

Historicity of Gender and the Scope of Glass Ceiling

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Indu Shekhar
Ved Prakash
Marshal Birua

Abstract

The article traces the overthrow of matriarchy and evolution of monogamy historically and discusses the concepts, methods and approaches and units of research along with the examination of Glass Ceiling hypothesis of Baxter and Wright. It also highlights the inadequacies and limitations of existing models and considers gender as a special case in India. The article deals with the issue of gender historically with the overthrow of matriarchy which influenced the status of women with the establishment of monogamy and patriarchy, and shows the way out from this problem by suggesting the entitlement from the family as the beginning of the elevation of the status. The article also deals with the popular hypothesis of Glass Ceiling prevalent in western society and does not find much applicability in the Indian context. The article raises many questions related to the conceptual and theoretical edifice of gender studies with special reference to the unit of study, methods and approaches delineating the lacunae and lead.

Keywords: Gender, Glass Ceiling, Historicity.

Dr. Indu Shekhar, Assistant Directors (Research Faculties) National Institute of Labor Economics Research and Development (NILERD), NITI Aayog, Government of India, New Delhi <indusekhar.iamr@yahoo.com>

Dr. Ved Prakash, Assistant Directors (Research Faculties) National Institute of Labor Economics Research and Development (NILERD), NITI Aayog, Government of India, New Delhi. <ved_107@yahoo.co.in>

Mr. Marshal Birua Assistant Directors (Research Faculties) National Institute of Labor Economics Research and Development (NILERD), NITI Aayog, Government of India, New Delhi. <marshalbirua@yahoo.com>

“I think women are foolish to pretend they are equal to men; they are far superior and always have been. Whatever you give a woman, she will make greater”

William Golding

Introduction

Growing up and flourishing side by side through savagery, and far into the period of barbarism, humankind remain, in modified form, indissolubly united. According to L. H. Morgan, the production of iron was the event of events in human experience without a parallel, and without equal, 9/10th of the battle for civilization was gained. Primeval instinct can be found in many rather in any events of modern times. For example, the patriarchy constructed in the genres of poetry, story, cinema, playwright etc. for its hero-centrism and its impact on the mental archetype is glaring in the process of socialization. Briffault noticed this, which has more significance now in an era of individualism. Very few people remain the same what they were and centrifugally gets enmeshed with other selves in organic solidarity unlike mechanical solidarity of ancient periods. Amidst volumes of writing, one rarely comes across a fact that not only addresses issues but also offers a blueprint of the framework.

The connectivity between early settlement and colonialism (as an anti-thesis) again as migration and its bearing upon the gender construction has not occupied the deserved spaces in the framework of the studies. Anti-thesis might have many layers and levels of responses to the existing one from very superfluous to deep structural one. Inventions may seem to be responsible for both settlement and (opposite of it) colonialism (as remigration) also should be seen in terms of the implications in the structure of kinship and property relationship between man and woman. Naval height fostered colonization was not possible without fleets. The interaction of historical categories such as settlement, ancient societies, mercantilism, colonialism, decolonization, neocolonialism, modernization and globalization whether has influenced in the structure much or not should be the canvass and spectrum of gender both centrifugally and centripetally. Whether these have further marginalized the womenfolk, could be an arena on gender scholarship. The role of the property and economy with the dawn of industrialization should be considered (differently by) keeping in mind the inherent and intentional biases historically carried away by men after the overthrow of matriarchate. We shall first trace the historical progression of the different phases of civilization through which human society has passed focusing the situation of women.

1.1. Organizing Assumptions and Propositions

According to Bachofen, the evolution from hetaerism to monogamy was a consequence of the evolution of religious ideas. “Thus, according to Bachofen, it is not the development of actual conditions under which men live, but the religious reflection of these conditions of life in the minds of men that brought about the historical changes in the mutual social position of man and woman”.¹ Recent adherence to religious practices are not dictated by technologies rather a sense of religion itself completely shaped by the ideas cherished by the ancient people. Engels considered the settlement as a possible cause of the overthrow of mother-right. Overthrow of mother right as the world historic defeat of the female sex was attributed to the onset of farming and pastoralism very rightly by Engels. The knowledge of and control over farinaceous food and the consequences of child bearing also might have led to the settlement as well. Nuance of grain and seed has not occupied much space in the symbolic study of gender.

1.2. Centrefugality of Love for Men

Bachofen’s description of The Erinyes, the demonic defenders of mother right, according to which matricide is the most heinous and inexplicable of crimes, is the best part of the book to Engels. The interpretation of the *Oresteia* is one of the best and most beautiful passages in the whole book to Engels. Engels, thus, restricts Bachofen’s nicety of analysis to the description of myth. Morgan used diverse data gleaned in his own study for nearly forty years until he completely mastered the epoch-making work-*Ancient Society*. Partially based on notes by Karl Marx to L. H. Morgan’s *Ancient Society*, Engels came out with *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. He opines, “The social institutions under which men of a definite historical epoch and of a definite country live are conditioned by both kinds of production: by the stage of development of labor, on the one hand, and the family on the other”.² This conceptual dual hint a difference only and not the classificatory character. There will be a difference in agricultural, industrial or mental labor and, family of rural – urban, literate- illiterate, nuclear-joint types. The notion of conditioning can be developed by combining sensate and ideational together. Both Bachofen and Briffault on the one hand and Morgan and Engels on the other hand needs to be synthesized. The idea is at the roots of invention and discoveries compelled and facilitated by the existing conditions and situations.

1.3. Matriarchate

It is argued that the first domestic institution in human history was not the family but the matrilineal - local clan from where probably the notion of matrix is constructed. We are continuing with the clannish-naming till date.

The argument that early human kinship was matrilineal is nowadays widely considered to have been discredited. Matriarchy seems to have given birth to the concept of Motherland. The journey from promiscuity to monogamy and theology to science, and the rise of the middle classes has been dominated by institutional manipulations in an era of barter and cashless simultaneity. “The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilized peoples has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin’s theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx’s theory of surplus value for political economy”.³ “Widely held gender beliefs are in different cultural rules or instructions for enacting the social structure of difference and inequality that we understand to be gender”.⁴ Writing on Morgan, Engels opines, “He discovered that the gens, organized according to mother right, was the original form out of which developed the later gens, organized according to father right, the gens as we find it among the civilized peoples of antiquity”.⁵

Modern historical construction rather opposition of sensate (material) and ideational (spiritual) in theories has to be made idealistic to buy from Pitrim Sorokin to situate the problem of gender studies. Engels finds the constitution of state as a modern development which was always there in all societies to Morgan. “The old society based on sex groups bursts asunder in the collision of the newly developed social classes; in its place a new society appears, constituted in a state, the lower units of which are no longer sex groups but territorial groups, a society in which the family system is entirely dominated by the property system, and in which the class antagonisms and class struggles, which make up the content of all hitherto written history, now freely develop”.⁶ What is argued by Engels here seem to be the very classificatory logical headings of the theme in the very first chapter of Morgan. Engels envisions class struggle alone as a way out. History does not move in an anticipated way always. The class antagonism is getting reduced with the endeavors of equality all over the societies and nation-states especially in those where there are huge chasms. Restructuring of economies has fundamentally altered the nature of employment and decomposition of labor force. However, the dilemma of procreation and promotion is faced by women today too. “This forces many women to forgo promotion and forces those women who do become managers to reconstruct their households so they can, as Wajeman (1999) showed, “manage like a man”.⁷

1.4. Monogamy

The publication of Bachofen’s *Mother Right* can be said to be the beginning of the study of the history of the family. In the work, the author

advances four propositions out of which; the first two are about hetaerism, third about gynecocracy and fourth about violation of a primeval religious injunction which is as such in the words of Engels; “that the transition to monogamy, where the woman belongs exclusively to one man, implied the violation of a primeval religious injunction (that is, in actual fact, the violation of the ancient traditional right of the other men to the same woman), a violation which had to be atoned for, or the toleration of which had to be purchased, by surrendering the woman for a limited period of time”.⁸ Possibly, there may not be any contradiction between Morgan and Engels. The mutuality of relationship between man and woman became imbalanced after the overthrow of the mother-right and then slowly and slowly women were subjugated to this extent. Morgan asked himself how the change might have been made and couched ‘Inheritance of Property the Motive’. He says that man has not respected monogamy. Engels further writes, “Clearly, such a conception-which regards religion as the decisive lever in world history-must finally end in sheer mysticism”.⁹ Thus Engels out rightly dismisses the argument because it is drawn from religious realm. Morgan takes invention and discoveries and not materialism as a motor force of history. Determinations of what relations are biological, thus natural, and which are social, or cultural as a method of argumentations are required to avoid jumping from one to another. Methodology should assume a more definitive importance in explaining what and how?

The concern of Levi-Strauss was with the basis of social organization in the exchange of women, arising out of the principle of exogamy giving rise to kinship system and structural patterns of larger structure which determines the permutations and combinations of every type of exchange.¹⁰ This is in tune with Morgan’ understanding that society was based on sex. The incest prohibition marks the dividing line between man as an animal and man as a social and cultural being. Both incest taboo and totemism are problems in anthropological and sociological analysis which had yet to be solved. ¹¹“The immorality of incest, based on the idea that blood relatives should not mate and the progeny of such unions are tainted and unnatural, is at the heart of Sophocles’s tale”.¹² The concept of exogamy, descent, lineage, rules of exchange of women and its embeddedness in economy has to be focused. That calls for a study of formal organizations and institutions for its allocation of resources and entitlements. The conceptions of consanguinity and incest have nothing to do with exogamy, for these things which developed only much later. McLennan recognized the system of tracing descent through mothers as the original one. Morgan appeared with new and conclusive explanations. However, there have been variations in the organization and institutions of

different societies but it has remained more or less the same. Having seen these complicated historical transitions, we shall touch briefly the aspects of approaches and units to enter into the hypothesis of Glass-Ceiling at a time when the gap is reducing and closing.

2. Concepts and Approaches on Gender Studies

The current discussions and debates about the study of gender anywhere makes it necessary to include all kinds of knowledge for gender theorization. Gender theory cannot afford to be ahistorical, and in studying gender historicity of practices has to be located in the development of institutions. The field of gender is, too complex and contested, being singular from the days of understanding of antiquity historically- the days of homo-sapiens, requires the skill of anthropologists, evolutionary biologists, geneticists, economists, historians, psychologists, political scientists, travelers, and students of comparative law in an inter-disciplinary way. Honey –bee is still matrilineal. Understanding of the giants of modern science and clear conceptualization remains at the core of every research, study and theorization. A blueprint of the framework and themes is more important than creating controversies surrounding the gender studies. The issue in the research on gender is not the schools, which come into existence, with scholars who foreground or mature gender studies and those who emphasize (plurality of variables) the intersection of caste, class, religion, age, and language but in combining them altogether in a theoretical perspective historically. “As a cultural dichotomy that can be applied to anyone of any age, race, or class, sex categorization offers a quick cognitive start to making sense of another in relation to self”.¹³

Attempt should be to explain the differences between cross-societal and national variation of the existing and normative levels of patterns and types of societies or governments, success and failure of a particular state policy, and the orchestration and occurrences of war. There is a need to first singularize and then synthesize the demographic, technological and institutional assumptions in the direction of theory building beyond the caveats and specificity of societies and nation-states as done by Lewis Henry Morgan and Frederic Engels in their studies of situating the women’s question. Let us remember that the difference and classification are only initial building blocks of gender theorization to proceed to establish laws. From this similarity and difference one can deduct. A study of the nomenclature of the papers, modules, and centers of gender study also can tell us something about the state of affairs. Whether it is Gender Studies, or Women’s Studies, or Women and Society, or Women’s Question are different intonations. The work of an anthropologist could be to study the

systems of Kinship corresponding to the changing dimensions of the economic exchanges right from the time of settlement and beginning of sibling or nuclear family. Half of the studies of all the disciplines have to be reduced to the study of the mutuality of relationship between man and woman.

A good framework of theoretical and methodological approach carries the message historically—there is no other way. Beginning with the homo-sapiens and hunting and caves days alongside the development of technology gave birth to two schools- *Gyan-ecocentric* emphasizing woman-centrism and *Androcentric* emphasizing man-centrism. Freud has become very significant to understand the exclusive right over each other in the journey from hetaerism to monogamy. Inescapability of Sigmund Freud to understand the mutuality between man and woman has been announced by Immanuel Wallerstein in the World Sociology Congress becomes scholarly duty of intelligentsia. Marxian conception of political economy as a framework, application of his thesis-anti-thesis in the context of endogamy and exogamy and finally his concept of class dominating modern times can situate the process of embodiment to entitlement. Application of the theories to understand the relationship between footprints and fingerprints for a social change needs to be synchronized.

3. Unit of Research: Individual, Group, Family, or Institutions

The concept has a problem of unit as well. As to the unit and locus of research, there cannot be any doubt that gender study has to do individual, conjugal and communal (institution) which gives meaning and interpretation to the existing and normative totality of the mutuality of relationship. Whether an individual, collectivity or an organization or institution should be the unit of study? In fact, there is no choice here but to consider all in a synthetic fashion to frame the understanding of the problem and solution. This also seems indispensable that institutions have to be studied first before group or individuals. Placement of individuals in the codes of development with the new idea of modern individualism has lot to do with institutions. To do this, ambit and gamut of the categories with its connectivity to each other in terms of dependence and autonomy has to be decoded. “For many of the scholars who reject a feminist epistemology, their unease arises from how the conceptualization of individuals is taken for granted in most of the feminist literature in countries such as the United States”.¹⁴ “Most social –scientific accounts of “practice” or “action” are fundamentally individualistic, treating the person as the locus of subjectivity and agency. That goes for most theorizations of gender too, especially in the English-speaking world”.¹⁵ “Sartre also lays emphasis

on the historicity of practice, including the historical consequences of collective action”.¹⁶ “Blau focused solely on the construct collective life imposes on the individual; structure must be conceptualized, in this view, as a free opposing individual motivation”.¹⁷ Can we have individual in the west and community in the east in terms of locus of research? A wrong question and possible answer is no.

4. Glass Ceiling or Sticky Floor

Glass Ceiling or Sticky Floor is a metaphor which used to represent an invisible barrier in development, especially in gender studies. Glass Ceiling is a block for the progression of women employees in the organization mainly because of gender or racism based on various constructed social barriers, cultural barriers and individual barriers from entry, junior, middle and senior level to top level hierarchy. “The “glass ceiling” is one of the most compelling metaphors for analyzing inequalities between men and women in the workplace”.¹⁸ Baxter and Wright say that the metaphor of the glass ceiling seems to be confirmed by casual observation. Their claim, “It is a specific claim that the obstacles women face to promotion relative to men systematically increase as they move up the hierarchy”.¹⁹ “In their recent article,²⁰ argue that the metaphor of the glass ceiling does not accurately depict the barriers that women confront in the workforce” say Britton and William.²¹ They further write, “They suggest that barriers for women actually may be greater at the lower levels of job hierarchies than at the top”.²² “This is a controversial claim because it seems to suggest that attention to discrimination against women in upper management has been exaggerated and that there is no special problem requiring any special attention, as from the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995)”.²³ Critics do not agree with the notion of level here. “We think that this misrepresents what is meant by a glass ceiling, because it assumes that each level is in some sense independent of each other level”.²⁴ In reply to critics, Wright and Baxter continue, “We are interested in seeing whether the promotion obstacles across hierarchical levels faced by women relative to men are greater at the middle or top of organizations than at the bottom”.²⁵ Glass Ceiling Hypothesis is a specific case restricted to the corporate organization and does not help us in generalizing at societal level.

To test the hypothesis in the Indian context, we take two sets of available data from different sources and try to read the patterns and trends of women in the workforce in some sectors.

Table 1: Status of Approved, Present positions of Judges in India, 2018

Name of Court	Approved Strength	In Position		% of Female Participation
		Male	Female	

Supreme Court	31	20	2	6
High Courts				
Allahabad	160	85	5	3
Andhra Pradesh and Telangana	61	26	3	5
Bombay	94	59	10	11
Calcutta	72	31	6	8
Chhattisgarh	22	14	2	9
Delhi	60	27	8	13
Guwahati	24	17	1	4
Gujarat	52	26	3	6
Himachal Pradesh	13	8	0	0
Jammu & Kashmir	17	8	0	0
Jharkhand	25	16	1	4
Karnataka	62	27	3	5
Kerala	47	30	5	11
Madhya Pradesh	53	31	3	6
Madras	75	51	12	16
Manipur	5	3	0	0
Meghalaya	4	2	0	0
Odisha	27	13	1	4
Patna	53	28	2	4
Punjab & Haryana	85	44	6	7
Rajasthan	50	28	2	4
Sikkim	3	1	1	33
Tripura	4	3	0	0
Uttarakhand	11	8	0	0
Total Judges in High Courts	1079	586	74	7

Source: Ministry of Law and Justice, Department of Justice

As on 1st August, 2018, out of the Supreme Court's total approved judge strength of 31, Females are occupying only 2 (6% of Approved Strength) positions while males occupy 20 (Table-1). Perhaps Apex Court is an institution where Glass Ceiling hypothesis seems to be true. In the High Courts of India, Madras has the highest number of female judges, i.e. 12 (12% of Approved Strength) against 51 males, and Bombay has the second highest of 10 (11% of Approved Strength) against 59 male judges. The representation of female judges found nil in the High Courts of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Uttarakhand. In totality, there are 74 (7 % of Approved Strength) female judges and 586 male judges in different High Courts summated together.

Table 2: Status of Representation of Women in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), 2016

State/ Uts	Total Panchayats	Women Sarpanches	
		Number	% of Participation
Andman and Nicobar	NA		
Andhra Pradesh	156049	6584	4

Arunachal Pradesh	9356		0
Assam	26844	1093	4
Bihar	136325		0
Chandigarh	NA		
Chhattisgarh	158776	5822	4
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	136	11	8
Daman & Diu	97		0
Goa	1559	79	5
Gujarat	132726	4600	3
Haryana	68152	2565	4
Himachal Pradesh	27832	1631	6
Jammu & Kashmir	38282		0
Jharkhand	51327	2284	4
Karnataka	95307	3479	4
Kerala	19089	494	3
Lakshadweep	NA		
Madhya Pradesh	396819	11864	3
Maharashtra	203203	13960	7
Manipur	1784	64	4
Odisha	100791		0
Puducherry	NA		
Punjab	97180		0
Rajasthan	121008	5121	4
Sikkim	1099	88	8
Tamil Nadu	119399	4289	4
Telangana	103468	4600	4
Tripura	10939	285	3
Uttar Pradesh	718667	19992	3
Uttarakhand	61451	4007	7
West Bengal	59296	1657	3
Total	2911961	94569	3

Source: Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Local Government Directory

We have taken total Panchayats of all the states and their number of women Sarpanches (Elected Representatives) to see the gap and find the relevance of Glass-Ceiling hypothesis. The data collected on 3rd August, 2018, the India states viz., Andman and Nicobar, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar, Daman & Diu, Jammu & Kashmir, Odisha, and Punjab having nil (0%) representation of women as Sarpanch their Panchayats (Panchayat (assembly of five persons), the leader of the panchayat used to be called as Mukhya or Sarpanch. Panchayat may be constituted at village level, block level, and Zila (District) level in India). Dadar & Nagar Haveli, and Sikkim having highest (8%) representation in compare to other states of India with 11 and 88 women Sarpanches in their Panchayats, respectively. While Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal having minimum (3%) women representation as Sarpanches in their Panchayats in compare to other states of India with 4600, 494, 11864, 285, 19992, and 1657

women Sarpanches in their Panchayats, respectively. Participation of female in local government is increasing every day and the gap is reducing in women representation as Sarpanches in Panchayats. The Supreme Court of India has given its verdict on regular commissioned positions for women in armed forces.

4.1. Women Entrepreneurs in India

Few names in India will defy the hypothesis substantially in different sectors. Indu Jain, one of the most influential and cultural women, a multifaceted personality is Chairperson of Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd. She was recently awarded the prestigious Padma Bhushan. Indra Nooyi currently serving on board of directors at Amazon, well known by her role as chairperson and CEO of Pepsi Co. India Holdings Pvt. Ltd ranking among the world's 100 most powerful women. Kiran Majumdar is the MD and Chairperson of Bicon Ltd, a bio-pharmaceutical company bringing solutions for diseases like diabetes and cancer rampant in India. Vandana Luthra, founder of VLCC is India's influential women for her entrepreneurship. Priyal Paul is the Chairperson of Park Hotels and was awarded the Padma Shri award by the Indian Government. One of the popular and influential women in India is India's leading fashion designer Ritu Kumar. Shahnaz Hussian, CEO of Shahnaz Herbals is a popular name in the Indian herbal cosmetic industry and received Padma Shri from Government of India. Suchi Mukherjee founder and CEO of Limeroad.Com. Aditi Gupta is co-founder and Managing Partner at Menstrupedia.

4.2. Not Embodiment but Entitlement

Both the concepts of embodiment and entitlement signify the contextualization of the problem and solution to the gender issues. Elson suggests, "The only way to establish an embodied sociology, they claimed, is to shift from theorizing about bodies in a disembodied manner to perspectives of theorizing from lived bodies".²⁶ There is always a lust for hegemony. Women are deprived of what becomes the reigning principle of organizing the collectivity individually or individual collectively. For example, the cases of magician, priestess, scientist, and politician? The actual and factual sense of ownership and possession of males of bows, soils, houses, cars etc are infinite compared to women.

The levels of the countries may not be the same to the communities as it is difficult to summate the levels. Instead of that, it would be better to study three Is- Impulse, Instinct and institutions. A proper study of these three Is might give some light on the impermeable barrier for vertical mobility. Once the archaeology of a mind is set in the family, it will naturally extend and flow to the institutional spaces. Family has to be placed as one

of the central agencies in the schema of construction of liberating framework. "Choosing between self-interest and caring for others is one of the most fundamental dilemmas facing all of us".²⁷ This is, something like, sacrificial demand -Vivre pour autrui from men to reciprocate the child bearing altruism. "Social change has undermined earlier resolutions to these dilemmas but does not offer clear avenues for creating new ones".²⁸

4.3. Entitlement Begins in Family

Family is both an institution and association. It can well mediate between the two formal sides of school and work place- the rationale for its centrality. Despite all the uniqueness of an individual, a family and a society, one has to look not for the structure and function in isolation from gender as a social fact. And finally, the nature of the state through the content analysis of the policies can give some light on the way of gender theorization. "Family life is deeply gendered. Whether we explore the research on marital/partner relationships, parenting, adolescent development, or intergenerational relationships, gender always matters".²⁹ How significant are the orally storied spaces in childhood cannot be guessed? "Research indicates that there is widespread agreement as to which toys are appropriate for one sex and polluting, dangerous or inappropriate for the other sex".³⁰ "We can try to identify the site where change occurs and at which level of analysis the ability of agnate women and men seems able, at this historical moment, to effectively reject habitualised gender routines".³¹ "Therefore, the linking together of the analysis of daily interaction with a concept of changing gender consciousness involves the development of a multilevel theoretical frame that can link changes in the wider discursive sphere to processes of change as they occur in interaction between men and women in domestic sphere".³² This multilevel theoretical frame has to be actually plural objectivity. "Like other multilevel systems of difference and inequality such as those based on race, class, gender involves cultural beliefs and distribution of resources at the macro level, patterns of behavior and organizational practices at the interactional level, and selves and identities at the individual level".³³ "Gender consciousness may therefore be utilized as a means of describing the potential for change in the domestic sphere in light of new emphases on discourses of intimacy and equality in personal relationships, because there discourses provide new conditions and information for the development of a consciousness of rights".³⁴ A personality system is constructed in the family-as a first school. "By focusing on daily interaction as a potentially transformative process, it is possible to conceive of women's everyday struggles around the domestic division of labor as a

constitutive part of a wider societal process, involving slow changes both in consciousness and practice”.³⁵ “Characteristics of a particular historical period do not affect everyone in the same way, this effect will depend on one’s cohort and one’s life course stage when these period changes occurred. According to this perspective, the unique history of specific cohorts will be reflected in their attitudes”.³⁶

5. Obligation of Nation-States

To quote futuristic Morgan for the possibility, what Engels calls ‘verdict’ on civilization, “The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, *when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property*, (our italics) and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners”.³⁷ The obligation of modern nation –states are constantly changing for welfare. The supremacy of society over self is sacrosanct. The destiny of mankind seems to be waiting for human intelligence. “The historical and current mechanisms that support gender inequality may or may not be those that are most significant for other kinds of oppression; whether this is the case is an empirical question”.³⁸

“The economic vulnerability challenges the basic dignity of women, though poverty in general means deprivation for both the sexes, with bleak prospects of upward mobility over time.”³⁹ “There was low awareness amongst women about the right to free legal aid, despite established provisions for free legal aid”.⁴⁰ State no longer can be enemy to women. Avoiding delay by deep pessimism, we are already optimistic. It can be concluded that the amelioration of the status of women should begin from the family, as the genesis of nucleus, supported by the legal framework and governmental statutory law. Gender consciousness originates in the family as a habituality and value, because family is the unit of value and attitude formation of the gender sensitivity. The values favourable to gender equality in the family will work as a motor-force to help for economic equality too in the long run.

Endnotes

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² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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