UNIT 4: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Introducing the Topic
- 4.4 What is Social Construction?
- 4.5 Social Construction and Gender
- 4.6 Construction of a Girl Child
- 4.7 Sex Segregation
- 4.8 Division of Labour and the Sphere of Work
- 4.9 Summing Up
- 4.10 Glossary
- 4.11 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercises
- 4.12 Questions for Reflections and Practice





4.1 INTRODUCTION





As the title of the unit goes, our main aim is to develop familiarity with the meaning, various dimensions of social construction of gender for women in development through case studies and citing examples. Sociologically, the social construction of gender speaks about the relationship of gender with various institutions like caste, kinship, marriage and so on. From the perspective of gender and development, the process of gender construction can be explained in relation to the aspects of women's life like work, decision-making, honour killing, and the notion of autonomy and freedom. The gender construction operates both at the macro and micro level and very much embedded in the institutional arrangements of the society. In this course, the gender construction will be explained from both sociological and development perspectives to understand the complex phenomenon of women's discrimination and inequality face by women on the account of sex.

4.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit you should be able to

- Explain the processes of gender construction in relation to the culture and ordering of the society.
- Examine the implications of gender construction in relation to development indicators like sex segregation, division of labour, decision-making, and socialization.
- Examine the relationship between gender and the structural arrangements of the society.
- Analyse the necessary features of the universal position of gender construction

4.3 INTRODUCTING THE TOPIC

The unit discusses the meaning of social construction of gender. It starts with explaining the meaning of social construction and understanding gender in relation to culture,

sex segregation, work – force participation, decision-making, honour killing, and notion of autonomy and freedom. To begin with, the section on the gender construction focuses broadly on the culture and various structures like work, sex segregation and division of labour, which are perpetuating the existing gender divisions on the basis of sex difference. Similarly, in the section on work and the sexual division of labour, we discuss gender as an analytical tool to understand the inequalities thoses are reflected in ways of hierarchization of tasks, unequal distribution of resources, invisibility of women's work in agriculture and informal economy, and the sex segregation in sphere of work within the household.

4.4 WHAT IS SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION?

It is very often said that there is no such thing as a social reality and what are 'social constructions'. Similarly in reality there is nothing intrinsically 'good' or 'bad', theses are but social constructions. In other words, morality is the acquired vision of a society. How is the vision of a society or its social construction shaped? Is it shaped automatically? Is it culture specific? Let us examine this process of social construction. Everyday we observe various objects, experience a lot of events and related with various social interactions. These entire phenomenon those are experienced individually help to develop an image of the society or the world. Indeed we filter everything that happens to us everyday through the lens or screen of our understanding of our world. This everyday sense of the world or thing forms the basis of social reality or construction of social reality (IGNOU material p: 6).

Social construction is a social process in which both individual and other social processes are intrinsically related. Every construction or image of the world is influenced by the individual's experience of the society and his/her interaction with various social





processes. Therefore, many often it is argued that the social construction itself carries subjective biases as it is shaped by individual experience. Social construction is also influenced and dominated by the interests of a particular group or class of people. For instance, in Pakistan power and education rest with a few elite who don't take interest in the development of the human resources of the majority. In this sense, the culture, norms, ideologies, and values of the dominant group are used to justify and sustain a particular form of social construction. Hence social constructions through which we understand the everyday life try to classify people on the basis of caste, class, religion, community, kinship, gender and so on. The classification of people is the product of social construction and also forms an integral part of the social processes. Social processes such as primary socialization and the presence of social institutions help to produce an accepted kind of social construction. Hence, gender is the product of such social construction.

Check Your Progress Exercise: 1

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

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4.5 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION AND GENDER

Sex and Gender

Understanding of the social construction of gender starts with explaining the two concepts, i.e., gender and sex. Often these two terms have used interchangeably; however, they bear different meanings as concepts. Gender refers to differences, hierarchies, rankings which exist between two sexes. Gender explains cultural constructions of various roles that are played by women and men in the society. Further, gender analyses the aspect of shaping women's behaviour according to the normative order of the society. Gender as a conceptual tool is used to analyses the structural relationships of inequality exist between women and men, as it reflected in various aspects of life such as household, labour market, education and political institutions. Sex on the other hand, refers to the biological differences between female and male which are same across time and place. Gender can therefore be defined as a notion that offers a set of frameworks within which the social and ideological construction and representation of differences between the sexes are explained (IGNOU p: 7). For instance, gender explains the structured relations between women and men within the society. In Singapore, housework continues to be understood as a gender-based issue, as it is intrinsically linked to women's role and activities. The gender-specificity of domestic work remains central to Singapore's social life and its state policy making (Phua and Yeoh 2008). Therefore, women's association with housework and men's proximity with public work are the products of socio-cultural contexts, further, this notion of separation/difference brings discrimination between two sexed persons. Social expectations of women as natural mothers,

wives, daughters, and homemakers are not only exist at the ideological level, but also operate at the material environment. Some feminist's geographers have argued that space and gender are socially constructed and women's body, their activities, and socialization process are limited to certain physical territory and structure. Sex on the other hand connects the individual with her/his sex categorization and eventually restricts the individual with the social notion of feminity and masculinity.

Cultural Construction of Gender

Gender is being the complex phenomena is socially constructed and culturally determined. Culture describes as a web of relationships that expresses the meaning, pattern of living, and values of the institutions. Culture covers almost every aspects of life ranging from organization of production, structure of family and institutions, ideologies and normative patterns of the society and forms of interactions or relations. Cultural construction of gender talks about the construction of masculinity and feminity in the context of socialization, i.e., the individual acquires the gendered bodies of being feminine or masculine in the course of social development. The construction of feminity and masculinity plays an important role in shaping the institutions of family, economic organisation, political, and religious. The understanding of gender in relation to culture reflects the structure of stratification, existing power relations between women and men, and the process of acquiring the accepted roles and behaviour. Gender construction in relation to culture can be explained through the following points;

• Gender Construction support the system of dominance: The gender categories are never neutral nor they are equal. This construction of gender perpetuates the system of

dominance across the society. Gender as a system of unequal relations provides a range of choices to women and men in spheres of work, production process, access to resources and power, accepting the specific gender roles, and sex segregation in the work and labour market.

Gender construction vis-a-vis Individual Expression of Gender: Feminist psychoanalysis assess that gender can not be seen as exclusively cultural, linguistic, and political constructions, therefore, we need to make distinction between prescriptive construction of gender and individual reflections of these constructions. Prescriptive construction of gender are those images which are socially, historically, culturally determined. For example, the socialization of a girl child like a housewife by internalizing some of the socially accepted behaviour ranging from dress code and good conduct to care and nurture. In addition to the socio-cultural construction of gender behaviour according to the sex identity there is individual's notion of expressing gender behaviour. Individual inflections are made by the interaction of an individual psyche with socio-political or cultural or historical norms. For example, if a boy/girl undergoes sex transformation, there are couple of questions such as how do societies respond to variations in individual's expression of gender identity, to what extent societies internalize various gender roles and behaviours. This point brings us the discussion of doing gender as the concept within the social construction of gender. Doing gender involves a complex set of socially governed perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities that cast particular action as expression of masculine or feminine nature (West and Zimmerman 1991). Gender is an achieved action that is located in a particular social situation. Therefore, it is an observed feature of social situation, i.e., gender outcome of and produced social arrangements. For example, the

newborn only carries the sex identity that is imposed upon the individual by the society. Eventually, through continuous interaction with the parents or primary caretakers, the infant accomplishes gender identity. Often, the unequal treatment of parents towards boys' vis-à-vis girls creates gender difference and turned into gender discrimination. Doing gender is process that legitimizes the fundamental division of the society.

Box: 1 The case of Agnes: A transsexual boy

West and Zimmerman discuss the three analytical categories such as sex, sex category, and gender to understand the notion of doing gender. Garfinkel's case study of Agnes, a transsexual boy would be an apt example for understanding gender construction. Agnes adopted a female identity at the age of seventeen and underwent sex reassignment surgery some years later to understand the gender construction. She possessed male genital and required to project herself as a woman. She was obliged to learn the feminine features and analysing the conception of feminity within the socially structured situation. She did not posses the socially agreed of the biological category to be classified herself as the female sex. More central to this argument is Kessler and McKenna's position, i.e.,

Biological criteria (sex) is hidden from the public perception and individual continues to behave according to the socially agreed criteria of male or female.

Male or female are the products of gender attribution process and form an important part of gender accomplishment/activities. For example, if a child sees a picture of a person with suit and tie, immediately the child connects the picture



with the image of a man. The sex category is socially situated and acquired by the individual through everyday interaction. People perceive the activity of an individual and deduce the category of sex. In this context, gender is understood to be the product of culture and society.

The above-mentioned example shows that the categories of masculinity and feminity are socially constructed and the gender identity can only be established in conformation with the biological identity. Feminity and masculinity is nothing but accepting and showing conformity with socially accepted gender behaviours and roles. Gender identity is subjective in nature, therefore, these categories do not stay

Socialization

static in the history and culture of the society.

Socialization is the process by which the child transforms into the social being by adhering social values, norms, and socially desired behaviour. Many feminists see socialization process to be a self-perpetuating system and have shown concern in the aspect of sex role socialization. Sex role socialization is a means to women's oppression at the larger context. Stanley and Wise argue that sex role is often understood as gender role, i.e., expressing attributes of feminity or masculinity. The moment you perceive socialization to be a system, we understand the process as a system of patriarchy, which only perpetuate the expected values and norms. Family as an institution helps in internalizing two concepts such as socialization and gender

roles. Mother or primary caretaker responds differently to the child on the basis of the sex categorization. The differential attitude includes touching, caring, and ideas about autonomy of boys and absence of autonomy of girls. The more parents display differential behaviour like exposing children to specific types of toys, more the child will express gender stereotypes. Parents are seen as channels through which gender stereotypes are communicated to the children and later the children internalize the multiple stereotypes (Stanley and Sue Wise).

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Check Your Progress Exercise: 2

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.

ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

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2. What is cultural construction of gender?	THE PEOPLE UNIVERSIT	

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4.6 CONSTRUCTION OF A GIRL CHILD

The construction of a girl child discusses the processes of growing a girl into a female in the patrilineal and patriarchal societies like India. It will reflect on the issue of constraints that a girl faces in the process of socializing herself as a female,

adhering to differential values attached with the male vis-à-vis female child, how does she acquire appropriate roles to her gender identity, and what are the mechanisms which help her in internalizing cultural values and visualizing the image of her future. Dube (2000) refers the process of socialization as female as how women are produced as gendered subjects. She further discusses the process to create gendered subjects through the medium of language, rituals, ceremonies and practices. The construction of a gender subject, i.e., carrying the identity of feminity or masculinity is both socially and culturally produced. For example, in every culture the notion of gender difference is thought to be rooted in biology or preordained nature. In Indian Hindu families, the notion of gender difference begins with the sphere of reproduction – both mother and father share different role in relation to procreation. It is culturally considered that father is the provider of seeds and mother provides the platform to receive the seeds and nurture it further. Theses role differences are culturally imagined, and get reflected in other social institutions like family, marriage, and kinship. The social construction of gender questions the preconceived idea to assign unequal roles to male and female, and to analyse how other gender roles are learnt within the complex of relationships and institutions. It is evident that gender identity is created through learning gender roles and therefore, it becomes essential to understand the process of gender construction in the wider context of family and kinship structure. Family and kinship are central to the understanding of socialization. In the process of socialization, family plays two major roles such as 1. rules of recruitment of members in the family and 2. configuration of roles on the basis of gender and age divisions and providing training in acquisition of future roles. These roles of family have become agencies in imparting the characters of growing up female in Indian society.





The construction of feminity is a continuous and complex process and is conveyed through language, proverbs, and rituals. The context of natal home for both married and unmarried daughters is widely used in form of proverbs in the process of socialization. The desire for a boy child is explicit in day today conversation in forms of saying. For instance, parents who are having only daughters often commented as 'future is black as they are not having any support' (Dube 2000: 90). Similarly, in regions like Maharastra, girls are honoured with accomplishments as girls are always associated with home and the household works. In the process of acquiring feminity, the parental home is always referred to be temporary shelter, therefore, girls grow up with the notion of having their own house in future. Girls grow up with the desire to have own house evaluate and instruct their lives to learning socially appropriate behaviors. Proverbs and rituals give the realization of this inevitable fact of transferring the girl's membership from her natal home to the home of the husband. Dube in her book documented some of the proverbs spoken in various parts of India like in Orissa, there is a saying that "equates daughter with ghee". The meaning of the proverb is both the things are valuable, however both start to stink if not disposed of on time. Similarly, there are festivals like Durga puja and Gauri puja which reiterates the idea of 'home coming' in the context of goddess. These festivals are full of rituals which convey the message to young girls of their reality to leave mother's home and will be invited to the natal home in these festivals. In this context, the girls socialization takes place through rituals, proverbs and festivities that emphasis the need to learn adequate feminine behaviour of obedience, submissiveness,





accommodative and so on. The construction of a girl child begins with the feeling of getting temporary membership at the parental place, and the inevitability of learning some of ideal feminine characters.

The process of socialization of girl child involves the inherent steps of construction of feminity at the pre-pubertal and post-pubertal phases. In the pre-pubertal phase there is differential value attached to the son vis-à-vis daughters. Sons are preferred for continuation of descent and daughters are valued to maintaining the sense of pre-pubertal purity in the society. The importance of pre-pubertal purity amongst the girls has given special recognition in rituals of various region of India like Maharastra, West-Bengal, Karnataka and North-India. In these regions, a little girl is associated with different customs like marriage, name giving ceremony, observing seclusion during menstruation and celebrating Navaratra by feeding pre-pubertal girls. These celebrations implicitly emphasis the auspiciousness and purity of the girl child or virgin woman.

Box 2: Case Analysis

In Navaratri, the customs of worshiping and feeding virgin girls are widely practice across India. On the eightieth day of the festival, pre-pubertal girls are invited for worship and food. The girls represent Mother Goddess and they were worshiped and offered food along with other gifts as part of the ritual. Two points can be inferred from this analysis, 1. In this festival the forms assigned to the girls are essentially feminine in nature, 2. The consciousness of femininity is constructed through their dressing style and from the gifts offered to them, and 3. a sharp distinction can be

made between the phases of pre-puberty and post-puberty, and consequently, there is a sense of purity and sacredness is associated with the pre-pubertal phase of women's life. The construction of femininity is symbolized in these rituals and the sense of feminine features is systematically built into the minds of the girl child.

The onset of puberty is the phase, which is marked by changes and transformation in women's life. This phase is associated with several pubertal rituals, dietary prescriptions and seclusion of girls for a certain days and these are practiced widely across India in various forms. Theses pubertal rituals are expressing the significance of sexuality and motherhood for a girl child and the notion of controlled sexuality in this phase of women's vulnerability and adulthood. Marriage and motherhood as two goals are highly valued for the girls in this age and often made obvious to them through allocating specific roles to young girls, observance of complete seclusion and imposing food restrictions during menstruation and so on. The construction of a girl in Hindu family is indicative of the fact of learning feminine behaviour and socialize by adopting the structured role of an imaginary wife and mother.

4.7 SEX SEGREGATION

There is a linear relationship between economic structure and sex segregation.

The notion of sex segregation has become apparent with the advancement of industrialization and capitalist economy. Sex segregation is mostly observed and studied within occupation and economic structure, which reflects women's entering

into a particular kind of profession in the regime of any economic reform. Purdah or the practice of female seclusion is widely followed across countries and communities and it prescribes obvious gender segregation in rural tasks and activities. In Bangladesh, the practice of female seclusion operated according to the inside/outside divide (Kabeer 1990). The author says that the poor women in Bangladesh are subjected to the twofold process of stereotyping. On the one hand, poor women are perceived to be passive and vulnerable, and on the other hand, they regarded as the target groups of policy makers and development practitioners. These images of women have been reinenforced through cultural constructions like women have always in need of male protection for their survival. The social norms and practices have portrayed women to be passive and dependant in the larger context of society. For example, the notion of inside/outside divide has curtailed women's freedom to move beyond the premises of household. Therefore, they perform activities within the sphere of domesticity. In the agricultural process, the activities located near to the homestead by performed and governed by women exclusively. Women's engagement with specific nature of activities are shaped by the culture and society at large.

In the labour market, there is a wide division between men and women in terms of differential wage, access to MGNREGS job card, nature of work and the amount of work. Traditionally, women have perceived to be dependent as far as employment is concerned. For instance, within the family women have access to resources through the male counter part, similarly women in the labour market go through the male channels in accessing wage and other job opportunities. The employment figures of Census 1991 shows severe male-female disparities in accessing the available opportunities. In the labour market, predominant number of

women are non-workers and out of 89.77 of women workforce, substantial percentage women belong to marginal workers. Further, majority of women are concentrated in the unorganized sector as compared to male workforce. The ratio of female to male workers in the unorganized sectors seems unfavorable to women. In the unorganized sector, 95.79 per cent of females concentrated as compared to 89.77 per cent of male workers. In the organized sector, there is larger concentration of women in the public sector as compared to the private sector. There is segregation on the basis of gender within the labour market and this division has led to rising socio-economic insecurities for women working in unorganized and private sectors (Seth 2001). The author indicated that the states having low female status are into low paid and hazardous employment. The proportion of women in the central government services is extremely low as compared to men. Having an understanding of women's employment in all sectors of labour market, it can be argued that women are mostly concentrated in low paid jobs and they are low in status hierarchies. Similarly, women's participation in the field of political and technical employments is very low In the agricultural sector, women's have substantial contribution; however they are mostly employed as marginal workers. With the agriculture, there is sex segregation with regard to nature of work assigned to women and men. In most of the states in India, men are engaged in ploughing and irrigation related activities and women have exclusively engaged in works like sowing, nurturing of plants, and harvesting. It is seen that men are mostly associated with marketing operations of the agricultural produce, and the control of resource and surplus is considered to be the domain of man. Therefore, the benefits of the new government scheme and the new improvised farming practices do not percolate down to women. Women's having less accessibility to monetary resources and new schemes are led them to resort to low

wages and deprived of any labour benefits. The structure of patriarchy of private domain gets reflected in the structures of public domain. The social construction of gender reveals the discrimination and inequality existing in the domain of family, work and employment.

Over the past 20 years, globalization has led to an export oriented economy in countries like India, which in turn created number of manufacturing jobs and brought majority of women into the paid workforce. Women engaged in manufacturing jobs to some extent have increased their quality of life and have received higher authority by earning money. However, in developing countries like India, the sex segregation within the labour market has remained to be the sole determinant in the process of women's decision making and wage negotiation. In the developing countries, women are less educated compared to the men, therefore, the women have always gone for temporary, part-time, and risk prone jobs without having labour and health benefits. Within the unorganized sector, women are resorting to the jobs which are low in hierarchy as compared to the male. For instance, in Bangladesh and Cambodia, 85 percent and 90 percent of factory jobs are hold by the women, particularly in the garment industry. In Colombia and Zimbabwe, 65 percent and 87 percent of jobs in the cut flower industry are hold by women, respectively. In the fruit industry of South Africa, women comprise 69 percent of temporary and seasonal workers. The data shows that women substantially concentrated in the unorganized workforce, however they have no formal contract as employees and exposed to poor safety conditions and other vulnerabilities. Women as the workforce are primary important to global economy and at the same time devoid of health and labour protection.







Check Your Progress Exercise: 3

Note: i. Use the space given below to answer the questions.



ii. Compare your answer with the one given at the end of this unit.

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4.8 DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE SPHERE OF WORK

Gender relations are situated within the sexual division of labour and often create gender conflict. African agriculture is often perceived to be the female system of farming. African women carry out agricultural work independent of their household and family. Within the agriculture, the sphere of work is divided along the gender lines. Women and men's work was located within the sexual division of labour that is the product of existing domestic and kinship arrangements. In Africa, the separation of the sphere of work between women and men implies the social exchange of labour between women and men. However, women's sphere of work is surrounded by a complex set of claims and obligations. As Whitehead argued, two different kinds of social environment govern the women's economic activity in





Africa. In women's sphere of work, they have access to resources like land and the produce was shared with her children, husband, and other family members. On the contrary, women have the obligation to work for their husband and other family members, but there is no direct return for the women's labour. Here, women's sphere of work is independent of the domesticity, at the same time women's labour is constructed within the social climate of rights and obligations. Women's work in the husband's field is conceptualised under her general rights to welfare and maintenance as the household member. In the African female system of farming, women have the autonomy in contributing their labour, however, with other activities related to production like disposal of food crops and access to land are embedded in the social environment and structural arrangements.

Boserup's model on women's role in economic development was widely acknowledged within the field of women's work. The model explicitly discussed the notion of sexual division of labour in the context of modernisation. To begin with, the author argued for a female system of farming and the relegation of women's agricultural work with the wake of modernisation. African agriculture exhibited a dualism based on gender, i.e., the cash crop sector is managed by the men folk and the food crop sector is organised through women's labour and their traditional methods of farming. This model emphasized the feminine nature of subsistence farming and women's inability to participate in the modern farming sector. Though this model had shown a clear cut sexual division of labour that exists in the agricultural sector, at the same time was criticized on the ground that it completely neglected women's contribution in modern food production. Whitehead argues, to meet the increasing

cash needs of the African households; women have significantly contributed in the family labour for cash cropping or increased trading. Women's contribution towards cash crop sector is also conceptualised according to the household arrangements. For instance, in Africa the assumption is that the well being of women is depended on the well being of the household. Therefore, in spite of women having an independent domain of work, their activities, claims, and obligations are tied with the structural arrangements.

Work is often understood to be physical and mental labour. According to Hochschild coined the term 'emotional labour' that reflects a particular kind of work associated with care and nurture. The emotional labour is associated with female occupation both at the domain of family and work sphere. Within family, women's unpaid work is described as labour of love.

Box 3: Labour of Love

Have you many children? The doctor asked.

God has not been kind to me. Of fifteen born, only nine live.

Does your wife work.

No, she stays at home.

I see, how does she spend her day? Doctor asked.

Well, she gets up at four in the morning, fetches water, and wood, makes the fire and





cooks breakfast. Then she goes to the river and washes clothes. After that she goes to town to get corn ground and buys what we need in the market. Then she cooks the midday meal. She brings the meal to the field.

She takes care of the hens and pigs, and of course she looks after the children. Then she prepares supper so it is ready when I come home (Mitter 2000).

The above-mentioned describes the nature of labour associated with females and considered to be feminine in nature. Even in the context of world economy, women continue to work in low-paid wages and bear the image of causal or temporary labourers. The image of peripheral workers or causal workers that women bear reflect the notion of job insecurity and women's inaccessibility to any other forms benefits and career progression. Within the work sphere, women have limited freedom and autonomy.

4.9 SUMMING UP

The unit discusses the concept of gender while making the distinction between biological sex and social gender. The unit contributes the understanding of gender both as social and cultural constructions. Gender as a social division has impacted women and men differentially in the contexts of socialization, work, sex segregation, and division of labour.







Kinship

Honour Killing

4.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1:

1. Social construction is a social process in which both individual and other social processes are intrinsically related. Every construction or image of the world is influenced by the individual's experience of the society and his/her interaction with various social processes. Therefore, many often it is argued that the social construction itself carries subjective biases as it is shaped by individual experience. Social construction is also influenced and dominated by the interests of a particular group or class of people.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2:

1. Gender is being the complex phenomena is socially constructed and culturally determined. Culture describes as a web of relationships that expresses the meaning, pattern of living, and values of the institutions. Culture covers almost every aspects of life ranging from organization of production, structure of family and institutions, ideologies and normative patterns of the society and forms of interactions or relations. Cultural construction of gender talks about the construction of masculinity and feminity in the context of socialization.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3:





1. There is a linear relationship between economic structure and sex segregation. The notion of sex segregation has become apparent with the advancement of industrialization and capitalist economy. Sex segregation is mostly observed and studied within occupation and economic structure, which reflects women's entering into a particular kind of profession in the regime of any economic reform. Purdah or the practice of female seclusion is widely followed across countries and communities and it prescribes obvious gender segregation in rural tasks and activities.

4.12 QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND PRACTICE

- 1. Is gender socially constructed? Substantiate your arguments with suitable examples.
- 2. Explain, gender is a product of society and culture.
- 3. How do aspects like division of labour and sex segregation explain the notion of feminity and masculinity?







