabitation undermine already fragile father–child relationships, reinforce masculinity norms about men's economic roles, and increase women's domination in child socialization (Dermott, 2008).

Decades of research on the aspirations that fathers hold for their children remain remarkably consistent. In all social classes, fathers are stricter in gender-typed intentions of their children than mothers, and they give sons less latitude than daughters in experimenting with different gender role definitions. Fathers now believe that both their sons and daughters should go to college, but that the college should provide a different option for sons. Fathers pay close attention to the potential for their sons to be breadwinners and good providers but believe their daughters can use a degree "to fall back on." Whereas these patterns are more pronounced among working-class men compared to men in middle and upper classes, gender stereotypes surrounding masculinity norms invade socialization practices by fathers.

Topic 52: Men at Middle Age and in Later Life

Sociological perspectives on the **life course** highlight the process of continuing socialization in the roles people play over a lifetime and the ages associated with those roles. The varied paths of the life course are shaped by individual experiences as well as broader social change, particularly related to gender.

Retirement

The transition to retirement requires major adjustments in all segments of life. It restructures daily living, alters family relationships and spending patterns, and can generate psychological stress. Yet retirement has become such a part of life's expectations that if financial security is ensured, workers prefer early retirement. Gender role beliefs are central to retirement adjustment. Men undergo a profound shift in identity and ideas about masculinity. The provider-role script and success norms associated with masculinity sharpen an already strong American work ethic from which identity and self-esteem are gained.

The psychological investment in the world of paid employment for men predicts that they would have a more difficult time with retirement compared to women. Data suggest, however, that retirement satisfaction is based on the same factors for women and men. Like men, career women anticipate retiring at an earlier age, but they use the resulting free time differently. Women restructure their domestic lives that were constrained because of employment and spend more time with family and on home-related activities. Men take on more extradomestic roles and activities, but many of these activities are done with family members rather than friends or former coworkers. Egalitarian men do the same level of routine household work at retirement; egalitarian women invest more time in these tasks at retirement. Marital satisfaction for men and

women increases as adjustments to a less time-driven life are made (Schmitt et al., 2007; Trudel et al., 2013). Gender is less of a predictor of life satisfaction at retirement than are income and health. Both male and female workers are less satisfied if poor health forced them to retire or if fewer economic resources forced them to remain on the job.

Midlife as Crisis

Do men have a midlife crisis? Health care professionals continue to debate the question in light of a configuration of physical and emotional symptoms that emerge for many men between the ages of 45 and 55. Variously referred to as the male climeractic, male menopause, or midlife crisis, men may present symptoms of night fears, sweats and chills, and depression. The psychological and social turmoil associated with these symptoms are linked to hormonal changes, such as a sharp drop in testosterone level for a few men and a slow but gradual change with considerable hormonal variation, including a rise in estrogen. Unlike women who experience noticeable changes heralding the cessation of menses, in normal aging for men, the changes are subtle. Older men retain their interest in sex, but sexual performance becomes less predictable. Gender scripts linking masculinity to sexual prowess remain. A fear of impotence may come true not because of hormones, but because of the fear itself (the massive sales of drugs that enhance the sexual performance of men may be linked to this fear). Men perceive themselves and are perceived by others as men first; their elder status comes second. Men do not drift into a version of sexless androgyny at old age (Thompson, 2006). Biological changes must be seen in light of the social and psychological factors embedded in masculinity norms.

Professionals are now viewing these symptoms as normal to the aging process, and although initially alarming, they are not debilitating. The appearance of symptoms prompts many men to engage in a review of their lives, make choices, and alter life paths. Others suggest that this stage is neither normal nor healthy and that it produces psychological turmoil for men who make unwise decisions that are maladaptive for themselves and their families. This latter view asserts that men at midlife become acutely aware of their own mortality and, in reviewing their accomplishments, focus on what they have not done rather than what they have done. Unmet goals founded on masculinity's success scripts create turmoil for the midlife man who is then said to be in crisis.

Women at Midlife

For women, the depression that supposedly occurs when the last child is launched, or moves away from home, is referred to as the empty nest syndrome. Research shows, however, that the empty nest syndrome is largely a myth. Contrary to the stereotype, women tend to experience an upturn in psychological well-being when children are launched. Marital satisfaction also increases, but "too much" time with their partners can decrease overall life satisfaction. Like good provider men, women who are identified according to motherhood roles must negotiate their cultural and personal identities. They generally feel good about this life stage but must contend with cultural beliefs suggesting otherwise (Gorchoff et al., 2008; Sheriff and Weatherall, 2009). Women tend to look to the empty nest stage of life as offering opportunities to pursue activities they put on hold while raising their children. Personality development for women at midlife is related to increases in competence, independence, and an age-related rise in androgyny

(Kasen et al., 2006:955). They generally seek expanded roles in a society increasingly receptive to women like themselves, who are venturing outside the traditional confines of the home.

Men at Midlife

Men may have a more difficult time with the empty nest than women. Some evidence suggests that men's increased depression at midlife is linked to their regrets about career priorities that distanced themselves from their children. A positive life course path to recapture the lost parenting experience prompts many men to turn to grandchildren. Grandchildren provide a sense of biological continuity; emotional self-fulfillment; and a way for men to be free of the competition, arguments, and power struggles they experienced in their workplaces when raising their own children. The stereotype of a grandfather as a stern, aloof family patriarch counters the reality that grandparenting offers men rewarding and emotionally enriching experiences.

Men at midlife often begin to reintegrate the masculine and feminine traits that were separate for most of their lives. Traditional masculinity is tempered by a more well-rounded personality, which accounts for roles of husband, father, and breadwinner (Mann, 2007). Women approach midlife differently than men. Men seek greater interdependence at old age, whereas women seek greater autonomy. At this stage, men become more nurturing; women, more independent. Her capability of standing apart from him may help relieve him of the burden of responsibility he believes he has carried for the family. It is interesting that the woman who grows in assertiveness and independence provides the best source of support for a man in this phase of life. Each spouse may begin to loosen the bonds of restrictive gender roles as they make the transition from middle to old age.

Widowhood

Compared to widows, widowers are much more likely to remarry; thus, among the elderly, the large majority of widows reside alone. Although most older adults return to earlier levels of physical and emotional health within two years after the loss of their spouse, social isolation and loneliness are frequent outcomes of widowhood. The surviving spouse is at higher risk for physical illness and even death. If a caregiver–spouse dies, the already debilitated surviving spouse is left in an even more dependent and vulnerable position. Suicide rates among the elderly have increased since the 1980s, and they remain the highest of all age groups. Men account for the large majority of all suicides, and white males in their eighties have the highest suicide rates of all races and both genders. Suicide attempts by younger people (those under age 35) are likely to fail; suicide attempts rarely fail for the elderly, and the failure rate is smallest for elderly males. The suicide rate of older men, especially widowers, is a consistent trend since Emile Durkheim's analysis of suicide over a century ago.

Widows

The death of a spouse has a profound and devastating effect on the surviving partner, but becoming a widow is a qualitatively different experience than becoming a widower. Older women are more likely to form their identity around marriage, so losing a spouse literally means loss of a central life role. Widows are likely to experience a sudden decrease in standard of

living, and for working-class women, widowhood can quickly result in poverty. Isolation increases and support networks decrease. These are worsened if the couple has moved away from her family for his career advancement. If a widow feels emotionally secure enough to venture into dating, prospects for male companionship and remarriage are limited.

On the other hand, many others with whom they can share experiences, memories, and activities guide widows. Due to their numbers alone, a variety of productive roles have been carved out for widows. Because married women know that widowhood is probable, they may begin to mentally rehearse it through anticipatory socialization. Their role choices may not be completely clear, but most widows cope with the crisis reasonably well, adapt as necessary, and productively map out the rest of their lives in ways that contribute to their well-being.

Widowers

The role of widower is more vague than that of widow. At first glance, it would seem that adjustment is difficult because men lose their most important source of emotional support and probably their major, if not their only, confidant. Wives typically take responsibility for maintaining the couple's social calendar and network of friendships. Masculinity norms earlier in life prevented interpersonal skill building. Lacking the strategies for either preserving or reestablishing intimate relationships, widowers find themselves with reduced social contacts. Traditional norms of masculinity may intrude again, preventing them from talking out their grief with others. Retirement increases social isolation. Widowhood intensifies it. The net result is a loss of significant personal relationships. Older men also are less likely to be prepared for the everyday domestic responsibilities necessary for taking care of themselves. When ongoing relationships and customary responsibilities are shattered, anomie (normlessness) can follow. This pattern helps explain the high suicide rate of elderly males.

On the other hand, marriage prospects remain bright for widowers, with many embarrassed by all of the attention they receive from widows who want to "do" things for them. In addition to the number of women their own age or younger who are available to widowers as potential dating and mating partners, men are better off financially to actually support another spouse. Finally, men may have a stronger need to be remarried, so they quickly move through the dating stage to make remarriage a reality. Overall, adjustment to widowhood may be different for men and women, but it remains unclear as to which gender fares better.

Lecture 14

GENDERED VIOLENCE: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Topic 53-55

Topic 53: Gendered Violence

Relationship between violence against women and acceptance of traditional masculine gender roles and masculinity norms. Sexual terrorism is common in patriarchal societies where men are allowed to subordinate women. It includes:

- Sexual intimidation

- Threat of violence

- Overt violence

    (Scheffield, 2007)

Rape, domestic violence, and girl child sexual abuse are most common forms of violence.

Relationship between power and violence.

- Men's power over women and children is positively correlated with gendered violence.

- Negative correlation between gender equity and gendered violence.

Domestic violence and battered women

The continuing increase in domestic violence makes the family home one of the most lethal environments in the United States. Intimate partner violence against women makes up about one-fifth of all nonfatal violent crimes experienced by women. Although it cuts across all demographic groups, wife battering is more prevalent in families with low income and unemployment, isolation from kin and community, and alcohol use. These factors suggest why rape spiked during the recession, particularly in cities with high job loss (Human Rights Watch, 2008; Kohler and Cambria, 2009). When race is factored in, African American women are twice as likely as white women to experience more violence and more severe violence. Privacy of the family, the reluctance of the police to get involved in family disputes, lack of consistent legal standards, and accepted masculinity norms make it difficult to get accurate statistics on all forms of family violence and abuse. Statistics on child abuse are more accurate because hospitals are now on the front line in investigating possible cases. Wife battering is the most underreported of all crimes, and underreporting is linked with the persistent belief that it is part of normal marriage (Buzawa and Buzawa, 2003).

Domestic violence encompasses a wide array of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Marital rape and wife beating have been commonplace throughout history, but until the mid-twentieth century, a husband's right to a wife's body was considered as personal privilege and as amounting to legal right. Standards from English Common Law transported to the United States generally supported a man's right to beat his wife, even for such infringements as talking back to

him. The infamous rule of thumb allowed a husband to beat his wife with a stick no bigger than his thumb.

Topic 54: Violence and sexism

Gendered violence has roots in sexism; a biased attitude and behavior towards one sex/gender, usually the women. Violence in all forms no matter where it takes place, is indicator of one class of citizens being oppressed and exploited by another in a dominant position…. the more powerful. Domestic violence:

- Common couple violence

- Patriarchal terrorism (Johnson, 1995)

Wife beating is more common in societies where:

- Aggressive behavior is common.

- Women have an inferior status

- Physical force is used to resolve disputes, among other factors (Broude, 1994).

What is required?

- Education/ awareness.

- Women friendly laws.

- Implementing law.

Topic 55: Understanding domestic violence

Violence can be defined as an emotionally charged act marked by aggression, involving infliction of hurt or injury to the victim. Violence that takes place inside the boundaries of home…. exercised by intimate partners.

"Domestic violence or partner abuse is the physical, sexual or psychological maltreatment of a spouse, a former spouse, or an intimate partner so as to gain or maintain power or control" (Papalia, Olds, and Feldman, 2001, p. 542).

- Physical assault: attack, injury, burning etc.

- Sexual assault

- Psychological assault; threats, black mailing, abusing, ridiculing, emotional abuse, pressure for undesirable behaviors etc.

- Financial restrictions

- Deprivation

According to demographics wife battering is likely to occur in families with:

- Low income and unemployment

- Isolation from relatives and community

- Alcohol use

Domestic violence is more likely to occur with women who are:

- Young in age

- Less educated

- Financially dependent.

- From lower SES

Personal attributes and domestic violence

Men more likely to indulge in domestic violence are:

- Young in age

- Less educated

- Unemployed/burdened

- From lower SES

- Drug abusers

- Having experience of domestic violence as a child

- Most victims do not report domestic violence due to:

- Shame, embarrassment, fear of punishment.

- Fear of breaking a relationship

- Hope for an improvement in the relationship

Impact of Violence on women

- Low self esteem, heightened self-doubt, shattered self confidence

- Fear of more torture

- Helplessness

- Passive acceptance; belief that this is the way a woman's life is.

Possible Solution

- Law enforcement

- Women's education and awareness of legal rights

- Men's education and awareness of responsibilities

<div align="right">**Lecture 15**</div>

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OVERVIEW OF THE MEN'S MOVEMENT

Topic: 56-57

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Topic 56: The Men's Movement

Agenda of The Men's Movement

- Self help

- Support

- Activism, and

- Lobbying for gender issues

Men's involvement with the feminist movement and support for the feminist goals. Many pro feminist men joined National Organization for Women in the 70's. Pro feminist men's organizations began emerging in the 80's because of growing interest in masculinity and men's problems. NOMAS/ National Organization for Men Against Sexism was established. National Organization for Men Against Sexism was a pro feminist organization interested in masculinity, obliteration of racism and prejudice against certain groups Focused on exploring positive options.

Men's Issues

- Are men actually socially privileged or is it a myth?

- Do men never suffer violence especially psychological/ mental torture?

- There are more male than female children in child labor.

- Most men in most parts of the world have to support a family with no one helping.

- More men than women have heart attacks.

- More men suffer from occupational stress since more men than women are in professions.

- Why don't men usually get child custody?

- How does losing a custody case affect a father?

Topic 56: Off shoots of Men's Movement

Promasculinist movement.

- Gender roles and masculinity norms negatively affect men.

- Accompanying competition and emotional distance doesn't let them be close to each other.

Mythopoetic Men

The lack of public awareness of the first men's movement is revealed in how media publicized later men's movements. Media attention focused on poet Robert Bly's (1990) belief that men are caught in a toxic masculinity that demands efficiency, competition, and an emotional distance that separates them from one another. Rooted in a competitive work environment that keeps fathers absent from their families, Bly contends, boys turn to women to meet emotional needs. Using myths, art, and poetry as vehicles to access inner emotions, men must unearth and celebrate their lost natural birthright of righteous anger and primordial masculinity, which can be regained only in communion with other men. Communication between men is encouraged, but the "soft male" who is out of touch with his masculinity and turns to women as authority figures as substitutes for absent or distant fathers is denounced. Through healing rituals at weekend retreats, men become aware of their animal instincts and come to embrace their full masculinity.

Media were so swept away with Bly's ability to bring these men together that they referred to his following as *the* men's movement and erroneously reported it as the first social movement stemming from a general malaise of men (Adler, 1991:47). Currently it is usually referred to as the *mythopoetic* branch of the men's movement. The retreats are few and less attended, but its healing techniques are used by psychotherapists who believe that many men can be helped when they rediscover and repair the damage caused by father deprivation. Robert Bly continues to speak to large audiences. Unlike the profeminist NOMAS movement, which argues against men's privilege, the mythopoetic movement is promasculinist and seeks to heal men's pain by distancing them from women. Although the movement asserts that it is pro-feminist, many men in the movement take the stance that men are victims, especially in divorce and custody battles, and that male privilege is a myth. Many principles are in direct opposition to basic feminist tenets. However, mythopoetic men may reject rather than simply repackage patriarchy (Barton, 2006; Rothschild, 2009). The men attracted to the mythopoetic ranks tend to be powerful, straight, middle class, and white. They seek to change their lives by making success less a priority than emotional values and spiritual well-being (Magnuson, 2007, 2008). Economically successful men fill the mythopoeic ranks. Working-class men and men of color are virtually nonexistent. Today mythopoeic principles are enacted within a loose array of men's groups across the country that embrace or modify Bly's principles. These groups tend to work more locally and do not have the larger national following or media attention of the original group.

African American Men

Another branch of the men's movement focuses on the African American male experience. Research shows that African American males tend to construct definitions of masculinity in direct opposition to Euro-American male models (Harris et al., 1994). Feeling blocked in achieving masculine goals offered by mainstream society, these men initially may adopt the dominant hegemonic views of masculinity. Their values change, however, as they get older and recognize that the dominant model is deficient in light of the race and class cultural configurations of African American men (Hunter and Davis, 1994). The 1995 Million Man March (MMM) in Washington, D.C., organized by controversial Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, was an effort to bring together African American men in support of one another and

to offer positive role models to young people and their communities. Depending on the source, the effort got mixed reviews (Gabbidon, 2001). The media spotlighted positive role models, but the luster was tarnished by its antiwoman thrust and heavy infusion of patriarchy (West, 1999). Although all of the national and international women's conferences welcomed men, the Million Man March did not invite women to join. And Farrakhan later applauded Iran for setting a shining example to the world on behalf of democratic principles. Iran's unquestionably brutal record regarding both women and democracy intensified any existing schism between men and women.

Despite these criticisms, MMM is still considered a watershed by many in its effort to bring African American men together in a unique celebration of strength and resilience (Chandler, 2012). In 2005, another march on Washington, D.C., organized by the "Millions More Movement" marked the MMM. The 2005 march did not garner near the publicity or attention as the 1995 gathering and the Millions More Movement has not been sustained. MMM was certainly a historic moment, but to date it has not translated an ongoing, organized movement of African American men (Smith, 2010).

Promise Keepers

The Promise Keepers (PK), the newest branch of the men's movement, is the largest, drawing men to stadium events and to small group meetings for over two decades (Promise Keepers, 2009). Founded by Bill McCartney, former head football coach of the University of Colorado, PK is an evangelical Christian organization dedicated to reestablishing male responsibility in the family and overcoming racial divisions. Media coverage of PK has been so positive that some research suggests that it is less like news and more like advertising (Claussen, 2000). Similar to both the mythopoetic and African American branches, PK sees the fatherless home as the source of America's problems. It is different, however, in that its foundation appears to resonate with many more men. To become a Promise Keeper, a man must pledge his commitment to seven "promises," including honoring Jesus Christ, practicing spiritual and sexual purity, and building strong marriages and families. PK also is founded on the goal of reconnecting men to their families and taking back family leadership that "sissified men" abdicated, leaving women to fill the vacuum of leadership. As one PK leader suggests, men should not ask for their role back, but are urged to take it back (Healey, 2000:221). Although PK distanced itself from political affiliations of its members, its goals for asserting Christianity into home and society closely parallel the agenda of the political right wing and the New Christian Right (Quicke and Robinson, 2000). This political avoidance but religious thrust has attracted many middle- and upper-class Protestant men to become involved with the movement (Lockhart, 2000).

PK had rapid growth and rapid decline. It continues to hold arena events, but its numbers have dwindled considerably amid accusations related to finances and an inability to sustain support from a broad array of male religious leaders. Also, PK could not completely distance itself from McCartney's admission that he had been unfaithful to his wife. Like other men's movements, inclusiveness, particularly among Christians, remains a critical flaw. PK's racial unification goal under a banner of spirituality has not been met. Women are needed as volunteers and supporters but are not invited as equal partners to share in its mission (Bartkowski, 2003).

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Topic: 58-62

Topic 58: Gender and development basic concepts

The Process of developing and growing for betterment. The indicators of development make the difference between the developed, developing, and the under developed countries. Development is the capacity of a state to increase its human resource with the aim of achieving higher outcome of production for the satisfaction of the basic needs of majority of its citizens and empowering them to make demands on the government. Development focuses on programs designed to upgrade the standard of living of the world's poor in ways that allow them to sustain themselves. (Lindsey, 2011)

Dimensions of Development

- Economic, and Social/ Humanistic dimension.

- Health and healthcare

- Education

- Economy and income

- Resources and access to resources

Relationship between gender and development

- The powerful gender will have access to resources.

- Men are actively involved in the development process.

- Gender and variation in compensation for work.

- Gender, health, and education

Gender and Development Approach(GAD)

Strengthening the effectiveness of development work in a manner that the situation of both women and men is improved, and progress is made to attain social and gender equality.

Topic 59: Gender parity and disparity

Gender Parity:

- Being equal especially with regard to pay, rank, and position.

- It is about Equivalence

Gender Disparity

"Differences in women's and men's <u>access to resources, status and well-being,</u> which usually <u>favour men and are often institutionalised</u> through law, justice and social norms."

Gender inequality

Differences in:

- Biological, psychological,

 and social terms

- Access to resources

- Empowerment

- Rewards/compensations;

salary and wages.

Gender Parity

Basically a numerical concept in reference to gender equality.

In Economics it would refer to a situation in which one unit of a currency has exactly the same value as one unit of another currency.

- Equal status of men and women in all spheres especially economic, political, social.

- Equal rewards, compensation, payment.

- Equal access to resources and amenities.

"Gender parity concerns relative equality in terms of numbers and proportions of women and men, girls and boys, and is often calculated as the ratio of female-to-male values for a given indicator."

- European Institute for Gender Equality. https://eige.europa.eu/rdc/thesaurus/terms/1195

Gender Parity Index

- A socioeconomic index used to measure progress in developing countries

- Released by UNESCO

- To measure the relative access of males and females to education.

For any development indicator one can define the GPI relative to this indicator by <u>dividing its value for females by its value for males.</u> For example we can examine education or access to education in the same manner. Definition by Institute for Statistics of UNESCO

   "In the context of gender equality, gender parity refers to the equal contribution of women and men to every dimension of life, whether private or public."

Topic 60: Gender roles and development

Development is the process of developing and growing. Moving or progressing from one level, stage or phase to the other; from lower to higher. Development, growth, and evolution are connected. Development may be at individual, societal, regional, national and/or global level. Gender and development are related. A person's gender may affect his/her participation in the development process. A person's gender may affect his/her access to resources and benefits from the development taking place in a society. Development takes place in all sectors; health, education, economy, industry, agriculture, infrastructure etc. The contribution of men and women is visible; visibly different.

Barriers to women participation in development

- Patriarchal system

- Poor or no education

- Poor or no professional skills

- Poor access to resources

- Health issues

- Dual responsibilities

Improving women participation in development

- Improved education and access to education.

- Professional and skill based education.

- Better healthcare.

- Women empowerment plans.

- Women's access to resources; loans and financing.

- Childcare facilities.

- Men's awareness and sensitization.

- Women friendly laws and regulations e.g. age relaxation.

Topic 61: Gender and access to resources

Resources as means to empowerment. Resources pave way to independence, self reliance, autonomy, and right to decision making. Resources include natural as well as man made sources of power and sustainability. Resources: Land, water, agriculture, forests, oil, minerals, mines etc. and their produce. Also, education, healthcare, and industry. Historically, there have been gender differences in access to, and ownership of, resources.

Who is responsible?

- Patriarchal values and norms, gendered division of labour, and laws and cultural practices promoting gender inequality.

- What is required?

- Women's education

- Women's professional training and skill development

- Career paths for women

- Sensitization and awareness of men.

Topic 62: Feminist view on development

Feminist perspective has an integrative approach. Different aspects of development are examined; patriarchy, economics, environment, colonialism etc. Women, for a long time were not active contributors in development policy making or active development activity.

- Till 1970's they were passive beneficiaries.

- Women in Development (WID) approach emerged in the 1970s.

- Highlighted and demanded women's active participation in the development activity and access to funds allocated for development.

- Women and Development (WAD) approach emerged in the late 1970s and became prominent in the 1980s.

- The focus was on the interaction between women and development

- How development and globalization affect people depending on their gender, as well as who and from where they are.

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DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM

Topic 63-65

Topic 63: Development Paradigm

Development Paradigms

Paradigm:

- A philosophical and theoretical framework of a scientific school or discipline within which theories, laws, and generalizations and the experiments performed in support of them are formulated. (Merriam Webster).

Modernization Paradigm:

One of the earliest paradigms. The shortest and quickest path to development in the under developed countries is westernization, modernization. Emerged and popular in 1945-1960s. This paradigm stresses the transfer of technology to the less developed and traditional societies. It also brings the socio-political culture of the developed societies in form of industrialization to the other societies as a quickest way of experiencing development. (Etana, 2014). A model with a positive goal, however an authority based model. Nonnegotiable, top down, expert driven model. Criticized for these features. This model has been criticized for various reasons, including paying little attention to the historical roots and culture of the third world nations.

Dependency Paradigm

This model emerged and has been prominent in the 1960s to 1980s. The first model to have emerged from the underdeveloped world, the poorer nations. Based on the work of Raul Prebisch, and Argentine economist. The focus was on the effects of dependency. Influence of the Marxist approach and critical theory. It is believed that underdevelopment is a result of the world process of capital accumulation and it cannot be seen apart from development. (Etana, 2014) Following the capitalist approach, rich nations will become richer and the poor will be poor or will remain under developed. Dependency of under developed nations is caused by their reliance or dependence on the developed nations. What is required is a strategy for self reliance, breaking away from the capitalist approach.

Multiplicity Theory

Development is an integral, multidimensional, and dialectic process that can differ from society to society. This paradigm emphasizes on cultural identity. Therefore, development problem is a relative one (Etana, 2014). Seen in the 1980s. Multiplicity of approaches is emphasized. Empowerment of the oppressed is part of agenda. Gender equality and human rights are focus of attention too.

Topic 64: The WID approach

Feminist Approach to Development

From the feminist perspective, development is more than the attainment of economic targets. It is about human well being. Emancipation and productivity of women are important.

UN's HDI or Human Development index measures a country's average achievements in three basic dimensions

- Life expectancy.

- Educational attainment.

- Adjusted real income.

Gender Development Index (GDI)

Three variables considered while calculating GDI:

- Education; school enrollment and adult literacy
- Wealth; Gross National Income (GNI) per capita adjusted for purchasing power parity.
- Health; life expectancy at birth.

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

Three variables considered while calculating GEM:

- Political participation and decision making
- Economic participation and decision making
- Control over economic resource

World Economic Forum's Gender Equality Measure
Five areas are considered:

- Economic participation

- Economic opportunity

- Political empowerment

- Educational attainment

- Health and well-being

Women in Development (WID)

In the early 1970s, Women in Development (WID), as a term, became prominent. 'Women's Role in Economic Development' (1970) was written by Ester Boserup. She called attention to some very significant points.

Ester Boserup drew attention on these points:

- Women's labour at home and on the farm is generally under-reported.

- Negative impact of colonialism and the penetration of capitalism.

- To improve women's education, employment, and political representation, their participation in social welfare is emphasized.

- Women were not playing an active part in the economic activity and remained passive beneficiaries.

- Women needed to be active participants.

- The role and status of women in the economic process needed to be improved.

- Women were in a subservient position because they did not have access to, or control over resources.

Emphasis:

- Women should be integrated into economic initiatives.

- Women in the developing world need to be brought into the economic circle.

- Women's productive work and their concerns need attention.

Desired Action:

- Education for women.

- Job opportunities/ employment for women.

- Women's access to resources.

- Opportunities for income generation and credit facilities.

Sub Approaches of WID

Equity Approach: Gender equality and just distribution of benefits of development.

Anti Poverty Approach: Women's poverty needed to be alleviated. Opportunities for income generation required; financing and micro credit opportunities needed.

Efficiency Approach: Effective use of all factors of production, efficiency of projects, and sustainability.

Criticism of WID Approach:

The approach focused only on women's role and integration in the developmental process while ignoring important factors. It seemed to ignore the reproductive role of women, unequal gender relations, and the way social structure is set up in different societies. Also, it seemed to ignore the nature of development in which donor nations were investing.

Topic 65: The GAD Approach

The GAD approach explains women's subordination from a different perspective. An analysis of the relation between men and women is made keeping in view factors like social class, race, age, and other aspects of women 's life. Focus is on gender and gender relations and social structure rather than on women alone. This makes the approach more comprehensive and holistic. The interplay of gender and development is looked into. The approach has the influence of socialist feminist thinking. GAD approach came into vision in the 1980s. Legislations and structural changes are targeted. Empowerment of both men and women is focused on.

Gender equality in the following areas is emphasized:

- The division of labor.

- Control of resources

and benefits.

- Decision-making power.

- Access to services and resources.

- Women's active participation as agents of change is emphasized along with the stress on empowerment of both men and women .

- The approach is egalitarian in nature.

- The state should be responsible for facilitating emancipation of women.

Men and women , both should have equal right of decision making for equitable and sustainable development. All under privileged and under developed need to be empowered, whether men or women.

DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY

Topic 66-

Topic 66: Development and Gender Equality

Development and gender equality are closely linked. Equality is the pathway to equal access of men and women to means of empowerment. Also, active participation of women and men in the development process and programs. Girls and women have access to educational and economic opportunities, and professional excellence because of increasing equality. Women's status and decision making power has improved.

Equality has had a positive impact in many ways:

- Education: more and more girls are going to school and the number of women going for higher and professional education is on the increase.

- Health: Maternal mortality is being paid attention. Life expectancy has improved.

- Economy: More women are becoming a part of active workforce.

Way forward???

- A lot of work is required.

- Still, not all girls have access to school, all women opportunity of higher education.

- Also, poor healthcare, freedom of decision making inside or outside the home.

- Still the rate of maternal and female mortality is high.

- Access to economic activity and opportunities is different for men and women.

Topic 67: Significance of Gender Equality for Development

Gender equality opens to women the ways to empowerment. Women's ability and productive role becomes visible under gender equality. The number of aware, educated, professional, and economically active citizens is increased. When women are earning then the number of productive individuals as well as the citizens who can spend money and add to the economic activity is increased. Consequently, women's status is improved and they participate in the decision making process, inside and outside home. A by product is women's enhanced self-esteem. As a result, women entrepreneurship may flourish. Women are encouraged to take bold steps for income generation. Men's support can speed up the process of economic independence and self-reliance.

Topic 68: Understanding women empowerment

Empowerment means being powerful, autonomous, self-reliant. Women empowerment is about the ability of women to take decisions about their life as an autonomous human being.

Empowered women are believed to:

- Disregard and disrespect social norms and values.
- Rebellious.
- Disregard relationships.
- Be anti men

Autonomy should not be understood as disregard of relationships or disrespect for social values. It is the ability to make decisions without any pressure or stress to decide in a 'specified' way.

Empowerment and Formal work

Empowerment is closely associated with, and usually comes with, formal work. Formal work is an occupation which:

- Needs formal training and learning a skill.
- Is a means of earning/ income for the person
- Is performed at a specific workplace.
- Is performed during specific work hours.
- Is the identity of the person

Way forward; what do women require?

- Education and awareness
- Skill
- Access to resources
- Loans and financing
- Employment opportunities
- Social support and changed social perceptions

Topic 69: Components of Empowerment

Components of empowerment:

- Economic
- Social
- Legal
- Political
- Psychological and emotional

All aspects are important and interlinked.

Being employed and economically productive alone may not ensure empowerment. Earning, but not having control over own earnings, not having the freedom to decide about how to spend the money, indicates that the woman is not empowered.

Barriers to Women Empowerment

- Illiteracy and poor education.
- Non supportive family and society.
- Stereotypical views about women's work and working women.
- Dual responsibilities.
- Sexual harassment at workplace.
- Poor access to resources and opportunities.

Topic 70: Women Empowerment and Development

There is a close link between women empowerment and development. Empowerment at personal level may be seen as development at personal level. Women can be understood to be empowered if they have attained the benefits of development. Development has various aspects; economic, social, and political. Similarly, empowerment has the same components; economic, social, and political. Development affects women's status in society. If the society is developed in the true sense then all citizens, will be receiving the benefits of development. They will be educated, economically strong, self-reliant, productive, valued, politically sensitized and active… men and women. In a developed society, the members would be contributing to the stability, strength, and development in the society e.g., working and earning women will have better capacity to spend money, be active consumers, therefore contributing to the economic process. Educated women will be likely to educate their families. The educated women will be more likely to become professionals and/or enter the formal workforce. Empowered women may come up with entrepreneurial ventures, thus contributing to national economy. A huge proportion of advertisements focuses on women as their target consumers.

Topic 71: Challenges and Problems of Gender and Development

Challenges:

- Poverty alleviation
- Improving health and healthcare of citizens, especially girls and women
- Education for all, particularly girls.
- Women empowerment
- Food (availability and provision) and nutrition for all, especially girls and women.
- Environment; green and clean.
- Economic activity; need to bring women in the active workforce.

Problems:

- Lack of education/poor education
- Poor or no awareness of opportunities
- Non-professional/ non skill based education
- Little or no entrepreneurial opportunities

- Poor access or non-availability of micro credit or loans facility
- Health issues including poor nutrition.
- Stereotypical beliefs about capacity and ability
- Women's felt incapacity

<div align="right">**Lesson 19**</div>

THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS, UNO AND OTHER CONFERENCE IN GENDER DEVELOPMENT

Topic 72-75

Topic 72: The Role of Non-Government Organizations in Gender development

The citizens is the responsibility of the state, it Is not possible to look after every citizen on every issue. The government organizations take care of most issues, however support from internal and external sources is also required. National and International Non governmental Organizations (NGOs) play a significant role in dealing with social issues. These organizations reach out at the grass root level with welfare as their main goal. Some organizations may be working on their own however many of them are funded by larger NGOs , donor agencies, and other countries.

> NGO: "A non-profit organization that operates independently of any government, typically one whose purpose is to address a social or political issue".
> (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ngo)

NGOs may include small civil society groups as well as large organizations working under/with international organizations such as the UN. NGOs have been playing a significant role in healthcare, eradication of disease, education, women empowerment, and women's political participation.

Topic 73: The Role of Development Aid in Gender Development

Development aid is "aid given by governmental and other agencies to support the economic, social, and political development of developing countries. It may be given by developed countries   and/or   developing countries". http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Development_aid

Development aid is also known as Development Cooperation, Development Assistance, International Aid, Foreign Aid, International Assistance, and Technical Assistance. The primary goal is poverty alleviation. The goals of women development, empowerment, and gender equity are also connected with poverty and poverty alleviation in many ways. Attaining gender equity in various spheres of life, keeping in mind the global goals, is a huge task which requires solid and sustained financing. The agenda of development, poverty alleviation, and women empowerment requires input and support from all quarters concerned; the government, the implementing agencies, the civil society, and all other possible stake holders. At times internal resources are not enough to meet the targets, and external assistance is required.

The aid can be:

Bilateral aid

When only the donor country and the recipient country are involved in a direct transaction.

Multilateral aid

When the donor country gives the aid to some international organization (e.g., WHO, UNWOMEN) who disburses it to the recipient/ recipients.

Developed and developing countries have been playing a significant role in women empowerment by providing funding for strengthening different aspects of empowerment.

Topic 74: The United Nations initiatives; Conferences on Women

Globalization has brought the nations and people in the world closer. Views, ideas, and perceptions also travel and are transmitted at a faster pace. International organizations have been playing their part with reference to gender and development. The UN has made some significant achievements in this regard.

- 1945: A commitment was announced to the equality of men an women in the 1945 Charter.
- 1975: the year 1975 was declared the International Women's Year
- 1975-1985 was declared the UN Decade for Women.

Policies and issues affecting women's life were examined. Aspects such as equity in pay, land holding, gendered violence, and human rights were focused on. Three major international conferences and meetings were held in this decade along with many other meetings in different regions.

- The first world conference on Women, 1975: Mexico City.
- The second world conference on Women, 1980: Copenhagen
- The third world conference on Women,1985: Nairobi.

The agenda included Conscious Raising (Mexico City), Networks (Copenhagen), and, The Solidarity of Women Worldwide (Nairobi).

- 'Equality, development, and Peace' was focused.
- These conferences assessed the progress made in reference to the commitments.
- 1995: The Beijing Conference was held.
- It was the largest UN conference on women which brought together around 50,000 participants.

Topic 75: The Beijing Conference as a Milestone

The fourth world Conference on Women held in Beijing, China, proved to be a milestone in many ways. It paved the way for women empowerment in the years to come. It was attended by exceptionally large number of participants from different regions of the world, in various capacities. The most significant achievement was the unanimous adoption of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action by 189 countries. Around 50000 people were brought together by this conference. The conference was organized by Commission on the Status of Women, while the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women served as the Conference secretariat. Women empowerment was the main agenda. Twelve critical areas were identified where action

was required for women's advancement and empowerment in the new millennium, the 21st century.

The key areas included:

- Women and poverty
- Education and training of women
- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women in armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in power and decision-making
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Human rights of women
- Women and the media
- Women and environment
- The girl child

Follow up mechanisms were devised. The member nations followed the decisions.

WOMEN, GLOBALIZATION, AND DEVELOPMENT

Topic 76-80

Topic 76: Women, Globalization, and Development

Globalization refers to " the removal of barriers to increase the flow of capital between and within nations" (Lindsey, 2011,p136).

Globalization has increased the connection between people and nations however it does not unite us (Lindsey, 2011).

Globalization affects men and women differently. It has opened many avenues of work and employment; more men than women may be benefiting from these opportunities. United Nation Development Program (UNDP) has been working for reducing the gender gap in human capability areas. The focused areas include access to health care, literacy, job training, and family planning. Globalization and development are closely related. Looking at the condition and status of women in the under developed and developing countries, it can be seen that the situation is not very promising. Women are at a disadvantage in many ways. A major proportion of the illiterate people, and those living below poverty line are women in many parts of the world. A large number of women are involved in informal and unpaid work. Women living in rural areas have very limited paid job opportunities. However, a positive aspect is that at national and international level, efforts are being made to improve women's status and to empower them. When developments in this regard takes place in one part of the world, the awareness and impact is transmitted to other parts very rapidly.

Topic 77: Global issues

Global issues are the issues or problems that are not contained and restricted within the boundaries of any one nation alone. Similarly their solutions cannot be found in any one region alone. If the issue is restricted to one specific country then it will not be called a 'global' issue. Skimming through publications by international agencies/ organizations, particularly the UN, we come across a long list of global issues that need attention. Some examples include poverty alleviation, ageing, violence, peace keeping, health and nutrition, AIDS, gender equity, clean drinking water, and climate change. Many of these goals are directly or indirectly linked with women empowerment e.g., gender equity, health, poverty alleviation. Two major plans for combating these issues are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Topic 78: Gender and Global Development Goals

As a consequence of women's movement, and efforts from all quarters concerned, women empowerment has been part of the global agenda for quite some time. A major development took place at the turn of the century when world leaders gathered at the United Nations. 189 countries came together, including 149 heads of state/ government. After the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000 and the adoption of the United Nations, Millennium Declaration, eight

international goals were established for year 2015. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These goals were a plan designed by the world leaders for overcoming major problems faced by the people, and countries, of the world in the 21st century. 191 member states committed to achieve MDGs.

A number of international organizations also committed

1. To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

2. To achieve universal primary education

3. To promote gender equality and empower women

4. To reduce child mortality

5. To improve maternal health

6. To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases

7. To ensure environmental sustainability

8. To develop a global partnership for development

Gender Equality and Women Empowerment became a part of international agenda. Although all goals involve women's wellbeing, goals # 3 and 5 are directly about women.
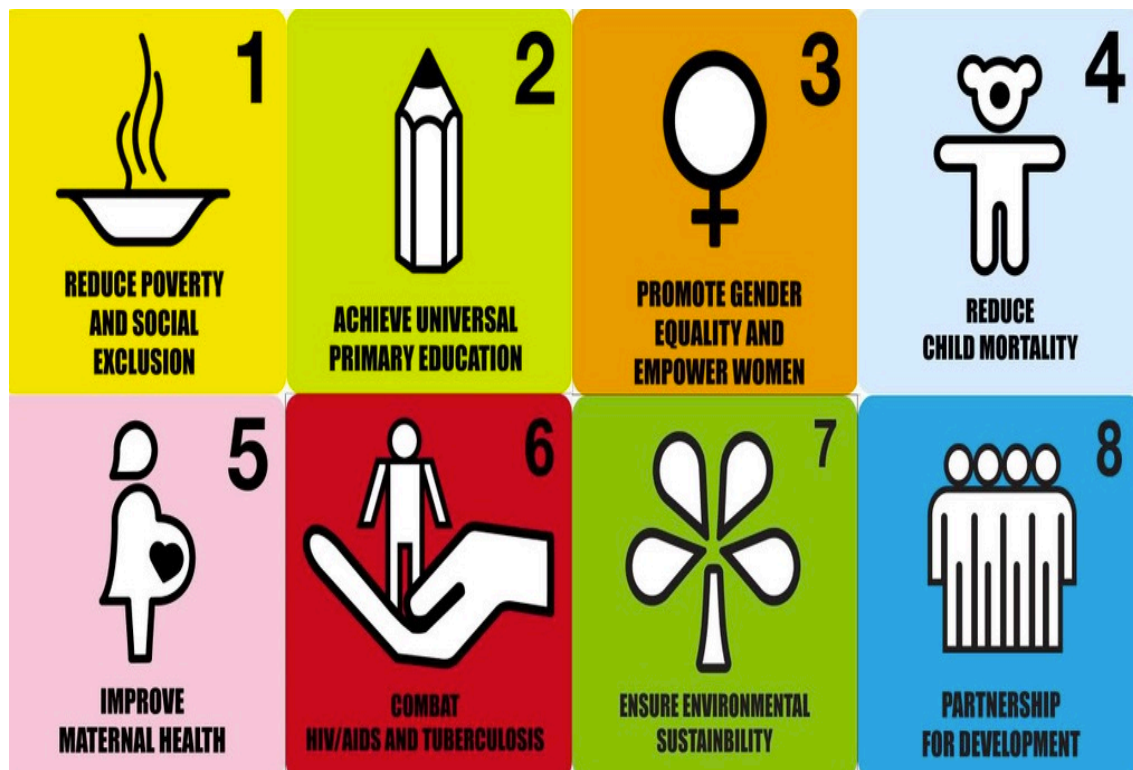
The achievement of goals and success rate varied in different countries. However, significant achievements were made especially pertaining to poverty alleviation, education, and child

mortality. disasters and other issues of resources affected the pace and volume of development . However all countries tried to meet the targets.

The United Nations Development Program spearheads major efforts to reduce the gender gap in human development. Both the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the Human Development Index (HDI) capture a nation's achievement using selected economic, education, and health criteria Much of the effort to increase human development and decrease gender inequality is directed at the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to be achieved by 2015, that target the major development challenges in the world. Goal 3 is to promote gender equality and empower women. Women in the developing world are the most restricted in important areas of human capability. The good news is that since 1985 the gap in education and health has been cut in half. The poverty reduction MDG was met five years ahead of the deadline. In 1990, almost half of people in the developing world lived on 1.25 per day; in 2010, it fell to 22 percent. The bad news is that the global economic crisis and NLG strategies have stalled MDG implementation and patterns of gender inequality have intensified (United Nations, 2013).

Topic 79: Pakistan and the Global Goals

Pakistan has always made a proactive contribution to fulfilling international commitments. Pakistan was one of the nations who made a commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Whether it is human rights or women's rights, Pakistan has supported and implemented international commitments. Pakistan adopted the MDGs and all sectors, including the government, the parliament, and the implementing agencies worked hard for the attainment of these goals. Civil society and NGOs played a very significant role especially for the cause of women empowerment. Legislations were made, packages announced, and facilities provided for empowering women and facilitating women who wanted to work and be self-reliant. Women's protection against harassment at workplace, financial support, establishment of daycare centers are some examples. When the Sustainable Development Goals were introduced in 2015, after the MDGs, Pakistan was the first country to adopt SDGs 2030 agenda through a unanimous resolution of parliament. The government has internalized Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as National Goals. The role of the civil society and national and international NGOs has been very significant in the attainment of many of the SDGs.

Topic 80: Gender and Sustainable Development

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are also known as Global Goals for Sustainable Development. At the Sustainable Development Summit on 25 September, 2015, these goals were set by the UN to be achieved by 2030. As compared to the MDGs, the SGDs are larger in number. Nature of issues to be covered is social, economic, and environmental. The major aim is to end poverty and hunger by 2030. Pakistan was the first country to adopt SDGs 2030 agenda through a unanimous resolution of parliament. The government has internalized Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as National Goals.

1. No poverty
2. Zero hunger
3. Good health and well being

4. Quality education
5. Gender Equality
6. clean water and sanitation
7. Affordable clean energy
8. Decent work and economic growth
9. Industry, innovation, and infrastructure
10. Reduced inequalities
11. Sustainable cities and communities
12. Responsible consumption and production
13. Climate action
14. Life below water
15. Life on land
16. Peace, justice and strong institutions
17. Partnerships for goals

It is expected that the attainment of these goals will positively affect the life and well being of all people, men and women.

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https://www.pc.gov.pk/web/sdg/sdgpak

https://www.pc.gov.pk/web/sdg

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https://www.pc.gov.pk/web/sdg

<div align="right">**Lecture 21**</div>

GENDER, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT

Topic 81-85

Topic 81: Gender, Work and Development

Development and work are closely linked. Development is about economic activity, technology, and progress in all spheres of life which requires knowledge, skill, and work or employment. The relationship becomes clearer when seen from the poverty alleviation perspective. Work refers to an occupation; in formal discussion on work, it refers to a formal occupation, or profession. Work is also related with women empowerment. Empowerment is about bringing power to women, empowering them, facilitating their autonomy and self-reliance. Work brings empowerment. Speedy and visible development requires that all citizens, men and women, should contribute.

Certain question need to be examined:

- Do all women have freedom and opportunity to work?

- What are the barriers to women's work and empowerment?

- Are all working women empowered?

- Is the status of women's work and working women the same as that of men's work and working men?

- What is the status of women's work at home? Is a housewife/homemaker a non working woman?

- How to facilitate women handling multiple responsibilities?

The current situation:

Globally, the number of educated women is increasing along with the number of working and professional women. The number of women attaining excellence in education and profession is on the increase. Women are entering into diverse professional fields including the professions which were traditionally considered men's professions. However the proportion of women at top executive positions in organizations where both men and women compete for the highest position, needs to be improved.

Gender Differences in Career Development

Gender differences in career patterns of people. Men choose a career path quite early while many women may enter an occupation after marriage or having children. Women might face career interruptions, and discontinue work temporarily for concentrating on child rearing or family crises (Phillips, and Imhoff, 1997).If a choice is to be made between the career of the spouses then mostly the husbands' career is given preference. Many, women subjugate their own career goals and ambitions to those of their husbands' (Unger, and Crawford, 1992). Most women

experience discrimination at different stages of their career. Women are paid less than their male counterparts. Women are usually preferred for low status jobs, they may experience harassment at workplace, as well as the glass-ceiling.

Topic 82: Gender and formal versus informal work

Formal work

An occupation or work that is:

- Performed after formal training and learning a skill

- A source of earning/ income for the person

- Performed at a specific work place

- Done during specific work hours

- The identity of the person in the society

Informal Work

- Some people work in an informal setting.

- Most women, homemakers/ housewives, indulge in informal work.

- Their work is not paid for and there are no specific work hours, or a work place, and it does not give them an identity as such.

- These women work for long hours but called "non working" members of society.

- An average housewife may work for as many as 84 house week, 12 or more hours a day from 5 AM till midnight, on weekends too.

- A man on the other hand on average works around eight hours a day, 40 hours a week, and usually not on weekends.

Multiple responsibilities

Most working women may be involved in work at the workplace as well as at home. Handling multiple responsibilities may add to stress and affect well being of women.

The Issue of societal Attitudes Towards working Women

- Non supportive attitude of the family

- Prejudices against working women; they are thought to be rebellious, not interested in the household.

- Sexual harassment at workplace

- Violence against women

Topic 83: Gender, Work, and the Workplace

Women have always been working at home, and from home. However, with the passage of time the nature of responsibilities has changed. With the changed nature of work, the workplace has become an important part of many women's life. Traditionally, young girls are trained in household chores, looking after siblings, and similar tasks. Women also perform such work at home which can generate income e.g., producing yarn and cloth from cotton, preserving food, stitching, embroidery. They make items using local raw materials. Also women work in the agricultural land side by side with men. For these tasks they may be paid at times, while mostly it remains unpaid. Young mothers with infants usually stay at home. Mothers with support of parents or elders work in the fields in rural areas.

Women have been traditionally engaged in four major types of production:

- Producing goods or services for consumption within the household

- Producing goods or services at home for sale or exchange elsewhere (cottage industry)

- Care giving and volunteer work

- Working for pay

Topic 84: Gender and Work; The Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution brought about a revolution in the thinking and lifestyle of people. People who spent their time working at home or in the agricultural fields now started moving out of rural areas to urban areas, initially as labor.

The Industrial Revolution certainly revolutionized the work worlds of men and women. First men and then women flocked from farms to factories as wage laborers in the burgeoning industrializing economy that desperately needed their services. With the advent of the water-powered textile factory in 1789, the Industrial Revolution made remarkable strides. Women and female children continued to be the producers of cloth, but now in the factory rather than at home. As exemplified by the famous Lowell Mills in Massachusetts, female employment in textile mills also reflected the lack of available male labor, which was still needed on the farm. The Lowell "mill girls" were well aware that they were needed in the textile mills. They sometimes resorted to organized protests when the conditions under which they labored became intolerable (Dublin, 2009). Many of the other products women traditionally produced at home gradually switched to being manufactured in factories. The transition of America and Western Europe from agrarian societies to urban industrial societies took about 150 years. When the family was transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption, a dramatic shift occurred in attitudes and norms surrounding the work roles of women.

Topic 85: Gender, Work, and the Workplace; The Home as Workplace

Women's work roles traditionally have been closely tied to the home. For well over a century, the United States had a family-based agricultural economy that required the services of all family

members for a farm household to survive. Older children took care of their younger siblings so that men and women could work together in the fields. In addition to cash crops, most family farms had gardens cultivated by women producing the family's food and allowing surpluses to be packaged for sale or exchange. Women produced cloth from raw material and made soap, shoes, candles, and most other consumable items required for their households. In wealthier homes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, female slave labor and paid female domestic servants produced the bulk of necessary items for their employers' households. In nonfarm households and family-owned businesses, colonial women worked as paid and unpaid laborers and as innkeepers, shopkeepers, craftsworkers, nurses, midwives, printers, teachers, and child care providers. In more remote areas, women also acted as dentists, physicians, and pharmacists. Married women were more likely to engage in home-related work activities, whereas widows and single women were more likely to work outside the home as paid employees. Regardless of marital status, immigrant girls and women often worked for pay and were recruited specifically for physically demanding jobs in agriculture. Like other women, however, a day of paid labor overlapped with the unpaid—but economically productive—labor at home.

GENDER, WORK, AND DEVELOPMENT-II

Topic 86-90

Topic 86: Balancing Multiple Work and Family Roles

Social change and the specialization of functions that it brings inevitably create additional role responsibilities for both men and women. Demographic shifts account for many of these new or altered roles, such as increased numbers of dual-earner families, later and fewer marriages, fewer children, increased life expectancy, and massive migration shifting employees across a nation and across the globe. For example, men who marry later are bringing a greater range of domestic skills into their marriages than the previous generation of men. Increased life expectancy has created an active and healthy aged population that is staying in the workplace longer and, especially among the poor, is taking on more child care responsibilities in service to their own children. The rapidly increasing population of the oldest old, those aged 80 years and older, however, is at heightened risk for dependence. Job shifts that require a change of location for the family add to new role patterns in contemporary families. Whereas multiple roles are increasing for both genders, family responsibilities remain fundamentally women's tasks, regardless of whether she is a paid employee. However, because the large majority of women *are* wage earners, compared to men, enacting the multiple roles is substantially different.

Topic 87: Employment and Health

Paid employment is a major determinant of good physical and mental health for men and women. In the United States and other societies where people are socialized into a strong work ethic, satisfying work enhances health, life satisfaction, and well-being. The impact of work is evident in Sigmund Freud's answer to the question of what "normal" people should do well. For Freud, it is "to love and to work." Good psychological functioning emphasizes both one's work and one's family. The idea is to create an environment where work and family are not opposed to each other.

Achieving this ideal is difficult, especially for women, whether in a dual-earner marriage or as a single parent. On the one hand, a rewarding job in general and a rewarding career in particular have beneficial effects for women's well-being. Work is not the brutal psychological jungle popularized in media accounts. A rewarding career actually shields a woman from pressures encountered at home. Referred to as the *role enhancement hypothesis*, and contrary to what we might expect, multiple roles that include marriage, children, and satisfying work are associated with better health, enhanced self-esteem, and lower rates of depression. Women who are caregivers, who work, and who volunteer use multiple productive roles as sources of support that allow them to remain socially integrated. Balance at home and work also is important. Satisfying jobs and careers are optimized when marriages are egalitarian and domestic responsibilities are shared by spouses (Rozario et al., 2004; Barnett and Gareis, 2006; Chrouser and Ryff, 2006). Despite multiple roles, employed women are the healthiest and report feeling better about themselves than do full-time homemakers. This holds true for a mother's continuous employment even after the birth of her first child. An employed woman's income represents a

huge mental health asset both on and off the job (Elgar and Chester, 2007; Pearson, 2008; Frech and Damaske, 2012). Research suggests positive outcomes for women with multiple roles.

On the other hand, the mental health advantages of multiple roles are fewer for women compared to men, in part because work and family hold different gendered meanings. Women expect that their family roles will spill over to their jobs, but the life stage for this expectation is important. Wives and new mothers have more role balance but experience more job stress compared to husbands and new fathers. Parttime workers, who are more likely to be women, have worse physical and emotional health (Marks et al., 2001; Kleiner and Pavalko, 2010; Johnson et al., 2011). The *role overload hypothesis* suggests that women experience emotional distress when employment and the second-shift work of family and child care roles put women into two full-time jobs. Employed women with children—whether married or not—report more health problems than women without children. The homemaker role by itself or the worker and single-parent roles in combination are the most stressful. Although income does not explain all of the variation, it is an important factor in the poorer mental health associated with these roles. Single-parent women and single-earning men are less likely to have incomes that exceed household expenses (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2007; Glynn et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2011). Role overload is also linked to unique stressors that women face in the workplace, including gender discrimination, sexual harassment, and stereotyping (Shrier, 2002).

Topic 88: Gender, Work, and Care giving

Evaluation of multiple work and family roles also must account for caregiving to other than one's own children. The second shift of a woman's unpaid work is rapidly turning into a third shift for many homemakers and employed women who must care for impaired elderly who are part of their lives. Women are more likely than men to be eldercare providers and to spend more time—and more daily time—in eldercare (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). Combined with the hours spent on housework, it is eldercare, rather than not child care, that is associated with more stress for women (MacDonald et al., 2005). A spouse is the first to provide care for his or her ailing partner. Men usually become physically dependent and need extended care earlier in life than women, so an elderly wife is more likely to be her husband's caregiver. The next level of responsibility falls on adult children. For the poor elderly, the next level is the network of extended family and kin. The final level is nonkin volunteers or paid caretakers who come to the home. When financial resources are depleted, the elderly are moved to the extended care facilities (nursing homes) often paid for with Medicaid funds. In these facilities, too, caretakers are virtually all female.

Although type of care and patterns of caregiving in families vary greatly, women are the primary caregivers to elderly parents, whether they are daughters or daughters-in-law. Referred to as the sandwich generation, they are caught between caring for the older and younger generations at the same time. Many of these women are in their forties and fifties, are in the workforce, and still have children at home. Paid leave for eldercare is rare, and chances of wage loss are substantial, even with sympathetic employers and flexible work schedules (Bookman and Kimbrel, 2011; Earle and Heymann, 2012). Love, commitment, and responsibility describe caregivers. Other words to describe caregiving are guilt, burden, depression, and strain. Assistance to the elderly correlates with higher levels of caregiver strain and work interference than assistance to younger

adults or children. The stress of the eldercare role for women is associated with compromises in both physical health and psychological well-being and is worsened for poor women caring for young children and parents with greater impairment at the same time. Employed women report higher levels of job stress as their parents or grandparents become more debilitated and when one elderly parent can no longer take care of the other. Time away from spouse and children can negatively affect marriage (Neal and Hammer, 2007; Larou, 2009). Although caregiving provides opportunities for adult children and elderly parents to grow closer, the positive psychological outcomes for both are often overshadowed by the demands of too little time to serve the needs of everyone—including the caretaker herself.

Topic 89: Unpaid Work

Women do the globe's unpaid second- and third-shift work of household tasks and caregiving. Economists have in effect ignored this productive work because it is unpaid. All work makes an economic contribution, but the unpaid work activities related to the home have been marginalized in economic rendering of production. According to Riane Eisler (2007:16),

A much more sensible, and realistic, standard for what is given economic value is what supports and advances human survival and human development. By this standard, a caring orientation … concern for the welfare and development of ourselves, others, and our natural environment is highly valued. So also is the work of caregiving and the creation of caring environments, whether in homes, business, communities, or governments.

In addition to the goods and services provided by the unpaid work of women discussed earlier, economic contributions include managing household resources, creating and maintaining the future labor force (children), and serving as an auxiliary labor force. In the United States, the estimated yearly cost for services that women provide for free—cooking, cleaning, shopping, child care, chauffeuring, repairing, counseling and therapeutic services, and sickness care— would cost well over $50,000. At the global level, if the unpaid work of women were added to the world's economy, it would expand by one-third. On the positive side, the economic reality of women's unpaid productive work is gaining public and governmental attention.

Topic 90: Money and Mental Health

Working to earn, and to earn an income add to the self-confidence and esteem of a woman. Whether one spouse is earning, or both, makes a difference to family dynamics. If one person is earning, then   the other one is usually dependent on the former. Usually the wife is dependent. The decisions about disbursement and use of income are controlled by earner. If both spouses are working, then decision making is more likely to involve mutual consultation. In egalitarian families usually decisions are mutual and a balance is maintained. For some men, accepting the wife's earning may be problematic, especially when she is earning more than men. However, dual earning ultimately results in satisfaction and gratification when it is utilized for sharing the burden of responsibility.

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<div align="right">**Lecture 23**</div>

FAMILY AND WORKPLACE

Topic 91-94

Topic 91: Influence of Family on Workplace

The transition from an agricultural to an industrialized economy profoundly altered the work roles of men and women and enlarged any existing gender gap between home and workplace. The outset of the transition for women led them from unpaid work on the farm to unpaid work in the family. Men were firmly established in their earner roles when women began to move into the labor force in large numbers. These new female entrants quickly collided with cultural beliefs that viewed women disdainfully, suspiciously, or hostilely when they ventured out of their homes into paid employment. The instrumental–expressive schism that followed women into the workplace over a half century ago has not been eradicated.

Socialization The family is the key force in gender socialization and primes children for later social roles, including the choices they make regarding work. The family can be further subdivided into two categories that differentially affect these choices. The first category, the **family of orientation**, is the family in which one grows up. In this first family, a child gains a sense of self and a set of relative benefits based on the *social capital* the family offers to a child, such as material resources, housing, and education. Social capital is translated into opportunity structures for children, Because parents may be unable or unwilling to provide the same opportunity structures for all their children, social capital for boys is leveraged differently than social capital for girls. Children receive gendered messages from parents related to, among others, clothing, toys, chores, dating, autonomy, and education. Children match these messages to attitudes about later job options. When fathers talk to their sons about the joys of caring for others and mothers talk to their daughters about the wonders of discovery and then actually see their dad as a preschool teacher or nurse and their mom as an engineer or a scientist, the seeds are planted for their children to choose these job options.

The trend toward egalitarian marriages is challenging the gender messages children receive in the family of orientation that limit their horizons about the work choices they will make. Despite widespread messages about egalitarian gender roles, however, other agents of socialization counter them. The reality is that messages for girls continue to be focused on home and family taking precedence over paid work, whereas for boys, the message is that paid work takes precedence over family. Because the large majority of young women now say that they desire a combination of family and career roles, the message they hear is how to juggle, balance, and deal with these roles. Young men also expect to carry out both sets of roles, but they do not receive the "juggling" message that young women receive. Their message is not how they will balance family and work, but how they will pay for family through work.

The second category, the **family of procreation**, is the family that is established when one marries or establishes a long-term partnership. Because each partner brings a unique set of socialization experiences to this family and each has already lived through a generation of social change, this second family is more directly influenced by broader sociocultural factors regarding gender. As parents, both men and women will face a new set of family contingencies that impact

roles in and out of the home. The family of procreation focuses on *continuing socialization* because new parents must learn the skills in their struggle with the demands of raising children. There is little preparation for these roles, so the process appears to be one of trial and error. However, it is heavily influenced by the gender models of the family of orientation. Parents must reconcile personal desires for fulfillment and economic obligations to maintain the home, decisions that impact their children's quality of life. Although these factors affect parents' work-related issues, men do not have to face the struggle to "be employed or not be employed" as women do. Most partners opt for dual earning before children arrive, and most women continue some level of paid work after children arrive. These decisions affect not only what happens to home-based roles, but also what happens to work roles.

Topic 92: Work-family Connection

With more and more women entering into active workforce, the relationship between work and family is becoming a matter deserving attention. If a woman is employed on regular, fulltime, basis then her work, occupation, or profession becomes an integral part of her life. Many women are allowed to work provided their home and family members are not neglected. Therefore a working woman's day starts from household chores and ends at the same. The time in between is spent at the workplace. Mothers of young children, particularly infants who need to be nursed, have to look after them or arrange for feeding, during work hours too.

The burden of responsibility at home may affect one's performance at work. Similarly job stress may interfere with peace at home. Very good time management skills and organization is required for keeping a balance. If the family is egalitarian and supportive then it is easier to keep a balance in work- family roles. There may be a clash between a woman's role and position at work place and her role and status at home. She may be a boss managing a number of people in her office whereas at home she may be following commands in a subservient position.

Work family conflict:

A conflict between work and family roles may arise. Researchers are looking into the nature, components, and effect of work-family conflict.

There is a relationship between work-family conflict and mental satisfaction. If work family strain in dual career relationship is properly managed and if required social support is also available, then marital satisfaction can increase (AKANBI & Oyewo, 2014).

Topic 93: The Influence of Workplace on Family

Dual Career: Both spouses are involved in full time career pursuits. If there is a balance of demands at home and requirements of work then there is harmony and satisfaction in both domains.

If the pressure of work and that of home are clashing and mutually incompatible then it may result into inter-role conflict; work-family conflict. This form of conflict of conflict was conceptualized by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985).

The authors described three types of work and family conflict:
   a. Time based

b. Strain based
c. Behavior based.

Time based:

Family and job related responsibilities competing for one's time.

Strain based:

The fatigue or stress in one role is affecting one's performance in the other role.

Behavior based:

When behavioral expectations in one role are not compatible with the specific behavioral requirements of the other role.

Need to maintain balance.

Gender roles and stereotypical beliefs acquired through socialization with family can affect one's perceptions and behaviors at workplace. Whether a woman will remain timid or assertive, a man will perceive his female colleagues as able and competent, or worthless and incapable, will depend to a great extent on what the person was taught by the family of orientation. Such learned attitudes can have deep impact.

Topic 94: Women, work and children

Since care giving is primarily considered a woman's responsibility, childcare is a major issue for many women. In extended families there is usually some support for childcare available from within the family. In nuclear families with the mother working full time, childcare is a central issue. It requires thinking, planning, and investment so that the children are not neglected and the mother pursues her career smoothly.
If proper arrangements are not possible, then it is usually the mother who would discontinue her job, or take an extended leave if possible. The situation improves once the children are school going. This allows significant amount of time to mothers to pursue their career.

WOMEN, LABOR FORCE AND PROFESSIONS

Topic: 95-99

Topic 95: Career versus Job

Career: The job or profession that someone does for a long period of their life (Collins English Dictionary).

Career is a job for which you are trained and in which it is possible to advance during your working life, so that you get greater responsibility and earn more money (Cambridge Dictionary)

Job: Job is a work that someone does to earn money (Collins English Dictionary)

It is the regular work that a person does to earn money (Cambridge Dictionary)

Both terms are used interchangeably but we see that at times the two may not mean one and the same thing, especially in case of working women.

Although all employed women have *jobs*, they do not necessarily have meaningful *careers*. Jobs interfere with family in a different way than careers. A career orientation is associated with men and women in the professions who have a high degree of commitment, personal sacrifice, and a planned developmental sequence (career path). In addition to the family factors noted earlier, career orientation for married women is compromised when a wife's career is viewed as less important than her husband's career. For example, she will relocate to benefit his career, but his relocation for hers is unlikely. When he outearns her, his career takes on more importance and will be nurtured to gain higher income returns.

The success stories of women who "have it all"—great marriages, wonderful children, rewarding careers—are replete. Women are in a second wave of progress, moving up the corporate ladder or advancing through their own business enterprises. They have found ways to reconcile problems favorably between career and family, such as buying services for household tasks and high-quality child care, telecommuting from home, or staying on career tracks through flexible work time options. These women, however, are the exception to the rule. The rule is that women may combine work (jobs) and marriage successfully, but they are severely compromised in their quest for upward career mobility by marital and family obligations and traditional beliefs about his breadwinning role compared to hers. Young couples advocate the ideal that career satisfaction is important for both men and women, but they believe one partner should always be home with children (Pavalko and Henderson, 2006; Koski, 2007). That partner, of course, is a wife. Women's careers are put on hold, change directions, or abruptly end.

Topic 96: Women in the Labor Force

The dramatic, consistent increase in labor force participation of all categories of women is the most important economic trend of the last century. Consider the huge significance of the following statistics:

- Almost 60 percent of all women 16 years and over are in the labor force, and the participation rate of married women with children has tripled since 1960.
- Seventy percent of all mothers are employed, and over half have children under 1 year old.
- Female single parents (single, divorced, separated, or widowed) participate in even greater proportions—over 75 percent in 2014, a two-thirds increase just since 1965.
- The percent of middle-age (45–64), college-educated women in their peak earning years has gradually increased since 1970 and shows a record of stable employment but lower earnings than men with comparable education.
- As women's paid work has increased, men's labor force participation shows consistent declines, from a high of about 87 percent in 1947 to 72 percent in 2014, and is projected to decrease to 70.6 percent in 2018. Even as the baby boomers begin to retire, the rate of increase of women in the labor force will outpace the rate of men.

Women represent almost half of *all employed people* in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). If these trends continue, the proportion of women in the labor force may exceed that of men

Topic 97: Gender-Typing in Occupational Distribution

As would be expected, women are not equally distributed throughout the occupational structure. Although women make up almost half of top-level managerial and professional occupations and require requisite educational credentials even at the entry level, the jobs they hold are occupationally segregated. For example, the professional category includes accountants, architects, and engineers, who are largely male, and teachers, nurses, and social workers, who are largely female. All of these occupations require high levels of education, but the female occupations are far lower in degree of pay, prestige, authority, and other job-related reward criteria.

Female-dominated occupations, whether professional or not, also are associated with high degrees of psychologically exhausting work. **Emotional labor** describes work that requires providing emotional support to the people the occupation serves. Nursing aides caring for the elderly; day care workers, elementary and middle school teachers, and social workers expend huge amounts of emotional labor in their daily roles. The gendered expectation is that women are more suited to these jobs than men because this labor outside the home is a natural extension of caretaking roles in the home. Occupational segregation by gender bolsters **gender-typing**—when the majority of the occupations are those of one gender, it becomes a normative expectation, and in turn, the job is associated with less pay and prestige. Referred to as the "devaluation thesis," gender-typing translates to a wage penalty for people working in occupations that are dominated by females (England et al., 2000). Gender-typing extends to the way a job is perceived. Nursing, social work, and teaching are "engendered" as feminine professions linked with caring and nurturing. Nursing, in particular, is increasing its professional status through successful challenges to the jurisdictional boundaries determined by physicians. Until recently, nursing, as a female-dominated profession has been in virtual servitude to the male-dominated profession of medicine. Nurses also are finding allies in female physicians who are adopting more care-oriented rather than compliance-oriented patient strategies that parallel

number of women partners declined, however slightly, during the recession. Women of color are virtually invisible as law partners, representing 2 percent of all women partners; less than 11 percent are associates. These numbers also represent a slight decline from a 2009 plateau. Of all groups, women of color are most likely to experience exclusion, racial and gender stereotyping, and perceived discrimination relative to promotion. Compared to white women, they are more likely to leave their firms (American Bar Association, 2013; National Association of Women Lawyers, 2014).

Engineering Women engineers make up about 10 percent of the total, and they are more likely to specialize in chemical and environmental engineering and work in manufacturing and service firms. Men are more likely to specialize in higher-paid aerospace and electrical engineering and work in consulting and service firms. The salaries of women in all science and engineering fields are lower than their male counterparts with similar levels of experience. Even as women are gaining math and science educational parity with men, the gender gap in engineering, especially in the more highly paid prestigious specialties, is increasing.

The increase of women throughout professional and managerial jobs is impressive, but to move from the periphery to the center of their professions, they must gain access to the networks offering visibility, leadership mentoring, and the highest career mobility (Warren, 2009). The net result of these stubborn trends for professional women is less pay, less prestige, and less authority.

Topic 99: The Wage Gap

As measured by median annual earnings of full-time employees, women earn less than men, a global pattern that holds across all racial and ethnic groups, across all levels of education, and, as we saw earlier, throughout occupations. The wage gap has profound consequences. If both men and women were paid equally, more than half of low-income households in the United States would be lifted above the poverty line.

The gender wage gap has been a persistent economic fact in the United States since records have been available. This pattern also holds globally in both the developed and developing world. The pattern accounts for occupational segregation, initial salary, and family obligations. The gender earnings gap in affluent nations such as the United States and Great Britain endures even when powerful demographic variables are added to the picture, including age, type of job, seniority, and region. It holds for women who have continuous full-time employment, have no children, and express no desire for children (Aisenbrey and Brückner, 2008; Manning and Swaffield, 2008). The strong emphasis that Americans place on talent and achievement to pay off in the workplace cannot explain why at all educational levels males still outearn females and why the gap widens at the higher educational levels. The gap is largest at the very *highest* education levels. The wage gap for a full-time woman worker costs her over $700,000 in her lifetime; women with advanced degrees employed in high-paying occupations can expect an astounding $2 million less than comparable men (Murphy, 2006; Compton, 2007; Black et al., 2008). The wage gap starts early in life, widens with age, and follows her into retirement. Median pension wealth, for example, is over three-fourths greater for men than women, a situation contributing to poverty of women at old age (Tamborini, 2007; Besen-Cassino, 2008; Hartmann, 2009).

With historical exceptions such as the Depression and World War II, the wage gap gradually narrowed during the twentieth century. We saw that economic recession hits women harder than men. Between 1967 and 1974, for example, the gap widened from 62 percent to less than 61 percent. In 1980, a woman employed fulltime earned about 65 cents for every dollar a man employed full-time earned; that figure remained stagnant at 75 cents in the 1990s and increased slightly to 77.5 cents in the 2000s. It is about 77 cents in today's post-recession economic climate. The narrowing of the wage gap in two decades by less than one cent per year is certainly debatable as a sign of progress.

In Pakistan, public sector is a major employer which offers almost the same grades/ scales to male and female candidates. The wage gap is wide in case of private sector.

Three factors are associated with gender gap:

i)   The work women do is valued less than the work done by men
ii)   As the number of women in the occupation increases the lower are the wages. Converse is the case of male dominated occupations.
iii)   In spite of available laws, gender discrimination prevails.

Reference

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<div align="right">**Lecture 25**</div>

WOMEN AND BUSINESS

Topic: 100-105

Topic 100: Corporate Women

Women have been a significant segment of the active workforce for a long time. For many decades' women had been working as labor force, and at lower or middle management positions. However, now women are working at senior positions in the corporate world too.

A corporate job refers to employment usually in a larger organization or enterprise, with an organizational bureaucratic structure, reasonably high salary, an office space, multiple levels of bosses, promotion channel, and specified work hours.

Women today are occupying management positions. Female corporate heads are no rarity. Women are not only running small and medium enterprises; they are also heading very large multinational corporations. Women are also working for the empowerment of other women through their enterprises. Reaching to the top levels of the career ladder involves many hurdles. Glass ceiling effect is one major hurdle having roots in sexism and gender discrimination. Women are making progress but they have to go a long way before reaching gender parity.

Topic 101: The Glass Ceiling

The Glass Ceiling For women at all ranks, but particularly women managers, barriers to upward mobility exist, including role conflict, gender stereotypes, lack of mentors, insufficient feedback and training, and isolation. Under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, sexual harassment in the workplace is illegal, but women throughout corporate America report that it continues to be pervasive. Issues of double standards in defining competence and isolation from powerful networks remain thorns in the side for corporate women. For example, high-echelon professional women in many occupations are likely to be judged differently from men in terms of their work performance, even when all characteristics except gender are the same (Johnson, 2008; O'Connell et al., 2008). Others report that they are denied entrance into the informal networks they need to understand the intricacies of the power structure that are the keys to corporate survival (Schipani et al., 2009). Encouraged to specialize in a small area of the corporate enterprise, women find themselves in networks that lack diversity, authority, and control. With job functions also specialized via gender, a corporate version of purdah emerges (Lindsey, 1992).

Women globally continue to report gender discrimination as the most frequent barrier to their advancement. In the elite ranks of the most powerful companies, regardless of the law and the fact that women bring with them human capital comparable to men, traditional gender bias emerges that effectively thwarts a woman's move up the corporate ladder (Metz and Tharenou, 2001; Johnson, 2008; Singh et al., 2008). Many of these patterns converge in a pattern referred to as the **glass ceiling**, describing women's failure to rise to senior level positions because of invisible and artificial barriers constructed by male management. Although lateral movement is possible, women are not able to advance hierarchically. It may be unintentional, but executives hire and promote according to a stereotypical masculine model categorizing men as more

capable, commanding, aggressive, and objective leaders than women. Women's other family roles, especially as mother, are viewed as detrimental to leadership qualities. Workplaces are designed for a male worker who is unfettered by family and devoted to his job. The ideal corporate recruit also represents the "image" of those who hired him. Although this model virtually excluded men of color in senior management, this has fast declined in the last decade. The "white male model" is eroding, but the "male model" remains firm. The patriarchal world of senior management is upheld (Pichler et al., 2008; Trimbleon, 2012). Whether the gender discrimination inherent in the glass ceiling is intentional, the effect is the same: Women are excluded from the ranks of upper management.

Why Glass Ceiling happens?

Some socio economic variables have been found to be the cause of the glass-ceiling (ILO, 2003), such as:

i.   Persistent discrimination against women at work.
ii.   The nature of women's typical career paths; placed at non-strategic sectors, and administrative positions.
iii. Less access to training and distant from formal and informal networks essential for advancement within enterprises.
iv.   The double burden of responsibility.

Topic 102: Women in Business

When styles of discourse are combined with the formal linguistic features of Japanese women's language, woman may appear to be timid and lacking self-confidence. The consequences of these speech forms are linked to social powerlessness, putting women at a disadvantage when they venture into non-traditional roles outside the home. Japanese women who are in positions of authority may experience linguistic conflict when they use less feminine forms of even the polite speech used by men. (Takano, 2005).

Consider the case of managers in Japanese corporations. If a woman manager displays normative femininity, she may give the impression that she is indecisive or indirect. At the same time, however, she cannot be as authoritative as her male counterparts. She must not be too informal with employees she supervises or with other managers, the majority of whom are male. If she masculinizes her speech too much, she may be perceived as a threat to established business and social norms, which she has already violated by becoming a manager in the first place. Men must maneuver their language to account for the politeness of Japanese language as well, but they have much more linguistic flexibility. Japanese women's business etiquette training propels them to speak "politely, kindly, and beautifully." On the other hand, they recognize that this discourse serves larger strategic ends. In the exceedingly polite world of Japanese business, exceedingly *more* polite linguistic femininity can be advantageous for their businesses. American corporations might refer to it as using the "soft touch" to get what they want in a competitive environment. For better or worse, Japanese language has a much greater impact on the way Japanese women carry out their professional lives (Ohara, 2004; Takemaru, 2005; Dickel, 2013).

Topic 103: Gender Management Styles

Women's management styles give them an advantage over men in certain ways. Women may become more effective leaders because of the socialization patterns that they have adopted. The qualities of nurturance, empathy, sympathy, positive regard, paying attention to others emotional responses are generally nurtured in girls and women. These attributes contribute to women's management styles and help them adjust well in the modern organizations.They develop leadership structures that are appropriate for work places where innovation and creativity are required, and where an authorization chain of command exists no more (Helgesen, 1990).

Women- run organizations do not work in a mechanical, impersonal style. Women use their interpersonal skills in the organization. They develop friendships within the organization which sustain even after they are not working the same workplace. In case of men, they use most of their energies for corporate success while working in traditional business hierarchies; significant parts of their private life are given up. This may negatively affect them, their families and their employers (Faludi, 2000). Women encourage participation, do mentoring, share power and information, and interact with all levels of employers (Lindsey, 2011). Such style of management brings in a human element in the organization.

This model is similar to the Japanese Style Management (JSM). The JSM involves a sense of employee community, an interest in the life of the employees outside the workplace, consensus building, socio-emotional bonding between the employees, and between the management and labor. The management is flattened rather than hierarchical, and is more egalitarian (Ohtsu, 2002).

Topic 104: Women Entrepreneurship

Women empowerment and entrepreneurship are related. Entrepreneurship is the route to empowerment.

Entrepreneurship is:

> "The activity of setting up a business or businesses, taking on financial risks in the hope of profit" (Oxford Dictionary).

There is a growing trend of entrepreneurship in women. Women, young and not so young, are investing time, energy, and capital in entrepreneurial ventures. They are exhibiting their caliber in different fields. Women owned businesses fall into two basic categories: Business ventures involving goods and services traditionally associated with women. Usually offering services for cooked food, childcare, household chores, dress designing, boutiques, make up etc; usually small enterprises with smaller staff. Some businesses are designed and executed by women previously working in middle managerial positions in organizations having glass ceiling and other problems. They utilize their acquired technical knowhow and expertise in specialized fields such as accounting, or banking. Using this knowledge, they set up their own business and their previous employers may be their competitors at times. There is a need to create awareness of possible business avenues and opportunities. Micro crediting can motivate and facilitate the

aspiring business women. Women protection and anti-harassment legislations may be implemented for providing a secure business environment to women.

Topic 105: Microenterprise and Women

Propelled by NGOs advocating for the world's poor, the informal sector of the global economy has been made more visible. Because large-scale development projects have largely ignored the informal sector where most of the poorest of the poor work and reside, **microenterprise programs** to address their needs have arisen. These programs consist of core segments of income-earning manufacturing or agricultural activities located in or around the household. Microenterprise is linked to the buzzword in the development assistance community, **microcredit** or microenterprise lending, where groups of four or five borrowers receive small loans at commercial interest rates to start or expand small businesses and open their first savings accounts. Peer lending is a key feature of microcredit, so a group assumes responsibility for each other's loans: If one fails, they all fail.

Microcredit began almost 40 years ago when economics professor Muhammad Yunus founded the Grameen ("village") bank of Bangladesh and extended credit to people too poor to qualify for loans at other banks. The first microcredit lending came from his own pocket. He lent $26 to a group of 42 workers who bought materials for a day's work weaving chairs and making pots. At the end of the first day as independent business owners, they sold their wares, made a profit, and soon repaid the loan. The 62 cents per worker from the $26 loan began the microcredit movement. The Grameen program was astonishingly successful. Besides 97 percent of them repaying their loans at a 20 percent interest rate, their microenterprises became sustainable and allowed their families to survive. The large majority of the workers in these successful microenterprise programs were women.

Microcredit works better for the very poor because the very poor are usually women. Muhammad Yunus noticed very early that women used profits from microenterprise activities to feed their children and build their businesses, whereas men spent profits on electronics and personal goods. Much research suggests that when women have disposable income, it is used in ways to sustain their family's long-term needs, such as nutrition, health care, and education. In addition, data on the first Grameen Bank borrowers showed women's loan repayment rates above 98 percent. Because social and economic benefits are much greater when money is loaned to women, the Grameen Bank decided to concentrate on them. For example, women accounted for approximately 4 million Grameen borrowers in Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world. Rather than the burgeoning garment industry employing millions of young women in Bangladesh, Grameen was largely responsible for the decreasing poverty rate of women (Islam, 2007; Lucy et al., 2008).

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HUMAN RIGHTS

Topic 106-110

Topic 106: Human Rights

In order to understand gender equality, parity, and opposed to it, gender discrimination, one must understand human rights. When all people have the same, equal, rights then equality prevails in the society; when a segment of the society is denied rights because of its gender while the other one remains privileged then it indicates gender discrimination.

 Human rights are the rights, freedoms, and opportunities that we have in order to live as 'human beings'.

 The freedom to use our potential, experience well-being, which is common to all human beings. It is defined as "those things that one is morally or legally entitled to do or have" (Collins English Dictionary).

"These are the rights possessed by all persons, by virtue of their common humanity, to live a life of freedom and dignity. They give all people moral claims on the behaviour of individuals and on the design of social arrangements. Human rights are universal, inalienable and indivisible" (https://www.crin.org/en/library/publications/glossaryhumanrightsterms).

Considering the source of rights, people have three types of rights; natural, constitutional, and statutory rights.

- Natural rights are the naturally occurring rights, God-given, and unwritten, widely understood and practiced as norms in a society.
- Constitutional rights: conferred and protected by the Constitution.
- Statutory rights: provided by law.

Considering the recipient of rights: individual, or collective rights. From perspective of aspect of life covered: civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

A standard for all nations, drafted by representatives from all regions of the world, with different legal and cultural backgrounds.

On 10 December 1948, in Paris, the United Nations General Assembly (General Assembly resolution 217 A) proclaimed the Declaration as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It was for the first time that fundamental human rights were universally protected.

Topic 107: Fundamental Rights

Some rights are the basic rights of all citizens. If all citizens don't get their fundamental rights, some have more rights while the others are denied the same, then there is a big question mark on fair and just treatment of citizens. The constitution of Pakistan allows fundamental rights to all citizens without discrimination. In case of violation by the government or anyone else, the individual has the right to approach the Supreme Court or High Courts for the protection of his/her Fundamental Rights.

Among other fundamental Rights, it is stated that "All citizens are equal and there shall be no discrimination on bases of sex etc." (https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/fundamental-rights-pakistan-constitution-1973-sayed-sarfraz-ali-shah).

No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, save in accordance with law (article 9). Safeguard as to arrest and detention. All arrested person must be informed of grounds of their arrest, they have right to consult and defended by lawyer of their choice. Right of fair trial under article 10A. Slavery, forced labor is prohibited and no child under age of 14 year be employed in factory and mines

- There shall be protection against retrospective punishment
- There shall be protection against double punishment and self-incrimination.
- Freedom of movement to everyone
- Freedom of assembly for all citizens
- Freedom of association for all citizens
- Freedom of speech for all citizens
- Freedom of trade, business and profession for all citizens

All citizens shall have right to have access to information in all matters of public importance under article 19A.

- Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institution in country
- Safeguard against the taxation for the purposes of any particular religion.
- Safeguard as to educational institutes in respect of religion etc.
- All citizens have right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan.
- Protection of property rights of owners.
- All citizens are equal and there shall be no discrimination on bases of sex etc.
- Free and compulsory education to all children of age 5 to 16 by Government
- No discrimination in respect of access to public place
- Safeguard against discrimination in services.
- All citizens have right to preserve their particular language, script and culture

According to the Universal Declaration too, there is no space for gender discrimination.

Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood".

Article 2: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

It reflects that men and women have equal status and no one has edge or advantage over the other on the basis of their gender.

Topic 108: Collective vs Individual Rights

We are entitled to some rights as an individual, an independent human being, while we are also entitled to certain rights because of being part of a group. In fact the same rights may be seen as individual as well as collective rights. For example when we talk about a girl's education who is not allowed to join school, we are talking about her right to education. However when we are talking about women's education and the need for setting up more schools for girls for attaining women empowerment, we are talking about a collective right.

Collective Rights are defined as "The rights of groups to protect their interests and identities"

The Economic, social and cultural rights can be seen in the same manner. According to the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the following rights need to be promoted:

- the right to work in just and favorable conditions;
- the right to social protection, to an adequate standard of living and to the highest attainable standards of physical and mental well-being;
- the right to education and the enjoyment of benefits of cultural freedom and scientific progress. (https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/human-rights/).

These rights are individual at personal level but collective if welfare of a larger segment of population is in question. The right to vote is the right of every adult citizen including women. If one woman is not allowed to cast her vote then it is 'her' right; but if women in general are not allowed to participate in the political process then it is a matter of collective rights.

We have seen the disabled, visually impaired, transgendered, specific professionals campaigning for their collective rights. Women are also raising collective voice for their collective rights. Pakistan Constitution protects all rights.

Topic 109: Ethnic Minority Rights

The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities states that:

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (hereinafter referred to as persons belonging to minorities) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination.

2. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life.

3. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and, where appropriate, regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live, in a manner not incompatible with national legislation."

Article: 36 of Constitution of Pakistan is about protection of minorities. It states that: The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.

Topic 110: Property Rights

Article: 23 Provision as to property

Every citizen shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan, subject to the Constitution and any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the public interest.

Article: 24 Protection of property rights

(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save in accordance with law.

Points to ponder:

Do women have freedom to make personal property?

Do women inherit property according to the religious guidelines and national constitution?

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS HUMAN RIGHTS

Topic: 111-113

Topic 111: Gender and Human Rights; Women's Rights are Human Rights

Human rights are the rights that all human beings are entitled to…. Men and women.

These rights have been formally promoted and protected through international and domestic law after the introduction of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Even prior to this, in 1945, the UN Charter had declared that men and women had to be treated as equals. According to Article 1 of the Charter, one of its purposes was:

  "To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (United Nations).

 Promoting human rights 'for all' implies gender equality; a core value for United Nations. A fundamental principle of the Charter is "equal rights of men and women", and that protection and promotion of women's human rights is the responsibility of all states. Women's Social and Cultural Rights include various rights such as the right to education, the right to work, the right to form trade unions, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to health, the rights relating to marriage, maternity and child protection, and rights pertaining to culture and science.

United Nations Member States adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 1967. The declaration states that discrimination against women is an offence against human dignity. The States were called on to "abolish existing laws, customs, regulations and practices which are discriminatory against women, and to establish adequate legal protection for equal rights of men and women".

In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the General Assembly. The nature and meaning of sex-based discrimination has been articulated in the Convention. It lays out State obligations to eliminate discrimination and achieve substantive equality. Civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights are covered by the Convention; rights to vote, to participate in public life, to acquire, change or retain one's nationality, equality before the law and freedom of movement; also rights to education, work, health and financial credit.

Many other similar steps have been taken. However, in spite of UN initiatives, and the commitment of member nations millions of women around the world continue to experience discrimination (OHCR; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights)

"Laws and policies prohibit women from equal access to land, property, and housing

- Economic and social discrimination results in fewer and poorer life choices for women, rendering them vulnerable to trafficking

- Gender-based violence affects at least 30% of women globally
- Women are denied their sexual and reproductive health rights
- Women human rights defenders are ostracized by their communities and seen as a threat to religion, honor or culture
- Women's crucial role in peace and security is often overlooked, as are the particular risks they face in conflict situations"

There is a need to create awareness that all human rights are women's rights too. In order to maintain harmony and balance in the society, all citizens should receive equal treatment. People should not be discriminated on the basis of their gender. We need to identify and protect women who are deprived of their rights.

Topic 112: Overview of International Laws for Protection of Women

There are a number of instruments/ declarations/ covenants/ conventions that talk about human rights, their promotion and protection along with spelling out that the rights are the same for men and women, and that there should be no discrimination in the name of sex of a person. Some of the instruments are international while some are regional.

1. International Bill of Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights began drafting two human rights treaties following the adoption of the Universal Declaration. The two treaties and the declaration make up the International Bill of Human Rights. It has three components:

  i.   The Universal Declaration

 ii.   The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

iii.   The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

- i. The Universal Declaration
- ii. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Some rights guaranteed by this Covenant :

- The right to life

- Freedom from torture

- Freedom from slavery

- The right to liberty and security of the person

- Rights relating to due process in criminal and legal proceedings

- Equality before the law

- Freedom of movement

- Freedom of thought

- Conscience and religion

- Freedom of association

- Rights relating to family life and children

- Rights relating to citizenship and political participation

- And minority groups' rights to their culture, religion and language

iii. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

- Some rights guaranteed by this Covenant include:

- The right to work,

- The right to form trade unions

- Rights relating to marriage

- Maternity and child protection

- The right to an adequate standard of living

- The right to health

- The right to education

- And rights relating to culture and science

Both Covenants use the same wording to prohibit discrimination based on, inter alia, sex (art. 2), as well as to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all rights contained in them (art. 3).

2. The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

The Declaration was adopted by the United Nations member states in 1967. According to this Declaration discrimination against women is an offence against human dignity. States were called on to "abolish existing laws, customs, regulations and practices which are discriminatory against women, and to establish adequate legal protection for equal rights of men and women".

3. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (art. 2)

Sex based discrimination is prohibited.

4. The Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers & Members of Their Families (art. 7)

It prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex.

5. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (art. 6)

The discrimination that women with disabilities are subjected to is recognized. State parties are required to address this issue by taking "all appropriate measures to ensure the full development, advancement and empowerment of women" in the enjoyment of their human rights.

6. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

In 1979, the General Assembly adopted The CEDAW. Its preamble highlights that women do not enjoy equal rights with men despite the availability of other instruments. The nature and meaning of sex based discrimination is described. State obligations are laid out for elimination of discrimination and for achieving substantive equality. It lays out, in 16 substantive articles, the specific obligations of States to eliminate discrimination against women in political, social, economic and cultural fields. Civil as well as political rights are covered in the convention.

These rights include the right:

- To vote,

- To participate in public life

- To acquire, change or retain one's nationality

- Equality before the law and freedom of movement, and

- Economic, social and cultural rights (rights to education, work, health and financial credit).

Topic 113: Regional Instruments for Protection of Women

The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

This Charter was adopted in 1981 by the Organization of African Unity. According to its article 2, discrimination is prohibited on any grounds including sex, in the enjoyment of the rights which have been guaranteed by the Charter.

- According to its article 18, it is the obligation of African States to "ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions".

In 2003, the African Union adopted the Charter's Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, known as the Maputo Protocol.

The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women

- The Organization of American States adopted the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Belém do Pará Convention) in 1994.

- Violence against women is defined as "any act or conduct, based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or the private sphere".

- It has helped improve the awareness about the severity of violence against women. It also provided a framework for women's human rights and gender equality.

Istanbul Convention:

- The Council of Europe adopted a Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence in 2011.

- It is known as the Istanbul Convention.

- Prior to this, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was also available which prohibits discrimination on any grounds, including sex, in the enjoyment of rights contained in the Convention (art. 14).

- From 1998 onwards complaints based on allegations of violations of the Convention can be brought to the European Court of Human Rights.

- Some other regional political organizations have also adopted protocols and resolutions and issued declarations pertaining to women's human rights.

- These organizations include the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Community.

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GLOBAL COMMITMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Topic 114-116

Topic 114: Overview of Global Commitments on Human Rights

Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action

World Conference on Human Rights held in 1993 in Vienna reviewed the status of the human rights machinery in place at the time. The Conference adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. According to that:

"the human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights".

- Eliminating all forms of gender-based violence was strongly emphasized.
- "Women's Rights are Human Rights" became a popular slogan.
- Women's rights and civil society activist campaigned for having women's rights and violation of these rights on the international community's agenda.

International Conference on Population and Development

In 1994, the International Conference on Population and Development was held in Cairo. Although the conference focused on population, it contributed a lot toward women's rights. The conference's Programme of Action took up issues which were primarily related to women's rights. These issues included gender equality, the family, women's health, reproductive health, birth control and family planning. It also covered immigration and education of women. It set specific targets in the following areas:

Provision of universal education; reduction of infant, child and maternal mortality; and ensuring universal access to reproductive health care, including family planning, assisted childbirth and prevention of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS, by 2015.

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

- The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in September 1995 in Beijing.
- The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was adopted in this conference; It was a landmark achievement.

Millennium Development Goals

- The international community, in 2000, agreed to eight time bound development goals to be achieved by 2015.
- Gender equality and the empowerment of women was one of the goals.
- Improving maternal health/ reduction in maternal mortality was another goal.

- The international community tried hard to meet these goals. Although success was met , the goals could not be attained in the ideal sense in many parts of the world due to various reasons.

United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development

In 2012 the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development ("Rio+20") was held in Brazil. It was attended by Heads of State and Government and political commitment to sustainable development was renewed. The participants agreed to establish a set of sustainable development goals. A high-level political forum on sustainable development established. The outcome document was published under the title "The future we want". It reaffirms the commitments of States to "women's equal rights, access and opportunities for participation and leadership in the economy, society and political decision-making". It emphasizes acceleration in the implementation of commitments in the CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the Millennium Declaration. It is stated in the outcome document that

   "gender equality and the effective participation of women are important for effective action on all aspects of sustainable development".

It also calls for the repeal of discriminatory laws and for ensuring women's equal access to justice.

Topic 115: Women's Rights; Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in September 1995 in Beijing. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was adopted in this conference. It focused on 12 areas concerning implementation of women's human rights where action was required. It set out an agenda for women empowerment. The identified critical areas included:

- Women and poverty
- Education and training of women
- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women in armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in power and decision-making
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Human rights of women
- Women and the media
- Women and environment
- The girl child

This was a landmark achievement because it explicitly articulated women's rights as human rights. A series of strategic objectives were a part of the Platform for Action in order to eliminate discrimination against women and achieve equality between women and men. Political and legal strategies were involved on a global scale based on a human rights framework.

The Platform for Action expresses States' commitments to the human rights of women most comprehensively.

The initial lines of the Declaration state that:

"1. We, the Governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women,

2. Gathered here in Beijing in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations,

3. Determined to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all   women everywhere in the interest of all humanity,"……

It further states that:

"We reaffirm our commitment to:

The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men and other purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments, in particular the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development;"

The Mission Statement of the Platform for Action states that:

" 1. The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment. It aims at accelerating the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women and at removing all the obstacles……….

……….all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. This means that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities.

……. Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people-centred sustainable development".

Topic 116: Human Rights as Global Agenda

Human rights, including women's rights, have been an integral part of the global agenda. The declarations, covenants, conventions, or other documents put forward from the platform of the United Nations are ratified by nations of the world.

When a State becomes a signatory, then it becomes obligatory to implement the document /agreements in letter and spirit e.g., The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA).

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The MDGs are those eight time-bound development goals that the international community had agreed to in year 2000, to be achieved by 2015.

The goal No.3 pertained to gender equality and the empowerment of women; 'Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women'.

Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.

The target is very important however education alone cannot be taken as an indicator of women empowerment. The indicators on the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector and in national parliaments are also included in goal No.3. However, no deadlines or benchmarks spelled out.

According to a UN Fact Sheet on MDGs:

"Steady progress has been made towards equal access of girls and boys to education, though disparities remain between regions and education levels.

Globally, the share of women employed outside of agriculture rose to 40 per cent, but rose to only 20 per cent in Southern Asia, Western Asia and Northern Africa.

The global share of women in parliament continues to rise slowly and reached 20 per cent in 2012—far short of gender parity, though an increase of one percentage point was seen during 2012."

Issues including violence against women and discriminatory laws were not addressed as such in MDGs. Issues including violence against women and discriminatory laws were not addressed as such in MDGs.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The world leaders adopted the global agenda for Sustainable Development to be met by 2030. It comprises 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The idea is to follow a roadmap for achieving sustainable development with a view that all should progress and no one should be left behind.

The 17 SDGs include:

SDG 1: No poverty

SDG 2: Zero hunger

SDG 3: Good health and well-being

SDG 4: Quality education

SDG 5: Gender equality

SDG 6: Clean water and sanitation

SDG 7: Affordable and clean energy

SDG 8: Decent work and economic growth

SDG 9: Industry, innovation and infrastructure

SDG 10: Reduced inequalities

SDG 11: Sustainable cities and communities

SDG 12: Responsible consumption and production

SDG 13: Climate action

SDG 14: Life below water

SDG 15: Life on land

SDG 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions

SDG 17: Partnerships for the Goals

For all of these goals, gender equality and women empowerment have been kept in focus.

"Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is integral to each of the 17 goals. Only by ensuring the rights of women and girls across all the goals will we get to justice and inclusion, economies that work for all, and sustaining our shared environment now and for future generations." (http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-and-the-sdgs)

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS-I

Topic 117-122

Topic 117: Women's Rights as Global Agenda; the Role of the UN Bodies

The Human Rights Council

The Human Rights Council was established in 2006 by the General Assembly. The Council replaced the UN Commission on Human Rights as the key UN intergovernmental body responsible for human rights. The Council comprises 47 State representatives elected by the General Assembly. Its task is to strengthen the promotion and protection of human rights around the globe by addressing situations of human rights violations and making recommendations on them, including responding to human rights emergencies.

The Human Rights Council has been regularly holding special panels on women's rights and the integration of a gender perspective. States are called on through the resolutions of the Council to implement their obligations relating to women's rights. The council therefore plays a significant role in keeping women's rights on the international agenda.

The Human Rights Council can call special sessions in order to address human rights violations and emergencies. There have been cases when these special sessions presented opportunities for examining violations of women's rights.

The Human Rights Council also manages the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), a process through which each UN Member State's, overall human rights record is reviewed.

The universal periodic review (UPR):

A significant feature of the Council; a procedure established at the time of creation of the Council. There are opportunities to assess the compliance of States with their international obligations pertaining to the human rights of women.

The UPR periodically (every four and a half years) examines the human rights performance of all UN Member States. UPR recommendations very frequently raise issues pertaining to women's rights. Independent human rights experts are involved with mandates to report and advice on human rights from a thematic or country-specific perspective.

These include the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, and the Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice.

Topic 118: Women's Rights and UN Bodies: The Security Council, and the Commission on the Status of Women

The Security Council

The Security Council is the United Nations' most powerful body, with "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". Also, for the "investigation of any dispute, or any situation that might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to

determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security".

It has 15 Member States and all Members are obligated to comply with Council decisions.

The Security Council has also been playing a significant role in women protection and empowerment. A series of resolutions specifically relating to women, peace and security has been adopted by the Security Council.

The Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325 in 2000.

- It called for increased participation of women in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution.
- It also emphasized a gender perspective in all United Nations peace and security efforts, and in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements.
- Security Council resolutions also emphasized the need for all stakeholders in conflicts to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence in the context of armed conflict.
- It also called for recognition of women's important role in peace processes as agents of change.

The Commission on the Status of Women

The Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1946 by United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution 2/11. The purpose was "to prepare recommendations and reports to the [Council] on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social, and educational fields". The Commission also makes recommendations to the Council on "urgent problems requiring immediate attention in the field of women's rights". The meetings are held once a year.

The Commission has significantly contributed to international legal and policy instruments. These instruments include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

Topic 119: Barriers to Women's Rights

In every country around the world women face multiple barriers like poverty, gender-discrimination, violence and illiteracy. The barriers for women make it harder to get on an equal footing with men in the world. Some of the barriers are described below:

Poverty

Poverty denotes as a state or condition in which a person or community lacks the financial resources and essentials to enjoy a minimum standard of life and well-being that's considered acceptable in society. Women are that segment of population which is most badly affected by poverty. Women comprise the poorest of the poor. Living in extreme poverty they lack all the skills e.g., education or awareness, required for empowerment or for raising voice for one's rights.

Discrimination

The society subjects women to discrimination. Women have no, or poor, access to resources and opportunities. This is reflected in the gender wage gap too and majority of the women work in the low-paid and less skilled jobs, where work hazards are comparatively higher. This leads to a non-significant or limited role of women in national economy.

Violence

As a consequence of discriminatory treatment women in different parts of the world are subjected to different forms of violence, starting from female infanticide, dowry killings, rape, sexual harassment, stalking, acid attacks, physical and mental abuse, sex trafficking, assault and other forms of violence.

Cultural practices

Cultural practices may also prove to be a barrier to women empowerment and attainment of women's rights. Women position in the society is highly influenced by the Socio-cultural practices. Early & forced marriages, early motherhood, restrictions on education, violence against women, lack of decision-making power are some examples. Also, in many regions of the world, women are not allowed to make personal property, own property and/or inherit property. Also, in many regions of the world, women are not allowed to make personal property, own property and/or inherit property. There are restrictions on women's political participation in many societies.

Women's own beliefs

At times, women's own beliefs themselves become a barrier. When women believe that they are subservient to men then they don't demand for their rights. Their own attitude becomes a barrier.

Illiteracy and lack of awareness

Education plays a vital role in improving person's attitude and the way of thinking. In addition it helps to change the social status and life style. An educated woman can play a significant role in increasing household income, poverty reduction, providing better educational facilities to her children, get better breast feeding, and better hygiene and so on. However, poor or no education, knowledge, and awareness of rights results in not raising a voice for one's rights.

Poor implementation of law

Laws and provisions for women's rights, protection, and women empowerment are available but not implemented in letter and spirit.

Topic 120: Strategies for Promoting Women's Rights

The most significant strategies for promoting women rights include:

- Education and awareness
- Implementation of human and women's rights related laws
- Involvement of socially influential figures
- Grass root level community service
- Programs for women empowerment like Micro-crediting and skill training

- Encourage women into non-traditional vocations
- Women's improved participation in the political process
- Involve women in decision-making
- Involvement of media

Topic 121: Women's right to an adequate standard of living, health and well being

All citizens deserve to be, and have the right to, live in best living conditions. If best conditions are not possible then at least adequate facilities should be available to them. A majority of people in this world do not live in ideal living conditions; many live in extremely poor conditions. Women being the poorest of the poor live in utterly adverse circumstances.

The basic amenities everyone needs include healthcare, sanitation, hygiene, housing, proper food, and adequate nutrition. This is the minimum required for survival. The right to education and ownership of property come after these needs.

According to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art.11) the right to adequate food, clothing and housing, and the continuous improvement of living conditions are a part of the right to an adequate standard of living for oneself and one's family. Women's right to attain an adequate standard of living is linked with their rights to land, property, food, water and sanitation, as well as work and social security. International human rights law guarantees all these rights. Women have the right to enjoy these rights just like men are entitled to.

Women's right to own property is linked with empowerment and well-being. Ownership or control over land, housing, or other property has a positive effect on women's decision making and control over matters. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it is the right of everyone to own property regardless of sex (art. 17.1 and 2), the right to an adequate standard of living including housing and to security in the event of a lack of livelihood (art. 25).

In the Beijing Platform for Action, it was committed by States to "undertake legislation and administrative reforms to give women equal rights with men to economic resources, including access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, credit, inheritance, natural resources and appropriate new technology."

Women's right to food, water, and sanitation has also been acknowledged. In the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 11) the right to food has been recognized. It also acknowledges that more immediate and urgent steps may be needed to ensure everyone's fundamental right to freedom from hunger and malnutrition. Here, 'everyone' includes women.

Related to an adequate standard of living, the right to work and earn money is also recognized. In the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 6) the general right to work is set out. It states that it is everyone's right to enjoy just and favorable conditions of work, in particular the right to safe working conditions (art. 7).

Topic 122: Violence against Women

Violence against women (VAW) is one of the ugliest things that happen in human societies. Women are generally subjected to violence because of their subservient position in the home and in the society.

Violence against Women is defined as:

"any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life"; by Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

Violence against Women may take different forms. When exercised inside home then it is domestic violence. Variations include honor crimes or dowry related violence.

Violence against Women may also be in the form of sexual assault or rape, sexual harassment, exploitation at the workplace.

Violence against Women had always been there and experienced by women at all times, however it was not treated as a social issue. It was the Women's Movement that drew attention to this issue. After the 1990s there had been a growing concern about this phenomenon.

In December 1993, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women was adopted by the General Assembly. It acknowledges that violence against women constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women.

It recognizes that Violence against Women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women. This Declaration is the first international instrument pertaining to this issue. The States, according to the Declaration, should condemn violence against women. They should also work on eradicating violence against women.

Violence against women was listed as one of 12 critical areas of concern in the Fourth World Conference on Women.

Protection of women against harassment at workplace is one of the recent legislations in this regard.

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WOMEN'S RIGHTS-II

Topic 123-127

Topic 123: Women's Rights: the Impact of Migration and Displacement

Migration can be a turbulent phase in one's life, even more so if people are forced to migrate. Migration can be a phase of displacement. There can be other forms of displacement other than migration; People may be displaced due to political situations, wars, or natural or manmade disasters.

Many people migrate by choice due to economic reasons, looking for better avenues for work and earning. The first thing they look for in country of destination is work.

According to the principle of universality in international human rights law, the migrants have a right that their rights will be protected by the state wherever they are; the state of origin, the state of transit, and the state of destination. It is the responsibility of the States to protect the rights of all migrants irrespective of their nationality, immigration status, origin, gender, or age.

Migrants are more likely to be exploited in many ways. This is truer about migrant women. Seeking employment, they may be exploited by the employers by underpayment. Also, their work or they themselves may not be protected by the local labor law. Sexual exploitation may also take place. At times if the migrants are irregular then they may be detained at the time of entry into a destination country. The women migrants may be exploited during detention.

In 1990, the General Assembly adopted the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. According to this Convention the rights of all migrant workers and their family members are protected. This protection is for both regular and irregular situations, during the entire migration process. All aspects of the life of migrants and their families are covered. It entails obligations for States for promoting sound, equitable, humane and legal conditions of migration.

According to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, all women should be protected against all forms of discrimination. 'All women' includes migrant women too. State parties are required to ensure that all women are able to enjoy their human rights on an equal basis with men in all fields. In its general recommendation No. 26 (2008) on women migrant workers, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women talks about the discrimination and violence that some categories of women migrant encounter. It particularly talks about the situation of low paid migrant women. These women are more likely to be abused and discriminated against. Unlike professional workers, these women may never acquire eligibility for permanent stay or citizenship. Therefore, they need protection. Violations of women's human rights take place not only at the country of destination but also at the country of origin before departure as well as at the country of transit. Internally displaced women may also experience similar problems. It is the responsibility of the State to provide protection to all such women and their rights.

Topic 124: Women's Human Rights in Conflict and Crises

Women's rights are often compromised in many situations. When the society is undergoing some crisis or difficult situation women's well-being and their rights are even more endangered. There is a greater likelihood of sexual and gender-based violence during the conflict period and in post-conflict settings. The discrimination against women practiced during peace time becomes serious in the period of conflict. There is a link between gender-based violence and conflicts, particularly armed conflict. Women become more vulnerable in situations of political, economic, or social upset and turmoil. They are exploited not only because of being women but they may be blackmailed because of being mothers, especially of very young children. They may be subjected to different forms of gender based violence.

Such issues have been recognized and paid attention to at international level.

"Wars, armed conflicts and the occupation of territories often lead to increased prostitution, trafficking in women and sexual assault of women, which require specific protective and punitive measures."

This was stated in the general recommendation No. 19 (1992) of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. Domestic violence and sexual abuse significantly increase in the period of conflict.

During periods of conflict the situation worsens in many ways. There is an acceptance of higher levels of violence. In the post-conflict phase there is exacerbation of the deep rooted inequalities that existed before the conflict. (Niamh Reily, 2009).

The Fourth Geneva Convention (art. 27)

The need for the special protection of women was expressed; "against any attack on their honor, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution or any form of indecent assault"

The issue of conflict-related gender-based violence was addressed when the Security Council adopted resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security. The devastating impact of conflict on women and girl is focused on in the resolution. The need to implement international laws is reaffirmed. In the subsequent follow-up resolutions different aspects of conflict related sexual violence have been focused on.

Topic 125: Women's Access to Justice

While examining international scenario pertaining to women's human rights we come across various issues and avenues which are generally not highlighted.

Women's access to justice is one such issue. Women are generally at a disadvantage in all respects; poorest of the poor, less educated or illiterate, having poor knowledge and awareness about their rights, with restricted freedom, financially dependent, and subjected to domestic violence.

Considering all these factors what can we expect an average, ordinary, women to do in case she is exploited, abused, and denied her basic rights? Will she report to the law enforcing authorities for protection and approach the judiciary for justice?

Women's access to justice and receiving justice in case of violation of her rights requires that the law treats women with equality, and that there is no discrimination against women because of their gender. Also, women's access to remedies in such circumstances has to be effective.

International human rights law covers these aspects. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' articles 2.3 (right to a remedy) and 26 (equality before the law) can be seen for reference.

According to CEDAW, the State parties are required to establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men. They should ensure the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination through competent national tribunals and other public institutions (art. 2 (c). In spite of international commitments women may not be receiving a treatment base on equality in many parts of the world. At times the law itself makes no discrimination on the basis of sex of a person but the way it is implemented is discriminatory. Cultural practices and stereotypical beliefs also hinder women's access to justice. Social and institutional barriers may impede women's access to justice.

Social barriers: lack of knowledge of own rights, illiteracy, and lack of information. Also women depend and look up to male relatives for assistance and resources.

Institutional barriers: geographical distance, availability or non-availability of suitable facilities, infrastructure and language.

These factors are to be considered to ensure that women living in rural areas, minority or indigenous women, or women with disabilities have access to justice (Progress of the World's Women 2011–2012). It was spelled out in general comment No. 28 (2000) of the Human Rights Committee that State parties should provide information on "whether measures are taken to ensure women equal access to legal aid, in particular in family matters." The general recommendation No. 28 (2010) of the CEDAW Committee: "States parties must further ensure that women have recourse to affordable, accessible and timely remedies, with legal aid and assistance as necessary, to be settled in a fair hearing by a competent and independent court or tribunal, where appropriate."

Topic 126: Commissions on the Status of Women in Pakistan

Pakistan has a number of statutory bodies working for women empowerment. National and provincial commissions on the status of women are contributing to the cause of women empowerment and women protection in many ways;

These Commissions are involved in research, publication, awareness campaigns, trainings, workshops, overseeing the implementation of relevant laws among many other functions. Consequent upon international commitments pertaining to women's rights and their status, different countries set up organizations, teams, commissions, and/or other bodies to support women's cause.

National Commission on the Status of Women

National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW was established in year 2000 as a statutory body. The purpose behind the establishment of NCSW was:

"Examine policies, programs and other measures taken by the Government for women's development and gender equality. Review laws, rules and regulations affecting the status of women. Monitor mechanisms and institutional procedures for redress of violations of women's rights and individual grievances; Encourage and sponsor research to generate information, analysis and studies relating to women and gender issues. Develop and maintain interaction and dialogue with NGOs, experts and individuals in society at the national, regional and international level; any other function assigned to it by the Federal Government."

National Commission on the Status of Women' powers

During the course of performance of its functions the Commission may seek and receive information, data, and, documents from any official source or entity. The Commission may enforce attendance of any person and call for production of documents with powers of civil court (granted under the court of civil procedure, act V, 1908). With prior permission of the provincial government the Commission can inspect any jail, sub jail, or other places of custody. In case of violation of women's rights, the Commission has the power to intervene in institutional procedures to redress.

The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women

Under the Punjab Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2014, PCSW was created by the Punjab Assembly. It started functioning in 2014, March. It was created as a body that could ensure that women empowerment was promoted through the province's government's policies, laws, and programs. It also had to ensure that discrimination against women is eliminated and that opportunities for socio-economic development of women are expanded.

According to the PCSW website: "PCSW has a broad mandate, ranging from review of laws, rules, policies, programs and other measures of the government; to monitoring implementation of laws and policies for achievement of gender equality and elimination of discrimination against women".

"It is also mandated to facilitate and monitor implementation of instruments and obligations affecting women and girls to which Pakistan is a signatory, and advise the Government before ratification or accession to any such proposed international instrument, covenant, protocol or treaty".

"A key function of the Commission is to undertake research, collect data for policy recommendations, and monitor violation of women's rights. It is expected to interact with civil society organizations, experts and individuals and develop active associations with other similar institutions in other countries."

The Sindh Commission on the Status of Women

The Sindh Commission on the Status of Women was created under the Sindh Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2015, passed on 6th April 2015. According to its website, the Commission's objectives include:

"To examine policies, programs and other measures taken by the Government for Women's development and gender equality;"

"Review laws, rules and regulations affecting the status of women; Monitor Mechanism and institutional procedures for redress of violation of women's rights and individual grievances;"

"Encourage and sponsor research to generate information, analysis and studies relating to women and gender issues;"

"Develop and maintain interaction and dialogue with NGOs experts and individual in society at the national, regional and international level; any other function assigned to it by the provincial Government".

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Commission on the Status of Women (KPCSW)

According to the website of the Commission, the KPCSW is the first ever Provincial Level Commission in the country, established with functions to oversee implementation of laws, policies and programs related to women and propose new measures where gaps exist.

The mission of KPCSW is "As a prime oversight statutory recommendatory body focused on women's rights, KPCSW is mandated to address legal, political, economic and social discrimination against women in the public and private sectors through advocacy and outreach, policy planning, review and reform of laws, monitoring and research, in collaboration with civil society and government agencies".

Baluchistan Commission on the Status of Women

The Baluchistan Commission of the Status of Women Bill (Bill No.06 of 2017) was passed by the Provincial Assembly of Baluchistan on 30thAugust, 2017 and was assented to by the Governor, Baluchistan on 08thSeptember, 2017 and was published as an Act of the Baluchistan Provincial Assembly.

The Act contains a detailed list and description of the functions and powers of the Baluchistan Commission in chapter III. Points (a) and (b) reflect the major functions and powers.

The Commission

"a) shall examine the policy, programs and other measures taken by the Government for gender equality, women's empowerment, political participation representation, assess implementation and make suitable recommendations to the concerned authorities;"

" b) shall review all Baluchistan laws, rules and regulations affecting the status and rights of women and suggest repeal amendment or new legislation essential to eliminate discrimination, safeguard and promote the interest of women and achieve gender equality before law in accordance with the Constitution and obligations under international covenants and commitments;"

Topic 127: Legislation on Women's Rights in Pakistan

The Constitution of Pakistan guarantees the rights of women. There is no discrimination in the human rights of the people on the basis of their gender.

National Laws for the Protection of Women

An earlier example in this regard was the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961: (VIII of 1961).

The recent pro-women laws and amendments include:

- The Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010
- Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace (Amendment) Act, 2016
- Legislation on Women's Rights in Pakistan
- The Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act, 2011
- Prevention of Anti-Women Practices Act, 2011
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offense of Rape) Act 2016
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences in the name or pretext of Honor) Act, 2016
- Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016
- Hindu Marriage Act, 2017

National Plan of Action and National Policy on Development and Empowerment of Women

In 1998 and 2002, Pakistan undertook two commitments; National Plan of Action for Women (1998) and National Policy on the Development and Empowerment of Women (2002).

International Commitments

Pakistan has undertaken commitments at a number of international forums which reflects Pakistan's commitment to guarantee women's rights. In 1993 Pakistan recognized "women's rights are human rights" in the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action.

Some of Pakistan's international commitments:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women
- International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD)
- International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- Vienna Declaration
- Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

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INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Topic 128-131

Topic 128: Overview of International Agreements on Women's Rights

Over the past 60 years, the international community has made many agreements to promote and defend women's rights. These international agreements on women's rights include:

- In 1928, the Inter-American Commission of Women was established. It is the first inter-governmental women's rights agency.
- In 1946, the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was established.
- In 1979, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted.
- In 1993, the UN World Conference on Human Rights was held to formally declare that women's rights are human rights.
- In 1993, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women was adopted.
- In 1994, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women also known as the Convention of Belém do Pará was adopted.
- In 1995, the UN Conference on Women was organized which resulted in the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.
- In 2003, the Maputo Protocol was adopted which was agreed by African governments.
- In 2011, the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence was adopted.
- In 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by UN members.

Topic 129: Overview of International Conventions and Declarations

Here is a list of some key conventions and declarations that guide gender equality work.

- In 1954, Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted whose purpose was to codify a basic international standard for women's political rights.
- In 1964, Convention to the Consent of Marriage, Minimum Age of Marriage, and Registration of Marriages, was adopted by UN General Assembly. This convention requires the establishment of a minimum age for marriage by law ensures the registration of marriage and reaffirms mutual consent for marriage by both parties.
- In 1974, Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict was adopted. This convention states that women and children are often the victims of wars, civil unrest, and other emergency situations that cause them to suffer. Furthermore, it enshrines women and children's rights, such as access to food, shelter, and medical care in emergency situations.
- In 1979, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted. This convention was thought of as an international women's bill of rights. It is a defining document in gender equality work.

- In 1993, Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women was adopted. This convention internationally recognizes the right of a woman to live a life without violence.
- In 1995, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (PFA) was adopted by governments at the Fourth World Conference on Women, this document sets forth governments' commitments to enhance women's rights.
- In 2003, Maputo Protocol – Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa was adopted. The Protocol also known as the Maputo Protocol, guarantees comprehensive rights to women including the right to take part in the political process, to social and political equality, control of women's reproductive health, and ending female genital mutilation.
- In 2014, Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention) was adopted. The Istanbul Convention is the first legally-binding instrument that criminalizes violence against women. This convention creates a legal framework and approach to combat violence against women and focuses on preventing domestic violence, protecting victims and prosecuting accused offenders.
- In 2016, the Paris Agreement (under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) was adopted. The Paris Agreement constitutes a breakthrough; for the first time, a Climate Treaty in its Preamble commits Parties, to promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, as well as on gender equality, and the empowerment of women. The Agreement also mandates gender-responsive adaptation actions and capacity-building activities.

Topic 130: CEDAW: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and entered into force in 1981. It has been ratified by 99 signatories and 189 Parties. Despite the existence of international instruments which affirm the rights of women with-in the framework of all human rights, a separate treaty was considered necessary to combat the continuing evident discrimination against women in all parts of the world. What makes CEDAW stand out among other such instruments is that it exclusively focuses on promoting and protecting women's human rights. It defines discrimination against women in a very comprehensive manner. In addition to addressing the major issues the Convention also identifies a number of specific areas where discrimination against women has been flagrant, specifically with regard to participation in public life, marriage, family life and sexual exploitation.

The objective of the Convention is to advance the status of women by utilizing a dual approach.

- It requires States parties to grant freedoms and rights to women on the same basis as men, no longer imposing on women the traditional restrictive roles.
- It calls upon States parties to remove social and cultural patterns, primarily through education, which perpetuate gender-role stereotypes in homes, schools and places of work.
- It is based on the premise that States must take active steps to promote the advancement of women as a means of ensuring the full enjoyment of human rights.

- It encourages States parties to make use of positive measures, including preferential treatment, to advance the status of women and their ability to participate in decision making in all spheres of national life – economic, social, cultural, civil and political.

When States accept the Convention, they commit themselves to undertake a series of measures. The aim of these measures is to bring discrimination against women in all forms to an end.

The measures include:

- "To incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women"
- "To establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and"
- "To ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises."

CEDAW is often also referred to as an international bill of rights for women. CEDAW was the first international document with a concept that rights are basic values shared by every human being, regardless of sex, race, religion, culture, or age. A complaints procedure for CEDAW is available.

In its fifteenth session in 1995, the CEDAW Committee adopted a suggestion (number 7) proposing elements for a petition and an investigation procedure for complaints.

At the 43rd session of the Commission on the Status of Women, delegates adopted an optional protocol to CEDAW that entered into force in 2000.

Article 17 of the Convention establishes the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to oversee the implementation of its provisions.

CEDAW and Women's Health

CEDAW also covers the right to equality in the full enjoyment of health. According to article 12 States Parties are required to eliminate discrimination in all aspects of women's health care, including those related to drug addiction and related problems.

Article 12 states that, "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services including those related to family planning, pregnancy, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during and after pregnancy."

Topic 131: Gender Equality and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The sustainable development goals include 17 global goals that the nations of the world aim to achieve by 2030. The target is to change the way the world is by 2030, for the better.The key challenges to be tackled include issues such as poverty, inequality and violence against women. The SDG Goal 5 is to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.

According to UNWOMEN "Gender equality by 2030 requires urgent action to eliminate the many root causes of discrimination that still curtail women's rights in private and public spheres. For example, discriminatory laws need to change and legislation adopted to proactively advance equality.

Yet 49 countries still lack laws protecting women from domestic violence, while 39 bar equal inheritance rights for daughters and sons".

According to the facts and figures by UNDP:

- Women earn only 77 cents for every dollar that men get for the same work.
- 35 percent of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence.
- Women represent just 13 percent of agricultural landholders.
- Almost 750 million women and girls alive today were married before their 18th birthday.
- Two thirds of developing countries have achieved gender parity in primary education.
- Only 24 percent of national parliamentarians were women as of November 2018, a small increase from 11.3 percent in 1995.

This indicates that a lot needs to be done for attaining gender equality and empowerment.

According to SDG Compass, the major themes addressed by this SDG include:

- Equal remuneration for women and men
- Diversity and equal opportunity
- Access to sexual and reproductive health-care services
- Workplace violence and harassment
- Women in leadership

- Childcare services and benefits

According to UNDP the goal targets of SDGs are:

- End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere
- Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation
- Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female mutilation
- Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate
- Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life
- Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences
- Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws
- Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women
- Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels

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GENDER AND POLITICS-I

Topic 132-136

Topic 132: Gender and Politics

According to Collins dictionary, politics is defined as:

"The actions or activities concerned with achieving and using power in a country or society".

In other words it can also be defined as:

"Politics is the distribution and exercise of power within a society".

In simpler terms politics is about how the society, or the country, will be run; who will have the power and the position to make decisions; who will have control of resources; and who will get what, when, how, and how much. It is about governance and about power.

Politics is another area where gender has an impact. Men, women, and all other people should have an equal say in decisions about the country and its citizen's fate. However the situation is not very promising.

There have been great changes for women in terms of politics in the past decades but still a significant gender inequality persists in the politics Women occupy only 23.7 per cent of parliamentary seats. These include women included on special quotas too. The situation however is better than the private sector where globally women occupy only less than one third of senior and middle management positions.

Gender disparity is visible in various dimensions of the political system i.e., in voting behavior, in political campaigns, in political party office bearers, in election contestants, in members of the cabinet, and in occupants of other powerful official positions.

Democracy is about giving value to the voice of all citizens, where all citizens' opinion carries equal weight. It is against the spirit of democracy that around half of the citizens are not a part of the decision making process. It is a prerequisite for democracy that there is equal participation of all citizens irrespective of their gender in the country's decision making process (Franklin, 1996). A key obstacle to democratic stability in the country is the absence of women's participation in political process (Women, 1997).

Women's active participation is very important because:

- They know what their problems and needs are
- They need to be empowered
- They need to be a part of the decision making process
- They can speak better for the well-being, needs, upbringing, and care of their children
- Women have their own perspective of understanding of social phenomenon

- There are certain issues that women would like to discuss with only women representatives

Gender inequality in political participation is not restricted to any one society alone. In a most developed country like the USA, the turnout of women voters did not equal men's until the 1980s. This is about a country where women had received the vote nationally as early as in the beginning of 20th century (Andersen, 1996; Burrell, 2004). Differences in women's political participation across race, ethnicity, and class have also been reported.

Similarly in Pakistan, the turnout of women voters has been quite low in various regions. The encouraging side is that there are women who are politically very active and contributing to the democratic process. Pakistan has had a woman Prime Minister too i.e., Benazir Bhutto was Pakistan's first female prime minister and the first woman elected to lead a Muslim State.

Topic 133: Significance of Women's and Youth's Political Participation

Women and youth are two most significant segments of population. Women constitute almost 50% of the population in many countries. In Pakistan, the youth has emerged as a very large and strong section of the society. The proportion of youth in Pakistan is much more than that in most of the developed world.

Women and the youth together can play a very significant role in the political, democratic process. Both of these segments have their own needs and demands. Both need to grow, develop, strong, knowledgeable, aware, and empowered.

Women need to be active contributors to national economy and progress. They need freedom of decision making, awareness, and trust.

Youth also needs, and wants similar rights and opportunities, whether men or women. Youth are the change makers, motivated, and energetic. Their political participation would ensure their share in the decision making about their own future as well as that of their nation.

Women's, and the youth's, political participation can steer the nation toward the direction where both are empowered. For fruitful and intelligent political participation certain requirements also need to be met:

- Education
- Awareness
- Good leadership and role models for mentoring
- Trust and support from the society
- Opportunities for political representation

Topic 134: Relationship between Politics, Governance, and Development

Politics is defined as:

"The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power".

In other words, it can also be defined as:

"The activities of governments concerning the political relations between states"

At individual level we usually take politics in the former sense. Politics is about power and distribution of power and resources.

Governance is defined as:

"The action or manner of governing a state and organization etc.".

In other words, governance can be defined as:

"The activity of governing a country or controlling a company or an organization; the way in which a country is governed or a company or institution is controlled"

It is about the interaction of the state and non-state actors for formulating and implementing policies in accordance with the rules and principles designed by the politicians (those in power).

Development is defined as:

'The gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced, stronger, etc."

In other words, it can also be defined as:

"The process of economic, environmental and social transformation, that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions".

Societal or national development would mean the growth and progress that makes the society or the nation stronger and more advanced. The development takes place in all spheres; social and economic.

Politics, governance, and development are interlinked. Each one can affect the others.

We strive for development. Our decisions about the nature of development, priorities for development, and the means and routes to development are affected by the prevalent politics in the society. The development goals are attained through the system of governance. Therefore the participation of women in all of these spheres, at all levels, is of paramount important for women development. The desired goals of development are achieved through interplay of politics and governance. Women's active participation can lead to positive outcomes in terms of women empowerment.

Topic 135: Gender, Governance and Law

There is an inter connection of politics, governance, and development.

Another important dimension is law.

Law is defined as:

"The system of rules which a particular country or community recognizes as regulating the actions of its members and which it may enforce by the imposition of penalties".

It can also be defined as:

"A rule, usually made by a government that is used to order the way in which a society behaves".

Law provides guidelines, a system of controlling and disciplining behavior, a proper way of doing things and penalties for not following the proper ways.

Politics is about power and keeps power within certain boundaries.

Women's participation and contribution to law making is essential for women empowerment. In order to adopt a gender balanced approach in politics and governance, and to promote gender equity and equality, it is very important that women be active contributors to the legislative process. Women have an edge over men. Women are better aware of women's problems, girls' issues, and requirements of growing up children. They know, better than others, about the barriers and hurdles women experience especially while struggling for empowerment. Introducing the woman perspective and women's point of view may bring protection and security to women. In Pakistan, women politicians have played a significant role in the legislative process. A number of laws were formulated on the initiative of women.

Topic 136: Significance of Women's Participation in Governance

There is a significant relationship between politics, governance, and development whereas governance and law are also related. All of these elements are interconnected and related with gender too.

How governance will operate is affected by the politics in a country; the ideology behind politics and the way the state machinery is run in turn affects decision about development………. what needs to happen, when, where, and how. How all things ought to take place is determined by law. How the fruits of development will reach the people, may be affected by their gender.

Men and women may benefit differently from the political activity, the development in the society, and the governance mechanisms. Generally there are considerably more men than women involved in the political process, governance, and decision making. Women's participation in the political process, their contribution in developmental decision making, and their involvement in governance are all most important for a balanced and just society.

Women's perspective needs to be incorporated in decision making. Women's involvement in all spheres is imperative for promoting gender equity and equality. It is the basic ingredient of women empowerment. Women, like men, have the right to be a part of the decisions making especially when it is going to affect their lives and well-being.

In the Beijing Platform for Action of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, one of twelve critical areas of concern was:

"An inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels".

According to one of its Strategic Objectives and Actions, 'Women in Power and Decision-making', it is stated that:

"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his/her country".

"The empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status are essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of life".

Also,

"Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning".

Two strategic objectives in this regard were stated as:

G1: "Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making" and

G2: "Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership."

Both strategies are proposed to be addressed by "Governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions, sub-regional and regional bodies, and non-governmental and international organizations."

The following facts need to be considered for realizing the significance of women's involvement in politics and governance:

1. Women have suffered over different phases of history because they were not made a part of the political or national decision making. They never had access to resources or opportunities because they were not part of the decision makers.
2. Since women were not part of politics, governance, and developmental planning, therefore they were never aware of available opportunities for growth and development.
3. Women are better aware of matters concerning women's well-being but didn't get an opportunity to plan for women empowerment and development. Therefore the policies have not been women friendly.
4. Since women had generally not been a part of the power circles and didn't have access to, and hold over, resources and opportunities, their position in the society remained subservient to that of men.

However the things are changing now. Women are coming to the forefront not only in the political arena but also in governance. As a consequence empowered women are not a rarity today. More and more women are reaching to top levels in diverse fields.

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GENDER AND POLITICS-II

Topic 137-143

Topic 137: Women's Political Participation and Sustainable Development Goals

There is a deep relationship between the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), women empowerment, women's political participation, governance, and development.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are the global agenda adopted by world leaders for Sustainable Development to be met by 2030. The SDGs are a collection of 17 global goals set by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 for the year 2030.

The SDGs cover every aspect of development. If these goals are achieved by 2030 then all people would be reaping the fruits of development and no one will be left behind. Gender equality and women empowerment have been kept in focus in all of these goals. All goals pertain to the development and well-being of all nations and citizens including men and women.

Goal 5 is particularly about Gender Equality. The attainment of all other goals, in many ways, depends upon the attainment of this particular goal.

"Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is integral to each of the 17 goals. Only by ensuring the rights of women and girls across all the goals will we get to justice and inclusion, economies that work for all, and sustaining our shared environment now and for future generations."

Therefore it is very important that women are a part of the political process and decision making so that the rights of girls and women are protected and they have the same access to resources and opportunities as men have. It is the spirit of democracy that every citizen has a voice and that voice is heard; everyone has a contribution in decisions about their future. Women's active participation in the political process can ensure the protection of their rights and the promotion of empowerment. Participation in the political process does not mean contesting the elections and becoming a parliamentarian or legislator alone in fact opinion building and exercising the right to franchise is equally important. Also electing the right person is a serious responsibility.

SDG 16: Peace, justice and strong institutions can be examined in the same light. For all of the SDGs, gender equality and women empowerment have been given importance. Women's role as today's political workers will convert into the role of tomorrow's leaders. Politically active women can help form women networks for collaboration for women's cause. There is evidence available to show that an increased number of women legislators are correlated with spending in certain areas.

According to OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), researchers found out data from 19 member countries of OECD that there was a positive correlation between increase in the number of women legislators and increase in total educational spending. In Pakistan, women parliamentarians have been playing a significant role in the formulation of laws pertaining to women protection and women empowerment.

Topic 138: Power and Politics

Politics is about power among other things. Power brings along the ability to exercise one's will over others.

Weber defined power as being "the ability of an individual or group to achieve their own goals or aims, when others are trying to prevent them, from realizing them".

Power is an individual's, a group's, or an institution's ability to control or direct others. According to Weber, power is either authoritative or coercive.

Authoritative power is the exercise of power which is taken as legitimate.

When power is perceived as legitimate then it is effective because there is a general acceptance of it and it involves the consent of those who are subject to it.

In contrast coercion (or coercive power) is power exercised through force.

When something is imposed through coercion then it does not involve consent of people involved because things or decisions are being imposed whether people like it or not. There are different theories of power and about the relationship between power and politics. In present context one needs to realize how power accompanies authority.

Authority refers to:

 "The power or right to give orders, make decisions, and enforce obedience".

That makes power and authority very similar. Politics, power, and authority come together. People join politics due to various reasons; one most significant reason is that politics is the pathway to power and authority. Politicians contest the elections so that their party is in a winning position i.e., it will form the government. The ability to form the government implies that future decision making will be in their hands as the ruling circles. It is understandable that those in power, government, will make laws, policies, plans, and strategies that suit their ideologies and which benefit 'their type' of people and groups. Gender can play a role here. If the ruling party predominantly consists of male members then there is a greater likelihood that the interests of men will be protected and promoted. There would be very few, if any, voices to support women's cause and to call for significant investment for the well-being and empowerment of women. This would further imply that voices of nearly 50 percent of population will remain unheard. Therefore there is a genuine need for women to enter into politics whether by being active social change makers or by being passive but firm supporters. Contesting an election is something that happens after every few years but working at the grass root level is an ongoing process that happens all the time. This can help women form their opinion, raise their voice, and work jointly for empowerment.

Topic 139: Power and Patriarchy

Patriarchy is defined as:

"A society in which the oldest male is the leader of the family, or a society controlled by men in whom they use their power to their own advantage".

In other words:

"A system of society or government in which the father or eldest male is head of the family and descent is reckoned through the male line".

It can also be defined as:

"Patriarchy is a hypothetical social system in which the father or a male elder has absolute authority over the family group; by extension, one or more men (as in a council) exert absolute authority over the community as a whole."

The patriarchal system focuses on male dominant status quo of power, where the head of the family is an elder male who holds the reins of all familial decisions, regardless of their effect on other members of the family (primarily the female members). Patriarchy involves the social relations of power. This relationship may be between men and women, between women, and/ or between men. The status quo of power is maintained. Taking history into account, patriarchal leaders/ heads were decision makers for larger groups of people living in close knit societies. They were the deciding force when it came to their own family. This system still prevails on social and psychological level. In modern patriarchy also, it is about power. Power comes with the positions of authority that men hold. The male offspring is valued over the female offspring as he is the one who will one day take the place as the head of the family. This notion unjustly overshadows the female child and her upbringing where she is taught to be the lesser half of her male counterpart. This abuse of patriarchal power grants young boys a free pass to undermine the females of his family which may aggravate as they proceed to adulthood. This is demeaning for women who do not get a say in the eminent decisions of their life; like education, career, and marriage. The power for decision is making lies with the patriarchal head, with the girl or her mother having little or no say in the matter. On the other hand the males may also suffer because they lose the chance to have a softer and expressive nature. Therefore in patriarchal system women are meek due to their subservient position, and men are strong due to their dominant position. Thus to have a man be nurturing and caring is not acceptable to many. This may lead to him having a violent behavior when faced with emotional situations as he knows no other way. This is also reflected in the general system and governance of society where male power dominance overshadows the system.

Topic 140: Patriarchy and Politics

The pattern of power that we see in a family is also reflected in the political system and governance at a larger scale. Though more women are seen entering politics as compared to the past, yet it is still difficult for them to put their foot down on crucial matters as they may be undermined by her male peers due to gender discrimination.

Male heads of the state, government officials, and heads of organizations have greater acceptance and it is also anticipated that men would be more capable and suitable for these positions as they have always proved to be good rulers.

Women on the other hand, since were never allowed the chance to be the rulers had little opportunity to show their caliber and excellence as rulers or as heads of state. Women, though equally or maybe more qualified than her male competitor, may not be elected as a leader by people having patriarchal beliefs.

Therefore when the power lies in the hands of men they have access to all resources and opportunities for growth and development. They have control over the means of production and

decision making bodies. Majority of legislators in most societies are men. Therefore in matters concerning women's well-being and empowerment, the ultimate decision lies in the hands of men. Women legislators being a minority find it hard to have approved any legislation without the support of their male counterparts. There is a need to transcend the patriarchal barriers and support women's active participation in politics. Most women will be able to contribute to the political process only when allowed by the male members of their family. There is a need for education and awareness of both men and women.

Topic 141: Effects of Patriarchy

The main effects of patriarchy are the male dominance, female subservience and submissiveness. These include:

- Inculcation and encouragement of stereotypical male characteristics, such as harshness, aggression, violent behavior
- Concern about promoting education and skills of boys and men
- Lack of concern about girls' education and women empowerment
- Women's submissiveness and helplessness
- Women's lack of assertiveness and felt incapacity
- Women's victimization and exploitation

Topic 142: Gender Gap in Politics

The term gender gap is usually used to refer to gender pay gap or gender wage gap which is the average difference between the remuneration for men and women who are working. Men are generally paid more than women. The term is also used to pinpoint gap between men and women in terms of various other variables.

Gender gap refers to the difference between men and women which can be ascribed to their gender. Gender gap in politics refers to the gap or difference, or distance, between women and men in terms of their political ideologies, attitudes, and/or behaviors.

There may be gender differences in people like:

- Political opinion and ideologies
- Political activity and participation
- Policy preferences
- Priority areas and emphasis
- Voting behavior in general; proactive or not
- Voting for political parties and candidates' preferences for women or men leaders and rulers

In some countries the trends have been studied formally. In the US, gender differences were observed in a number of presidential elections. In 1980, the percentage of male voters who voted for Ronald Reagan was higher than the female voters. George H.W. Bush received 50 percent of women's votes and 57 percent of men's in 1988.

According to Punjab Gender Parity Report 2017, foreign and local Observer Groups reported that the turnout of female voters was significantly lower than that of male voters. It was concluded that lack of mobility was one of the possible reasons for this phenomenon. Other

likely factors could be situational variables such as male dominant environment at polling stations. The gender gap becomes more obvious and wider in case of issues pertaining to the well-being and development of women and children. More women than men raise voice to support women for tackling issues pertaining to their well-being and empowerment.

The issues include, but are not limited to, the cause of:

- Eradicating violence against women
- Harassment at workplace
- Equal opportunities and wages; empowerment
- Education for all
- Maternal mortality
- Childcare services and maternity leave

Topic 143: Women 's Involvement in Political Parties

Women's political participation is promising although they have to go a long way to reach the ideal state. The Constitution of Pakistan paved way for women's political participation as having equal status of citizens, like men. Pakistan has been a signatory to a number of international commitments concerning women empowerment, women protection, women's rights, and well-being.

Significant activism has been observed after the Beijing conference, 1995. The Beijing Platform for Action provided guidelines for future action. Other similar commitments of which Pakistan is a part include the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Pakistani women, just like women in other parts of the world, received strength and encouragement for political development as a result of these commitments. The commitment to Sustainable Development Goals, including the goal of gender equality, is another significant step forward.

From the very inception of Pakistan as an independent state, women have been a part of the political process. The National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies Allocation of Reserved Seats for Women and Non-Muslims Rules of 2002, the Election Commission (EC) Order of 2002, and the Political Parties Order of 2002 have also facilitated women's political participation. Women have been a part of active politics throughout the history of the nation. Women have been playing their part according to the ideology of the political parties that they are affiliated with. Women's involvement in political parties can be in various capacities ranging from a grass root level worker to the Chairperson/ leader of a political party. Some party workers reach to the National/Provincial/Assemblies or the Senate, most of them remains party workers.

Pakistan has twice had a woman Prime Minister i.e., Head of Government. Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto served as the Prime Minister from 1988 to 1990 and then 1993 to 1996. In 2017, in the upper house of the parliament, Senate, there were 19 (18%) female and 85 (82%) male Senators out of 104 Senators. In the National Assembly of Pakistan (after elections 2013), out of 342 members, 271 (79%) were male while 71 (21%) were females. Of the female members, only 10 (4%) had been elected on general seats in comparison to 262 (96%) men. After elections 2018, the national assembly has 60 women members on reserved seats, while eight were elected in general election. Currently there are 20 women senators out of a total of 104.

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GENDER AND THIRD WORLD POLITICS

Topic 144-147

Topic 144: Gender and Third World Politics

The term Third World has been used for the underdeveloped and underprivileged countries. However nowadays, the terms Less Developed Countries (LDCs), Least Developed Countries, or Developing Countries are preferred over Third World Countries. The scenario may keep changing. The countries which were under developed yesterday may be today's developing countries. Looking at the history of these countries we can see a background of exploitation, oppression, colonialism and political struggle. The connection between gender and politics may be not being very different in most nations, whether developed or developing; however the issues of concern may be very different. For example, women in the developed countries may be struggling for eradicating the gendered wage gap whereas women in an underdeveloped country may be striving for wages for work.

Women in advanced countries may be concerned about the glass ceiling effect while those in the still developing countries may be concerned about access to education, women trafficking, and violence against women. Women in the developed countries may be campaigning for overcoming obesity and eating a balanced diet; women in many other countries may be worried about malnutrition and maternal mortality. It is a global phenomenon that there is a huge gap between the number of women and men in politics and same with governance. Male dominance and the patriarchal approach is one major cause. Socialization, upbringing, and inculcation of stereotypical traits are another.

In under developed countries where many women do not have access to education and opportunities, women do not enter into professions and regular occupations. Consequently they are dependent on men for their own and their children's survival. In such societies, men remain the major decision makers inside home as well as in the society. Men lead political parties, they hold important positions in the government, and in short they run the country. Women usually don't hold important positions in governance. Even the way women use their right to vote is also influenced by the opinion of male members of the family. However, this is one side of the story. History shows that women leaders did emerge from all societies and nations, whether developed or less developed.

Topic 145: Women and Politics in the Third World and South Asia

In many of the less developed, under developed or developing countries, women have been a significant part of the political struggle. However, one region which has had some very prominent women leaders is the South Asian Region.

Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal have had some very strong women leaders who led their parties and rose to the level of Head of State and Head of Government, i.e., President or Prime Minister, in their respective countries.

These leaders include:

Pakistan: Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto (1953 – 2007): She was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, firstly from 1988 to 1990 and then from 1993 to 1996. She was the first woman head of a democratic government in a Muslim country.

Sri Lanka: Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1916- 2000): She was elected as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 1960. In modern history, she is also known as the world's first non-hereditary woman head of government. She served for three terms, firstly in 1960 to1965, then in 1970 to 1977, and lastly in 1994 to 2000.

Sri Lanka: Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga (1945): She served as Sri Lanka's 5th President. Her tenure was from 12 November 1994 to 19 November 2005.

India: Indira Gandhi (1917 – 1984): She was the Prime Minister of India. Her term as Prime Minister was first from January 1966 to March 1977, and then from January 1980 October 1984 when she was assassinated.

India: Pratibha Devisingh Patil (1934): She was the 12th President of India. She was in office from 2007 to 2012.

Bangladesh: Khaleda Zia (1945): She held the office of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh twice. Her first term was from 1991 to 1996, and then from 2001 to 2006. She was the second woman to head a democratic government as prime minister in a Muslim country.

Bangladesh: Sheikh Hasina Wajid (1947): She is the 10th Prime Minister of Bangladesh since January 2009.

Nepal: Bidhya Devi Bhandari (1961): She is the first Nepalese woman to hold the office of the President of Nepal and Commander in Chief of Nepalese Army. She is currently the President of the country.

Topic 146: Levels of Women's Political Participation in Third World and Pakistan

Women's political participation can be seen in three broad capacities; as voters, as candidates, and as members of political parties. However, a deeper analysis shows that women participate in the political process at various levels. Women holding important offices and positions are prominent and visible whereas women contributing at many other levels remain unnoticed.

The levels of women's participation include:

- Party Chair/ national leader
- Party's Central Committee office bearers
- Provincial leaders e.g. Chair of women's wing or other specialized wings
- Party ticket holders and elected members of parliament
- Members of parliament on reserved seats for women
- Local leaders (at divisional, city, town, or other area level)
- Party workers and voters at all levels
- Miscellaneous levels and positions (advisors, spokespersons etc.)

In most cases, in most countries, men hold most important positions in the political party, in the parliament and in governance. The contributions of women party workers who had been working at the grass root level often remain invisible.

Topic 147: Gender and Politics; Women in Public Office

Public office refers to "a position of authority or service involving responsibility to the public, especially within the government"

In other words, public office refers to "someone who is in public office is in a job that they have been elected to do by the public"

Another good definition is that public office refers to "a job in the government that you have because you were chosen or elected"

In order to be an active and productive part of governance, women need to be in public office. The current proportion of women in decision making positions, in public office, is far from satisfactory and very distant from the ideal. This state of affairs prevails in most countries, including Pakistan.

Target 5.5 in SDGs states

"Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life"

Women may be a part of governance at various levels and in various capacities; Federal, Provincial, and Local. They may be holding public office after becoming an elected member or as a public servant. The proportion of women members of parliament in Pakistan is significantly less than the number of male members. Similarly the number of women in decision making positions is far less than the number of men in such positions e.g. ministers, advisors, parliamentary secretaries etc. There may be a number of reasons for this state of affairs; tackling all issues might take very long. What we need today is to increase the number of women in public office. This becomes especially important while keeping in focus Goal No. 5 'Gender Equality' in the SDGs.

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WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLITICS OF PAKISTAN-I

Topic 148-152

Topic 148: Women's Role in Politics of Pakistan: Pre Independence

Women in the Indo Pak Subcontinent have been playing a significant role in the politics of the region. Personalities like Razia Sultana or Rani of Jhansi emerged from this region. Women, though not in large numbers, had been participating in the political process. Additionally, they were active in the freedom movement too.

Initially women did not have the universal right to franchise. Limited franchise was allowed to women under the Government of India Act 1935. Under the 1935 Government of India Act, six million women were enfranchised. Reserved seats were allocated for women in Council of the State and the Assembly. Eight women were elected from general constituencies in the 1937 elections while 42 from reserved constituencies. Women's activism was initially for educational reforms. In the years to come, women became an important part of the freedom movement.

A major milestone from Muslim women's perspective was when Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah created the All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee of the Muslim League. By the mid-40s, a significant number of women emerged in the leadership positions. From Lahore, Punjab Jahanara Shahnawaz, Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain and Begum Fatima from Bengal, Shaista Ikramullah from Sindh, Lady Abdullah Haroon from Sindh and Begum Zari Sarfraz from the NWFP (now KPK) were torch bearers for women. There was huge representation of women in the 1940 meeting. Women were actively participating in street politics. They were organizing and holding processions and protests.

Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum and Miss M. Qureshi founded Muslim Girls Student Federation in 1941. Women's committees were formed in 1942 as a result of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah's interest. In 1943, 5000 women participated in the annual session of All-India Muslim League in Karachi. Women participated in the 1946 elections in which Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain and Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz contested from Muslim League. There was a huge demonstration in Lahore when Muslim League was not allowed to form government. Civil Disobedience Movement was initiated in 1947 in which Muslim women participated actively. Women remained very active throughout the freedom movement, culminating at freedom on 14th August 1947.

Topic 149: Women's Role in Politics of Pakistan: After independence

Women in this region had demonstrated their political awareness and activism even before independence in 1947. Many Muslim women emerged as leaders at various stages in history, pre independence. Initially the struggle had been for educational reforms and Muslim women's education. Women's activism was also observed in the Khilafat Movement. Women's political participation was at new heights during the Pakistan movement.

After independence, many significant developments paved way for women's political and social activism in future. The developments had a deep impact on women's social role and political participation.

1. Girls and women had better access to education, including higher education
2. Because of accessible education, an increasing number of women started going for higher education including professional education
3. Women started entering professions and different occupations including service in public sector
4. Women who had actively contributed to welfare and rehabilitation of refugees now started working for social reforms and welfare of women.

There were great awareness in women and a desire to be a part of the political decision making at various stages of history. In the first legislature of Pakistan there were two women representatives, Jahanara Shahnawaz and Shaista Ikramullah. In 1948, the first attempt was made to secure economic rights for women during the budget debate. The Muslim Personal Law of Shariat (1948) became effective recognizing women's right to inherit property. In 1951, the Muslim Personal Law of Shariat became effective and women received the right to inherit agricultural land. This was landmark success for women legislators. At the final meeting of the Constituent Assembly in 1954, when the draft bill for the Charter of Women's Rights prepared by Jahanara Shahnawaz was discussed, the reserved seats remained at 3% for both the central and provincial assembly. The principle of female suffrage for women's reserved seats was accepted in 1956 Constitution, on the basis of women's territorial constituencies.

The Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (MFLO), 1961: women were given rights regarding Marriage, Child Custody, Divorce and registration of marriages and divorce. More rights were given to women in the 1973 Constitution. The Constitution of Pakistan protects women's rights.

Article 25 (1): All citizens to be equal before law and entitled to equal protection of law.

Article 25 (2): There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone.

Article 25 (3): Allows the State to create special laws and rules for specific issues facing women and children, which are being ignored.

Article 34: Ensures full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

18th Amendment: Most social issues were devolved to provinces; were given responsibility for legislation and initiatives regarding those women's rights issues that fall within the purview of provinces. 18th Amendment has increased resources to provinces to work on women empowerment.

Great women leaders played vital role in the political process, social reforms, and for the attainment of women's rights in the initial years after independence. Women like Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Raana Liaqat Ali Khan, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, Begum Shaista Ikramullah, Begum Zari Sarfraz, Lady Abdullah Haroon and Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain were among the earliest torch bearers.

In the years to come, women's role in politics became more energized, more direct, and with a much wider impact. Under different political regimes they played a very active role especially for the protection of women's rights. In some regimes women and women's voice were valued more while in some women's role was restricted in certain ways. Women have been leading political parties, contesting and winning general elections became parliamentarians on reserved seats too. Pakistan has had women speakers of assemblies, ministers, and even a Prime Minister. Women's political participation may be far from parity but still it is better than many other countries in the world.

Topic 150: Women in the Legislative Process in Pakistan

In the early years of Pakistan, after independence, only a few women were prominent on the political forefront. With more education and greater social and political awareness, the number of sensitized and politically active women kept increasing. In the following decades Pakistan became signatory to many international commitments pertaining to human/ women rights, women empowerment, and women protection. The representation of women in all government bodies and the Parliament also improved.

The first Assembly elected on the adult franchise and population basis was formed after the general elections held in 1970. It consisted of 313 members, 169 from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and 144 from West Pakistan; 13 seats reserved for women; 07 seats from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and 06 from West Pakistan.

According to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan the parliamentary system was adopted; two houses, the National Assembly and The Senate. Initially the National Assembly had 200 general seats; ten seats reserved for women were added.

In 1985 seven seats were added to the general seats and ten to the reserved seats for women through a Presidential Order (P.O. No. 14 of 1985). Another ten seats were reserved for minorities; the strength of the Assembly was now 237. There must be many developments in the years to come. The proportion of women in the Parliament kept changing.

In 2017, in the upper house of the parliament, Senate, there were 19 (18%) female and 85 (82%) male Senators out of 104 Senators. In the National Assembly of Pakistan (after elections 2013), out of 342 members, 271 (79%) were male while 71 (21%) were females. Of the female members, only 10 (4%) had been elected on general seats in comparison to 262 (96%) men

After elections 2018, the National Assembly has 60 women members on reserved seats, while eight were elected in general election. Currently there are 20 women senators out of a total of 104. The women parliamentarians have been trying to play an effective role in the legislative process.

Topic 151: The Role of Women Political Leaders in Tackling Women's Rights Issues

The representation of women in parliament is essential in order to have women's voices heard. Women are closer to other women, are aware of the problems women generally suffer from, they themselves might have faced hurdles that most women experience, and are more likely to come

up with women friendly solutions of problems. Women representatives can take women's issues to the legislative forum so that new laws can be tailored and the existing laws amended according to women's needs and demands. Most women political workers or leaders may not reach to the level of legislative assemblies. They work and contribute at various other levels for attainment and protection of women's rights. Attainment of rights paves way to the attainment of the ultimate goal, gender equality; equal access to resources and opportunities; equal status and equal freedom of decision making.

Women political leaders can contribute to the cause of women's rights in the following ways:

- Organizing women at the grass root level; raising their political and social consciousness, enhancing their motivation, and helping them are proactive
- Identifying needs; being close to women, their leaders can accurately identify their needs and demands so that the future plan of action may be designed accordingly. This may involve observation as well as research.
- Identifying barriers; the barriers impeding women empowerment also need to be identified. If hurdle are accurately highlighted then proper solutions can also be identified
- Finding solutions to problems; women leaders who understand women's issues are in a better position to find and recommend solutions to their problems. Good, feasible, solutions can be sought especially when in consultation with the women who need these.
- Devising/ implementing interventions; the solutions may require activism/ interventions. Women leaders can motivate and mobilize women in their constituency for planning and implementing the desired interventions.
- May involve campaigning, awareness raising, and setting up facilities

Topic 152: Pakistani Women's Success in Legislation

Pakistani women have been playing a significant role in legislation. Contribution in the past few decades has been effective although a lot more is required to attain true women empowerment and gender equality. Participation of women in parliament in Pakistan has been appreciable. Their role has been quite productive in 2108-2019.

In the National Assembly, while each male member, on average, had sponsored three agenda items, each women representative sponsored eight agenda items. In the Senate, women and men were quite similar Male members sponsored 08 while female members sponsored 07 agenda items. Contribution to the discussions and debates during the proceedings of both houses of Parliament shows that almost 62% female lawmakers made a contribution. 90% female Senators and 46% of female MNAs contributed.

Women parliamentarians' contribution in other matters was also very prominent. They had sponsored:

- Private members' bills; 53% (39 out of 74)
- Resolutions; 27% (27 out of 100)
- Calling Attention Notices; 47% (51 out of 108)

- Questions; 32% (561 out of 1772)
- Proposals for amendments to the parliamentary rules of procedure; 40% (four out of 10)
- Motions for debate on issues of public importance; 39% (41 out of 104)
- Parliamentary interventions singly or in partnership with other women; around 30%
- Partnered with additional business with male colleagues; 03%

Pro Women Laws

At Federal level a number of pro women laws made. The more recent ones:

- The Hindu Marriage Act, 2017
- Elections Act, 2017
- National Commission on the Status of Women (Amendment) Act, 2017
- National Commission on the Status of Children Act, 2017
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences in the name or pretext of honor) Act, 2016
- Criminal Law (Amendment) (Offences Relating to Rape) Act, 2016
- Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Act, 2016
- Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016
- National Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2012
- The Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2012
- National Commission of Human Rights Act 2012
- Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Act, 2011
- Criminal Law (Third Amendment) Act, 2011
- Women in Distress and Detention Fund (Amendment) Act, 2011
- Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act, 2010
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WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLITICS OF PAKISTAN-II

Topic 153-157

Topic 153: Women in Local Government in Pakistan

Talking of women's participation we usually discuss the role of women parliamentarians and representatives who function at national or provincial levels. There is another level of women's political participation that often remains neglected i.e., local government. It is a general perception that women representatives in assemblies on reserved seats usually do not come from the grass root level nor do they have a direct link with women at that level. On the other hand, all political parties have workers who work at the local level and are fully aware of local issues and needs. These workers do not reach to the top levels to be able to be a part of the legislative process. These workers can make excellent contribution at their local level.

Being a part of the local government, women can tackle the issues that affect the life of women and children. Problems pertaining to health, sanitation, clean drinking water, functioning of local schools, clean and green environment, and similar issues can be handled at this level. Knowing local problems, they can come up with local and socially acceptable solutions. Local governments provide an opportunity to demonstrate leadership qualities to women who can operate only at local level because of issues such as restricted mobility, family responsibility or similar barriers.

Local government in Pakistan had a new beginning after the introduction of Local Government Ordinance, 2001, which provided 33% of reserved seats for women in all three tiers of local government, i.e., District, Tehsil and Union Councils.

Topic 154: Achievements of Women in Local Government in Pakistan

From 1958 onwards, Pakistan experienced different local governments. Initially there was no significant fixed representation of women but with the passage of time the quota for women was introduced and later on enhanced too. The representation of women in local government has been at a very large scale as compared to the national or provincial assemblies, especially after the fixed quota of 33%. For example more than 36000 directly elected women Union Councilors were inducted in the 2001-2002 and 24000 in 2005 Local Government elections. Women have an opportunity to serve at district council, Tehsil Council, and/ Union Council, like male counterparts. Also women's participation in local politics will be a trickle-down effect of their emancipation at the national/provincial level.

The benefits of the local government system are:

- The local governments work as the seed beds and nurseries for upcoming political leaders. Women councilors at one stage became members of assembly at another
- Local governments provided an opportunity to women belonging to middle and lower middle class to come forward and be a part of governance
- Less educated women could also become leaders of their local community
- More young women came forward
- Many housewives, and novices in politics, became Councilors

- The Councilors serve as a bridge between the MNAs or MPAs and the local community, bringing the grass root level issues to the legislators
- There is a greater likelihood of community uplift when every small segment has a leader from within the community
- This becomes especially important when women's issues are involved. Sharing and caring in confidence becomes easier

Topic 155: Barriers to Women's Political Participation

Women's political participation confronts a number of social, cultural, economic, political and religious barriers which hinder their empowerment.

Women may experience barriers as voters, as political workers, and as political leaders. The barriers are:

- The patriarchal mind set; how can a woman be a leader?
- Stereotypical beliefs; can a woman be a leader, and a good leader?
- Political parties' dynamics; women workers find it hard to get to the higher and more effective levels within the party
- Party preferences on the basis of gender rather than capability
- Women's inexperience, and hurdles in opportunities to gain experience
- Women's young age, limited education, or socioeconomic status may also become hurdles
- Women's dual responsibilities
- Non supportive attitude of the family and community
- As voters, many women hesitate in participation due to community pressure and inaccessible or inadequate polling stations
- Issues of physical mobility

Topic 156: Beliefs about Women's Role in Politics

Stereotypical beliefs about women's political participation, held by the society as well as women themselves, become hurdles in women empowerment and their success in politics.

Some such beliefs are:

Women's place is at home not in the world outside home: Women should be serving their family alone. Girls are brought up in a manner that prepares them for becoming good housewives.

Consequence: Many girls/women may lack skills required for success in the outside world.

Women cannot be leaders: Women cannot be leaders, and that men should not be led by women. Men, as heads of family cannot be followers of women.

Consequence: Girls' socialization makes them good at household skills and not interpersonal communication or public dealing.

Women cannot manage large scale political activity: If women become a part of the political process then they are given the role of a small team leader. Belief that women cannot handle

large scale activities but can manage small scale activities well just like they manage household affairs.

Consequence: Women political workers are usually given the task of organizing workers and voters at the grass root level whereas male members manage regional, provincial or national level activities alongside local level operations.

Women lack emotional stability: Women are not emotionally stable and they lack the emotional intelligence and maturity of thought that a leader is supposed to possess.

Consequence: Girls/ women are not given tasks to perform that require responsibility. As workers/members in a political party, the male members are preferred over women for decision making positions or positions of authority.

Women can be easily intimidated by the opponents: Perception that women workers may be conveniently intimidated by the opponents. Therefore women will not be able to run the political campaigns well. Men are brave and daring who can face the opponents in a befitting manner.

Consequence: It is difficult for women to reach to higher positions in the party because they may not be given assignments and opportunities to show their ability.

Women's beliefs about self: Because of socialization, girls usually kept away from situations involving challenge. They learn that men are more capable, responsible, and good at handling challenges; women are meant to be good mothers than politicians. Boy's, are encouraged to take up challenges.

Consequence: Girls are over protected and they feel dependent on men. Many girls do not acquire the interpersonal skills that boys acquire. They avoid challenging situations and hesitate in actively participating in political activity.

The changing beliefs: Beliefs about women's political participation are changing. Many women have been participating in the political process and have proved to be excellent role models for other women.

Consequence: More and more women are coming forward to become a part of decision making and nation building.

Topic 157: Women and Politics; Way Forward

Women's political participation is becoming stronger and more effective. Compared to men, the proportion of women involved in political process needs to be enhanced. A number of steps needed to involve more women in the political process and make their participation more impactful.

Some steps are:

- Compulsory education for girls
- Empowerment oriented education for girls and women
- Legal rights awareness
- Political parties' commitment to increased participation of women party workers
- Involvement of civil society organizations for mobilizing and organizing women at grass root level

- Abiding by the global commitments pertaining to women's rights, women empowerment, and women's political participation

The election Commission of Pakistan has set up the Gender Affairs Wing which has been working on women's improved participation. The wing has taken a number of steps in this regard. System for gathering information about women who cast their votes has been established. Gender and Disability Electoral Working Group (GDEWG) has also been formed by the Wing. The aim of the Group is to mainstream women and other marginalized group in to the political process. A number of other initiatives have also been taken for mobilizing and sensitizing women so that their voting behavior is improved.

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<div align="right"><u>**Lecture 37**</u></div>

<u>**GENDER AND HEALTH-I**</u>

<u>**Topic 158-162**</u>

<u>Topic 158: Gender and Health</u>

"Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO, 1946).

Usually health is understood as the absence of disease but actually it encompasses all aspects of well-being. A healthy person enjoys well-being in a holistic sense; physically, psychologically, and socially. Health is one of the basic human rights. All humans have a right to enjoy not just good health but also health care. Everyone should have access to healthcare facilities including measures for prevention of disease. There is a significant relationship between gender and health.

Health becomes a gender issue in many ways:

- Life expectancy is different for men and women
- Incidence of different diseases may be different for men and women.
- Men and women exposed to different risk factors
- Men and women indulge in different kinds of risky behaviors
- The significance of health care for male and female members in a family may be different
- Families may be prepared to spend on the health of male and female members differently
- The uptake of medical facilities by men and women may be different

According to World Health Statistics Overview 2019, Monitoring Health for the SDGs (WHO, 2019), gender related factors may result in differential outcomes. For example girls' increased risk of adverse health outcomes may result from early pregnancy including that following child marriage.

Men and women may experience different risks of work related injuries or illnesses because of gender based division of labor. Women and men may adopt different health compromising behaviors because of gender based norms. For example women are concerned about weight loss. In order to lose weight, they deprive themselves of the essential nutrients that their bodies require. Men, on the other hand, indulge more in smoking, alcohol use, risky driving and similar behaviors.

In one of its publications, (WHO) have stated top ten facts on women's health that include:

- Tobacco use is rapidly rising in younger women in developing countries
- HIV in sub-Saharan Africa is increasingly in female
- There are serious health consequences of violence for women. Violence against women is widespread in the world
- There is a decline in early marriage but still the rate is very high
- Majority of adolescent mothers live in developing countries
- Around 99% of maternal and 90% of neonatal mortalities take place in developing countries

- If women are earning an income then there is a higher likelihood (than that of men) that they will buy insecticide treated nets for their families. Whether they will sleep inside it or not is another issue.
- The risk of COPD (Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease) is 50% higher in women than in men. The major reason is exposure to smoke emitted during indoor cooking on traditional stoves.
- The risk of visual impairment is higher in women
- Gender differences in life expectancy have been reported. It is higher in case of women than of men. Boys at birth are expected to live fewer years than girls.

Topic 159: Significance of Health Promotion and Disease Prevention for Women

Health and well-being of all citizens is important. Healthy parents will give a healthy new generation. Women's health calls for special attention. Women's health needs to be protected and enhanced.

There are a number of reasons why women's health needs extra care and coverage.

The Responsibility of Reproduction: Women have the responsibility of reproduction. A healthy mother gives birth to a healthy baby. It is important to look after the health of women so that they have strong bodies, they have problem free pregnancy, and they give birth to a healthy baby. In addition to this, women experience a number of issues pertaining to reproductive health which men do not.

Risk of Disease: Research evidence reflects that women are at a high risk of certain diseases. Some of these diseases are preventable such as HIV. Some are treatable if diagnosed at an early stage e.g. breast cancer. Appropriate diagnostic measures and treatment facilities can help overcome these health issues.

Women's Domestic Responsibilities: Women have to look after the household, young children, and old relatives. If they are working outside home then their responsibility is doubled. They need to be healthy in order to meet all demands.

Stereotypical Beliefs about Women's Health: In patriarchal societies, women's health does not get the attention that men's health gets. This is evident in the dietary habits and poor nutrition provided to the girl child. Women don't take charge of their health. It has been seen that women usually postpone consulting a doctor in case of disease. In case of serious problems, delayed diagnosis is not uncommon.

Gender, Health, and Women Empowerment: Now that more and more women are entering into active workforce, health and fitness are more important than the time when women used to be home bound. In order to carry out their dual responsibilities, women need to be healthy. Life is more competitive and stressful today. Strong minds and bodies are required to combat pressures from home and from work.

Topic 160: Gender and Mortality

Mortality refers to death. This term is usually used when talking about death in a larger group of people or population. It is often discussed in terms of mortality rate.

Mortality rate is "a percentage of the total number of deaths over the population size (X 1000) in a given time period, usually a year" (Lindsey, 2011).

There are gender differences in mortality rates and leading causes of death as well as expected life span. Life expectancy of women is generally higher than that of men. At a global scale, boys at birth are expected to live 69.8 years whereas girls' expectancy is 74.2 years. At age 60 years, the life expectancy is higher for women (21.9 years) than for men (19 years). The number of years lived in full health (HALE) is also higher for women (64.8) than for men (62). There are a number of explanations for gender difference in mortality and life expectancy.

Biological and behavioral reasons: Women seem to have a natural protection against heart disease till menopause. After menopause risk is about the same for men and women. Today the top leading cause for males and females is Ischemic Heart Disease followed by Strokes. Considering behavioral factors, research suggests that on average men indulge in health compromising and risky behaviors, much more than women. More men smoke and use alcohol and in higher quantities as compared to women. These behaviors serve as risk factors in diseases like some cancers, cardiovascular disease, respiratory problems, and liver cirrhosis.

Alcohol use may be connected with many motor vehicle accidents: The rate of deaths by road injury is also higher in men than in women. Men, in particular adolescents and young adults indulge in risky behavior such as one-wheeling, jumping from high places, street fights, drowning that may end up in fatal injuries. The fact that women have better life expectancy does not necessarily mean that women do not experience health problems. Women also face serious health conditions. The rate of acute illnesses like respiratory problems, digestive conditions, and nonfatal chronic problems like anemia, headache, arthritis or varicose veins has been previously found to be higher in women than in men in developed countries.

There are some gender differences in the uptake of available medical facilities.

Men generally postpone seeking medical consultation or medical aid: One possible cause could be the stereotypical perception of masculinity i.e. being "ill" or being "not well" means being weak which is not considered 'masculine'. Men, if they are hospitalized then their hospital stays are longer. They are hospitalized for chronic and life threatening conditions.

Women on the other hand report illness more often than men: Previous research shows that women seek treatment for minor illnesses more than men and report more un-explained symptoms (Kroenke, and Spitzer, 1998; NCHS, 1998; Rodin, and Ickovics, 1990). Many women visit doctors regularly for routine gynecological tests, besides medical consultation during pregnancy (Schardt, 1995).

Topic 161: Gender and Mortality in the World

The leading causes of death in the world, according to World Health Organization, for men and women are:

- Ischemic heart disease
- Stroke
- Chronic obstructive pulmonary disorder
- Lower respiratory infections
- Alzheimer's disease and other dementias

- Trachea, bronchus, and lung cancers
- Diabetes mellitus
- Road injury
- Diarrheal disease
- Tuberculosis

The leading causes of death in the world for females are:

- Ischemic heart disease
- Stroke
- Lower respiratory infections
- Chronic obstructive pulmonary disorder
- Alzheimer's disease and other dementias
- Diabetes mellitus
- Diarrheal disease
- Breast cancer
- Kidney diseases

The leading causes of death in the world for males are:

- Ischemic heart disease
- Stroke
- Chronic obstructive pulmonary disorder
- Lower respiratory infections
- Trachea, bronchus, and lung cancers
- Road injury
- Cirrhosis of the liver
- Tuberculosis
- Diabetes mellitus

Topic 162: Gender and Morbidity; Men, Women, and Girls

Morbidity refers to suffering from a health condition or being diseased. It also refers to having a disease or a symptom of disease, or to the amount of disease within a population. Morbidity also refers to medical problems caused by a treatment.

Certain diseases are known to be the major killers in most parts of the world whereas many others are found in different proportions in different regions. Many decades ago infectious or communicable diseases used to be the major killers but today non communicable diseases or NCDs are mostly the health threats. According to statistics reported by WHO, 40.5 million (71%) deaths in 2016 were due to non-communicable diseases; out of 56.9 million global deaths. The major NCDs included cardiovascular diseases, cancers, and chronic lung diseases. Cardiovascular diseases caused 44% of all NCD deaths, cancers caused 22%, diabetes caused around 4%, and chronic lung diseases caused 9%. The proportion of these diseases has been higher for lower income countries and population. 31.5 Million Deaths (more than 75%) were caused by NCDs took place in low income and middle income countries in 2016. A significant percentage, 46%, of deaths happened before 70 years of age. Health statistics for Pakistan; life expectancy at birth m/f (years, 2016) is 66/67 years. Probability of dying under five (per 1000

live births, 2017) is 75, and probability of dying between 15 and 60 years m/f (per 1000 population, 2016) is 178/139. It can be seen that average life expectancy in Pakistan is lower than the global average; 66.6 years (68.2 for females and 65.8 for males) as compared to the global average of 71.5 years.

Maternal mortality rate or MMR is high in Pakistan. In the last thirty years there has been a steady decrease in maternal mortality; it moved down from 431/100,000 live births to 178/100,000 live births during the period 1990 to 2015. (Punjab Gender Parity Report 2018)

According to one set of statistics the following were the top ten leading causes of death (2012) in Pakistan:

- Ischemic Heart Disease
- Lower Respiratory Infections
- Stroke
- Preterm Birth Complications
- Diarrheal Diseases
- Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease
- Tuberculosis
- Birth Asphyxia &Trauma
- Neonatal Sepsis & Infections
- Diabetes Mellitus   (Punjab Gender Parity Report 2018; source WHO)

Communicable or infectious diseases including tuberculosis, diarrheal diseases and lower respiratory infections accounted for 17.8% of all deaths. 22.3% of total deaths occurred due to non-communicable diseases i.e., heart disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and diabetes mellitus. A significant proportion of all deaths, 12.8%, was caused by complications in women's reproductive health from neonatal sepsis and infections, birth asphyxia and trauma, and preterm birth complications. The survival rate of female babies is higher than male babies however the female infant may not receive the same care as a male infant. There is a significant number of female fetus abortion takes place in many countries particularly in India and China. For girl children there is a genuine need for provision of adequate healthcare and nutrition.

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GENDER AND HEALTH-II

Topic 163-168

Topic 163: Significance of Improving Women's Health

With changing lifestyles, dual and multiple responsibilities, and women's involvement in a highly competitive world there is a genuine need to improve women's health so that they can face the challenges in an adequate manner.

Some situational factors need to be looked into:

Women's responsibilities at home have increased after they started working for a formal source of earning outside home. They have to manage their jobs, household, child care and children's education, and looking after the older adults. This results into high stress levels. Because of multiple responsibilities, women tend to neglect their own health. Because of pressing demands of multiple responsibilities, women have to cope with greater levels of stress.

Because of stereotypical perceptions of beauty, women are generally weight conscious. Many young women deprive themselves of the essential nutrients that a healthy body requires, especially when one is going to become a mother. Over concern about one's weight and overall appearance damages one's self concept and may lead to conditions like eating disorders.

Workplace stressors are additional risk factors. Harassment at workplace can be a psychological as well as physical threat. Domestic violence is another health threat. Poor sanitation and hygienic conditions negatively affect many girls and women. There are lacks of facilities for physical fitness activities.

The health issues faced by aging women need special attention. There must be imperative to devise ways and means for improving women's health through health promotion as well as disease prevention. Both, physical and psychological health need to be taken care of.

Topic 164: Women's Health and Nutrition

Good nutrition is essential for good health. Balanced diet and adequate nutrients maintain our health. Unfortunately all human beings do not get appropriate nutrition. Nutrition is particularly important for a growing body, children and young adults. Young girls need to consume food with good nutritional value because they have to carry the responsibility of reproduction along with the responsibility of the household in future. A healthy mother is more likely to give birth to a healthy baby. Poor nutrition is correlated with many health conditions, be it problems of hair, skin and nails or bones, vision, aches and pains, anemia, stress tolerance and so on. It is seen that girls and women do not get the nutrition that their bodies require. Traditional practices as well as their own choice can be the reason. Traditionally, in many cultures, girls are not allowed to eat certain food items which presumably may lead to early puberty. These include eggs, meat, dates, and other high calorie diets.

If the family has limited financial resources then the male members get better food than girls because men are believed to be the bread winners and protectors of the family. At times, women by choice do not eat the required amounts of nutritious food. Instead of eating a balanced diet, girls prefer to eat only that food that they think does not lead to weight gain. They deprive

themselves of adequate food rather than maintaining body weight by physical activity. There is a need to raise awareness about the significance of nutrition and the ways to enhance physical fitness. Media campaigns and school curricula may be involved. Psychological counseling may also be offered for overcoming mental blocks related with food items.

Topic 165: Eating Disorders as a Gender Issue

Eating disorders are often associated with females, but in reality, they affect people from all ages and genders, across all socioeconomic groups, and from any cultural background and they are not caused by any single factor.

Concern about Obesity and Weight Control

Growing awareness that major killers of today are the non-communicable diseases. Most of these diseases are lifestyle related. There is also a growing awareness that healthy lifestyles can enhance once quality of life as well as the lifespan. On the other hand there is also a realization that being overweight is one of the major risk factors in many serious health conditions. Therefore many people are concerned about controlling obesity and managing weight. The number of people indulging in fitness activities and careful eating is also on the increase. At the same time the number of overweight persons is also on the increase because of a sedentary lifestyle and unwise food consumption.

Gender, Obesity, and Eating Disorders

Obesity is, and should, be a matter of concern for everyone because of its role in etiology of many diseases. However it becomes a greater issue in case of girls and women because of stereotypical perceptions of an ideal weight. Society has different attractiveness standards for men and women. Therefore the concern is not because of health issues alone but because of societal standards of attractiveness. Excess weight of a man may be ignored but not of a woman. Women are expected to meet ideal standards. At times the increased concern, to the extent of obsession, may lead to serious psychological problems for the person. Eating disorders are one such condition. Some people may adopt highly harmful ways of losing weight. People almost obsessed with idea of losing weight are primarily females. People, or women, who adopt practical ways of losing weight, try and adopt varieties of diet and exercise plans. Some others may develop eating disorders, known as Anorexia Nervosa, and Bulimia Nervosa.

Anorexia Nervosa

Anorexia nervosa involves drastically curtailed food intake with an intention to lose weight. The anorexic person tries to maintain body weight 15% below what actually should have been that persons' weight.

These people are concerned about their weight not necessarily because they were overweight, but because they want to lose weight from whatever their original weight was. They tend to have a BMI of 17.5. The anorexic is not happy at or above a normal weight for the person's height and age. The person has a fear of gaining weight and does not perceive one's body and weight in a realistic manner. A female may actually be underweight but feels a need to lose more weight. Consumption of food is minimal and in many cases there are long periods of starvation. This leads to many health problems. Anorexia is found significantly more in females than males. The number of women who want to fit in size zero is not a rarity these days.

Bulimia Nervosa

Bulimia differs from Anorexia Nervosa in terms of eating pattern. As opposed to starvation in Anorexia, Bulimia is marked by binge eating and purging. The main concern is the same i.e., stopping any increase in body weight. The person binge eats followed by purging. The person feels that she cannot stop eating or control what or how much one is eating. Within short time intervals, the person eats large amounts of food. Afterwards there is a desire to purge and get rid of the food consumed. She may use self-induced vomiting, laxatives, diuretics, enemas, or other medications. Fasting or excessive exercise may also be used. Eating disorders may be accompanied by psychological disturbances and problems. Person may experience anxiety, depression, sleep disturbance, low self-esteem, poor self-concept, irritability, disturbed interpersonal relationships and similar problems. There are many reasons for the development of eating disorders, but cultural practices and stereotypical perceptions have made it a gender issue. These disorders are more prevalent in societies where physical beauty is valued more than any other characteristic.

Topic 166: Eating Disorders and the Role of Media

Cultural factors may play an important role in the development of Eating Disorders. Stereotypical perceptions of attractiveness and societal norms based on these perceptions set difficult standards for young people. This leads to many psychological problems including Eating Disorders for young girls.

Media, especially electronic media plays a significant role in the establishment and promotion of societal norms and attitudes. Media is today's most influential agent of socialization as well as agent of social change. Deep rooted observational learning takes place as a result of exposure to media. The media presents ideals, role models, and standards for young minds. Girls want to become like the models and other celebrities shown on screen, because they are very attractive. The hero or the heroine would have all ideal attributes including a slim and trim figure. They usually do not show that a woman or girl with average or above average weight may be extremely talented and intelligent. The lead role has to be slim and fair skinned. Eating disorders are more common in societies where physical beauty is the most important characteristic of a woman.

TV, Cinema, fashion magazines, and internet play a very important role in the development of people's self-concept. The portrayal of women in media and identification with the portrayed characters by a young mind may lead to body dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction and an inability to understand the situation rationally may end up in disordered eating behavior. The situation is worse when people try to become like models in TV commercials. In the recent past extremely thin models have been presented. Considering its negative impact, people have been raising voice against this trend. Consequently now average/ normal weight models are also being employed. There is a need to create awareness in adolescents and young adults that healthy eating is very important for health and well-being.

Exposure to media affects young men too. There is a growing concern over physical fitness in men. They feel pressure for developing muscular bodies and being physically fit. However the impact is not as big as for females. Also, media should play a responsible role by making realistic portrayal of women. Persons with average looks should also be given lead roles. Media should educate people besides its commercial activity.

Topic 167: HIV/AIDS as a Gender Issue

The WHO fact file on HIV/AIDS gives a very clear glimpse of the existing state of affairs pertaining to HIV/ AIDS. HIV/ AIDS are still one of the world's most significant public health challenges. This is especially true about low- and middle-income countries. Advances in access to antiretroviral therapy (ART) have made it possible for HIV positive persons to live longer and enjoy a healthier life. Onward transmission of the virus is also prevented by ART. It is estimated that in mid-2017, 20.9 million people were receiving HIV treatment.

HIV/AIDS, a major cause of death in many parts of the globe has been a challenge for many decades. HIV/AIDS is a lifestyle related condition. People's habits and lifestyles may lead to this condition. There may also be cases where the sufferer may acquire the virus without any fault of his/her own.

HIV or Human Immunodeficiency Virus is the viral agent, a retrovirus. AIDS refers to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. AIDS is a disease caused by HIV. It is not necessary that every HIV positive (HIV+) person will develop AIDS. The HIV positive person may not be aware of the fact that he/she is HIV+ for quite some time. AIDS is not developed at the time when HIV is contracted. It may take an HIV+ person some years to turn into a PWA (person with AIDS). There is no 'single' symptom, or condition that characterizes AIDS. It is a syndrome i.e., a collection of symptoms. A Person with AIDS may develop any number of symptoms of a variety of conditions. HIV damages and destroys the cells which are responsible for the body's immune system which protects against infections. Minor infections can do a great harm to the infected person.

HIV is the virus, a retrovirus. "Retroviruses replicate by injecting themselves into host cells and literally taking over the genetic workings of these cells. They can then produce virus particles that infect new cells. After HIV enters the bloodstream it invades the T cells, incorporates its genetic material into the cells, and then starts destroying cells' ability to function" (Sanderson, 2004, P; 408). T cells recognize harmful substances in the body and attack such cells, in part by releasing NK cells. HIV may stay latent and dormant in the body for quite some time. However, it gradually begins to replicate itself which leads to destruction of the T cells.

Major modes of Transmission

- Homosexual or Heterosexual contact
- Blood transfusion
- IV (intravenous) drug use with infected syringes
- From HIV+ mother to baby during the birth process

Gender and HIV/AIDS Risk

There are some gender differences in the likelihood of HIV infection and developing AIDS. The Center for Disease Control (2003) in the US described some common routes of transmission of HIV for men and women. This indicates some gender differences.

Modes of Transmission for men (%)

- Homosexual Contact (57.3)
- Injecting drug use (21.2)

- Homosexual Contact & Injecting drug use (7.6)
- Heterosexual contact (4.3)
- Transfusion (0.8)
- Undetermined (8.0)

Modes of Transmission for Women (%)

- Injecting drug use (41.5)
- Heterosexual contact (39.4)
- Transfusion (3.0)
- Undetermined (15.9)

Only 4.3 % of men contract HIV/AIDS from women, whereas 39.4 % women get infected by men. Male to female transmission is 8 times more likely than female to male transmission (Padian, Shiboski, Glass, and Vittinghoff, 1997). It was observed in the late 1990s that the number of HIV+ or AIDS infected women was on the increase. Minority women in the US had a higher rate. 20 % out of the adult and adolescent AIDS cases reported to Centers for Disease Control in the U.S were women according to the late 1990s figures (Holmberg, 1996). Black and Hispanic women constituted 73 % of all AIDS cases in women, whereas in the entire population they comprise only 19 % (Holmberg, 1996). The proportion of women living with HIV is 51% of the global total. Of adults living with HIV around 17.4 million are women. In sub-Saharan Africa in 2014, women constituted 59% of the adults living with HIV.

Considering lifestyles, men are at a higher risk than women. Indulgence into risky behaviors is a big risk factor. In the past it was seen that in case of young adults, most of the infected persons are men (CDC, 1998). The rate is generally lower in people above 50 years of age, and they are less likely to be infected than young adults. More men than women indulge in such risky and careless behaviors that may lead to acquiring and transmitting HIV.

However, a high percentage of women also falls a victim. Therefore, there is a need for health education and awareness campaigns regarding the nature of the disease, the modes of transmission, and ways of prevention. People need to learn that unsafe, risky, and harmful behaviors need to be avoided. People should be motivated to adopt careful lifestyles, safer practices. Infected women need to learn about how to avoid and /or plan pregnancy after medical advice. Easily accessible screening facilities need to be established. Health education programs for young adults should be initiated.

Topic 168: Drug Use

Gender differences are found in drug use and abuse. Even when the use of certain substances such as alcohol, caffeine, and nicotine is culturally acceptable for men as well as women, the usage pattern is gender different. Gender difference in morbidity rates relative to such usage is also evident.

Alcoholism is significantly higher among men. More men use alcohol throughout their lives as compared to women. However, as women metabolize alcohol differently than men, they suffer more from its acute and chronic effects. Their driving gets impaired quicker. They face alcohol-induced liver disease and brain damage over a shorter period of time after alcohol consumption (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2008). Fetal alcohol syndrome is

connected with infants having low birth weight, congenital heart defects, and mental retardation. Compared to women, men are more likely to turn to alcohol while coping with stress, whereas women are more likely to turn to prescribed drugs and the use of over-the-counter and prescribed drugs are double for them. Compared to men, women are also twice as likely to take a narcotic or anti-anxiety drug for a psychological problem. They are also twice as likely to abuse its usage or become addicted to them (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2008). Other substance use is also higher in men. Alcohol use may lead to aggression and violent behavior. It has a connection with criminal offences such as rape and homicide as well as spouse abuse.

Gender gap in morbidity due to drug use may decrease if women also adopted risky health-endangering behaviors. It has been observed that although men of all ages smoke and consume alcohol at significantly higher rates, the gender differences have actually started to quickly decrease amongst adolescents (National Center for Health Statistics, 2009). This implies that a greater number of female adolescents are indulging in such health compromising behaviors. Consequently the mortality rate due to liver cirrhosis, lung cancer, and heart disease, associated with these habits, which is has been lower for females may increase.

The use of many other harmful substances is also becoming popular. Generally more males than females consume these substances. One possible reason for this gap is that male adolescents and young adults spend more time outside home and are likely to meet people involved in provision of drugs. Nevertheless, girls/women may also become addicts. This trend needs to be curbed.

Way forward

- Education, especially health education
- Active role of media in health campaigns
- Laws for prohibition of harmful substances

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<div align="right">**Lecture 39**</div>

GENDER, HEALTH AND VIOLENCE

Topic 169-173

Topic 169: The Women's Health Movement

The medical system has had an androcentric approach in some ways. Such bias may affect the health and well-being of women in many ways. Women participants were literally absent from clinical trials related with drugs, medical technology, and health-care options on which the contemporary system is based. This is clearly biased as on one hand androcentric medicine insists that the biological differences between the sexes have unavoidable health consequences, but yet researches are routinely conducted using only male subjects (Lindsey, 2011). In one federally funded study examining the effects of diet on breast cancer, only men were used as sample subjects. Men are diagnosed with breast cancer in about one percent of all breast cancers. Men do not attend to symptoms quickly the way women would do, and this in itself is a gender-related issue (Bio-Medicine, 2008). This sort of a study can provide information about only a very small segment of population at risk. The larger group at risk remains unattended due to a gender biased approach.

Another example where women are excluded from medical trails is the research on heart disease. In one big study on heart disease, over 35,000 subjects were used for looking into the effect of low doses of aspirin and the risk of heart attack. All of the selected subjects were men. The study yielded very significant results pertaining to reduced heart attack risk. The findings were so striking that the results were conveyed to public even before findings were published (Steering Committee of the Physician's Health Study Research Group, 1989). The health risk of heart disease for women was ignored here, whereas it is the leading cause of death for both men and women. The findings could not be generalized to women because hormonal differences between women and men were not considered.

The Women's Health Movement (WHM) began in the early 1970s in the United States. It is part of the American feminist movement that focuses on improving women's healthcare. The movement sprouted from the sheer dissatisfaction with patriarchal dominance over women's health care. It challenged the androcentric practices of mainstream modern medicine. These practices were perceived to be not in the best interest of much of the population it has to serve (Morgen, 2002). The movement states that women should be empowered to take control of their health care, they should have control over medical decisions, and they should actively play a part in all phases of their health.

Topic 170: Men's Voice against Gender Bias in Highlighting Health Issues

Just like women have been complaining of androcentric approach in the medical research and care system, men have also been highlighting the areas in which men have been neglected and women have been given preference. For example girls' and young women's poor nutrition is often talked about as a matter of grave concern whereas the significance of adequate nutrition for boys and young men is rarely touched upon. Women's poor nutrition is highlighted more as a

gender issue rather than an issue of limited economic resources; an issue that affects boys and girls, men and women, equally.

Another area in which there is a gender gap is the efforts for creating awareness about the significance of early detection of breast cancer or cervical cancer in women. Campaigns are run and huge amounts of money are allocated for educating women in how to detect cancer at the earliest stage so that it can be treated successfully. On the other hand some cancers found in men can also be treated successfully if detected at an early stage. For example, in case of testicular cancer the survival rate is very high, up to 99 %, if detected at a very early stage. However one rarely comes across a campaign or health education literature where this information is given to public and where the proper way of self-examination for detecting a lump is taught just like Breast Self-Examination. According this perspective, women are perceived as more vulnerable while risks faced by men are ignored. There is a need of adequate awareness and research to identify the health needs of the public and to initiate ways of enhancing public health and well-being.

Topic 171: Gender, Health, and Aging

With advancement in medical science, improvements in healthcare systems, and adoption of healthy lifestyles the number of older adults is on the increase. Life expectancy has improved and many major killers like infections which used to cause early deaths are under control. There is a growing need to look into the needs of a steadily increasing segment of population i.e., the older citizens. Usually old age is calculated as 65 years and above of age. Many of the persons in this age bracket are productive citizens. It is expected the number of people 60 years or older will rise from 900 million to two billion between 2015 and 2050 (from 12% to 22% of global population)

Aging is an inevitable part of life. People will grow in age if they are blessed with life. Aging can be viewed as a sign of life. Aging takes place throughout life span but its signs are not visible till later years in life. There is a growing awareness that older citizens have social, psychological, and physical needs that need to be catered to. In accordance with a World Health Resolution (67/13), a comprehensive Global Strategy and Action Plan on Ageing and Health have been developed by WHO in consultation with Member States and other partners. The Strategy and Action Plan addresses 5 priority areas for action.

1. Commitment to Healthy Ageing
2. Aligning health systems with the needs of older populations
3. Developing systems for providing long-term care
4. Creating age-friendly environments
5. Improving measurement, monitoring and understanding

What is important today is healthy aging. Non communicable diseases are the most common health conditions in older adults are. The major causes of death are Heart disease, strokes and lung disease, no matter which country. Major causes of disability are sensory impairment, neck and back pain, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, depressive disorders, falls, diabetes, dementias, osteoarthritis.

Aging and Physical and physiological Changes

- Decreased efficiency of the function of the bodily organs
- Physical Appearance
- Physical strength and fitness
- Muscular coordination
- Sensory impairment
- Chronic diseases

Psychological changes

- Loneliness
- Despair
- Feeling of worthlessness
- Empty nest syndrome
- Affected memory

Gender differences in aging

More women than men experience problems associated with aging for more years because women have a higher longevity than men. Majority of the adults who fall in the category of "oldest of the old" would be women. More women than men have arthritis, and subsequent restricted mobility, pain, and dependence. Many women my experience problems related to Menopause and because of Osteoporosis. Women are at a much higher risk of Osteoporosis which causes bone fractures in many women. This may result in prolonged bed rest and lack of physical activity. The risk of Coronary Heart Disease (CHD) which used to be much less in pre-menopausal age is about the same in older men and women. The rate of female CHD patients is less than male patients.

Marriage and Loneliness

Because of gender differences in longevity, usually more women face loneliness in late adulthood; men die before wives. Wives are generally younger than their husbands and they live in widowhood for many years. People who have had a happy marriage enjoy better health. In case of men being married and having a companion may be sufficient even if the marriage had been turbulent. For women the quality of marriage is more important. A turbulent marriage can have serious effects on their health.

The empty nest syndrome affects the life of older adults. It does not cause stress if the husband and wife have a caring attitude towards each other. If the children leave at the right time, then the parents are better prepared for it. Midlife women whose children had left were more satisfied and happier than the midlife women whose children were still with them (Neugarten, 1970; Turner, 1982). Fathers who regret not having spent more time with their children find it hard to cope with the empty nest (Rubin, 1979). Working mothers, especially full time, feel little or no stress. No effects of empty nest were found on the psychological health of employed mothers. Stress increased on cutting back on employment and decreased on going back to full time work (Wethington, and Kessler, 1989).

Personality

Many older women perceive themselves to be more capable of solving problems, more assertive, less dependent, and more authoritative at home now. In case of older men, many of them

perceive themselves as more nurturing, cooperative and less dominant in old age (Bengston, Reedy and Gordon, 1985). Different reaction patterns may emerge if the self-concept and self-esteem are hurt or lowered. More women less than 80 years of age may feel depressed and more men may abuse alcohol (NIH Consensus Development Conference, 1991).

Financial Problems

Most retired people may experience financial problems. In case of women, dependence is higher, because most women in Pakistani society are house wives and they have to look up to the husband's pension or to their children. In case of suffering from some chronic illness the older people have some additional expenses. Life becomes tougher for both men and women if the pension is insufficient and no additional resources are available. In case of a single or widowed man, old age is tougher than a single or widowed woman. Women being more industrious and equipped with household skills can manage life in limited resources better than men in similar circumstances.

Topic 172: Violence as a Gender Issue

Goal No.5 in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is Gender Equality. Nine targets are set to be achieved in this regard. The first two are:

1. End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere.
2. Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.

This shows that there is a realization at global level that violence against women is an issue that needs to be dealt with, a menace that needs to be curbed. Violence can be understood as an emotionally charged act marked by aggression, involving infliction of hurt or injury to the victim.

Gender and Violence

If we look at the total number of victims of violence with reference to their gender then we will perhaps realize that overall more men had been hurt as a result of violent acts, conflicts, disputes, and other events as compared to women. At the same time we will also realize that men were mostly involved in such situations which involved some sort of combat or where violence was very likely to happen. This can be understood in terms of their profession, their upbringing where aggression was not discouraged. It can also be understood through their interaction with people in situations where aggressiveness takes over behavior of two parties. Violence is treated as an important social problem and as a gender-issue because women are subjected to violence even when they had not opted to be a part of a violent situation.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is the best example in this regard. Violence against women indicates suppression and exploitation of women in the society. Violence is not necessarily physical in nature. It may be verbal, psychological, emotional, and even social. Rape is one of the most common and severe forms of violence experienced by women. Many other forms of violence are more prevalent in some parts of the world as compared to others, e.g., acid burning, stove burning etc. Sexual harassment is another form of violence. A common example of violence

against women is; "Domestic violence or partner abuse is the physical, sexual or psychological maltreatment of a spouse, a former spouse, or an intimate partner so as to gain or maintain power or control" (Papalia, Olds, and Feldman, 2001, p. 542). It is difficult to gauge the exact incidence and prevalence of domestic violence since it is quite unreported or under reported as compared to other forms of violence such as homicide. This phenomenon stands true almost everywhere. Victims may not report it due to self-consciousness, shame or embarrassment to own self and to family. Some do not report due to fear of breaking relationship. Some try to give it another chance to improve the relationship and because their families do not want them to leave their husband's home.

Domestic violence can be of two types (Johnson, 1995):

Common couple violence: A conflict leads to an argument that turns into a fight which involves physical violence that can be minor or, major and serious. In case of serious physical violence the likelihood of being injured is higher for women than for men.

Patriarchal terrorism: Many people don't recognize this as violence. Such violence is exercised by men alone. Physical force along with other control strategies is used by men for dominating their family. This form of violence may end up into injury and even death to women and children.

The likelihood that women would be homicide victims as a consequence of domestic violence is higher than the likelihood of men being the victims (Brannon, and Feist, 2000). The likelihood is higher as men would be physically hurt, injured, or killed by strangers, whereas women are more likely to hurt by the husband. In collectivistic or group cohesive societies, the husband may be supported, aided, and assisted by other family members in exercising domestic violence.

Can we predict domestic violence?

Research has yielded some information that helps in the understanding of who is more likely to be subjected to violence, and who is more likely to exercise violence. Wife beating is more common in societies where aggressive behavior is common in other situations too, where women have an inferior status, and where physical force is used to resolve disputes, among other factors (Broude, 1994). Girls and women younger in age, belonging to the lower socio-economic class, financially dependent, less educated or uneducated and less exposed to practical life outside the household are more likely to be subjected to domestic violence. Men more likely to exercise domestic violence would be less educated/ uneducated, unemployed/ financially over-burdened, drug/alcohol abusers, belonging to lower socio-economic class, having experienced domestic violence being exercised in their home, and those having no familial or social pressure against their violent behavior.

Consequences of domestic violence

- Hurts physically, psychologically, and emotionally
- Shatters women's self-confidence, leads to low self-esteem, self-doubt
- Results in fear of being tortured or injured again, learned helplessness, and passive acceptance of oppression

Way forward:

- Education for men and women, awareness of basic human and legal rights
- Availability of legal aid, help lines, shelter homes, and counseling for women
- Family therapy
- Teaching of civic sense and civilized conduct to children and adolescents
- A proactive media

Topic 173: Different Faces of Violence

Gender based violence is a serious issue and a matter of concern for the global community too. Violence may take place in different forms; from not allowing girls to receive education, not giving them enough food, to not allowing them to raise a voice in decision making, to subjecting them to physical violence and hurt.

According to UNWOMEN there are 49 countries which still do not have laws to protect women from domestic violence. There are 39 countries which bar equal rights of inheritance for daughters and sons. Figures from 87 countries show that one in five women and girls under the age of 50 will have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner within the last 12 months. 15 million girls under age 18 every year are robbed of their childhood due to harmful practices, such as child marriage. Looking at women's work, compared to men women do 2.6 times more unpaid care and domestic work. People are discriminated against on the basis of their gender. Violence can take different forms. There are many other ways than domestic violence in which gender based violence is exercised, for example sexual violence, rape, and physical assault by strangers.

Different countries have laws and mechanisms for tackling gender based violence. One good example is Brazil's federal law on Domestic and Family Violence, the Maria Da Penha law on Domestic and Family Violence which presents a comprehensive model of tackling violence. It describes the following categories of violence: physical, psychological, sexual, economic, and moral violence; which may appear together.

Physical Violence "is understood as any conduct that offends the integrity or the physical health of a woman including". It includes all ways of physically hurting including beating, throwing objects, strangulating, suffocating, torture, injury using sharp objects or fire arms, or injury by burning.

Psychological Violence "is considered as any behavior that causes emotional damage and diminishes self-esteem; harms and disrupts the full development of a woman; or aims to degrade or control her actions, behaviors, beliefs, and decisions".

Psychological violence includes threats, restrictions on movement, persecution, humiliation, manipulation, insult, black mailing, ridicule, insults and other similar behaviors.

Sexual Violence "is when women are forced to witness, maintain or participate in unwanted sexual activity, in its different forms".

Economic Violence " is understood as any conduct that entails retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of objects, work instruments, personal documents, property, values, and economic rights or resources, including those intended to meet the woman's needs".

Moral Violence "is any conduct that constitutes calumny, defamation or libel". Someone try to damage a woman's reputation, spreading rumors about her, exposing her intimate life etc.

Way forward:

- Education and Awareness about rights and responsibilities
- Self-defense training
- Awareness about significance of prompt reporting of incidents
- Identifying and helping men also who experience domestic violence from women
- Counseling facilities

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<div align="right"><u>**Lecture 40**</u></div>

<u>**GENDER AND EDUCATION-I**</u>

<u>**Topic 174-177**</u>

<u>**Topic 174: Gender and Education**</u>

Education is the door to awareness. It gives knowledge and brings the person in contact with the world. Education is basic right of children, male and female. It is the first step towards enlightenment, and empowerment. Today's educated children will be tomorrow's educated parents. An educated mother educates the whole family. Depriving children of education is the same as blocking their path to progress, prosperity, empowerment, and a better life. Many children in the world either do not have access to education or do not have resources required for being educated. There are many other children who are not allowed to be educated. Denying children their right to education has serious impact. The impact is even more serious and long term in case of girls because they are going to be mothers tomorrow. Educated mothers educate their children and at the same time they look after them in a better way because of their knowledge and awareness. They are better aware of disease prevention, importance of proper nutrition, significance of medical consultation, children's development/ growth pattern, and healthy lifestyles.

Many women in the underdeveloped countries are deprived of this right due to various reasons. According to one earlier study, of the 875 million illiterate adults in the world, two third are females. Girls constituted the majority of the 121 million children of the world who are not in schools. In 2002, 24 million girls were not going to school in Sub Saharan Africa. Sub Saharan Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific are the regions where 83% of all girls out of school belonged to (Verma, 2006).

Personal and Social Consequences of Educational Deprivation

The doorways to social and economic empowerment are blocked. Most uneducated women are less likely to be aware and to adopt healthy practices, which in turn may negatively affect their own and their children's health. On the other hand, educated women adopt disease prevention strategies and are more likely to be aware of and to adopt precautions against, reproductive and childbirth complications. Women who are uneducated are less aware of their legal rights and little aware of the ways of protecting themselves against abuse and violence. Women's who are uneducated are economically dependent on males. There is a negative effect on one's self confidence and self-concept.

Barriers to Women's Education

- Cultural Practices
- Early Marriages
- Early motherhood
- Poor, no, or inaccessible educational facilities
- Disinterest of the ruling circles

<u>**Topic 175: Education, and Equality: the SDGs**</u>

Goal No.4 in the SDGs is to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'.

This shows how education is a matter of global concern. The goal has seven associated targets. These targets indicate how the global goal of ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all is to be attained by 2030. All nations have been working on this goal and so far some considerable progress has been made. It has been reported that in 2016 around 750 million adults of whom two thirds were women remained illiterate. Half of the illiterate population of the world lives in South Asia, and one fourth live in sub-Saharan Africa.

2017: 262 million children and youth aged 6 to 17 were still out of school. More than 50% of children and adolescents were not meeting minimum proficiency standards in reading and mathematics. There is a need to improve the learning environment, the capacities of teachers and the quality of education. Learning outcomes for the full life cycle, particularly for women, girls and marginalized people in vulnerable settings need to be improved. Source: Report of the Secretary-General, Special edition: progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals

Targets for Goal 4

- 4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes
- 4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education
- 4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university
- 4.4 By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship
- 4.5 By 2030 eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations
- 4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy
- 4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development
- 4.a Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all
- 4.b By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries

- 4.c By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States
- Goal 4 is directly associated with Goal 5. A part of attaining gender equality is to attain the goal of education for all.

Topic 176: Origin and Development of Education

Education refers to a process of delivering and receiving knowledge. It is about learning that takes place in a formal set up, like a school. The learning involves transmission of knowledge in various disciplines as well as the cultural norms, values and practices. Education can be formal, informal, or non-formal. The standards, methods, and contents of education may vary from culture to culture, however certain levels of achievement and expectations from the students are quite similar. The nature, content, methods and techniques of imparting education have evolved over the past many centuries.

Initially education used to be informal. Teachers or mentors would teach their students or followers in informal set ups. Teaching didn't necessarily take place at one fixed place, according to a fixed format and timing, and in only one focused area alone. A single teacher could educate people in a variety of areas.

As the number of learners increased and more areas of specialized knowledge emerged, education became more formal i.e., specific content, specific place, specific plan, by specific persons. The Late 18th and early 19th century saw major developments in education. A significant development was the introduction of a compulsory education system in Germany, then Prussia. Another milestone had been Industrialization. With industrialization there was a greater need for specialized and educated workforce. The two World Wars also lead a number of countries to a state where knowledge and skill, and knowledgeable and educated persons were required in order to attain progress and development at a fast pace. Formal education was required, and at all levels, from school level to tertiary level. With the advent of new technologies, new machinery, and new needs, there was a need to produce persons with specialized knowledge and skill. The importance of research and innovation was realized. There was a need for doctors, engineers, scientists, pharmacists, and all sorts of professionals. Subsequently there was more investment in education at all levels.

Topic 177: Gender and Forms of Education

Education is a process of teaching and learning; delivering and receiving knowledge. Transmission of knowledge in various disciplines as well as the cultural norm's, values and practice.

'Education', generally refers to the learning that takes place in a formal set up, like a school, college, or a university. Education can be of other types too:

- Formal education
- Informal education
- Non formal education

Formal education: Specific place, specific time, specified program. A set curriculum is followed, teachers have to be trained, specified textbooks are used, and the students receive some document/ degree/ certificate on completion of the course or program. There must be hierarchical structure.

Informal education: Takes place in a flexible setting. Not designed according to some pre fixed plan or carried out to meet the aims of a set curriculum. The time and place is not fixed. Teach children basic counting, nursery rhymes, or alphabets at home by mothers, siblings, and grandparents. Girls learn household skills from them; while some others learn the same skills in formal settings as well.

Non formal education: Meant for some special target groups and is designed for the needs of people in that group e.g. adult literacy programs. Non formal education is, in some ways, similar to formal education. Planned and organized to meet the needs of the persons to be educated.

Education for all is one of the sustainable Development Goals to be achieved by 2030. This shows that there is a global concern that not everyone, especially children, is receiving formal education. Although all children suffer, more girls than boys are affected. One major reason is the cultural practices because of which many parents prefer their daughters to stay home and learn household chores. Early marriages and early motherhood are the other major hurdles. Educational facilities are not accessible in many cases. At the same time, in the urban areas in the developed and developing countries, the number of boys and girls going to school has been improving.

In higher education, girls are making significant achievements. The number of girls in higher educational institutions is on the increase. The number of young women entering professional educational institutions is increasing. In non-formal education, mostly NGOs take up the responsibility of adult literacy. Women who couldn't be educated because of family pressure or early marriage can benefit if the facility is available.

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GENDER AND EDUCATION-II

Topic 178-182

Topic 178: Gender Education and Religion

Education and religion are closely associated. Religion also teaches and educates people. There is no religion which discourages attainment of knowledge. Islam in fact encourages learning and acquiring knowledge. However, for some people religion and contemporary formal education are opposite to each other. Because of this approach some people may oppose acquiring knowledge in contemporary educational institutions. With this approach, restrictions may be imposed on children's, especially girls', education. Looking around in the world, one can see that there are many countries where religion is strictly practiced and where women are being educated at all levels. Education and knowledge are to be used for the service of humanity, which our religion teaches.

In Pakistan, Islamic Studies is taught at all levels of education. Young men and women acquire religious knowledge alongside scientific knowledge. It nurtures ethics.

Topic 179: Gender Education and Polity

Politics and polity are related.

Polity is "an organized society, such as a nation, city, or church, together with its government and administration".

Politics is about the methods, techniques, and activities for running the government and the political system.

Education and the educational system are affected by politics. This includes the system of education, the content of education, the emphasis of education, the focus of education, and the beneficiaries of education. Education is the most important and major force behind social change. Social change includes change in gender related beliefs, social attitudes in general and political practices, affiliations, and ideologies.

Politics is about power. It is about WHO will get WHAT, HOW MUCH, HOW, and WHEN?

This applies to the resources allocated to education in a country. Different regimes believing in different ideologies have different educational policies.

Pakistan has undergone the same scenario. Some governments allocated more money for uplifting educational system and standards and system. However there was always a need to include education as one of the top priority areas. This trend is associated with government policies about gender and/or women. Whether children's education is important or not, whether

girls' and women's education is valuable or not, is affected by the ideology and policies of the rulers.

The modern world, the post industrialist world, requires that more and more people with specialized knowledge come forward and contribute to the progress and development. There is also the need that women should become productive members of the active workforce. There is need to invest more on educational reforms. Political circles should include education as one of their top priorities. Girls' and women's education needs greater attention since they need to attain goal directed, market oriented education to become productive members of the society.

Topic 180: Gender Education and Economy

Education is the pathway to economy and development. Education opens new avenues to progress. Education is a basic human right and is an essential ingredient of progress. Education makes good human beings, responsible citizens, workers, professionals, and politicians. The literacy rate in developed nations is very high while other nations are also trying to improve their literacy rate. Education is important for economic development, and goal directed education is even more important.

The education of girls and women requires special attention. Females constitute around half of our population. Any country striving for development requires that all of its citizens contribute actively to national development. The country cannot achieve optimum development and progress if half of its adult population, women, is not contributing to national economy.

Women may not be contributing because of two major reasons;

   a) Because they are not educated or
   b) They have not attained such education that leads to a profession or occupation.
Hence, this is the significance of education and meaningful education.

Goal#4 in the Sustainable Development Goals pertains to education; Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.

Goal#4 has seven associated targets.

4.3: By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational, and tertiary education, including university

4.4: By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship

4.5: By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations

These targets involve quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship for everyone including persons with special needs. It is therefore essential to make possible accessible education, good quality education, and occupation/profession related education.

Topic 181: Gender Education and Social Mobility

Education is positively correlated with social mobility. Social mobility is the movement of individuals, families, or households from one social category, status, or class to another social category, status, or class. Social mobility can be vertical or horizontal. A person may move from one social position to a higher position attaining upward mobility (downward mobility may also happen). In horizontal mobility the person may remain in the same social class but moves to a better position.

One major factor that plays a very important role in social mobility is the person's education, qualification, or skill. Education, and job oriented education, of boys and young men is emphasized. On the contrary, the purposefulness of female's education is often neglected.

For a male, education with an occupation is considered to be the goal whereas for females, simply being 'educated' is considered enough. This attitude is based upon the stereotypical belief that only men are the heads of family and the bread winners. Today many women head their families and are the bread earners. Also, many women support their husbands and other male members of family in running the household.

Changing gender roles require that women should be provided education that gives knowledge as well as skill. If both men and women are educated then social mobility will be easier for the family. If all members of the family are educated and earning then vertical social mobility within the same generation will be possible. On the other hand if only one or two males are educated and earning, then perhaps only horizontal social mobility would be possible. For upward mobility the family might have to wait for another generation to attain a better social status. It is therefore imperative that all citizens have access to meaningful education. Women's education needs even more attention.

Topic 182: Gender and Different Levels of Education; Single or Mixed Gender

Gender differences and similarities can be observed at all levels in educational institutions. All children, when they join school, like to be in a secure environment because they have come out of a very protective atmosphere of their home. With the passage of time they make friends, become confident, and take part in games and activities with the group of their friends. In single sex schools all friends are the same sex friends. Even when children are in mixed sex or co-educational schools, they prefer to be in the company of same sex friends. Gender differences may be observed in their activities. Even very young children indulge into gender segregation; the teachers are generally permissive about it and in fact many encourage this practice (Thorne,

1993). Most junior school teachers are females, who may not be good role models for growing boys. In junior school, male teachers too may not be the right role models for children. Girls usually get better role models in school.

Educational institutions, especially schools, are very influential agents of socialization. Students learn about gender roles, stereotypes, and preferences from their institutions. Educational institutions have their ideologies just like parents of students. The students learn a number of attitudes, beliefs, and practices from their institutions. At times they learn new beliefs, but the ideologies acquired from parents are also strengthened further by school, teachers, and class mates. The schools may promote and strengthen gender stereotypes. It can be observed in unisex as well as co-educational institutions.

In 'girls only' schools the female stereotypes may be strengthened. Traditional female roles and values are taught and encouraged. Girls passing out from such schools may face some difficulties or psychological problems on entering coeducational institutions for higher education because they were not used to mixing up with men.

Research findings indicate that teachers, treat male and female children differently. They promote stereotypical gender roles (Garrahy, 2001). The teachers in elementary school, male and female, encourage compliance and reward children who are compliant (Cohen, 1992).

When male teachers are teaching, there is less gender stereotyping. When students taught by male teachers are compared with those taught by female teachers, it is seen that the former make significantly less stereotypical explanations of the behaviors of men and women (Mancus, 1992). In the initial years at school not many gender differences are found in the achievement of children, in terms of girls' edge (Bae, Choy, Geddes, Sable, and Snyder, 2008). Girls' grades are better and their scores may be higher than boys in reading and writing. In case of referral for special education services, it is more likely that boys will receive such referrals. It has been suggested by some research that this may be a consequence of gender bias (Wehmeyer, 2001). Some differences appear in middle school in terms of children's attitudes and interests.

Girls usually do not opt for physical sciences whereas boys are more interested in taking part in science-related tasks and activities and are more likely to use scientific equipment. Girls also may show interest in these activities, but are less likely to actually do so. This can explain why girls have little interest and lower achievement in physical science (Lee and Burkam, 1996). Although girls still get comparable or better grades than boys in mathematics, they are less interested in Math; considering their field of study, girls find math to be less interesting (Davis-Kean, Eccles, and Linver, 2002). Stereotypically Math is perceived as a male domain, and that can be one explanation of why girls start losing interest in math. Boys, girls, parents, and teachers all hold to this belief about math (Nosek, Benaji, and Greenwald. 2002; Tiedenann, 2000). It has been observed that girl's interests in science and Math may be lower, but not their

grades. In higher educational institutions, the gender gap is shrinking because young women are entering into all professional fields of study.

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GENDER AND EDUCATION-III

Topic 183-186

Topic 183: Sexual Harassment and Bullying in Educational Institutions

Sexual harassment is a social menace, and major hurdle to women empowerment. Most discussions are found on sexual harassment at workplace. Educational institutions are another set up where sexual harassment may be commonly experienced.

A comprehensive definition of sexual harassment has by ILO (2003) in ABC of Women Workers' Rights and Gender Equality: "Unwelcome sexual advances or verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature which has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with the individual's work performance or creating and intimidating, hostile, abusive or offensive working environment."

It states examples of sexual harassment: "insults, remarks, jokes, and insinuations of a sexual nature and inappropriate comments on a persons' dress, physique, age or family situation; undesired and unnecessary physical contact such as touching, caresses, pinching or assault; embarrassing remarks and other verbal harassment; lascivious looks and gestures associated with sexuality; compromising invitations; requests for sexual favors" (ILO, 2003).

A wide range of offensive behaviors fall under the category of sexual harassment. If a person shows such persistent sexual advances that are unwanted, uninvited and unwelcomed, then it will be considered sexual harassment. Such behavior is intentional, repetitive, and with an intention to disturb/upset or threaten the target person. The consequences of rejection or refusal may be negative and harmful. Many persons, especially girls and women, experience this phenomenon in educational institutions.

According to HEC guidelines, Sexual Harassment involves: Treating others unequally on the basis of gender, in work-related or academic duties or programs, and not providing female students with the same academic opportunities as male students or vice versa.

Sexual harassment is usually done by persons higher in authority or power to those in a lower position. The position can be in terms of designation, authority, age, and seniority in class/ grade. It can be verbal, non-verbal, and/or physical. The offender may pass unwelcomed comments, tell obscene jokes, or threaten the target; undesirable gestures may be shown; unwanted physical touch, assault or rape may happen. Bullying is another offensive behavior that is experienced in educational institutions. It involves inflicting intentional hurt, pain, discomfort, or injury to someone, usually without any fault of the person. It can be verbal, non-verbal, or physical.

Consequences of sexual harassment and bullying:

- Shame and embarrassment
- Interrupted education or career path
- Emotional hurt and pain
- Low self-esteem
- Fear, helplessness, inhibitions, and lack of self confidence
- Negative attitudes of the society
- Feeling of dependence; need for a male care taker
- Limiting ones' self to a career in female-only environment

Men and women, both may experience these phenomena; more women than men report sexual harassment. Bullying is experienced more in schools than in higher educational institutions. It may also be observed in boys as well as girls, but more boys than girls report it. Need to tackle this serious issue by adopting a firm policy and action.

Useful Link: AASHA: alliance Against sexual Harassment

Topic 184: Combating Sexual Harassment and Bullying in Educational Institutions

How to Tackle Sexual Harassment and Bullying?

- Strict rules and regulations at institutional/organizational level in the light of national laws for case processing and penalties for such acts
- Seminars, awareness campaigns, and awareness literature for children and adolescents (especially female), so that they learn how to handle such situations and seek help from the relevant quarters
- Complaint boxes
- Helpline or email IDs may be set up
- Assertiveness training for children and adolescents; the ability to say 'No' when you want to say "No"
- Harassment control/ complaint committees to be established
- Availability of counseling services

Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010

In March 2010 Government of Pakistan promulgated this act for safe working environment for women. The management of all organizations is required to incorporate the Act as part of their work policy. Organizations should establish inquiry committees to examine complaints of sexual harassment. The committee consists of three members; one has to be a female. The inquiry committee deals with the complaint according to a very systematic procedure.

Formal Inquiry Procedure:

After receipt of the complaint the Inquiry Committee, within three days, communicates the charges and statement of allegations in writing to the accused, which has to submit a written

defense within 7-days. The proceedings and evidences are to be kept confidential. The Committee has to ensure that neither party should indulge in any hostile behavior. The employer or the accused shall not initiate any action because of which a hostile environment is created for the complainant so as to pressurize him/her from freely pursuing his/her complaint. The oral or documentary evidence in support of the charge or in defense of the accused is examined. The Inquiry Committee may summon and enforce attendance of any person, may require the discovery and production of any document, and may receive evidence on affidavit and record evidence. The Committee has the power to get the complainant or the accused medically examined by authorized doctor, if necessary.

Findings, Recommendations and Penalties

The inquiry committee has to submit findings and recommendations to competent authority within 30-days of inquiry. The competent authority should implement decisions of committee within one week and arrange psycho-social counseling and medical treatment of complainant if needed. The committee may recommend major or minor penalties. In case of dissatisfaction with decision, the parties have right to appeal to the Ombudsperson in 30-days of written decision. If allegations against the accused are found to be false and with mala fide intentions then appropriate action against the complainant may be recommended.

Topic 185: Gender Gap in Education in the Developing World

Goal # 4 in the SDGs pertains to education. All countries are trying to meet the targets for this Goal. Many developing countries still lack basic infrastructure and facilities to provide effective learning environments.

For example Sub-Saharan Africa has huge challenges to deal with. Less than half of schools at the primary and lower secondary levels, have access to basic facilities such as drinking water, electricity, the Internet, and computers. (Report of the Secretary-General, Special edition: progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals)

With the goal of education, the world is approaching gender parity in many ways. In case of out of school children, for a long time, there used to be a wide gender gap in terms of out of school persons. Girls and young women used to be more likely to be out of school/ excluded from education. The world seems to be approaching gender parity in out of school rates. Over the past 15 years, a reduction in gender disparity at the global level has been observed.

In lower secondary and upper secondary school-age populations, the male and female out-of-school rates are now almost identical. In case of primary school age children the gender gap dropped significantly from year 2000 to 2016; it came down from more than five percent to two percentage points. Developing countries are working hard to provide education, good quality education, to all boys and girls, men and women. Different regions have their indigenous

challenges and hurdles affecting the achievement of the goal: ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.

The developing countries experience some or all of these challenges that may lead to gender gap in education:

- Poverty; limited resources
- Poor health and nutrition
- Poor infrastructure and facilities at schools
- Untrained teachers
- Cultural practices
- Neglect and lack of attention by politicians and decision makers

Topic 186: Barriers to Women's Achievement in Education

- Family priorities do not include girls' education
- Girls/ women have to carry out multiple responsibilities instead of the husband or family sharing their responsibilities; no time for personal accomplishment.
- Lack of positive reinforcement from family and teachers for girls' achievement at school
- Financial constraints; Family's limited resources for children's education; girls' share is even smaller
- Poor guidance and mentoring available for continuing education with an aim
- Poor accessibility of educational facilities; schools at long distances, poor or no transport facility
- Early marriages and motherhood; no time left for personal growth
- Promotion of stereotypical roles and occupational choices by the school
- Security issue; traveling is not considered safe

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GENDER AND MEDIA

Topic 187-191

Topic 187: Gender and Media: Socialization and Stereotyping

Media, mass media, is today's most powerful and influential agents of socialization. It is effective because of its audio-video properties, its speed, magnitude of information and knowledge, and accessibility. Media directly affects our attitude. Attitudes consist of three components; cognition, affect, and behavior. Therefore media affects, or may affect, one's thinking and beliefs, feelings and emotions, and behaviors and actions. Media delivers messages, direct and indirect. Media also presents role models which leads to observational learning. Media gives opportunity to watch and listen to persons with diverse points of view which may introduce new ideologies to people; it may strengthen or weaken the already existing beliefs.

Gender stereotypes held in a society are reflected in the way men and women are portrayed on television. Our gender stereotyped perceptions may also be reflected in the way newspapers report events, in the fiction and the poetry written in a particular society, at given point in history. The fine art created by artists at various times in history is also a reflection of how the society perceives gender. The way women were painted in the previous centuries in the masters' work is very different from the way women are portrayed today in artists' work, on television, or in movies. In the Victorian Era, artists didn't paint very thin and underweight, female figures.

A round, slightly overweight, female figure was considered to be a healthy figure represented fertility, motherhood, affluence. Very thin bodies, men or women, were associated with disease or poverty. Children's books may also teach and promote stereotyped gender roles. Contemporary books are different from traditional. These include female characters that are braved, more resourceful; friendship between boys and girls is shown more often; male characters still predominate; Females more likely to need help and males more likely to help (Beal, 1994; Evans, 1998).

Some earlier research suggests that sexism scores of adolescent girls were affected by the amount of television viewing. In case of girls, particularly those of middle class families, their sexism scores increased with heavy television viewing (Morgan, 1982). The same study reported that such impact was not found in case of boys. The attitudes of boys, who already held sexist views, and watched TV heavily, did not change by their TV watching experience. Messages are delivered via television through soap operas, talk shows, news, documentaries, and most importantly advertisements. Television programs promote and fortify gender-typed beliefs and behaviors. A natural experiment was done in Canada in a number of Canadian towns, where TV transmission was available for the first time. A significant increase was found in the traditional views of children who previously held relatively un-stereotyped views, after two years of TV

watching (Kimball, 1986). Research suggests that children's own views are also un-stereotyped if they watch less stereotyped or un-stereotyped roles on TV. Children watched a series of nontraditional episodes in one study. These involved nontraditional events, e.g., the father and son cooking together. Children who had watched these episodes were found to have less stereotyped views than those who had not watched these episodes (J. Johnston, and Ettema, 1982).

Topic 188: Gender, Age, and Beauty: The Role of Media

There are some obvious gender differences in the standards and expectations related to age and beauty. The standards of beauty set for women are different from those for men. A female older adult may be treated differently compared to a man of the same age. Mass media has a significant role in the establishment of these norms. These differences are more obvious in some fields. For example the impact of these standards and expectations can be clearly seen in show business. They not only promote stereotypical standards of beauty and age but the movie professionals themselves are also affected by these norms.

Study by Pater, judge, and Scott (2014) 'Age, Gender, and Compensation: A Study of Hollywood Movie Stars'

Interaction of gender and age on the earnings of Hollywood top movie stars was examined. Results: differences in the earning of the movie stars in reference to their age and gender. Female star: average earnings per film are on the increase by 34 years of age; after this age there is a rapid decrease. Male stars: average earnings per film were found to reach the maximum at 51 years of age; after 51 their earnings stay stable.

Study, by Lincoln and Allen (2004) 'Double Jeopardy in Hollywood: age and gender in the Careers of Film Actors, 1926-1999'

This study examined the effect of gender and aging on occupational outcomes.

Being female and being older was found to have significant negative effects on the number of film roles received by actors and their average star presence. The gendered effect of aging on the career opportunities of actors was found to have diminished over time to some extent in case of the number of film roles. However, it was not so in case of star presence. Considering the indigenous perspective, people are respected more in old age; while youth is associated with beauty, old age is associated with wisdom. The media focus more on the former.

Topic 189: Movies, Television and Portrayal of Gender

Do movies portray men and women in the same manner?

Are female and male characters equally intelligent, brave and emotional?

Do male/female characters solve problems and get out of difficult situations with the same ease?

Male characters, in most cases rescue women; women wait for help to arrive in order to get out of a problem situation; when men are hiding in danger they don't make noise while female characters are panting and gasping…. And so on

We do not frequently come across female characters which are successful, professional, self-made, running their own life as well as that of their children, just like any capable man does.

Are these characters close to life?

Yes, in some ways. Movies and TV present role models to all of us. Young minds are influenced more because they are more impressionable. TV and movies are sources of observational learning. They affect one's thinking, emotions, and behavior.

Children identify

- Girls learn dependence, indecisiveness, being nonassertive, confused.
- Boys learn self-confidence, boldness, thrill seeking, self-reliance, and independence.
- So, is media portraying the society or the society is being influenced by media?
- It is reciprocal.
- Television has become just another member in most families.
- People spend time with the TV even when it is not being watched.

Study by Ahmed Rameez Ul Huda & Roshan Amber Ali (2015), PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN PAKISTANI MEDIA

It was reported that drama serials were about pre and post marital situations and condition of women including both 'domestic' and working women. In almost all cases, these women were subjected to violence and hardship. Also, women were objectified in all sectors of media. Their treatment and portrayal exposes them to sexual harassment.

Study by Ayesha Ashfaq, and Zubair Shafiq (2018); Contested Images of 'Perfect Women' in Pakistani Television Dramas, drama serials.

It was reported that the stereotypes for such a woman reinforced the patriarchal system. The lead women: young, exceptionally beautiful, very slim; they dress up simply, wearing dopatta, from middle class, less educated; mostly remain home and go out to work only because of financial reasons. A different set of stereotypes put forward in side role women. These women are portrayed as "imperfect women". These characters were educated; career oriented, bold, outspoken and highly modern, in most cases belonging to elite class.

Earlier researches also showed that women on TV have to be good looking and physically attractive. For men on TV, always being handsome was not necessary; they may or may not be good looking whereas most of the women are young, attractive and sexy (Davis, 1990). Earlier researches in Pakistan revealed similar trends (Shahed, 2003). In a large survey, the respondents

reported that TV portrayed women as mere show pieces, as a cause of dispute and conflict, as talkative and stupid.

Both male and female respondents of all age groups said that the way women were portrayed on TV was far from real life. Desired characteristics of an ideal woman according respondents were very different from what TV was portraying in the female leads.

Most preferred traits in a woman included

- Educated
- Self-confident
- Intelligent
- Binding force for family
- Morally strong
- Good looking
- Brave/not panicky
- 'Good looks' were not the most preferred one.

Changing Trends

In the recent past, movies and especially TV channels have started using more realistic and issue based themes. Male and female lead roles are also closer to the personality and lifestyle of young persons of today.

Topic 190: Gender Violence, and Media

Media is a strong agent of socialization and observational learning. Just like many other behaviors, violence (and gender violence) may also be learnt from the screen. TV and cinema present people and events in a very glamorous way which leaves an imprint on the viewer's mind. New, innovative, and effective ways of violent behaviors shown with sound and background music catch the attention of the viewer's especially the young persons and children.

A lot of research has shown that children learn violent behavior from television programs including cartoon films. Study by Begum, Khowaja, and Ali (2012) 'Media created violence: a social determinant of mental health'

After analysis of various research findings it was concluded that there is a negative impact of media violence on psychological well-being of people, in the form of aggression, fear, and desensitization.

Study by Hafeez (2017), 'Crimes and Violence in Television News and its Effects on the Mental Health of Viewers in Pakistan'

Psychological effects of news coverage of violent crimes on television viewers in Pakistan were examined. Investigated how mental health of audience may get influenced by such coverage.

Sample of 392 news viewers from diverse backgrounds studied for six months. Significant positive correlation between frequency and duration of mediated exposure to real-life violence and mental distress. Anxiety, depression, and emotional instability were measured to gauge mental distress.

Study by Jahangir and Nawaz (2014) 'Effects of Media (Television) on Mental Health'

Examined the relationship between television as an information source and mental health of viewers. It was concluded that media was producing adverse effects on psychological wellbeing of the viewers. A large sample of around five hundred adult males and females was studied in the survey. The results indicated that media content was playing an unhelpful role. Reported that media was promoting violence (41%), vulgarity (46%) and chaos (65%). A relatively smaller segment of the participants (22%) reported that media was entertaining. Significant sections of the sample reported the negative effects of media. It was reported to be contributing to stress and tension (97%).

Topic 191: Discriminatory Standards of Age in Electronic Media

There are many discriminatory standards of beauty and age for women and men. This discrimination observed and formally studied more in Hollywood, but can be seen in Pakistani media too.

A recent study: In Hollywood, women aged 40 plus face discrimination. In case of popular movies, women in this age bracket are marginalized according to a report by Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism at University of Southern California. They get less than one third of speaking roles. The study had examined 1100 popular movies featuring 48,757 characters in 2007-2017. The analysis revealed that a small portion of the speaking roles, 31.8 % went to women. Women aged 40 plus got less than one fourth of all roles.

Co-author, Katherine Pieper, reportedly said that Hollywood's image of women wasn't centered on women across the life span. A considerable proportion of the movie goers (30%) consists of people aged 50 and above. In case of art house movies, this age group comprises 75% of the viewers. However, Hollywood movies are focused more on the young audience. It has been reported that in 2017, out of the 100 top movies, just 30 had a male lead who was 44 and above years of age. The case was much worse for women of this age group. Only five movies had a woman over this bracket.

An interesting analysis reported by Hannah Anderson and Matt Daniels. The researchers examined about 2,000 screenplays. They compiled the number of words spoken by male and female characters. The analysis revealed that more than three-quarters of the examined movies had more than 60% male dialogue. Around 300 movies had over 90% male dialogue; some had 100% male dialogue; only eight films had 90% female dialogue. 60-90% women dominated the conversations in165 films whereas this was so for men in 1,208 movies. Of the sampled movies,

321 reportedly had gender parity. Younger female had more dialogue. Most dialogues were with female actors aged 22-31, 38 percent of all female dialogue. Females received less dialogue than male actors in same age range. In age bracket 45 to 65, men had almost 40% of the lines, as opposed to 20% of same age women.

Interesting analysis on Pakistani TV dramas by Ashfaq and Shafiq (2018), 'Contested Images of 'Perfect Women' in Pakistani Television Dramas'

Qualitative content analysis of 6 drama serials showed that the stereotypes for "perfect women" were being promoted in Pakistan television drama serials. The lead women role in these serials were portrayed as younger, ultra-slim, extra ordinary beautiful, wearing national simple dresses with dupatta.

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GENDER AND POPULATION-I

Topic 192-196

Topic 192: Gender and Population

Population is a group of individuals, usually in large numbers, living in the same geographic region, sharing the same resources, under same or similar living conditions. Population refers to all cases of interest. Population of a country means all people living in that country; similarly the population of a city, province, or a state.

Population is assessed by the process of census that gives information about the size of the population, its composition, and the demographics. Demographics are characteristics of the population expressed in statistical terms e.g. age, gender, occupation, education, socioeconomic status, housing etc.

Gender is an important demographic variable. Males and females are the two major segments of the population. However a smaller segment of the population comprises of the transgender as well. In most countries, the size of female and male population is about the same. In societies where people prefer to have only male offspring or their first child to be a boy, gender selection through medical procedures is adopted by many. In some countries female feticide is practiced. Such practices may ultimately lead to an imbalance in the natural composition of the population; more men and fewer women.

Topic 193: Population Composition

The composition of population reflects how the population is distributed according to various characteristics such as age, sex, occupation, profession, education, socioeconomic status, rural and urban, industrial or agricultural etc. Population of the world is continuously growing; however the pace of growth is slower than previous times since 1950. The estimated population of the world in 2019 is 7.7 billion which may go up to about 8.5 billion in 2030, 9.7 billion in 2050 and 10.9 billion in 2100.

Considering the available resources, this is an alarming figure. It is reported that concentration of more than half of the projected increase in the global population up to 2050 will be in nine countries; Pakistan being one of them. Others include USA, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and the United Republic of Tanzania. On the other hand it is expected that the population growth rate will decrease in some countries. The various characteristics of the population may have an effect on the increase and decrease in population. Lack of education, poor health knowledge and awareness, poverty, inaccessibility of reproductive health related facilities, and belief system may play an important role.

Topic 194: Population and Sex Composition

Pakistan's 6th Population and Housing Census (PHC) were held in 2017. The country's population was recorded at 207.7 million. The average annual growth rate is reported to be 2.4%. Population comprises 101 million (49%) women and 106 million (51%) men. The number of transgender persons is reportedly 10,418. This is the number of reported transgender persons. The actual number may be more. Of the reported transgender population, 7,651 live in urban areas while 2,767 in rural areas (Gender Parity Report 2018).

United Nations and the World Bank have provided some statistics about sex ratio in the world population. The human sex ratio refers to the number of males for each 100 females in a given population. If the sex ratio is above 100 then it indicates that there are more males than females. A sex ratio less than 100 reflects that there are more females than males. If females and males are in equal number then the sex ratio will be 100. Sex ratio of world in 2018 has been reported as 101.783 according to UN. It means that World has more men than women, 98.248 females per 100 males (101783 males for each 100000 females). According to World Bank (2017) the percentage of females in the world is 49.556 which mean there are 101.792 males per 100 females.

The sex ratio in Pakistan is 105.638 i.e., 94.663 females per 100 males. According to World Bank figures (2018) there are 48.634 percent women i.e., 105.618 males per 100 females in Pakistan. The lowest sex ratio is in Martinique 83.919, or 119.163 females per 100 males. The highest sex ratio is in Qatar, 306.565, or 32.620 females per 100 males. The highest percentage, 54.178, of females is in Curacao and the lowest, 24.927, is in Qatar. Of the top 10 countries with lowest male to female ratio, six are in Europe, three in North America and one in Asia. Countries with highest sex ratio include Qatar on top of the list (306.565) followed by UAE, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Maldives, Equatorial Guinea, Bhutan, Western Sahara (110.528).

Topic 195: Gender Roles and Family Size

One of the goals for most nations is to control the population growth rate so that the available resources are enough for all human beings. The availability and provision of quality education and health care for all is associated with the size of the population. A smaller family size means better maternal health, reduced maternal mortality, and reduced infant mortality. On one hand we want to restrict the family size while on the other efforts are being made for sustainable development and for improving our resources. However available statistics show that a lot needs to be done for reducing the average number of members in a family.

Determining the family size requires mutual decision making about family planning. The decision is primarily of the spouses however, other family members and some other factors may have an influence. These decisions are influenced by the gender roles and cultural practices prevailing in a society. For example, in patriarchal societies people desire to have at least one son who will be future head of family. We may come across families which had five or six daughters in the hope of having a son. In agrarian societies people prefer to have larger families because

more members of the family mean more support in the fields. Similarly in tribal cultures larger families make a stronger tribe. In nuclear families, especially where both spouses are employed, they prefer having fewer children. This decision is taken by mutual understanding of the spouses in societies where people are more educated and aware, and where the society is individualistic, and where nuclear family is the norm. Situation is different in collectivistic societies where extended family system prevails. Elders of family and/or other relatives may interfere in decisions. In many cases the woman/mother to be may be the last person to have a say in the matter. Men being in a dominant position are the major decision makers.

Topic 196: Gender and Reproductive Role

In an earlier report on fertility decisions making in Nigeria it was found out that 78% women and 88% men believed that men's views had more influence on family decisions. A small percentage, 7% men and 13% women believed that women had more influence. Another 3% of men and women believe that the greatest influence was that of relatives and others in their family decisions. Men's role was important in decisions about the use of contraception (WHO, 1995).

A recent study in Ethiopia revealed that married women did not have a significant role in family planning related decision making. They simply have to accept the husband's decision. The decisions are based on the men's interests. Women's low status and the husbands'/ men's high status, among some other factors, lead to the fact that women did not decide about their own fertility. There are obstacles in family planning such as different femininity and masculinity practices in the community (Geleta, 2018).

Study (2016) explored the phenomenon in South Ethiopia. The impact of women's decision making power on family planning use and related factors were examined. Findings revealed that more than two thirds of the married women were more autonomous in decision making about family planning use. Factors that were significantly associated with women's decision making about family planning included secondary education, government employment, having a government employed spouse, college or university educated husbands, and younger age.

Compared to housewives, self-employed and government employed women were more likely to have decision making power. Employed women were found to be more likely to decide on family planning use individually. One's own or husband's formal education and occupational status are significant variables. Wives of government employed husbands were 2.71 times more likely to have a decision making power than wives of unemployed husbands (Belay, Mengesha, Woldegebriel, and Gelaw, 2016).

Relationship between women's autonomy, education, and the use of contraception has been studied in Pakistan too. A study (Saleem, and Bobak, 2005) involving a national sample, n= 6579, of ever married women reported a strong association between contraceptive use and women's education.

An earlier study suggested that couple agreement plays an important role in promoting the use of family planning. Responses of 1260 matched couples were examined. The findings revealed strong predictors of contraceptive use. The predictors: the couple's joint approval of family planning, husband's desire for no more children, and spousal discussion about family planning (Mahmood, 1998). These findings indicate the significance of mutual consent, consensus, and discussion between the spouses which in turn implies equal status of husband and wife where the opinion of both matters. Such an approach requires an egalitarian attitude rather than a stereotypical orientation for gender roles.

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GENDER AND POPULATION-II

Topic 197-202

Topic 197: Gender and Youth problems

The young people are the hope for tomorrow. The youth faces number of problems due to societal norms, changing lifestyles, socioeconomic conditions, prevailing stressors, and health conditions among other factors. Some problems are common to all youth and some are gender specific.

Competition:

The society in general has become very competitive. From school admissions, to competing for good grades, admissions in good institutions for higher education, one has to cross many hurdles. Striving to get a job, a good job, is another race. The youth faces pressure and stress at all levels.

Expensive education:

Education, especially higher and professional education, is expensive. Many young people find it hard to pursue their educational aspirations because of limited financial resources.

Unemployment:

Unemployment is a major issue. Young people do not find job opportunities according to their qualification. Unemployment leads to continuous dependence on parents/family instead of one's autonomy.

Lack of training in entrepreneurship and skills development:

Unemployment can be tackled by entrepreneurial ventures. People can set up their own small enterprises. However, educational system does not involve skill building or entrepreneurship training.

Availability of Drugs and Substance abuse:

A growing problem is substance abuse. An alarming fact is that drugs are available and are being consumed by young persons. The debilitating effects of drugs negatively affect the well-being of young persons.

Violence:

Being a victim of violence is not uncommon. Violence hurts physically as well as psychologically. On the other hand indulgence in violent acts, availability and use of fire arms is also a threat.

Exposure to information, temptations, and resulting dissatisfaction:

Because of internet, children and adolescents have access to all sorts of information including lifestyles in other parts of the world and their own country; facilities and luxuries. This may cause temptations leading to dissatisfaction with one's own life in case of limited resources. Exposure to media exposes to various forms of violence and drug abuse too.

Poor or no healthy sources of entertainment:

Young people need opportunities to utilize their energies in healthy activities. Due to lack of healthy entertainment facilities and opportunities lead towards unhealthy ways of thrill seeking such as one wheeling, sexual perversion and street crime.

Issues of appearance, obesity, weight management:

Problems to do with appearance; complexion, body shape, and body weight may be faced. Girls concerned about weight management and boys with muscle building. This concern, or over concern, may lead to stress, poor self-concept, and psychological problems such as anxiety.

Lack of health education/ poor health knowledge:

Young people need health education. Health education can help maintain good reproductive health, hygiene, and nutrition; also disease prevention and identification of risk and symptoms of diseases like HIV/AIDS, cancer, habit disorders etc. Most of the mentioned problems are common to young men and women. However some are faced more by young men and some by women. Young women face more of lack of family support for higher education, profession/occupation, and formal work. So, it is more likely to experience early marriage and motherhood. Experience more of sexual harassment, unsafe traveling, concern with appearance and weight management. Experience more of glass ceiling effect and unequal opportunities for professional growth. Young men are more likely to experience Gender Role Strain, pressure to excel in education and profession, unemployment, Substance Abuse, and Violence.

Topic 198: Challenges for youth

- Getting education and exhibiting excellence in education
- Acquiring skills for professional growth
- Seeking employment
- Establishing entrepreneurship and seeking opportunities for loans and financing for setting up personal enterprise
- Attaining and maintaining health and fitness according to prevalent norms
- Ensuring political participation for contributing to the progress of the country
- Attaining international exposure and experience through education or business

- Being health educated in order to stay safe from diseases like HIV/AIDS, to avoid substance abuse, and to be able to plan their families in future

Topic 199: Gender and Population Issues

- Population growth rate and family size need to be controlled
- Education on family planning and population control needs to be provided especially to young couples
- Resources need to be enhanced in order to improve the living conditions
- There is a need to keep the sex ratio balanced.
- Female feticide needs to be controlled/ stopped wherever it is happening
- Involvement of women in active workforce is required in order to bring stability and betterment to the economy of the family as well as the economy of the nation

Considering the population growth rate, providing employment opportunities for all adults may be a hard goal. It is therefore important to train people in entrepreneurial skills. To provide good living conditions to all, people's migration from smaller towns to bigger cities needs to be discouraged. Facilities and good employment opportunities should be provided in smaller towns and rural areas as well. Special attention needs to be given to girls' and young women's educational and occupational opportunities in smaller towns and rural areas. People need to be educated about population issues, family planning, and significance of reducing the family size.

Topic 200: Issues of the Aging and the Aged

The number of older adults is on the increase. On the other hand in many parts of the world the birth rate is decreasing or has slowed down. It has been recorded that for the first time in history the number of people of 65 years and above of age was greater than number of children under five in 2018.

According to World Population Prospects 2019, it is estimated that by 2050 the number of persons above 65 years of age will be more than twice the number of children under five. Number of persons aged 65 years or above will also be greater than the number of adolescents and youth aged 15 to 24 years by 2050. In 2019, the life expectancy at birth for the world's population has reached 72.6 years. Compared with 1990 there is an improvement of more than 8 years. It is expected that the average length of life in the world will reach nearly 77.1 years in 2050.

There is lot of research on issues and needs of the youth but little work on issues of the aging and those in their late adulthood. In many parts of the world, the population growth rate has decreased; people don't get married or don't have children. Life span on average has improved due to better healthcare. Longer life does not necessarily mean good quality life. There is need to improve quality of life of older adults. Older adults face physical and psychological problems among other challenges.

Health related issues:

Older adults may experience physical weakness, chronic diseases, injuries especially fractured bones, malnutrition and diseases such as cancer or kidney disease. They are more likely to develop pneumonia or catch influenza.

Sensory limitations:

People in their senior years may have impaired vision or hearing which may restrict their mobility and communication with others.

Psychological issues:

People, especially in their seventies and after, may experience loneliness, depression, anxiety or other similar issues more than ever before. These are more after the death of a spouse. Old parents may experience the empty nest syndrome. Empty nest syndrome is experienced after grown up children leave parents' home and moves to other cities or countries. Older adults may experience a feeling of worthlessness if other family members do not allow them to play an active role in family's daily routine.

Effect on cognitive functioning:

Some older adults develop conditions like dementia or Alzheimer's disease.

Financial problems:

Many older adults have limited financial resources.

Those who receive a regular pension or income from investments have comfortable later years whereas the ones who are dependent on their children or family may have a tough time. This is more so in case of aged women who did not work formally in their life. They may face many difficulties after the death of the husband.

Restricted social life:

The social life of older adults is restricted because of their various physical, psychological, or other problems. They do not get many chances to mingle with people due to limited mobility or the absence of a companion.

What needs to be done?

The state should take the responsibility of the well-being of senior citizens. Non-government organizations and civil society organizations can also play an important role.

Senior citizens need to be provided:

- Financial aid in the form of social security/ pension/ old age support grant
- Free healthcare
- Accessible healthcare
- Disease preventive strategies need to be adopted e.g. flu shots, pneumonia and typhoid vaccines.
- Opportunities for social networking; meeting spaces, parks, community centers, clubs
- Social inclusion; people and families need to be educated about the components of healthy aging

Families need to learn that well-being of older members of the family can be enhanced by involving them in the daily life responsibilities. That will give them self-confidence and a feeling of self-worth. Old age homes for those older adults who do not have a family or who want to spend time with like-minded people.

Topic 201: Changing Perspective of Gender Roles in Population

Stereotypical beliefs about gender roles are changing. People have started accepting that boys and girls are equally capable and girls can also become professionals. People could not accept the idea of daughters working and spending their income to support their parents. Today the number of working women is on the increase. The idea that only men are heads of family is also changing. There are many women who are heading their families and running the household. It was believed that women cannot do justice to the household affairs if they are working outside home. Today, people have seen that working women run the household too in an organized manner. Women are heading multinational and national organizations. They are joining even the most unconventional occupations e.g. fighter pilots.

What has brought about this change in perspective?

Women themselves and their like-minded fellow men and women brought a change. Women have proven their capability in all walks of life; as high achieving students, as successful professionals, as excellent entrepreneurs, as effective social activists, politicians, rulers, intellectuals, researchers and scholars. In attaining this status they were supported by fellow men and women who believed in women's ability and their right to excel.

Topic 202: Way Forward; Examining Social Phenomenon with a Gendered Lens

Examining Social Phenomenon with a Gendered Lens

The goal of this course has been to introduce you to the interdisciplinary nature of gender studies and give an understanding about the contemporary challenges associated with gender representation in our society. Feminism and its diverse schools of thought were discussed. An understanding was developed of gender equality/ equality and their relationship with human rights discourse highlighted in international human rights conventions and documents. Approaches on development and gender and women's political participation have also been

examined. Our aim has been to develop the capacity to connect gender issues in your personal/local situation with the broader social environment. A wider range of topics has been discussed. Our ultimate goal is to be able to examine social phenomena using a gender lens.

What does it imply?

It means that we should be able to see the role of gender stereotypes, and gender related cultural traditions, societal norms, beliefs, and prejudices in different social phenomena. These phenomena may include, but are not limited to, violence, education, issues of equality and equity, political participation, barriers to women's achievement, social activism, media and much more. We should be able to understand that the way things happen may be because of the way gender roles are fixed and carried out in a society. People's status in a society would have been different had their gender been different. Some people suffer in the society because of their gender and some may be enjoying an advantage because of their gender. However, one must be clear about the fact that supporting a cause or people of a certain gender does not mean that one should become biased or prejudiced against the other gender. We have to be objective and unbiased in our approach.

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