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GRT STATUS OF WOMEN FROM PRE-VEDIC TO CONTEMPORARY INDIA- IS IT A RAY TOWARDS EMPOWERMENT OR STORY OF COERCION?

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Abstract: The analysis of women's activities within family is still sat somewhat on the periphery of the discipline of economics. Though some discussion has made, but has not been found satisfactory for dealing with the issues in developing economics. Marxist-feminist has moved towards accepting the importance of looking inside the family. Women of contemporary India are both family provider and bread winner. Therefore a details discussion on their status in society is very much needed issue. However, neither the family nor its reproductive behaviour is static in any society. This is also applicable for market. Their nature changes radically during the process of social evolution. Each society constructs a set of social, cultural, economical, political and legal processes that is crucial for supporting its institution, like family and market.

Keywords: women's activities , society , economical, political and legal processes

INTRODUCTION

Social control is the control of society over the individual. It creates those conditions in which man can be socialized .This is differ from government control. Social control is a self control. It keeps on changing in accordance with the changes in society. Family is the first place where an individual is socialized. This control of the family over the individual is not restricted to within the family but is exercised even outside its precincts. In this way, the family has control over an individual not merely in his childhood but from his infancy to his senility.

The Indian society and its system of control can be realized accurately if one pursuit the essence of the sacred scripture .The question of status of women has come inevitably when one tries to run after the sacred scripture of any society. It is believed that Indian religious books are superhuman and sacred scriptures furnish the advice and direction to run the society. Religious scripture is not only the science of Hindus; it is jurisprudence (a law book, a science of law).

Here we concerned with the historical aspects of structures that operate in the world where we live in. we must keep in our mind the very diversities of Indian Hindu society that prevails in India. It can be seen that there is a fundamental relationship between a particular social formation and the form of patriarchy evolved therein. So the formation of Hindu patriarchy society should be studied. Simultaneously analysis of gender stratification in India gives a historical basis to female coercion. This helps us to understand how, when, and in what context patriarchal institution came to be formed, and thereafter transformed over the centuries. The objective of this paper is to search the

answer whether the status of women has changed over time or it is merely a timely placed position obeying and /or maintaining the law book over time. The gender stratification in pre-Vedic societies are discussed in section1. Section 2 analyses the status of women in RG Vedic and later Vedic society. Followingly section 3 and section 4 discuss the how the formation of patriarchy determined status of women as founded in Manuscript and gender stratification in Colonial period. Section 5 tries to explore gender stratification in Contemporary India. Finally, section 6 will derive the conclusion.

Section 1: The gender stratification in pre-Vedic society.

The earliest pre-historic societies are documented through archaeological evidence of remnants. From such evidence we can observed that during this pre-historic hunting-gathering stage, gender stratification cannot be presumed to have existed (Gerda Learner, 1986). During pre-historic and pre-Vedic age the hunting-gathering societies gathered foods accounted for sixty percent of the food supply and which was done by women. So as it was one of the main forms of food supply, 'work of women' was not less important than hunter men. So most egalitarian societies were found among hunting-gathering societies. Though in Harappa culture had not been supported by written evidence, we cannot therefore draw conclusive evidence about gender stratification in this culture. However recent studies have posited the existence of a fairly stratified society and complex system of food production and food distribution (Ratnagar, 1991).

Section 2: Status of women in RG Vedic and later Vedic society.

Rg Vedic society was mainly characterized as pastoral, it was a simple, largely egalitarian society which was non-surplus producing (Chakravarty, Uma;2009). There was no evidence for birth based distinction. At the level of production and division of labour, women were not excluded from production. Women have been taking care of the cattle and men are enhancing the cattle wealth. From that period women were started to engage themselves within domestic chores. However, they were not excluded from any social activities whether it was economical, political or rituals. Indeed their participation was necessary. Domestic happiness and conjugal affections are constant topics of allusion in the Rgveda, and the seers of the Samhitas never tire of speaking of the bond that binds them to a happy home governed by a contented wife (Kapadia, K.M,1966). It is well known that success of any system may be seen in the subtle working of its ideology and in that sense when women themselves started to control their own sexuality, it became easier for the society to convince her about her limitation(Chakravarty, Uma;2009). The ideals of marriage were the performance of dharma. Educated women were allowed to marry with a learned young man after finishing her period of studentship, brahmacharya. We had the highly renowned brahmavadinis of the Upanisada-Gargi and Maitreyi who displayed talent and temerity in participating in metaphysical discussion which furnish us with a measure of the intellectual attainment reached by women of the age..

In spite of having such a egalitarian societal structure-women's sexuality was not free rather it was under the control of the clan or community whose leadership was patriarchal (Chakravarty, Uma;2009). This could not have appeared as a sudden and dramatic new development. Rg Vedia society was stratified along the axis of lineage. To maintain purity of the clan or caste society sexuality of women should be guarded. A man's position is fixed in line, but women come into and go out of lines. So women are only transmitters, never the carrier of a line. In addition, over the period of civilization war among the clans reduced the no of male members. Due to huge loss of lives in battlefield, upholding the number of member was a dare need for the sustenance of the clans. Therefore controlling women's sexuality was a vital issue. Nur Yalaman , an anthropologist, has argued that neither land nor ritual quality, that is the purity of caste, can be ensured without guarding women who form the pivot of the entire structure(as cited in Chakravarty, Uma;2009) . Kumkum Roy examining the major Brahmanical texts of the period B.C. 800 to B.C. 400 shows how 'varna' stratification, control over production and control over reproduction were sought to be legitimated by the rituals outlined in the Brahmanical texts and performed by the kings of one hand and head of the family (yajamana)-on the other. To sum up the evidence of the Buddhist texts (600B.C. to 300 B.C) one can observe that the birth based hierarchy was not yet in place, patrilineal succession and the emergence of private control over land was in place. This changes accompanied by succession by the matrilineal succession to kinship-meant that the sexual behaviour of certain categories of women needed to be not only under

male control but also closely guarded (Chakravarty, Uma,1993). Crucial question had raised-in whose hand did the management of female sexuality come to reside?

Section 3: Gender Ideology in Manusmriti:

This process of control was solved in sacred script , particularly in 'Manusmriti', attributed to roughly the second century A.D. Women had started to lose their freedom and to find restriction that tended to deprived her from her traditional status in the Manuscript (Singha, K; 2010). Grhyasutra also provide that though the privilege to become educated was not denied to a woman, simultaneously, there is also a categorical plea for her early marriage. This matter creates the base of next step to deprive her from having any access to the source of knowledge. The study of the Vedas came to be confined only to male children, the females being entitled to only one sacrament, namely marriage. To serve and worship their husbands with respect and obedience is their only duty. By the fulfillment of that duty alone they succeed in attaining heaven.

Now who is Manu? Who wrote Manuscript? Generally, Manu is that scripture who shackled the social system, leading life of citizens of post-Vedic age. Now was he a single scripture or a group of scriptures? Hirendranath Dutta (1968) has discussed the matter in his book 'Manu's Branashram'. According to him it is impossible to find original Manuscript. Over the period of time, a lot of addition and subtraction has taken placed slowly in this jurisprudence or law book. He stated 'religion' is not the doctrine of philosophy rather it refer the cultivation and constant application of laws, rites, proper and improper duties, rules and regulations of those customs which are weapons of social managements/organization. Jurisprudence/law book is a special type of sacred script. It is the code of law that an individual must memorize. Therefore, cultivation of this law book left deep impression in the mind of an individual. All these law books were fabricated in verse. Usually verse should be memorized so that verses have immense impression in mind.

According to Hirendranath Dutta (1968), Manu is not a name of an individual or a group of people. Rather it is the designation of an office. Manu has been transformed into the complete institution that has been controlling the culture, customs, and rites of entire Hindu society since post-Vedic age.

Now if we treat Manuscript as a designation of an office, then definitely the economic, cultural, political and legal processes that associated with the Manuscript were masculine.

Through marriage the family reproduces the social structure-the family, the lineage, the property system and the Brahmanical status order. It is media of exchanges of a newly recognized commodity- that is Girl. Not only that, though Manu ordained the girl to be 'svayamvara' in case failure of her father to meet the exorbitant demands of the person whom he selected as her daughter's partner,

Then why Manu prescribed that a 'svayamvara' girl could not receive any gift from her parent's house? Therefore, women who selected her partner independently must be deprived from getting any financial gift from

parent's house. As a consequence, woman was not fit to be independent. Pre-puberty marriage was considered to be normal after sixth century A.D. The mechanism of control women through three devices and three levels: the first was ideology; the second was the right to discipline and keep women under control granted to their kinsmen; and the third was the power of the king to discipline and punish them for their errant behaviour. Chakravarti (2009) stated that the success of any system may be seen in the subtle working of its ideology and in that sense the 'pativrata' concept can be regarded as the master stroke of the genius of the Hindu normative order as expressed in its cultural values for women. Women themselves controlled their own sexuality and believed that they gained power and respect through the code they adopted.

After the beginning of the Christian era the whole of north India was under the rule of one or other of the foreign tribes which domiciled there. In this period women started to face another complication due to growing sex morbidity. Women became the objects of sexual gratification. To check this tide of sex morbidity Brahmin writers should cry a halt to the state of moral decadence. A further impetus was given to it by attracting social prestige. It was a matter of pride and prestige that one's child was sought after at a tender age. Under the operation of these various forces early marriage became popular.

The ideal of 'pativratya' implied not only the fidelity to the husband but made service to the husband the only duty of the wife and her main purpose in life. With the passing of time the ideal of 'pativratya' became so deep-rooted in the mind of the Hindu woman that immolation became not only customary but a woman's highest aspiration.

During this time it would be nightmares for the people other than sudra to assume women can participate in market to earn income. At that time it was the family which provided economic security to its female member. Being economically dependent on the member of her husband's family, she was exploited naturally.

During that period the structure of family was so that head of the family i.e; father hold the property, other members of the family only had moral claims upon it which the father could ignore, though he might be coerced by his sons if they were physically strong. Wives, sons, slaves and other attendants were dependent. So as regard control of property as well as performing religious rites, it was the son who was the successor. Girl had no right to be a heir.

After Manu the scope of individual property was widened still further. At that time the wife was also allowed to own some portion of property under the category of woman's property which included what (was given) before the (nuptial fire), what (was given) on the bridal procession, what (was given) in token of love, what was received from her brother, mother or father, a gift subsequent and what was given (to her) by her affectionate husband. When the mother died all the uterine brother and uterine sister equally divided the property of mother. There was still necessary to keep rigid control over the enjoyment of property. According to Kautilya, the woman should be chaste and the live under the protection of her husband's near relatives, she was otherwise

deprived of her 'stridhana'. The daughter's possibility of getting the patrimony therefore becomes rare. In case of sonless couple, the daughter's son was successor of patrimony. So for a married woman, to give birth of a son was inevitable not for to uphold her husband's family but also imperative to exalting her father's family also.

Yajnavalkya, the first to categorically recognize the daughter as an heir to property immediately after lineal descendants and wife and before the collaterals including one's father. According to him it is the height of impudence and ingratitude to say that women are fickle, frail and faithless.

The saints who flourished in different parts of India in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries propagated the ideal of equality between man and woman as well as between man and man. Women came to hear them from the confines of their homes and learned of their equal right to be leaders of society. The equality and freedom for women implied in this movement was a progressive landmark in the history of Hindu womankind (Atlekar, A.S; 1938). However, the basic attitude of these saints was conservative because they conformed to traditional beliefs and values. As they dealt with ascetic and devotional turns of mind, they negate the realities of life. A woman to them was a great obstruction in the way of spiritual realization. Thereby, the primary convulsion in Hindu society failed to bring about any significant alteration in the status of women (Kapadia, K.M; 1966).

Section 4: Gender stratification in colonial period.

British introduced English education in India. Their intuition was the English education was introduced to enlighten the people of this land and to help them take their due place among the nations, it came to be used primarily to create a cadre of administrative staff. However the progress of enhancing women status within society was very slow during the years that followed. Aim was to frame an optional course in which the goal was not to prepare the students for an examination but to prepare them to be good wives, good mothers and neighbor (Neera Desai, 1936). Therefore, religious sentiments, social and psychological attitudes dominated the mind of the leaders of society so as still society negated the women to be free as an individual. Agitation against the social injustice inherent in the Hindu social system began to gain in strength when Mahadev Govind Ranade, with his vision, sought to develop it on a national scale. He put forward the idea of a National Social Conference so as to organize a social reform movement against social injustice, particularly against inequality of the sexes (Kellock, J.; 1962).

The Indian National Congress (1885) drew a certain number of women into the vortex of the country's political life. The Indian National Social Conference provided a forum for discussion about the changed position of Indian Womanhood and pleaded for the urgent need for reorienting the traditional institutions in response to this change. From that period idea of juxtaposition of political life, social life, cultural life and economic life has commenced. It was slowly started to realize that all these aspects are essential to form complete identity of an individual.

The National Movement brought women from their hearths to face lathis and bullets and gave them not only a consciousness of their own strength, but a new vision of their true place in society. Primarily it was easy for women to leave their homes for public life in the national cause as this move was supported by their husband and guardians. But as soon as they have realized their ability to work, suffering and leadership and started to raise their voices against injustice in both home and society, they were faced with greater challenges to establish their status. Indian women had now evolved an organization (The All India Women Conference), led by themselves, which was strive to establish equal right and opportunities for all citizens of India regardless of sex(Kapadia, K.M. 1966). However, the member of this organization were gradually upper middle class women who were dabble in social work rather than to put in sustained effort to uplift the status of mass of women. Even the educated men did not able to come out from traditional believes. A survey conducted by K,M, Kapadia in 1953 asserted that majority of graduate teacher believed that the primary duty of women is proper management of home and she should involved in public sphere if they get time after home affairs or if her out-door activities does not conflict with her domestic chores. In total perspective a significant responded wanted women to take up some kind of social services. Social services have its own advantage in enhancing the opportunities to have social contacts and free movement that help to develop her personality, but it cannot be claimed that it provides economic independence. Though woman's interest in property was recognized by Hindu Woman's Right to Property Act of 1937 and there was a rapid progress of female education during 1930s, women were still suffering from economic dependence. What would happen in absence of that freedom? In the same tune with G.K.Deodhar and D.K.Karve concluded the possibility of improving their status in home and in society was meager in the absence of economic independence(Kapadia,K.M.;1966).

On 1930s onwards the rapid strides of education had a great significant for Indian womanhood as women can now be economically strong and assertive. But social taboo of loosing social prestige and involvement in the company of men, they were still restricted to join the market. To some extent women were permitted to do the jobs that were similar to their domestic chores like teachers, nurse, midwife, typist, telephone operator or a personal assistant. On the other hand, during this period, upcoming young educated man is no longer satisfied with the prospect of a wife who can only be the acquiescent slave of his desire and the begetter of his children, but looks for intellectual co-operation and participation in the pleasures and joys of life. Therefore, with the passage of time society has changed its outlook in favour of interest of male member and trained the women as an object of lump of clay (who has no right to speak, have no personal emotion and finally have no freedom of choice) to meet the requirement of male as well as society. Neither urban living standard nor higher education in itself has significantly affected the traditional values.

Unfortunately, the Second World War fetches a new problem for society and its intellectual male leaders. The War hit the middle class so hard economically that there was no

path to restrict her feet into the market. During the financial crisis, all opposition to the gainful employment was steadily diminishing. Types of employment also have altered. Now women opted of such types of employments which were not matched with traditional customs. Census record in 1951 brought out the wide variety of jobs which women have taken up. They were in administration, political services, finance, legislation, trade and business, etc. During that period the employment of women was accepted as inevitable.

The constitution further has strengthen their hand by the fundamental rights-“ no citizen shall on ground only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State”{Article 16(2), Indian Constitution}. Armed with economic, political, administrative and legislative power, Indian Womanhood is now on its march to equality and freedom. Are all prospects indeed dazzling? Do we overlook the distressing shadow of this progress?

Section 5: Gender stratification in contemporary India.

Now i have started to highlight the status of women of low income group when significant modernization had taken place within Indian job market. We would confine our analysis from 1881 and onwards with a view that process of development towards modern industrialized economy started from that period.

A well known fact about the pattern of participation of women labour in working force in India was different from the classic model for all countries of the west in their process of development towards a modern industrialized economy (Banerjee, Nirmala, 2009). In India, during the process of development, women were increasingly crowded in agricultural occupation due to destruction of non-agricultural occupation in the traditional sector. Due to this process of quick modernization women work-force participation were some of the lowest. Following causes were responsible for this declining. Causes were:

- i) The process of modernization was so quick that women could not able to make efficient them by adopting new technology due to burdened of domestic chores within household activities;
- ii) In other case, in spite of having efficiency in some non-agricultural activities (tea industry, jute industry, mining, etc) women were overthrown by authority as men needed this job in such a situation of distress;
- iii) Modern occupation were not evenly spread everywhere.

Therefore, to get a job, individual should be migrated to job-area. But social custom did not allow this migration, because if women were allowed to migrate they could not perform their reproductive tasks. Wives of these migrated worker were given the more responsibility to retain husband's right to family land, dwelling and to look after the family. So from this reason it is cleared that women workforce participation declined not for the lack of productivity of women site, it is the patriarchal society which hold women labour power at their disposal and uses it according their own desire.

In the latter phase (after 1980s and onwards), Indian market became globalized. Statistics suggest that impact on employment in India in post-liberalization has been contrary to the expectation of protagonists of the Structural Adjustment Programme. Majority of Women of this period are likely to identify as loser in terms of worker, reproducers and consumer in a globalised market. The state's anti-human package established trend of misery of women in a continuation way. Though the state of India has launched many schemes for women empowerment, but still the story of misery can be understood in a better way by considering following trends:

- i) In 1991, about 87% of rural and about 20% of urban women workers continued to work in agriculture and that too in manual, mainly field-based operations in that where they have little or no role in decision making. Some pseudo feminisation of the workforce in agricultural sector occurred because still women confined mainly to work in traditional crops and tasks. Here patriarchal society drifts the women to their separate sphere in a guise of empowerment.
- ii) According to 2001 census report, 55.7% of males and 30.4 percent of females has been part of the labour force. In the age group 15-59 the male WPR is 80.7% and that of the females is 40%. Furtherly , compared to males a much larger proportion of females are reported to be engaged as “Marginal workers” both in the rural and urban areas(Table 1)

Table 1: Proportion of Main and Marginal Workers to total population at age group 15-59 in India-2001

	Main Worker			Marginal Worker		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Total	78.8	88.3	58.3	21.2	11.8	41.7
Rural	74.9	86.1	55.1	25.1	13.9	45.0
Urban	91.2	93.5	79.9	8.8	6.5	20.1

Source: Census of India, 2001

- iii) Though in the organised sector, women's employment had increased during 1980s but mainly in public ownership and in a few traditional women-prone occupations. In the next expansionary phase women prone jobs are either offered to men or put out to sub-contractors. In 2004-2005, proportion of directly employed female workers in manufacturing establishments was 14.96 % (ASI report on Absenteeism, labour turn over, employment and labour cost, 2004-2005) .
- iv) According to ASI report on Absenteeism, labour turn over, employment and labour cost(2004-2005) revealed that at all India level the percentage of mandays worked by female workers employed in states during 2004-2005 was only 13.96% which was much lower than male percentage, i.e.;59.93%. Apart from that, state wise and industry-wise data on wages / salaries component of labour cost per manday worked showed that labour cost on account of wages were Rs 212.30 for men, Rs. 91.00 for women. Therefore if societal institution allotted less mandays and wages for women, then women will still be economically subservient rather than empowered.
- v) Due to the fact that women's work continued to earn relatively poor returns, household dependent on women earners are more susceptible to poverty.

- vi) As market expands and modernized, the technology, working place and scale of production shifts from house-hold premises to the factory system. So when they joined job market out of compulsion, they became more marginalized.
- vii) During period of globalization, natural resources like forest resources, water get commercialized which make their home-keeping and reproductive work more laborious.

The service sector has the highest rate of growth in India since 2000 compared to the primary and secondary sector. The 'service sector' consists of array of activities including traditional services like domestic help, small scale trading, sex work, etc on one side and different types of information processing ,business services , software jobs on the other side. The trade expansion has created new employment in both the areas. While pattern of employment in former is informal in nature and latter is more organized set-up. The export manufacturers employ more and more women to take advantage of their inferior social and economic status and their willingness to accept low wages and acceptance of bad working conditions. Here most of women employed work under casual contracts without any kind of social securities. The trends of casulization and informalization have come out parallel to feminization. Surprisingly, Kusago T & Zafiris Tzannatos(1998; quoted in Dutta and Ghosal,2009) show that this process of 'feminization' was not sustainable . Though at the infancy level, there is an increasing demand for female worker, but after a few years, there is an upward pressure on wages, women are no longer preferred. So patriarchal trend is still continuing. Also they leave their jobs due to very long working hours and different types of occupational hazards. From the data of different census in India we also have same supportive stories that annual rate of growth of aggregate employees of women exceeds the number of male in case of marginal workers.

The modern service sectors offer jobs for relatively educated, qualified and skilled women in urban areas. Women of rural areas are staying outside of these opportunities. In addition, ILO concerns about 'the creation of Decent work' focuses on not only 'creation of jobs' but' creation of jobs of acceptable quality'. That means not only the quantity, quality of jobs which related with the matter of amount of wages, working hours, working terms and condition, availabilities of securities and leisure should be judged. This judgment is required for the sustainability of availability of job opportunities.

NASSCOM 2001 estimated that women constitute 21% of the total IT workforce, which is greater than their rate of participation in Indian Economy. Evidence suggest that in the expanding IT and ITES sector, employers demand more female labours due to same reasons as in general manufacturing sector (Dutta and Ghosal,2009). A large number women are engaged in BPO call centres, but only at the lower levels of data entry, call attending while their presence decreases at higher levels (Kumar, 2001).

Summing up, we can observed that though the IT and ITES industries are creating jobs for educated urban women, but it would not bring-up major changes in female employment pattern in the near future. Many women are found in the sector, who once get married and often leave the

jobs due to newly assigned reproductive tasks. Women suffer more from physical and psychological problems.

Section 6: Conclusion

Here from our historical analysis of Indian Hindu society, we have found that gender process (means the production and distribution of meanings which are attached to primary and secondary sex characteristics. in different stage of society is non-cooperative. The 'autonomy' that we understand prevailed only at the pre-Vedic stage. From Vedic to contemporary India, outlook towards women's sexuality and labour have altered as society desire, not sake of her 'autonomy'.

What women need? - The 'autonomy'. But in many cases this increased participation creates hazards for women. Conflicts between family and the personal life is an ever present challenge for them. They are no longer expected to stay at home with children, but instead, feel economic and social pressure to work, regard less of their family status. During this perseverance, she must face a variety of social processes-some are economic in nature and others are non-economic. Some are co-operative, and some are oppressive.

Women of varying 'autonomy' are present within society. Some women give priority and committed to her career and wait too long in life to start a family. From their decision, it is clear that they fear about the oppressive gender process within family which hinders their climbing in their professional status. Because here at home, even today, society continues to demand that women should keep on doing household chores, providing childcare and hospitality for their husband and rest of their family (Supawadee, 2003,as cited in Chowdhury,2009). And all these are causing imbalance within the society. However, such women have a space and time to improve themselves. Not just for the sake of career, but it is their self-development. On the other hand, we find some women who have joined market and are facing an unending struggle to balance work and family. There are challenging choices regarding who will care for young children, how financial needs will be met, and the long-term effects these factors have on women's careers. Chowdhury (2009) undoubtedly said that work/life balance is a regular barrier that maximum women are facing today. There is no doubt that globalization presents woman with new opportunities as well as additional negative circumstances and limitations. Moreover, all that process of globalization needs is a 'competitive attitudes', which call for hard work, continuous improvement, enrichment, and enhancement. To meet these demands of globalization, women should be more dedicated to their career at the cost of their time for family. Here the conflicts arise. Women of the first category have not been worried for these matters. But the women who joined market due to family's obligation to help it financially, they are very prone to face such problems. In a nut shell these women juggle many roles- daughter, wife, mother, employees, neighbor, relative- expert correlate these demands with higher rates of depression among women. All these conflicts definitely reduce her productivity, which creates further stress in her mind. Every moment in their life they are bogged-up the decision whether to work, how much to work so that they can managed the proper balance between career and family and personal and professional

responsibilities. Ironically, marriage, pregnancy, child-birth all are age-related and occurs in the same years when it is the best time for career development. Motherhood is a major source of anxiety for them. In many cases career has been halted due to the reproductive task. But women of the low income, low educated and low privileged sections have to continue these jobs with this heavy work-load. Definitely they can depreciate the job-skills. This could be reflected in reduced promotion possibilities, different job assignment, and other action that could have salary implication (Carlton,2002). After their returning home from out-door jobs, they become engaged in performing domestic chores whose fruits can be enjoyed by all the member of family. It is rare that family is extending her helping hand to perform such works- especially absent for family of low income group. It is very difficult for them to give their left over time to their self-development. Though there are some women who are totally driven to have a successful career, be a fabulous spouse and parents, run a family and still have time for other interest. This is possible only when she is facing all the social processes co-operative towards them.

We have shown that status of women differ from time to time, sector to sector, and the culture to culture. Economical, political, legal and cultural barriers- both at family and within the market interfere with her ability to engage in exchange. Economical urgency can send a large number of women into the market. But the political and legal processes that are operating within the market cannot be proved to be conducive for her to promote her career. For example when women returns to her out-door job after delivering her new baby, she does not get the seniority that she would have gotten after completion of a course. Educational Institutions do not recognize that life and career planning should be taught as a unit. State do not feel such obligation that how it helps its biologically weak citizens to keep the balance between career and family.

Within the family site, the gender and cultural processes that are operating still expecting that working women must produce the use-value for member of the family perform social and religious duties and other typical works that a house wife would do. Moreover, both family and society has identified some works as 'female work'. Even if the spouse wants to share, society and other family member very rarely accept this with an open mind. Gender and cultural processes are not willing to allow women to work long hours. Ideologies are such that women are allowed to join market for such tenure of time that needed to produce the exchange value. In maximum cases feeling of insecurity and suspicion are operating behind these ideologies.

The more they are becoming self-dependent, the more they are gaining self-respect. This entire means that the more women are successful the more they are losing their success as wives. Not only can the economic indepenence fetch such self-respect. There is lots of evidence where women being economically independent, are lacking from self-respect. Interestingly, women are trained by the senior member of family to be submissive and taught the twin virtues of patient and sacrifice, as marriage and motherhood are viewed as the main goal of a woman's life. So structure of the society and its processes should be such that which must

ensure 'autonomy' for women, so that they can have self-respect.

In conclusion, it is clear that during period, situation of the majority of Indian women workers is very much a continuation of established trends. It was expected that process of globalization might create better scope for women in job market. In reality incentives offered during this modernized situation have led to fast changes in the attitudes of a section of urban, rich and middle class society where women get access to education and careers in modern sector. But, dominance of patriarchy never allowed modernization to challenge family's control over women labour. The state in India ensures a tacit agreement to patriarchal forces by not enforcing its own laws and programmes which allow women's capability to venture into productive activities. Patriarchal authority control and direct the fundamental decision of working activities that how, where and how much a woman should work. At a glance, Women's struggle has sometimes been successful in loosening some of those controls. but if we analyze intention behind these liberal approval by patriarchal authority we can observed that the new regime have taken place when the patriarchal authorities realize that either they had no longer stand to lose significant material advantages that they had previously enjoyed by oppressing and exploiting women or they come to find that allowing opportunities would bring in different kinds of gains that appear more attractive.

From our analysis of historical dynamics of changes in gender stratification, one can notice that from second world war onwards, women were allowed to participate into the market not only for the efforts of movement of social reformer but to uphold the family and its member from great financial crisis. So the patriarchal authorities never had undergone a change of heart and had released women completely. The black clouds behind the word 'women empowerment', needs to be identified.

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