PATRIARCHY AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA AND INDIA

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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JUNE 2022

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "**Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Contemporary Russia and India**" submitted by me in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for other degree of this University or any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A word of gratitude to all those people who stood by me in the journey of my research. It was a bumpy ride, with moments of strength and some low moments. Without the support of these important people, I would not have completed this. It is only apt that I remember them now with gratitude.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to my Supervisor, Prof. Archana Upadhyay. With her characteristic pleasant smile and patience, she provided all the necessary guidance and kept my morale high throughout this journey. Her valuable suggestions and comments have helped me immensely in writing this thesis.

I want to use this opportunity to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Tahir Asghar, who was my supervisor until his retirement. He has made a significant contribution to my thesis. I want to express my gratitude to the other faculty members of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies for their invaluable advice and cooperation throughout my studies. I fondly remember Late. Prof. Tulsi Ram, I had the privilege of his patronage and mentoring.

The love and support of my family, especially Appa and Amma the basis of all the endeavours in my life, their love and care have helped me in complete this work.

It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to the Russian and Central Asian Studies staff, especially Mr Amit Kumar, SIS and the Central Library staff.

I would like to thank my friend Geetha and Itha for their unyielding confidence in me and for standing by me in moments of panic and distress during my work. My sincere gratitude to my friend, Nayana, for always being my saving grace and for her never-ending support. I am delighted to remember with gratitude all my friends for being kind to me; I owe them a lot for their support and encouragement in my academic life and during the pandemic's peak. I am incredibly thankful for chechi, Takudu, Ammini, Dude and Nihan for their endless love and support.

Remya P S

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GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON RUSSIAN AND
INDIAN WOMEN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIWC	All India Women Congress
AOL	American Online
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CNN	Cable News Network
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
CSWI	Committee on Status of Women in India
CWDS	Centre for Women's Development Studies
DPA	Dowry Prohibition Act
DTH	Direct-to-home Broadcasting Service
DWCRA	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEP	Foundation of Effective Politics
FM	Frequency Modulation
FMS	Federal Migration Service
FSB	Federal Security Service
GAATW	Global Alliance against Trafficking against Women
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDI	Gender Development Index
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMY	Rural and Poor Women, Kishori Shakti Yojana Indira MahilaYojana
IPC	Indian Penal Code
ISKCON	International Society of Krishna Consciousness
ITPA	Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act

IWF	Independent Women's Forum
KGB	KomitetGosudarstvennoyBezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MHRD	Ministry Of Human Resource Development
MNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NEP	National Education Policy of India
NEWW	Network of East-West Women
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NMEW	National Mission for Empowerment of Women
NRI	Non-Residential Indian
NSTFDC	National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCPNDT	Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques
RMK	Swadhar, Priyadrashani, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh
RSDLP	Russian Social Democratic Labor Party
SAP	Structural adjustment Programs
SC	Scheduled Caste
SGRY	Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana
SGSY	Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana
SGSY	Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana
SOMO	Soldiers Mothers Organization
ST	Scheduled Tribes
TFNs	Transnational Feminist Network
TNC	Transnational Company
TRP	Television Rating Point
UK	United Kingdom
UN	The United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UP	Uttar Pradesh
URW	Union of Russia's Women
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization
WIA	Women's Indian Association
WLPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WMW	World March of Women
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW I	World War I
WW II	World War II

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

UNDERSTANDING PATRIARCHY: AN OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Patriarchy is a system that regulates social relations in such a way that favours and prioritizes the male. The simplest way to define patriarchy is male superiority in society. Patriarchy is hierarchical disparity based on gender. It is a system that priorities men in every sphere of society and subordinates the rest. Thus, exclusion and hierarchy are its characteristic features. The genesis of patriarchy came historically, which many theories throw light upon. The patriarchal system manifests through different institutions that help sustain its inherent motives. Historically, masculinity occupies a hegemonic position over femininity. The socialisation process is essential in perpetuating the disparity between women and men. Socialisation displays hierarchical power distribution and reinstates gender norms and attributions of individuals as feminine and masculine. Hence, society bestowed personal traits, dispositions, varied roles and statuses, customs and living stocks, and all of these come under the broader paradigm of patriarchy. Walby defines patriarchy as a "system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women" (Walby, 1990:20). Social structure makes it more relevant to the rejection of biological determinism. It also makes it relevant to identify the rejection of the idea that all groups of men dominate all groups of women.

Patriarchy operates through a particular power structure. Social institutions such as family, educational institutions, and religion justify inequality or help promote patriarchal ideology. Bodily behaviours, mores, rites, clothing patterns, expression of emotions, cognitive developments, language and all sorts of cultural moorings are constrained and controlled by patriarchal ideology. Although women have ensured their presence in almost all spheres of society through arduous struggles, those and the rest of the places are still reek of hegemonic masculinity. Over the decades, legislation was made to remove patriarchal hegemony in Russian and Indian society. In addition to this, many mass movements, protests, and demonstrations continue to be carried out to establish an egalitarian society. There have been enactments like reservations and laws ensuring equal opportunity and positive discrimination against women in India. Rational thinking, technology, education, democratic government, civil society, and legislation challenge the status quo of patriarchy. Indian constitution enriched with the equality principle states that "equal opportunity for all citizens irrespective of caste, color, religion, sex, and place of birth or any of them, there shall

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be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State" (Laxmikanth, 2007).

Russian society holds on to women's traditional roles and duties that give women more importance to family than a career. State-sponsored policies and rules aimed at the restoration of traditional family views. It strengthens society's patriarchal order and the highly influential medium of religion that considers women as second citizens.

The advent of global processes like globalisation, liberalisation, and capitalism has an enormous impact on the functioning of society. Although patriarchy encountered new permutations and combinations, its essence remains the same. It opened up new platforms for women to come to public spaces and paved the way for female education and economic independence. Contrarily, alongside it also accentuated patriarchal systems further. It intensified the problems like trafficking of women, the commodification of women, gendering in jobs and subordination of women, making women face masculine hegemony at every step. Both countries participate in international organisations and ratified covenants,making them obliged to take measures at the national level to eradicate discrimination.

 Changes at the domestic level through women's movements and the intervention of civil society organizations reflect the position of women in the contemporary period. Even though intervention at the government level does not eradicate discriminatory practices and norms, some elements of unequal practices and customs remain a part of these societies. Religion and family are essential elements in social institutions that create gender roles and intensify gender inequality through hierarchal systems in private and public spaces. It changed globalisation and modernization, yet patriarchy remains almost the same as before. Although it is an economically developed country, Russia's gender equality parameters such as education, employment, sex ratio, economic participation of women and political participation of women remain low, and an increased rate of gender-based violence is another concern. The country has a rich history with a higher educational rate and economic status for women. However, its economic advancement does not include the development of women's socio-political position and gender equality. The patriarchal system serves as the base for the inequality toward women. In India, the status of women and their position in the

socio-political-economic field is witnessing changes; the position of women changed for the better compared to their status during the pre-independence period and a few decades post-independence. India achieved progress in women's educational and economic status, but the development in the educational sector and the economy does not reflect women's employment status. Since its independence, the country has adopted different policies to achieve equality and eradicate discrimination, yet it stands behind in the gender equality index.

Thus, the symmetry of patriarchy is very complex, and the interplay of different factors affirms the fact. Both the societies exhibit the same notion of patriarchy at different institutional levels considering their socio-cultural-economic and geopolitical diversity. However, the institutional mechanism to challenge this differs.

1.2 Review of Literature

The literature review on the subject of the study has been discussed under the following broad themes.

1.2.1 Contextualizing Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a social system that enables men to control and dominate women. The origin of patriarchy is connected with the concept of gender roles or social and behavioural norms considered socially appropriate for individuals of a particular gender. Patriarchy entails 'male domination, which means male domination over women. Geetha (2009) defines the term patriarchy as "the absolute rule of the father or the eldest male member over his family"(Geetha, 2009). This term explains the nature of the rule as a rule over the family is not only over the women but also over all the members of the family who are younger than the rest and economically subordinate. The patriarchal system advantages men over women in every sphere of life and keeps women inferior to men in every aspect. Patriarchal culture makes it challenging for women to claim their rights to education, property, and choosing their life partner; it privileges men in power over women in every means and control. The system glorifies women's social roles of motherhood and wifehood, supported and elevated by religion, literature, and sometimes even state-owned policies. Women who were not fertile and widows were seen as a bad omen and were expelled from society. Such practices made women's life more difficult in a patriarchal society.

Women's glorified natural roles' are highly appreciated, and those women who choose to live out of these 'natural roles' are not welcome in society and are denied social status.

Geetha (2009) defines the most crucial characteristic of the patriarchal system as the system which gives privileges to men over women and the power to control youngsters economically and socially inferior to men. In the Indian context, she observes that Dalit or lower caste men are exploited and oppressed by upper-caste men, and men who display feminine characteristics are ridiculed in a patriarchal society. Society designated certain behaviours and occupations as inappropriate for women, and this idea of division of gender roles makes men believe they are superior. Mies (1988) states that there are so many ideas about the origin of patriarchy, which denies patriarchy a universal characteristic and also the idea that women and men are naturally different because of their bodies and assigned to specific roles. Traditionalist view of patriarchy as a natural one gives the idea of a system of patriarchy where the subordination of women is natural, universal and should not be questioned. They accept that the patriarchal system results from the biological difference between men and women. The responsibilities and roles of women are associated with their bodies. Their definition of private and public domains segregates the gender roles. It validates women to stay in the family within the private sphere and allocates men a role in politics as it is natural for them to participate in the public domain. Lerner (1987), in her *"The Creation of Patriarchy"*, suggests that the patriarchal system is not as natural and has different origins in different societies. Female subordination is not universal. Lerner points out the Marxist analysis of Engels's "*Origin of the family, private property, and the state,*" which describes the "world-historic defeat of the female sex" as an event stemming from the development of the private property. Engels's understanding of the patriarchal system can be identified as the first attempt to define the patriarchal system. He describes the origin of patriarchy as a product of 'private property. He pointed out that early society was egalitarian with a simple, functional 'division of labour'. He defines the family system as a simple system where women and men coexist. Men found food and made necessary arrangements to carry out the household tasks; women cared for the house and children. Women had all the freedom in the system to choose their men. The household is described as 'communistic', comprising several families with joint ownership of production and

property. Women were allowed sexual choices. The changes happened with the introduction of 'private property. Once the communities started to live in one place and produce more goods, the rivalry started over producing and controlling these goods. It eventually led to society's division into two classes; masters and enslaved people, exploiters and exploited. Gradually, the production of goods became the source of wealth, where a male activity started to be seen as essential, and women's domesticity was sidelined as remote work inside the house. The power women had earlier over the house and essentially over her choice was lost by dissolving the communistic household, which led to the development of women as domestic servants. The growing significance of production led to the development of private property that made men master over the land, animals, enslaved people, and women. Engel identifies the emergence of monogamous marriage, the power of men over women, and the beginning of private ownership. The relationship between the two groups became unequal under the private property and monogamous marriage system. In the first sexual division of labour, men did the hunting and women did food gathering, and childcare seemed to derive from biological sex differences. Sexuality is an important site of male domination over women (Gerda, 1986).

Mary (1990) states that capitalism and patriarchy are identified as mutually dependent ideas; another view of patriarchy is an ideology to protect sexual hierarchy. The radical feminist view of subordination of women by men does not derive from any form of social inequalities. Marxist feminism identifies capitalism as the reason for the oppression of women and gender inequality. Men's domination of women is a byproduct of capital's domination over labour. Capitalism was the most significant cause for the suppression of women, and men would use capitalism as a tool to keep women inferior to them (Reed, 1970).

The dual system theory of patriarchy synthesises both Marxist and radical feminist theory. The theory emphasizes capitalism and patriarchy as the base for gender relations while not focusing on any systems. As an interrelated system, both systems affect one another. Patriarchy provides a system of control in terms of law and order, while capitalism provides a system of economy. In its more comprehensive definition, patriarchy means the manifestation and institutionalization of male supremacy over women and children in private spaces with the addition of male dominance over women. It indicates that men hold power in all influential organizations of society,

and women are disadvantaged in terms of the right to use such power. However, it does not indicate that women are incapable or deprived of rights, power, and wealth (Gerda, 1986).

Women are subordinate to men in daily life, where they are met with discrimination, control, exploitation, insult, and violence in private and public spaces in society. Discrimination against girls in education, lack of freedom and mobility, sexual harassment in the workplace and men's control over women's sexuality and fertility are examples of women's oppression. Women's subordination refers to a societal condition in which women are forced to stay under the control of men. In this way, patriarchy operates some social customs, traditions, and roles through socialisation to keep women under men's control. Walby (1990) says that patriarchy created masculine-feminine characteristics and private-public realms through gendered socialisation to preserve male supremacy. All agents of the socialization process, such as the family, religion, legal system, economic system, political system, educational institutions and media, are pillars of a patriarchal system and structure. "In this system, women's labour-power, women's reproduction, women's sexuality, women's mobility and property and other economic resources are under patriarchal control"(Walby, 1990). Women's subordination in society exists universally and only differs in degrees. One factor behind the universal acceptance of subordination or subjugation of women inside the family is women's childbearing capacity. Walby identifies two forms of the patriarchal system; private and public.

Private patriarchy "is based on the household products with a patriarch controlling women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of the home, public patriarchy is based on structures other than the household, although this may a still be a significant patriarchal site" (Walby, 1990:178).

Societies, where women are treated differently in private spaces and public places show the low status of women in them. Patriarchy is mainly practised through violence. Due to violence like rape and other sexual abuse, they stay at home and are socially suppressed. Increasing violence against women, domestic violence, sexual exploitation in the workplace and gang rapes are prevalent in patriarchal societies. Instead of making public places accessible for women, society tries to keep them

away from public spaces; and by doing so, society indirectly supports the increasingly violent nature of patriarchal men.

Patriarchy is a political-social system that asserts that males are intrinsically dominating, superior to everything, and everybody is deemed feeble, especially women; they are endowed with the right to control and rule over the weak and continue that dominance through different forms of psychological terrorism and violence. The patriarchal system prescribes specific characteristics, behaviour and activities for men and women. Men should be brave, dominant, courageous, and protectors of women. Women should be pretty, obedient, and subordinate. Girls and boys are socialized to behave according to their respective gender roles (Johnson, 2004). Socialisation happens through family, religion, educational institutions, and media. The most powerful tool of control over women is economic dependence— family responsibilities denied women free movement and the social structure that prevents women from joining the labour force. Denying women access to economic resources and controlling their sexuality is the core idea of the patriarchal system. Patriarchy is a political-social system that asserts that males are intrinsically dominating, superior to everything, and everybody deemed feeble, especially women, endowed with the right to control and rule over the weak and continue that dominance through different forms of psychological terrorism and violence.

Sydie (1987) talks about Aristotle's thought on the male and female relationships; in terms of reproduction, the contribution of males and females has differed, "the body is from the female, it is the soul from the male, the rule of the soul over the body is natural expedient". Regarding the body and soul relation, Aristotle supports the nature theory of suppressing women as natural and equal and the rule of women as unnatural. It follows the duality of male/ female, active/passive, form/matter and possession/ depression. He observes that men as naturally designed to rule and women are to obey. He elaborates on the natural subordination of women by stating that reproducing capacity is the source of women's weakness, and compassion, pity, and love are emotions common for women. "The frailty of the body" results in women's emotional and mental weakness, thereby making them unfit for public life and responsibilities. De Beauvoir (2013) pointed out that "the bearing of maternity upon the individual life, regulated naturally in animals by the estrus cycle and seasons is not prescribed in women- society alone is the arbiter". Weber describes patriarchy

as power not limited by tradition or competing powers. "Domination is absolute and is legitimized as well as constrained by traditional norms". The traditional legitimization of the oppression of women offers more reasons to practice patriarchy. Within the patriarchal households, the authority of the master is based on tradition.

However, not all men in the households become patriarchs, some for economic reasons and others due to social prohibition. Patriarchy, according to Weber, describes the social organization of power between men as exercised over women, children, and enslaved people. Both men and women are subjected to the patriarch's power; the men's authority is only within the households. Weber suggests that when social relations are codified outside the household, then the rule of the patriarch is inevitable. Theoretically, there is no reason why women should care for children and perform the majority of the housework except for the reason that they give birth to children; however, in a world of privatized reproduction, of a stiff sexual division of labour, where jobs are not paid at the same rate as men's, for most families, there is no substitute (Lindsey, 1989).In the materialistic approach of patriarchy, the oppression of women is systematic and is built into the structure of society. Women's subordination is material-based and a consequence of capitalism, especially in a class society.

Subordination of one gender over another happens through the support of social institutions through which the system of patriarchy sustain. Gender inequalities in a patriarchal society are rooted in the society's social, economic, and political structures. Hierarchical order in the family is the foundation of a patriarchal system and is reflected in other social institutions. Patriarchy dissolves into the system and begins to look like something that existed right from the system's origin. It reflects in social institutions like religion, education, marriage, media, politics, and the economy.

Patriarchy is a hierarchical system where gender inequalities prevail the most. Patriarchal societies justify the subordination of the weaker sections to the superior ones. Here, the weaker section includes women, children, and LGBT communities. Traditional values develop through religious customs, subordinating the weaker section to the superior. Women are more educated and are employed in every other career; yet, the nature of the patriarchal system refuses to do away with the traditional belief of subordination. The sex difference is a cultural product, sexual attributes are

biologically given, but gender is a historical process (Lerner, 1986). Johnson (1985) points out that patriarchy is not about men as an individual and their rule; it is the kind of society that produces oppression of women, violence, and sexual crimes. Patriarchy is a society organized around certain social relations and ideas, and individuals participate in it.

> Patriarchy as a system - what fuels competition, aggression, and oppression - is a dynamic relationship between control and fear. Patriarchy encourages men to seek security, status, and other rewards through control; to fear other men's ability to control and harm them; and to identify being in control as both their best defense against loss and humiliation and the surest route to what they need and desire (Johnson, 1985).

The reflection of patriarchy in the marriage system, arts, literature, legislation, and education shows how deeply it is embedded in people's minds and society. Media is one of the means that clearly shows our society's patriarchal nature, and the entertainment industry thrives on themes and stories that laud patriarchy. Patriarchy believes that there are only two genders; it considers patriarchal heterosexuality natural and same-sex attraction unnatural. These notions of patriarchy strengthen violence and oppression.

Patriarchy varies from rural to urban in Indian and Russian societies. The traditional roles of women as mothers and wives are considered the best option for Russian women. Russian patriarchal values differ from those of central and Western Europe. Women consider themselves subordinate to men, which is justified by all women regardless of class and social rank. Feifer (2010) points out, "Women have a great social activity level in Russia, but they also do not want to lose the private sphere". The main problem is that a Russian woman's home and family are still of utmost importance.

In a culture with a long patriarchal history, women are under-represented in decision-making and face gender discrimination in business and politics. Beauty is presented as a 'natural' female attribute that has gradually become a prerequisite for social and economic success with the contribution of markets and the media. In a culture that embraces the beauty myth, both Russian and Indian women obediently and even passionately monitors themselves and other women, in their misguided faith that such reconnaissance over self and others is not an act of obedience but rather a basis of

empowerment. A link to gender identity is a powerful 'neutralizer' of beauty norms. Exploring female beautification thus maps out power as a mixture of uneven gender relations and a unique understanding of embodying representational privilege over others. Social stratification is replicated through individuals' physical performance deeply guided by dominant norms within a particular milieu.

In their gender-specific forms, practices like beautification may reveal the unequal conditions of existence between men and women. Media images suggest that women can never measure up to the promoted 'ideal' of beauty and femininity. Gender-specific practices reinforce the split into two limiting male and female categories and sustain imbalanced power relations between them. In patriarchal societies, women are encouraged to spend energy and time maintaining an attractive appearance.

The original meaning of patriarchy was "rule by the father" Patriarchy was an influential political philosophy in the seventeenth century. From the 1970s, feminists like Kate Millett in *Sexual Politics* (1971) used patriarchy to refer to men's power over women rather than the older male. Patriarchy was no longer confined to analysing power relations within the family but was applied to relations between men and women across social institutions. Subsequently, feminists debated whether patriarchy as a concept could provide analytical and not just descriptive insights. Feminist socioeconomic writings on patriarchy can be divided into three broad strands. The first strand uses a broad definition of the patriarchal family, equating it with a household consisting of a male breadwinner and dependent wife and children. This household is perceived as the typical family structure in contemporary Western capitalism across social classes and underpins a collective male interest in ensuring that women remain available to service other members in the household. Some writers identified marriage as the key institutional mechanism perpetuating patriarchy within this strand. As women gained greater access to employment and other measures of social equality, male authority within the family unit declined, and gender segregation of jobs became an essential mechanism for perpetuating women's economic dependence within the patriarchal family. The material underpinnings of gender inequality were perceived to be located less within the household and more in the labour market because capitalism and patriarchy were seen to be two distinct sets of social relations and occasionally mutually supportive.

The second approach argued that patriarchy should be reserved for situations in which society is organized under identifiable patriarchs and not weakened to include more socially diffused systems of male dominance. In comparison, there was a need to explore the relationship between the form and degree of women's subordination and the development of economic systems (Johnson, 2004).

Patriarchal societies were characterized as those in which physical force and ideology combined with economic mechanisms produced a systematic subordination of women. The essential elements of patriarchy were present where husbands/fathers were heads of households, wives/mothers were economically and legally dependent on the head of household, children were an economic resource, and husbands controlled their wives' sexuality and fertility. During periods of unquestioned patriarchy, all these elements would be present and patriarchal relationships would sustain because, along with men, all parties involved are interested in sustaining them. Women, in this case, are also interested in marriage because it provides them with an economically supported and socially valued context to carry out what is perceived as their natural reproductive role. The more children were considered an economic resource; the more highly valued was motherhood. However, women who resisted male control would be punished. The larger society also had an interest in sustaining patriarchy.

The third strand in the patriarchy debate represents the most important critique of patriarchy theory; white feminists' use of patriarchy failed to address the diversity of women's experiences and the specific experiences of black women and men. For example, African-American and African-Caribbean women's experience was shaped by the history of slavery and colonialism. Patriarchy has been an essential concept for feminists because it is the basis of the material and social relationships and institutional underpinnings of men's power over women.

Hooks (2000), in 'Global Feminism', reiterates the importance of speaking about racism, sexism, and class elitism from a global perspective when it discusses feminism. The author emphasizes the global identification of feminism rather than narrowing it down to national or class-based phenomena. Hooks unveil the 'ownership' of the white women over the women's movement, declaring them as the masters of the movement and urging others to follow them. Their hegemonic takeover

of feminist rhetoric about equality has helped mask their allegiance to the ruling classes within supremacist capitalist patriarchy. Radical feminists were dismayed to witness many women appropriating feminist jargon while sustaining their commitment to western imperial and transnational capitalism (Hooks, 2000).

Marx (1977) narrates the relationship between men and women as a genuine human relationship. Marx addressed the question of gender in his Economic and philosophical manuscript of 1844, in which he states that through measurement of society, one can find out the status of the women in the social development'. Marx emphasizes that gender is determined by class. Marxist theory provided a basic framework for women's oppression through historical and dialectical methods. Marx stressed that the class structure expresses itself through socio-political and culture but is based on economics. The basic formulation of society is divided into two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. One controls the means of production, and the other only has laboured for its existence. Power and powerlessness are related to a person and his/her position in society.

Consequently, oppression results from a lack of power and class position. It is also applicable to women's oppression. In the class society, women were excluded from the process of production. More than oppression, patriarchy reveals more about the structure of society. It centred the society on men, and all other sectors and systems run according to the wishes and responses of this male-centric system. Becker states this point of patriarchy as "a social system that is male-identified, male-controlled, male-centred will inevitably value masculinity and masculine traits over femininity and feminine traits, in such a system, men and women will be encouraged to regard women as beings suited to fulfil male needs" (Becker, 1999). Becker (1999) in *Patriarchy and Inequality: Towards a Substantive Feminism* describes a patriarchal society as a society in which women play a variety of significant responsibilities; however, those positions often vary depending on race, class, and other dissimilarities. The basis of all these roles is to use women to fulfil men's primary concerns. Qualities of men and women contradict each other, as men are considered courageous, accessible, violent, authoritative, sensible, and non-emotional.

In comparison, women have qualities opposite to them: they are considered to be delicate, helpless, reliant, caring, loyal, and emotionally vulnerable. Thus, these

qualities of men and women make them real men and women fit for society. In that sense, men and women struggle in a patriarchal system as men are also subjected to subjugation to prescribed social and emotional behaviours. Even though the patriarchal culture does not suppress men as a group, men in sub-groups such as gay, lower caste, and lower class are subjected to oppression. Women are compelled to be at the receiving end of men's pain and anger in moments of difficulty. Women are often considered sexual objects in a patriarchal culture.

The members of a patriarchal system deny women equal rights and gender equality. Women's economic and political participation in society is crucial to gender equality. Women's economic dependence is the most critical factor that makes them oppressed and exploited. Fewer women are in the formal workforce, and they mostly take up household work as their designated area of work. Political inequality makes women less likely to be selected for the political field. The political domain is believed to be fit for men alone. Political power makes men powerful to make policies that institutionalize the patriarchal system and oppress women. Socio-cultural and religious factors contribute to strengthening patriarchy and denying gender equality. Social institutions that promote gender inequality and gender roles are the key players in a patriarchal system. Patriarchy has taken many forms throughout history and operates differently in various cultural, geographic, and political contexts (UN, 2006). Wiranto (2013) identifies patriarchal culture in traditional societies as unquestionable since it is always associated with the nature of incontrovertible divine power. They believe that God has determined the differences between men and women and that these differences regulate human life. Accordingly, as men and women are biologically different, their societal roles and responsibilities are different too. Men have always been associated with duties and responsibilities outside the home, while women, by virtue, must remain at home to start a family and cater to the needs of its members. The prime duty of women is to take care of children and the household, making homes comfortable for men who earn for the 'family'. Therefore, this distinction is understood as natural and happens not only within the family but also in public spaces.

Violence against women is another factor in a patriarchal system; violence against women continues to be a common violation of human rights and a pivotal hindrance to attaining gender equality across countries. Violence against women is not the

consequence of isolated incidents of misbehaviour; it is rather entrenched in the structural inequalities between men and women. Earlier, worldwide efforts to combat violence against women were centred on the family. The World Plan of Action for Women was adopted in 1975 in Mexico City at the World Conference of the International Women's Year. It emphasized the need for education programmers and ways to resolve family conflict, ensuring dignity, equality, and security for all family members. However, it did not specifically mention violence against women. However, the parallel NGO Tribunal in Mexico City and the 'International Tribunal on Crimes against Women' in Brussels in 1976 revealed many types of abuse against women (UN, 2006).

1.2.2 Gender Discourse

 "Gender refers to the roles, behaviors, activities and attributes that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women" (UN, 2018).

Gender equality:

> Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys, and equality does not mean that women and men will become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female(UN,2018).

Gender-Based Violence: "An umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed differences between females and males" (UNICEF, 2017).

Gender roles: "Social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture, are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex, these often determine the traditional responsibilities and tasks assigned to men, women, boys and girls" (UNICEF, 2017).

Gender is defined as socially constructed roles, responsibilities, and expectations of men and women because of the socially constructed nature; it can differ according to time and place (Gender Budgeting Handbook, 2015). Gender necessarily involves 'the bodies of actual people and how they see and experience themselves, their identities. This implies that many versions of gender, masculinities, and femininities lived differently in different times and places and varied within particular periods and

spaces. Although there are many types of manhood and feminineness and many methods of organizing gender differences, heterosexual gender is the norm almost everywhere' (Acker, 2004). Gender-based discrimination is found in all countries and all domains in the world. No nation has succeeded in eradicating the gender gap, and in every country, women find it more challenging to participate equally in economic and political life.

The best way to understand the idea of gender is to understand how gender inequality prevails in society. Gender inequality should be considered a structure ingrainedinto the society, not an independent phenomenon. This inequality exists with the help of socially and culturally developed norms, behaviours, and responsibilities. The patriarchal system legitimizes gender hierarchy to maintain gender differences. The factors that exclusively discriminate against women can be traced in different forms. The biological factors of women create specific responsibilities and duties assigned solely to women. Like men, he was assigned to perform specific duties assigned to him. Both sexes are trained to perform or behave in a particular way through socialization. Both girls and boys go through a culturally developed process of gender roles. It prescribes specific duties and responsibilities for men and women. Culture plays a vital role in creating gender segregation. In developed countries, democratization and other technological developments make maintaining a patriarchal hierarchal order difficult. Still, the country's cultural background and religion influence and support the patriarchal system (Wiranto, 2013).

Gender roles or socially constructed roles for men and women have been arranged hierarchically, with men wielding power and authority over women. Female subordination and male dominance have both religious and socio-economic foundations. Patriarchy has been ingrained in social and cultural conventions, legal and political systems, and local and global economies. Crimes against women also serve as tools for sustaining gender roles. Moral standards or social norms reflect the conventions that regulate these roles. WHO states that "men use violence against women to discipline women for transgressions of traditional female roles or when they perceive challenges to their masculinity" (UN, 2006). Privilege for acts of violence against women exacerbates the repercussions of such violence as a control method. It also deems patriarchal abuse toward women as acceptable and unavoidable. As a result, violence against women has become commonplace. The

South African Constitutional Court underscored the connection between patriarchy and violence against women in a critical judgment in 1999. Certain social practices, behaviours, and religious values are also invoked to excuse violence against women. The values, customs, and power interactions woven into individuals and groups' daily lives form what we call culture. Culture is not the same everywhere, combining opposing and incompatible values; when political, economic, and social circumstances propel proponents to positions of power or influence, some ideals and standards gain authority and public acceptance. Discriminatory sanctions enforced through religiously motivated rules and limits on women's rights in marriages are examples of crimes committed in the name of "honour." Some states and social organizations within numerous countries have claimed cultural justifications for curtailing women's human rights to defend cultural tradition. These justifications are frequently made by political elites or traditional authorities rather than those people whose values are directly impacted. The politicization of culture in the shape of religious "fundamentalism" in various geographic and religious contexts has severely threatened women's human rights. The correlation between cultural norms and the use of violence in the subjection of women is illustrated through many expressions of honour killings and the murder of women just because they are women.

Women's economic inequities and discrimination in areas like jobs, income, access to other economic resources and absence of financial freedom limit women's potential to behave and make decisions, making them more vulnerable to violence. Despite progress in many nations, women experience persistent discrimination in the formal and informal sectors of the economy and economic exploitation even within their families. While financial stability does not insulate women from violence, it does improve their ability to make crucial decisions, such as exiting abusive situations and accessing safety and redress systems. Policies such as economic restructuring, deregulation, and public sector privatization have exacerbated women's economic and social inequity, particularly among marginalized sections of women. In many societies, women from specific ethnic or racial groups are more prone to face gender-based violence and violence motivated by their ethnic or racial identity. In India, caste-based violence against women manifests itself in high rates of sexual violence perpetrated by men of upper castes against Dalit women.

UNICEF (2007) suggests that several laws and regulations create awareness and encourage countries to strive for gender equality. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is a worldwide bill of rights for women according to the United Nations General Assembly, which adopted it in 1979 (UNICEF, 2017). It specifies the characteristic bias towards women and establishes a national action agenda to remove such prejudice, with a preamble and 30 clauses.

It defines discrimination against women as

> any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field (UNICEF, 2017).

By ratifying the convention, the states must take measures to end discriminatory practices against women. In 1995, the "Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing Platform for Actions" adopted many policies and areas to consider promoting equality. It emphasizes concentrated efforts in the areas like "poverty, education and training, health, violence against women, armed conflict, the economy, power and decision making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, media, environment and the girl child" to achieve equality (UN 2002). The World Economic Forum initially developed Global Gender Gap Index in 2006 as a framework to measure the size of gender-based inequities and follow their growth over time. The index compares national gender inequalities based on economics, education, health, and politics. In addition, it offers national rankings for comparability among countries and economic categories. The ratings are intended to raise worldwide awareness of the problem that gender disparities pose and the benefits that may be realized by closing them. In the latest global gender gap index, Russia ranks 81, and India is at the 112 ranks. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) to call academics and policymakers' attention to gender-related issues. UNDP first introduced Global Development Index (GDI) in its Human Development Report for 1995. It considers mortality rate, literacy, and Gross Domestic Product and its unequal distribution among genders. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) assesses if men and

women can take an active role in economic and political life and make decisions (Arora, 2012).

1.2.3 Feminism

Feminism as a study identifies the ideological and material exploitation of women. It helps and supports the achievement of fundamental rights for women. It addresses women's issues, including social, economic and political rights. It argues for women's freedom in private and public spaces, the family, and society. Menon and Bhasin (1993) defines

> Feminism is an awareness of patriarchal control, exploitation and oppression at the material and ideological levels of women's labour, fertility and sexuality, in the family, at the place of work and in society in general, and conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation (Menon & Bhasin, 1993).

It went through different phases, like the first and second waves of feminism. There are three waves in the history of feminism. Different branches of feminism arose from these three waves of feminism. Women's suffrage and civil and political rights were at the forefront of the first wave. Informal inequities, legally recognized disparities, sexuality, disparities in marriage and employment, and reproductive rights were all addressed in the second wave (Rawat, 2014).

Patriarchy and male supremacy strengthen due to many factors, so different types of feminism approach it differently. It is classified into liberal, Marxist, socialist and radical feminists. However, the different ideologies understand or counter patriarchy differently; they unite against one social vice; an unequal hierarchal system.

1.2.3.1 Liberal Feminism

The early women's movement fought for female suffrage in the 1840s. The demand for the right to vote started in the UK and the USA; being part of these movements, women felt the need to address their inferior position in society and address the oppression of women. Liberal values give the state the responsibility to protect and promote women's rights and freedom. Disagreement on the understanding of freedom and rights divides liberals into two, and the same goes for feminism too. Liberal feminism is classified into two categories; 'Classical-liberal feminism and egalitarian-liberal feminism'(Baehr, 2013). The understanding of freedom draws the line between

two liberal views. The egalitarian liberal view of freedom by a coercive intrusion gives egalitarian liberal feminism a view as it should ensure personal and political power to achieve equality in a democratic system. Whereas classical liberals identify freedom as an individual's choosing to live according to one's own choice and political autonomy, classical liberal feminism takes political activity as opposing political laws that deny women their rights or are against women. Theoretically, the liberal feminist view does not support the biological difference of gender. They argue that men and women are equal and should be treated equally under the same law. Equal opportunity in education, work, politics, and career were the main argument of liberal feminism. Liberal feminist ideas were successful in the USA and eradicated women's barriers to working rights. Liberal feminism, however, could not surpass the belief in the intrinsic nature of differentiation between men and women. Sexism works through forcing or mandating people to perform masculine and feminine duties, often by legislation, regardless of their inclinations. The differences are suggested to be overcome by choices irrespective of biological differences through legal means. Due to this formal equality, women achieved better positions in education and the workforce than in earlier periods.

1.2.3.3 Marxist and Socialist Feminism

The Marxist idea of oppression of women was the outcome of class division in society, along with the emergence of private property. Eliminating class differences is the way to eliminate the oppression of women. Marxist feminism identifies class exploitation of humankind as the hindrance to the emancipation of women and the whole of humankind. Elimination of class is the way to achieve equality in society. Only a social revolution to overthrow the class barrier could bring women equality.

With a public patriarchal structure, Marxist and Socialist feminism identifies the family as the vital structure of oppression and exploitation of women. Economic independence is identified as necessary for equality. In order to overcome the troubles women face inside and outside the family, paid maternity leave was identified as one of the solutions to make women economically independent. Communist countries put forward state-sponsored childcare systems and paid maternity leave to support women. Marxist and socialist feminism identifies the danger of an emerging state-

sponsored public patriarchy where male-dominated government policies undermine women's interests in favour of the state (Lorber, 1997).

Socialist feminism identifies society's economic and social structure as the root of oppression against women. Equal legal rights can bring equality between men and women, but it could change the social structure. Confining women's space for families, taking care of women, and allowing men to engage in productive activities make women economically dependent on men. Even though socialist feminism takes account of the inequality based on the production process, it also considers sexual exploitation as the basis for inequality and patriarchal hierarchy in society. Socialist feminism proposes increasing the wages of women-oriented jobs to give them economic independence and a way out of oppression and exploitation (Lober, 1997).

1.2.3.4 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism considers patriarchy as the root cause of sexual oppression. The origin and creation of femininity and masculinity as biologically determined categories is problematic. Women's motherhood makes them oppressed and gives men an upper hand in society and family. Social constructs based on gender ensure dominance over women by men. Men's desire and construction it is not favourable to women. Sexuality is used to oppress women, validating violence as part of the system to control and exercise power (Walby, 1990). "While sex differences are linked to biological differences between male and female, gender differences are imposed socially or even politically by constructed contrasting stereotypes of masculinity and femininity" (de Beauvoir, 1970: 258). Simone de Beauvoir, in "The Second Sex" (1970), points out that control over the body is increasingly happening with the availability of birth control and legalizing abortions. Judit Butler notes that" the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all" (Butler, 1990: 7). Shulamith Firestone, in *The Dialectic of Sex* (1972), identifies women's reproductive capacity as the cause of oppression as men control it. She identifies the need to abolish gender differences for women's liberation. Patriarchy is identified as a constructed system derived from biological differences that led to the family's construction and the skewed relationship between men and women (Johansson, 2015).

Radical feminism argues for a need to redeem the identity of individuals and cultures from the control of maleness that perpetuates patriarchy. It calls for a revision of

political power, traditional values and legal framework to dissent against the capitalist society. Conversion of traditional values is vital in creating a new sexual identity, which could create an equal society through the sexual revolution. Therefore, radical feminist believes that recreation of sexuality is inevitable unless oppression continues. Radical feminist view on the subordination of women is not based on productivity but on reproduction and sexuality (Ananina, 2013).

The difference in identifying the idea of feminism gives many articulations for the term. In both Russia and India, the term feminism has a negative connotation. In Russia, historical factors contribute to the negative attitude towards feminism. Most Russians identified it as dangerous for the family and state system. In India, the term feminism is identified with the ideology of the elite class, and it diverts women from their natural roles. It categorizes the issue of women based on class, disregarding the problems of the marginalized women. Rhode (2014) writes that the undervaluation of women's work involves unconscious gender bias. People unconsciously categorize according to stereotypical roles and attitudes. Stereotypes about men and women have remained essentially unchanged since the 1970s. Gender stereotypes are socially constructed roles performed by men and women. Gender stereotypes are strong when women's representation is less. Unconscious bias also helps account for women's underrepresentation in a higher power, status, and income positions. Significant progress in reducing the gender gap in positions and earnings is attributed to equal employment and legislation opportunities.

Russia has ratified all legally binding and non-binding documents regarding gender equality and human civil rights, including the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and the Millennium Development Goals. However, despite these commitments, the Russian government has not done any systematic work to ensure equal access to women in political institutions. As a result, gender gaps persist in all spheres of life, evident in women's lack of political representation and the alarming rates of domestic violence (Zakirova, 2014).

1.3 Patriarchy in the Russian and Indian Social Context

1.3.1 Family and Marriage System

Russia has a certain degree of gender equality regarding education and health, although women face discrimination in the political sphere. Feifer (2010) stressed that being a feminist or the idea of feminism in Russia is understood as anti-men. Their culture upholds the notion that the prime duty of men and women is to be breadwinners and mothers, respectively, and this ideal is so strong that women are happy with their status of being good wives and ideal mothers. They give more importance to family and private life than careers. The Russian family policy report reiterates the same by prioritizing and strengthening the family system. Looking at the increasing number of domestic violence and sexual harassment cases in Russia is imperative. The increasing number of divorces and domestic violence indicates the gap in gender inequality in society. Lyon (2002) observes that the Russian Federation has no specific law to address domestic violence, which is one of the significant problems in the Russian family system. Drunkenness, infidelity, and economic problems were the top reasons for divorce in modern Russia. State policy on the family system and the concept of traditional prescribes the concepts of ideal women and ideal family. Accordingly, a system is natural when the women in it identify themselves as mothers, wives, and child-bearers; anyone who does not adhere to this is a misfit. Gill and Young (2012) states that gender stereotype is evident in Russian family and marriage systems. Women are educated and allowed to work, but they should not make their careers more important than their families. Finding a man, treating him as superior, and leading a 'happy married life is the ideal role of women in society. Most Russian women consider family life the most natural and attractive female role; married women with children are highly regarded. Policymakers never address the domestic division of labour. Men's role as breadwinners or money-making ultimately makes them protectors and providers for women and families. They are always treated as family heroes and are only allowed to do 'manly' works. Marsh (1996) says younger generations are freer from gender stereotypes and lead better lives.

Orenstein (2000), in his work, has extensively studied the relationship between women and family life. Accordingly, women could lead an entire life without a

husband and children, but they were not eager to try it as long as marriage and motherhood were socially imposed upon them. However, they risk compromising themselves in their choice of patterns, in their decisions about when and whether to have children and spend time caring for them. The gap between the relative contentment of middle-aged single women and younger women's perceptions of them was alarming, particularly about matters like lower marriage rate, late marriages, divorce, and widowhood. "Patriarchal ideas blur the distinction between sex and gender and assume that all socio-economic and political distinctions between men and women are rooted in biology or anatomy" (Heywood, 2007:176).

Uma (1993) discusses women's status in India, and dowry is substantial in Indian marriage; sometimes, it is used to achieve economic security and material wealth. The Dowry system was prohibited in India in 1961. They consider the bridegroom's future earning potential into account to estimate dowry, while the bride's education and reproducing potential are only appropriate to her social role of being a better companion and mother. The husband's demand for dowry can surpass the annual salary of a typical Indian family. Daughters are considered a liability and burden because tradition and customs shape the lives of women Dowry system makes women a liability in their homeland; they are eternally economically dependent on men. After marriage, girls go to live with their husbands house; the household work of her husband's family falls on her, and she is now treated as a guest at the home where she was born and raised. Dowry makes the marriage more disastrous as a woman may have to endure ill-treatment by her in-laws if they are unhappy with the dowry they received. India has witnessed and continues to witness torture and murders in the name of dowry. Men are considered necessary in Hindu religious rituals, which give them prominence within the family. Some areas in India have historically been more gender-biased than others. Some communities in India, like the Nairs of Kerala, Bunts in Karnataka, some Maratha clans and Bengali families, have a matriarchal system, with the eldest woman becoming the head of the family and inheriting the property. However, this is a rarity as most Indian women face discrimination daily. Saarthak (2014) says a widow is still a liability in some parts of the Indian society; her in-laws will even abandon her. As the parent family is often incapable or unwilling to take her back, a woman separated from her husband might be left on her own. It is difficult for a woman to break her marriage and live alone because being under the protection of

men is the only way to secure her life. She is subjected to many restrictions and not will even be allowed to attend rituals and religious ceremonies, as she will be considered inauspicious. If a girl breaks these unwritten societal norms or challenges them, she is considered a 'characterless' woman. Here, a woman's character is judged based on her obedience and subordination to traditional and patriarchal rules of society. Women in Indian society are subjected to domestic violence, and it does not necessarily happen in poor, uneducated families; it happens in every section of the society, irrespective of class, caste, and education. Violence against women, unlike the conventional view, is justified as psychopathic behaviours of few men; even rape and battering are taken as isolated instances caused by perversions of a few men (Walby, 1990). Violence against women and children has been increasing, and they are most vulnerable to such atrocities.

In India, women in their roles of mothers, wives and daughters-in-law are still dictated to; women's sexuality is still fiercely controlled and feared, and the dichotomy between women as powerful and life-giving and women as subservient and domestic is still a key element. Ray (1988) says gender stereotyping exists at the highest level in education and the workplace. Women's problems differ by where they reside; in rural areas, girls are still not well educated; they are not sent to school as they are considered a burden for parents, financially and morally. However, in some parts of India, where girls receive education, they enjoy greater freedom. Some regions are better developed socially and economically; such differences are evident in the statistics on health, literacy, education, sex ratios, fertility, employment, and socioeconomic development and the number of women enjoying such rights. Women's education is no longer forbidden but is still controlled, and women's privacy is no longer enforced, but access to work is still controlled. Patriarchal society significantly reduces marital prospects for women who are not sexually virgins; even rape is considered a failure of the victim's male kin who could not protect their women. Indian society is witnessing an increase in killings in the name of honor, and the government should make different laws to deal with such crimes. The condition of women has deteriorated in the last few years, all in the name of protecting culture and tradition. It is an indication of the strengthening of the caste system in society. The so-called values and traditions in society will not allow young women to choose their marriage. Honour killing is an extreme form of moral policing. Toxic misogyny

expects women to be subservient to men and the patriarchal order. Religion, caste, and tradition all come together to justify this anti-woman act and consider it necessary to restore honour.

1.3.2 Labour

Although the constitution guarantees equal pay for equal work, men have a monopoly in leading positions and are paid more even if it is extraordinary work. The average wage of men is, therefore, higher than women, and the pay parity is only increasing. Gender inequality is preserved both at home and labour market. Gender hierarchy inherited from the past was well-preserved, and women were integrated into the labour force as second-class workers (Gill, Young, 2012).

Aswin (2000) writes that protective laws prohibit women from choosing more challenging jobs. Women are generally the first to be fired and face other forms of job discrimination. Even after necessary legislation, struggling companies often fire women to avoid paying childcare benefits or granting maternity leave. Changes in the economy and market policies also resulted in a decline in women's status. The growth of unemployment among women was high. During the Soviet era, women constituted 90 per cent of the labour force. Women form a significant portion of registered unemployed people in Russia. ILO's global wage report shows that women in Russia are highly educated, experienced, and more productive than men but are still paid less than men (Moscow Times, 2014). Violence against women also has increased in the both domestic and the workplace. Overt sex discrimination was responsible for many dismissals of women by government sector employers. Employers fired women because they were viewed as more expensive to employ. Article 252 to 264, chapter 41 of the Labor Code of the Russian Federation provides various rights to working women; however, like any other law for women, this is also not followed. Special regulations and provisions for working women discouraged employers from hiring women. Extended paid maternity leave, vacation time when children are small, sick child leave, and other special relaxations negatively affected women workers as they were considered a burden for the entrepreneur. Economic destitution compelled some women into prostitution too. Organized crime has become heavily involved in prostitution.

Hooks (2000) argues that feminism must address the question of the economic plight of women and that it could serve as a collaborative platform for organizing and uniting women. When reformist feminist thinkers from privileged class backgrounds whose primary agenda was to achieve social equality with men of their class equated work with liberation, they meant high-paying careers. Their vision of work had little relevance to masses of women. The feminist emphasis on work, which affected all women, was the demand for equal pay for equal work. Women acquired more rights regarding salaries and positions because of feminist protests. However, it has not eliminated gender discrimination. Her point of liberating women from male domination is that work alone does not liberate women from oppression. Many women who engage in feminist thinking choose liberation but are economically dependent on patriarchal males. Working women have to spend long hours at the job and home. Better paying jobs with comfortable time schedules offer workers the most significant degree of freedom (Heywood, 2007, p167). Women who enter the workforce became empowered with increased self-esteem and influenced others with positive participation in society.

Since its independence in 1947, India has experienced low average growth and substantial annual variations. Since the early 1980s, the economy has stepped away from technological and organizational restraints. The Indian economy proliferated in the 1990s, reaching a new high of over 8% in 2003-04. In terms of gender inequality, the change has been considerable. However, there appears to be some reduction in recent years due to increased women's education and workforce participation, exposure to global media, urbanization, and the resulting change in societal beliefs. In the 15-59 age range, workforce engagement rates have consistently declined across all categories. Policymakers in the country should be concerned about the drop-in employment rates among illiterate men in rural and urban areas. However, the demand for semi-literate men and women with primary and secondary education has increased dramatically in rural and urban regions. Higher education employment growth has been disappointing (Kundu & Mohanan, 2009:12). IMF report of 2016 identifies that in 2011-12, India's female labour force participation was 27 per cent, the third-lowest in the South Asian area, and less than one-third of male labour force participation (84 per cent) (Khera, 2016).

Although most Indian women contribute financially, much of their employment goes undocumented. Women's engagement in the formal economy is restricted due to societal standards and family responsibilities. They are more likely to experience gender bias, lower salaries, long hours, and working in dangerous conditions. They work twice hard at their homes as mothers, kid bearers, and caregivers. Only 15.5 per cent of women are employed in urban India compared to 30 per cent in rural India. In urban India, 42.8 per cent of women are self-employed, 42.8 per cent work full-time, and 14.3 per cent work part-time. The salary disparity between men and women remains the same in rural and urban areas, agricultural and non-agricultural jobs, and regular and informal employment. Women's migration for work has increased in recent years, and evidence suggests that coercion is a significant factor driving women to relocate for the job (High-Level Committee on the Status on Women, 2015: 19). Shankaran & Madav (2011) identifies the rise of self-help groups for women with financial support helps women develop micro-enterprises for women. Development Bank of India (SIDBI), the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD), Swayamsidha, the Integrated Women's Empowerment Programme (IWEP), and the Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK) are some of the key players in helping women to become micro-entrepreneurs. Another significant development in the unorganized sector is the *Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act*, 2008, which delivers social security for workers in the unorganized sector. Other legislations that were passed for the better condition for women workers are The equal Remuneration Act 1976, The National Commission on Labour, The National Commission on Rural Labour (1991), The National Commission on Self Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector (1987-88) (Shankaran & Madav, 2011).

1.3.3 Religion and State

Religion in society is influential in establishing, implementing, and regulating norms, traditions, and customs. Chernyak (2016) says that in Russia, Orthodox Church has an influential role in creating and maintaining gender roles and regulations. Russian Orthodox Church has a conservative approach to women and their role in society. The existing gender stereotypes in Russia are mainly derived from the interpretation of the New Testament by the Russian Orthodox Church. Kollman (1989) points out that Russian folk sayings and teachings of the Orthodox Church agreed upon a norm that the subordination of women to men is suitable for women themselves and the society

at large. According to them, women are weaker and more accessible to sin, so preventing them from transgression and protecting them is the duty of the more potent and ideal men. Orthodox Church and patriarchal culture viewed women as temptresses; they also emphasised how a woman should strive to maintain her chastity. The hierarchal role of gender in family and marriage is reflected in the church; also, women are not allowed to perform any primary role in the church. A woman's primary role is to take care of her husband and children, and marriage is their 'ultimate' life goal.

Russian state's transformation led to immense national and class inequality, which went hand in hand with their traditional and patriarchal views on gender. Political activity declined during political demobilization until 1995, and many women's organizations were either marginalized or institutionalized by the government by integrating them into other pre-existing organizations. Simultaneously, there was a trend towards patriarchy, which disregarded gender research in politics. Another problem was that women's movements in Russia were not united; they were rather heterogeneous in their views, weakening their influence. Russia lacked a well-institutionalized and unified women's movement. Women's movements of the post-soviet decade diversified rapidly. Increased authoritarianism suppressed independent activism of women's organizations.

Religion has had a significant impact on human behaviour worldwide. Because women were not allowed to attend school for a long time, they could not read what was written in religious scriptures. This has been used to discriminate against women for a long time. India is a secular country; each religion has different religious codes and practices that deal with the duty and role of the individual to follow in family and society. Ray (1998) observes that Hindu tales that convey proper behaviour guidelines for Indian women in their role as mothers, homemakers, and sisters are still transmitted. The duality between women as potent and life-giving and women as obedient and humble is still fundamental in regulating and repressing women's sexuality (Ray, 1988: 4). The Hindu tradition still prefers sons over daughters and nurtures the son; a daughter is considered a bane and contributes to female infanticide in India. The Vedas, ancient Hindu literature, values sons over daughters; even today, communities and families follow this without questioning.

Furthermore, according to Hindu civilisations, only a son has the right to light a dead parent's cremation pyre and offer them eternal peace. This tradition and belief create an intense yearning for a son. Other factors that influence preference for a boy include the need to continue the lineage. According to Jayachandran (2015), the strong son preference in India related to religious practices and cultural norms created a sense of priority for the son and resulted in a declining sex ratio. Son preference tendency also results in a drop in the education rate for females in India. Parents' preference for boys includes the desire to have sons over daughters and the decision to spend more on boys than girls. Religious practices of making women pure and protector of family honour make it difficult for girls to attain education and be active socially. Women should be protected from "pollution," which involves men outside their families; according to one of the Hindu caste system's precepts, one strategy to keep women pure prohibits them from working outside the home. Purdah (female seclusion) is another essential Islamic principle that keeps women from the sight of men outside the home or close to women, such as husbands or parents (Jayachandran, 2014).

1.3.4 PoliticalParticipation of Women

Turbine (2012) remarks that the political participation of Russian women is relatively low. The general attitude towards women candidates and their traditional belief of having a strong male ruler to lead the country compelled them to always opt for male leadership. Even women choose male candidates, as they believe that the political sphere is not suitable for women. Nechemias (1994) points out that thirty-three per cent of women seats in the USSR's Supreme Soviet in 1984, which reduced to 15.7% in 1989. In 1993, during the first parliamentary election in the newly independent Russia, United Women's Group formed an electoral bloc. It got 8.1% votes on the party list and finished fourth amongst the 21 parties that contested elections. This electoral bloc had a communist past; it was a successor of the old-line Soviet organization, 'The Soviet Women Committee', which worked with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). One of the main reasons this group participated in the election was that none of the political parties took up women's issues. They decided to unite for the rights of Russian women. The following year, women's representation declined; with every election, the numbers kept decreasing. Nechemias (2000) points out that in the state of Duma, the representation of women fell from 13.6 per cent to 11.4 per cent. In 1995, only one woman was elected to the 178-

member upper house, and in 1997, Tatiana Dmitriyeva was the sole member of the cabinet. From 1996-to 99, women constituted only 7.2 per cent of Russia's Federal Assembly, with only one woman present in the upper chamber. Only 9 per cent of deputies chosen for the Russian Federation's governments were women. In several provisional legislatures, females were not selected at all. At that point, there was just one woman in the list of Russia's governors and heads of republic administrations and administration.

Women's political participation in India has increased; reservation for women at different levels of governance has made them politically active. Sonalkar (1999) says there has been a remarkable increase in women's participation in politics, considering the number of women who vote in the election and the number of women holding public offices. The 73 and 74th amendments to the Indian constitution ensured women's participation in the democratic process by reserving 33.33 per cent of elected women for different levels of governance. Rawant (2011) says women in India share a high position with men but still face discrimination in many places based on their sex, class and caste.

Many provisions in India deal with domestic, labour, and criminal laws which favour women or give them special protection; some of these provisions are even the first of their kind in the world and up to date. Indian constitution provides for positive efforts to eliminate gender inequality; the Preamble to the constitution talks about attaining social, economic, and political integrity to everybody and providing equality of status and opportunity to all its citizens. Despite the official ideology, women do not enjoy the same position as men in society. Holmes (2007) observes that the rights available to a woman in India can be classified into two categories: constitutional and legal rights. The constitutional rights are those rights provided in the various provisions of the constitution.

On the other hand, legal rights are provided through various laws of the Parliament and the State Legislatures. Laws that already exist should be implemented adequately so women can live safely and free of violence. Erin (1994) says rape cases and violence against women increase daily as society considers them as feeble who are to be subordinated and tamed. Along with the patriarchal nature of the society, the lack of solid laws and proper punishment can be identified as a reason behind the growing

nature of violence against women. Legal protection fails to guarantee women's safety and rights. New Patriarchy automatically privileges men over women where women have little or no claims to society's material, sexual and intellectual resources. Singh (1997) points out that women struggle to be educated, have property, or choose marriage and other aspects of life in a patriarchal society. These resources are a privilege for men, and they are free to make choices that affect their lives. The Constitution of India ensures gender justice and equality; however, the society still follows patriarchy, which denies gender equality.

1.4 Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study

In the context of the present study, the term patriarchy is defined as

> "Social system in which men hold the greatest power, leadership roles, privilege, moral authority and access to resources and land, including in the family" (UN, 2017).

Patriarchy is considered the most complex organization that denies equality, subordinates and discriminates against women. As it consists of discrimination and male dominance, patriarchy has its historical roots in the family, according to feminist and non-feminist thinkers. Facio (2013) define

> Patriarchy is a form of mental, social, spiritual, economic and political organisation/structuring of society produced by the gradual institutionalisation of sex-based political relations created, maintained and reinforced by different institutions linked closely together to achieve consensus on the lesser value of women and their roles; these institutions interconnect not only with each other to strengthen the structures of domination of men over women, but also with other systems of exclusion, oppression and/or domination based on actual or perceived differences between humans, creating States that respond only to the needs and interests of a few powerful men (Facio, 2013).

She further explains patriarchal institutions as "the set of mechanisms, practices, beliefs, myths and relationships organizing relatively stable patterns of human activity concerning the distribution of resources, the reproduction of individuals, and the type of societal structures within a given Patriarchy" (Facio, 2013).

The status of women is widely discussed; however, gender equality is still a distant dream. Growing crimes and violence against women and factors like religion, culture, tradition, and the role of caste and class in defining women's status need to be

addressed and discussed. Patriarchy is deeply embedded in each sphere of society. Patriarchy is persistent in Indian and Russian societies and varies in degrees depending on region, community, class, caste, religion, and social group. Religious traditions and social institutions have a profound impact on the role and status of women. Culture justifies gender inequality and violence by evoking traditional beliefs about how women should be treated. This study will draw attention to religious traditions and social values to identify how and why women continue to face discrimination. The paper attempts to study the conceptual and material bases of patriarchy and gender inequality in contemporary Russia and India. It identifies gender inequality and discrimination dimensions and discusses socio-cultural and political factors leading to discrimination. The study also emphasizes the role of government and constitutional remedies to tackle violence against women and the need for separate laws to deal with anti-women activities such as honour killing and other conventions restricting women's lives.

It is relevant to look at the status of women in the Soviet period, and the study gives a historical account of women in the Soviet Union and a detailed study of how the contemporary Russian government policies affect women and deal with the question of women and gender equality. It covers women's socio, economic and political status in the colonial period and a detailed study on women since independence, i.e., 1947.

The proposed study focuses on the family and marriage system, religion, tradition, and the impact of globalisation and democratisation on women in both Indian and Russian society in the post-liberalization period, i.e., post-1992. Change in the concept of marriage and family system, especially among the new generation, is changing Russian and Indian societies. This study seeks to understand the changes in the state's policy on family and marriage and how new policy change helps patriarchy sustain society.

The proposed study will help academia and create a general understanding of the relevant topic. The in-depth study of the history, cultures, traditions and social systems of Indian and Russian societies will help comparatively conceptualize and analyze women's status. It considers the socio-political and cultural variations and geographical differences and tries to delve into the phenomenon of patriarchy and its

different manifestations at the micro and macro level, in public and private spheres of society.

Social institutions in Russia and India play a vital role in the country's gender equality and keep the patriarchal system strong. It is imperative to examine the role of these social institutions in contemporary Russia and India to examine the gender inequality in these countries. It is relevant to look at the changes in society after globalization as it has both positive and negative impacts on society in general and women in particular. Through enormous legal policies and the intervention of international organizations, the government effort results in changes in both countries' social, economic, and political structures. Along with legal and cultural changes, women's movements at the national level and worldwide have also changed, thus reviving women's positions.

Women's conditions changed from tsarist Russia to the Soviet period to present-day Russia. Many programs, initiatives and legislation have been brought forth to dismantle patriarchal exclusion and bring positive changes in women's life. India has also adopted legislation, women empowerment initiatives and schemes to improve the status of women. Both countries have undergone different economic and political changes and have different cultures and socio, economic and political structures. Both societies have undergone socio-political changes and cultural assimilations, and the repercussions of all these factors on the status and role of women have been dealt with in many research works, journals, and books. There are many pioneering research works on the status and conditions of women and their exclusion and representations at different levels in both societies. However, little literature on the comparative study of Indian and Russian society concerning patriarchy exists. Therefore, this study would contribute a new perspective on the subject.

1.5 Research Objectives

1. To understand the notion of patriarchy.

2. To highlight the manifestation and nuances of patriarchy in contemporary Russia and India

3. To analyze the social condition of women in contemporary Russian and Indian

4. To understand the policy responses of governments in both countries to combat patriarchal manifestations at institutional levels in the societies.

5. To understand the responses put forth by women challenging the patriarchal manifestations in the existing social order in contemporary Russian and India

6. To understand the interrelation between globalization and patriarchy.

1.6 Research Questions

1. How does patriarchy operate at micro and macro levels in society?

2. How does patriarchy unfold in Russian and Indian society?

3. What has been the Indian and Russian states' policy response to social and institutionalized manifestations of patriarchy in the respective countries?

4. How has patriarchy unfolded in the era of globalization?

1.7 Hypotheses

1. The emphasis on restoring the traditional familial value system by the state and resurgent Orthodox Church creates the conditions for patriarchy to sustain itself in Russian society.

2. Religion, caste system, traditions, and customary rules have kept the patriarchal system in Indian society intact.

1.8 Methodology

Patriarchy is an overarching system and a complex phenomenon. It manifests and operates in every sphere of life. Apart from micro aspects, which primarily focus on interaction, major global processes like globalization, liberalization, and privatization also have large stakes. All these depths and nuances have been analyzed using comparative and historical methods.

Considering the topic, the proposed study has used qualitative and quantitative methods. The study has attempted to excavate and explore the underpinning nexus of the power matrix and the socio-political and economic system of both societies. To

unravel the symmetry of patriarchy, its manifestation and operations, and varied situations, the qualitative method has provided an in-depth understanding of both micro aspects like behavioural changes or interactions in different public and private domains and macro aspects like the interplay of interactions at more significant institutional levels vis a vis the processes like globalization and capitalism. The study has used tabular presentation and graphs to give a clearer picture of different societies' changes, consequences, or comparisons.

The study relies upon both primary and secondary sources of information or data. The primary sources for this research include the official policy documents and reports by the government of Russia and India, official documents like the constitutions of both Russia and India, and other international organizations' reports like the UN on the status of women and the UN documents related to human rights. Secondary sources included relevant books and articles, research papers, discussion papers, inputs from various writers in Russia and India, and newspaper and online reports.

Keeping the space of the topic, the study has adopted two hypotheses, which primarily deal with patriarchy, the characteristics which intensify the former and different challenging factors to the patriarchal system of both Indian and Russian societies. The phenomena like the restoration of the familial value system and the emergence of the Orthodox Church are independent variables, and the sustenance of patriarchy is the dependent variable in the first hypothesis. In the Indian context, religion, caste system, traditions, and customary rules are independent variables, and the sustenance of patriarchy is the dependent variable in the second hypothesis. The phenomena such as the advent of democratic institutions, civil society, intensified interaction with other countries, human rights, judicial activism, and women's movements have been considered as the challenges put forth on the nature of patriarchy.

1.9 Chapterization

Chapter I: Introduction: Understanding of Patriarchy: An Overview

This chapter provides a framework for the study and includes an overview of the research topic, the introduction of major concepts, hypotheses, significance, objectives and research questions. It contains a section on the theoretical

understanding of patriarchy and the definition of patriarchy. It also describes how patriarchy exists in India and the Russian social context.

Chapter II: Patriarchy in Russia: Role of State Policies and Religion

This chapter contains a comprehensive explanation of the role of the Russian government and the state policies that strengthen patriarchy and the role of religion in sustaining the same. It provides a detailed study of the relations and nexus of state, religion, and patriarchal system and its effects on gender equality. The chapter provides a detailed study of the socio, economic, and political status of women in the Soviet period, and it examines the policies of the contemporary period and their effects on women and gender equality in the state.

Chapter III: Patriarchy in India: Its Effects on Gender Equality

This chapter includes a thorough examination of its historical specificity, caste identity, cultures, traditions and customs, religious backgrounds and the repercussions of all these on gender equality in India. It highlights how patriarchy sustains through the interplay of power, state, and religion. The chapter describes the status of women in India since independence and the policies and legal frameworks that have been put into place to combat patriarchy.

Chapter IV: Globalization and its Impacts on patriarchal systems in Russia and India

The chapter highlights the impact of globalization on the patriarchal system in Russia and India. It provides a detailed examination of the globalization process and its impact on society. The first sections of the chapter provide a detailed study of globalization in Russia and how it affects society in general and women in particular. The second section consists of India's globalization and its impact on Indian society and women. The chapter highlights the significant changes after the globalization process in Russia and India and how the impact of globalization in different sectors affects the women in both countries.

Chapter V: Patriarchy and its Challenges in Russia and India

The fifth chapter discusses the importance of the democratization process, civil society's role, and other essential factors to challenge the patriarchal system in Russian and Indian society. In addition, it has delved into the challenges of civil

society, human rights, judicial activisms, and women's movements against patriarchy and gender inequality in contemporary Russia and India.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

This is the concluding chapter of the study. It has summarized the previous chapters' key arguments and presented the study's key findings. It has also tested the study's hypotheses and summarized the findings of the explored research questions.

Chapter 2

PATRIARCHY IN RUSSIA:
ROLE OF STATE POLICIES AND RELIGION

2.1 Introduction

The contribution of women in Russia to the political, social, and economic sphere has been phenomenal. They have played tremendously essential roles in building up the Soviet Union and the post-disintegration period. With considerable natural resources like gas and oil, the country stands eleventh in the GDP (Gross Domestic Product), and Russia holds the position of a superpower. The country has gone through different revolutions and witnessed significant structural and political changes with prominent leaders—these periods were marked by wars, starvation, massive genocides, and unending rivalries within and internationally that have a long-term effect on society. One of the most recent consequences of structural change experienced by the Russian Federation in the 1990s was the demography issue, with a declining population rate due to the high rate of death and lower birth rate. The urbanization process in the country left the larger rural areas deserted as youngsters left for cities. The prominent migration trends from rural settings to urban areas show a negative population trend in rural areas. The Russian society consists of Russians as the major ethnic group with 80.9 per cent of the population, which was 80.1 in the 1989 census. The other ethnic groups include Tatar, Ukrainians, Chuvash, Bashkir, Belarusians, and Mordovian. Even though there are many ethnic groups, the language and culture of the Russian ethnic group remain influential in Russia's cultural and social setup. The Soviet Government and the Russian federation used the Russian language as the official language and the tool for the unification of the country and people. Consequently, all major scientific and literary works are published in Russian. Most people belong to the ethnic group of Russians, which makes their language dominant in educational institutions and government level, and the Orthodox Church followed by them become the most important and influential religious section in the country (Curtis, 1996).

Russian society has produced classic works of the highest quality and excellence in art, literature, and music, placing the country as one of the tremendous historical centres of culture. The literature of the Russian Federation has its root in East Slavs[1],

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[1]The East Slavs comprise three closely related peoples, who between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries emerged as distinguishable linguistic-cultural groups: the Great Russians (usually called Russians), the Ukrainians (in earlier times often called Little Russians), and the Belorussians (Byelorussians, Bielorussians, White Russians)

appearing after Christianization in the tenth century. The development of Cyrillic alphabets and church liturgy in the local language of Slavs created a boom in Russian literature. Religious themes and icons influenced the early period of Russian literature. The modernization process and Western influence in literature were begun by Peter the Great[2] and Catherine the Great[3] with the embracement of European classicism. Nineteenth-century art and literature are well found with the social and political observations showing peoples' struggles. The novels and short stories were thorough, going with the everyday life struggle of people. The period is also identified as the locus of the emergence of feminism in the country through western influence. However, feminist ideas were floated only among noble women (Hardwick, 2014).

Women are praised in literature, and women's love is regarded as honourable and beneficial. Tatiana in Alexander Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin[4]* and the women in *Nekrassov's* Russian Women were examples of 19th-century Russian cultured leading ladies; they were icons of a distinct identity that became, eventually, a few of the Movement's parts. The 1860s Feminist movement contributed significantly to the pre-revolutionary agitation. However, Nekrassov's *Who Can Be Happy and Free in Russia[5]*? Offers a picture of the peasantry's misery and exploitation of women (Berman, 1946). The most notable Russian literary classics renowned around the globe include Dostoyevsky's novels *Crime and Punishment* and The Brothers Karamazov, Tolstoy's novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina.* Translated into many languages, these works have been appreciated in all corners of the world.

The novels are notable for the inclusion of discussions on hitherto untouched subjects like the relation of marriage and the status of women in society and are thus identified as the works that came with the feminist ideas of the period (Hardwick, 2014). Despite the strict censorship of tsarist rule, many Russian writers produced seminal and thought-provoking works using the Aesopic language, combinations of dialectal tricks, hints, and alterations understandable for the familiar reader while effectively

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(https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/russia-and-east-slavs).

[2] Peter the Great, Peter I or Pyotr Alekséyevich was a monarch of the Tsardom of Russia and later the Russian Empire from 7 May [O.S. 27 April] 1682 until his death in 1725,

[3] The last queen ruling monarch and longest-reigning woman in history was Catherine II, often known as Catherine the Great, who ruled Russia from 1762 to 1796.

[4] Classic Russian literature published in serial form between 1825 and 1832

[5] epic four-part poem, began publishing in Sovremennik and Otechestvennye Zapiski in January 1866. Its fourth section, "The Feast for All the World," was never completed.

evading the censorship. The best among them was satirizer Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and left-wing author Nikolay Nekrasov. The famous plays *The Cherry Orchard, The Seagull,* and *The Three Sisters* by Anton Chekhov were played worldwide and were highly admired and influential worldwide. The Soviet period produced several eminent poets and novelists like Leonid Leonov and Marina Tsvetayeva. The Stalin era imposed strict censorship and restrictions on writers and society. The formation of the Union of Soviet Writers forced the writers to follow the standards of communist content, compelling many writers to go silent. The censorship continued to stifle Soviet literature until the death of Stalin. However, even in the post-Stalin era, censorship remained limited, making criticisms of social and political life difficult. Many writers were forced to exile and decline their awards under the pressure of the state. Gorbachev's Glasnost allowed writers to come out with the previously banned themes and topics covering social and political life.

The influences of the Orthodox Church were also seen in Russia's architecture and painting. Kiev, the one-time capital of Kievan Rus, the ancestor state of modern Russia, was filled with God's glory on the church walls. Western influence was also visible in the Russian cities, especially in St. Petersburg, the new capital under the Tsar[6] and Kremlin of Moscow, public structures and houses. While the most influential religion Orthodox never separated from the government under the tsarist rule, on the opposite side, it became subordinate to the state during the Soviet period (Aslund, 2001).

2.2 Women in Tsarist Russia

The origin of the Russian empire is deeply connected with the ethnic group East Slavs, who emerged along the Valley of Dnepr River and later expanded along the Volga River. The region's first primary East Slavic state, called Kievan Rus[7], connected with the Scandinavia and Byzantine Empire through trade routes and, most importantly, adopted the Orthodox religion from Byzantine. The armed struggles between the members of princely states who collectively constituted the Kievan Rus eventually led to the disintegration of the state, and Mongols completed it with the conquest of the state in the thirteen century. The Muscovy state was in the most

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[6] is a title used to designate East and South Slavic monarchs
[7] was a state in Eastern and Northern Europe from the late 9th to the mid-13th century.

dominant position among the Kievan Rus civilization's heirs, and they eventually dominated the territory states and paved the way for the upcoming Russian empire. The first ruler of Muscovy was Daniil Aleksandrovich; his son Ivan I became famous for his cooperation with the Mongols and increased his dominance over the state. The land, population, and wealth expansion reached its peak under Ivan III's[8] rule. By 1480 Muscovy had attained sovereignty over the land and tripled its territorial possessions, and Ivan III was the first ruler to use the title, Tsar officially. Ivan IV was the first crowned ruler of Tsar recognized by the Orthodox Church. Moscow became the Third Rome, as the Muscovite tsar was the legitimate ruler recognized by the Orthodox Church as the successor to Rome and Constantinople. The formation of a fully independent and powerful orthodox church was attained during the reign of Fedor, the successor of Ivan IV, who created the patriarchate of Moscow in 1589. The dominant role of the Orthodox Church was visible in Russian society and culture in the later period and continues to influence the state and people (Curtis, 1996) (Orlova, 2018)

The dominant nature of the state of the Russian empire that had derived from the Slavic, Byzantine, and Mongol heritage later emerged as the ultimate power of the Tsar. The state's ultimate power is also visible in the expansion of its territory, as it became a vast country and significant global power. However, this territorial expansion also created nationality issues because of the inclusion of non-Russian people in the newly conquered lands. In order to contend with Europe, the rulers adopted modernization in the society that had a massive influence on society and culture, which is visible in how European culture influenced the state. The rise of Peter the Great came at a critical time in the history of the Russian empire. Peter stretched out Muscovy[9], established Russian Empire with a modernized military, and formed a naval force. He wanted to furnish Russia with modernization, adopting western technologies and ideas. The process started with giving citizens modern education but was only accessible to noblemen. He made aristocrats adopt western style, education, ideas, and culture to widen the gap between the masses and nobles. Some of Russia's most notable women rulers also emerged in this period. Peter the

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[8]Ivan the Great, often referred to as Ivan III Vasilyevich, was the Grand Prince of Moscow and all of Rus.
[9]An alternate name for the Grand Duchy of Moscow (1263–1547) and the Russian Tsardom (1547–1721)

Great's wife Catherine I, Ivan IV's daughter Anna[10], and Peter the Great's daughter Elizabeth were the women who had ruled the empire for a specific time. Elizabeth's reign witnessed the further strengthening of westernization in culture and education. She established the Moscow University Academy of Fine Arts and witnessed the emergence of scientist scholars like Mikhail Lomonosov. The successors of Peter the Great took an active role in western ascendency. Constant war and expansion of the empire were visible from the beginning and continued by each tsar regime (Curtis, 1996).

After the regime of Elizabeth Catherine II, deposing her husband Peter III came into power. Catherine II's regime was notable for the expansion of the country. Invasion in Crimea, the famous "Greek project" by evading the Ottoman Empire and placing the Russian empire, and the partition of Poland was the important expansion project under her regime. Catherin brought social reforms, such as the codes to free nobles from compulsory service for central administration, but her reforms were partial. She refrained from ending the serf system, and her social reforms were limited to the elite groups and disaffected the masses. Her economic reforms served better than sufficient for the century's needs, significantly supporting the elite class by enduring the serf system. Individual women have had political influence and status throughout Russian history, and some women, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, were substantial landowners who, despite not having suffrage, could be individually addressed as property owners in the zemslvo (Berman, 1946).

After the reign of Catherine II, her son Paul took the term, but it was his son Alexander I whose reign was notable for the events such as the war with Napoleon. Alexander played an important role in Europe and the expansion of the empire. The revolutionary ideas emerged during his period demanding opposition to the aristocracy, Russian constitution, representative government, and abolition of serfdom. The sudden demise of Alexander I brought Nicholas as the new Tsar. The revolution of the social and administrative reforms happened in December 1825; thus, the revolutionaries were known as Decembrists. While several protests against Tsar took place during this period, the Decembrists were the first open revolutionary

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[10]From 1711 until 1730, Anna Ioannovna, often known as Anna Ivanovna and occasionally anglicised as Anne, presided as the duchy of Courland's regent. From 1730 to 1740, she was the Empress of Russia.

movement. The activists were executed, and some of them were exiled to Serbia. Decembrist's wives following their husbands into the exiled land after the failed revolt was celebrated as a sacrificing role of women; being a good, loving, and supporting wife continues to serve the image of women and loyal wives in Russian culture and tradition (Wood, 2009).

The Decembrists activity made the Tsar control the people's activities, putting more restrictions and surveillance. People were directed to show more loyalty to the government and the traditions of the Orthodox Church and cultivate greater patriotism towards the nation. Religious suppression and nationalist ideas made the situation more critical due to society's diverse ethnic and religious composition and the evolving art and literature of renowned authors like Aleksandr Pushkin, Nikolay Gogol', and Ivan Turgenev. The Russian economic sector grew slower in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than in the earlier period. Russia had a relatively higher population than any other European country, making human resources vital in economic development, but most of the population looked after agricultural activities in rural areas. The less-developed agricultural sector of rural areas remained in the hands of former Serf and state farmers. The industrial sector performed unsteadily, mostly owned and controlled by the state. By the 1890s, the country had 1.4 million factory workers, coal, iron, and steel production of 1.4million, 6.6 million, and 2 million tons, respectively (Curtis, 1996) (Lynch, 2008).

The modernization process does not touch the family structure of the country. The girl transitioned from her father's absolute power to her husband's ultimate rule among the peasants because of their priority on the family home and communal property. Article 104 of the civil code directs the girl to adopt the husband's name; as the family's head, the husband had the authority to determine their residence, which the wife was required to accept. Article 103 mentions that the family to live together. The Russian passport system did not permit the wife to apply for a personal passport, which was required for internal travel, without her husband's approval. These clauses ensured that a wife could not leave her husband to work for another employer. It strengthens the powerful position of the husband in the family. Article 2207 of the code made it more difficult as wives were prohibited from working anyplace without their husbands' consent. The code specifies the role or duty of the wife as obligated to submit to her husband as the head of the household, live with him in love, respect, and

open submission, and exhibit attachment. The Code explicitly mentioned the property rights. Article 114 code mentioned the property that no right of joint possession over the property of spouses is granted by marriage; instead, each spouse is free to own and generate wealth. As the property owned, middle and upper-class women enjoyed rights according to article 114 of the code. property-owning classes experienced discriminatory practices against them considerably less seriously, and there was no gender equity movement among upper- and middle-class women. (Tay, 1972). The rules to follow in the family shows the inferior position of women. Women in the professional and working classes felt the effects of the legal disparities the most.

The last period of Russia's tsar regime witnessed several external pressures, such as external wars and internal mayhem under a weak leader. Bloody Sunday's[11] incident followed a peaceful protest by the Russian Orthodox Church priest. The reaction from the military against the protest, killing thousands, resulted in more strikes, agrarian disarrays and terrorist actions in the country by the opposition groups. The government had to suppress the uprising initiated by forming a Russian constitution accepting the demands for giving fundamental civil rights and setting up a ministerial government known as the October Manifesto. The first election to the parliament Duma[12] was in 1960. The radical activities continued to operate in the country, but the regime tackled the uprising by controlling the internal security and peace with a strong administration placing weakened administrators in the parliament. The first election to the Duma was in 1906, comprising a few radical leftist members and a socialist group boycotted the election. The ideological conflict between the government and duma members continued, the second Duma election was in 1907, and gridlock continued (Curtis, 1996) (Lynch, 2008).

The combination of more conservative aristocrats in the Duma and rigid Decembrists made reforms like a peasant's court system and worker's insurance system possible under the third and fourth Duma. The reforms like breaking the commune system by establishing a private property system were a move to develop a section of property owner peasants loyal to the Tsar. It eventually strengthened the social private property system, which became the cornerstone of the family system and suppression of

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[11]Workers made their demands to the czar's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg on January 22, 1905, under the leadership of the radical priest Georgy Apollonovich Gapon. Hundreds of people were killed and injured when imperial forces started firing on the protesters (Curtis, 1936).
[12]Russian assembly with legislative or advisory duties.

women. Private property, along with the traditional agrarian, feudal and bourgeois families identified as the reason for the exploitation and suppression of women by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* and Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* The ideology of eradicating capitalism and private property was the motto of the revolution in the country, which emancipated to end all kinds of exploitation and inequality (Lerner, 1987). The economic growth of the country increased during the period. The internal conflicts between Duma and the government increased, and protests and strikes continued. The uprising finally ended the revolution and overthrew the regime.

2.2.1 Women in the Soviet Union: 1917 to 1991

The shortage of food drove the beginning of the cessation of the tsarist rule; the famine and the struggle made the citizens start to agitate in the streets of Petrograd. Some soldiers also supported the masses and refused orders to fire at the protesters. The working class of all sectors, known as the Soviets, came tighter to fight back against the regime's repressive policies and claim their basic needs. With the approval of the Soviets and Duma members, an interim government came into power.

The provisional government intended to replace the autocracy rule and bring democracy. At the same time, the Bolsheviks stressed social revolution to achieve the working class's rights. The initial period of the new government was the one-party rule of the Communist government after the civil war in 1917. In 1920, the communist government allowed private companies to support the centralized economic system. There were experiments and a relatively friendly atmosphere for the social and cultural life of the country compared to the tsarist regime. In a decree issued on March 15, 1917, the provisional Government granted women the right to vote and launched a legislative programme to develop a comprehensive system of equal rights for women. Women were highly prominent in all the radical revolutionary parties, as they had been for a long time. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks came to power in October 1917, they not only firmly backed the socialist plan for the liberation of women but also focused on including women as such in the Revolution's tasks. The First All-Russian Congress of Proletarian and Peasant Women, attended by 1,200 participants, convened in Moscow in November to explore how to further women's rights. The Declaration of the Rights of the Working and

Exploited People, which the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted in January 1918. It was the first official act of the Soviet Regime and implied the political and revolutionary equality of men and women. With two decrees issued in December 1917, the marriage law was changed to make divorce easy to obtain and marriage an entirely civil matter. One year after, on October 17, 1918, the Code of Laws regulating the civic registrations of deaths, births, and marriages superseded those decrees. (Tay, 1972).

Writers like *Maksim Gorkiy*[13] and *Vladimir Mayakovskiy*[14] were active, and their work got immense accreditation. At the same time, many authors and their work lacking socialist and Marxist ideas were suppressed and did not flourish during the communist regime. Filmmaking was encouraged to emancipate and influence the illiterate section of the large society. Policies adopted in the education sector to ensure quality education were updated with night classes for the adult working class. Family relations and social institutions become less controlling, making divorce easier and legalizing abortion. The liberal economic and social policies were curtailed by Stalin (Reiman, 2016).

The rise of Joseph Stalin into the lead after the death of Lenin marked a crucial period in the history of the Soviet Union.   After Lenin's demise, Stalin consolidated his power and successfully curbed his opponents. He became the sole leader of the party and the country's strong leader, making his part in the history of the Soviet Union. Stalin introduced a Five-year plan in 1928, consisting of plans to build a socialist economy. It witnessed an increase in the number of women in the labour force. Under his economic plan for the country, industries came under the state's direct control, and a collective farm system was created for the agriculture sector. Under his direct control of the administration and centralization of the economy, the Soviet Union became a robust industrial economy before World War II (WWII). He stressed more about the heavy industries and small-scale industries were nationalized. The constitution endorsed in 1936 specifies women's rights, declaring it as "Women in the USSR are accorded all rights on an equal footing with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity" (Tay, 1972). A heavy

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[13]was a Russian writer and political activist. He was nominated five times for the Nobel Prize in Literature.
[14]was a Russian and Soviet poet, playwright, artist, and actor.

presence of women labour characterized the economy of the USSR. More women were present in heavy industries like Iron and Steel factories, oil fields, Machine operation, and engineering. It could be a positive sign of allowing women to work where only men were allowed in the past; simultaneously, the situation of war that caused a shortage of men in the field to perform the work brought women to the fields. With the percentage of women in other professions, such as 79 per cent in physicians, 57 per cent in chemical work, 83-percentage in dentistry, it seems Soviet women reached all kinds of jobs like men (Schuster, 1971). Identifying and harnessing women's economic potential was the country's most significant victory during the war.

Stalin brought collectivization against the wealthier section of peasants known as Kulaks. The forced collectivization resulted in resistance from the Kulaks and other peasants. The act of Kulaks resulted in the massive expulsion of Kulaks and other rebels to Siberia, followed by widespread starvation in the country. The second and third five-year plans did not overcome the false; with the sudden changes in the production of armaments, the agriculture sector failed to show growth and industrialization growth continued. In 1936, Stalin replaced the Soviet Constitution by carrying the essential changes, including political and economic rights. The Constitution of 1936 promised equal pay for women and men. Women were considered the readily available labour force to cope with economic needs. At the same time, the constitution denied the fundamental rights in many other parts, making it visible that the basic structure of the constitution never denies the control of the state over citizens. All the social and economic life of people came under the direct control of the state, and unlike the earlier centralization, not the party but the one man Stalin became the authority, all power vested in him. Society's highly centralized discipline and order became the tool for modernization. A strict labour code was brought to ensure discipline and punctuality. Cultural and social life gave way to traditional customs. The family becomes the central place for control and discipline, giving the strict norms of abolishing abortion and curbing divorce (Curtis, 1936).

Mandatory union membership brought the literature and art under the party's control. Party-controlled norms and rules for the content of art forms and literature made it mandatory to express socialist spirit conventionally. Setting the parameter of satisfying content put limitation on all fields of art. The scientific and research areas

were under scrutiny, limiting the experiment and allowing theory to develop only under the Marxist dialectical[15] understanding. The education sector made a progressive turn by selecting candidates for higher education based on their carrier marks, leaving the class status for the admissions. The Orthodox Church was suppressed more than anything under the rule of Stalin, with the closure and destruction of churches, religious places, and monuments and prosecution of religious heads. The rebuilding of the economic system was mainly focused on the heavy industries, which put agriculture again on the verge of destruction (Reiman, 2016).

However, following the new family policy, a bill was passed on June 27, 1936, which forbade abortions, improved aid for women giving birth, established state support for parents of large families, expanded the system of midwifery homes, daycares, and preschools, tightened the criminal penalties for failure to pay assistance, and made some changes to divorce law. To encourage maternity, the Decree raised the social security benefit provided to all covered earning women in the event of childbirth from 32 to 45 roubles for purchasing baby car seats. A State payment for females of huge families was created under Art. 10. Those with six children were given a 2,000-rouble stipend every year for five years following the birth of each additional kid. Mothers of ten children were given a state subsidy of 5,000 roubles for each additional child's birth and a 3,000 rouble additional amount for four years after the first kid was born. An equally significant preoccupation with boosting the birthrate coexisted with the focus on establishing the family; it became so evident from 1936. The 1944 Decree established multiple processes to minimize divorce. The applicant was needed to submit a notice of request for separation, along with a declaration of grounds, to the People's Court at the complainant's domicile and to pay a beginning fee. Additionally necessary was publishing the statement in a nearby newspaper (Mespoulet, 2006) (Tay, 1972).

After Stalin, Nikita S. Khrushchev became the country's leader, one of his closest and immediate subordinates. His policies could not hold him in power as he failed to place effective economic and foreign policies. Liberalization policies gave freedom for art and literature, while foreign policy became more crucial in terms of the world being more complex due to the cold war complexities. That also resulted in artisans

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[15]a philosophical approach to reality derived from the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

speaking out against the state's early repression policies. Creative criticism was allowed to flourish during his period, with a blooming of the cultural period of his term known as "thaw"[16] (Curtis, 1996). Suggestions for amending the Decree and passing the All-Union Fundamental Principles of Law on Marriage and the Family came during his period. The majority of grounds for lifting the ban resulted in a high rate of abortion in illegal clinics. 1948 saw the repeal of the "birth stimulation" levies introduced in 1941 and extended in 1944 for single women and couples with fewer than three children. The RSFSR's Supreme Soviet established a special commission for adolescents in the republic in 1961, and its jurisdiction was recognized and enhanced by the President of the Supreme Soviet in 1967. It was given the authority to form neighbourhood committees to look into every instance of minors being left unsupervised or committing minor infractions of the law. By eliminating the two-stage process and lowering the fees due, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a Decree in late 1965 that streamlined the divorce process while retaining authority in the complainant's local People's Court (Llic, 2009).

After Khrushchev, Leonid I. Brezhnev[17] becomes the leader of the country. The Stalin model of restrictions was not installed in the society, but the Soviet state tried new measures to tyrannize the political enemies and tighten the cultural freedom given in the Khrushchev period. Gorbachev, the youthful leader, came into power in 1985. He reemphasized the heavy production in the industrial sector using modern technology under his radical economic reforms. His domestic policies fell under the Perestroika, Glasnost, and *Demokratizatsiya* meant social and economic reforms. The reforms changed women's situation, but in a deep sense, the patriarchal nature of society and state had not resulted in any changes in the reform policies (Ianovskii et al., 1996).

The freedom for planters in decision-making and enterprisers to set their price and wages allowed chance of individual profit-making put labourers in a difficult situation on their demand for higher wages. Gorbachev and his colleagues expected to make popularity among people from the flow of information about the corruption of former governments through his policy of Glasnost. His *Demokratizatsiya* policy introduced multi-candidate elections to bring more progressive personnel into his administration,

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[16] it broke with the oppressive reign of Joseph Stalin and implemented new reforms throughout the Soviet Union, Visit https://www. mq. edu. au/pubstatic/public/download. jsp, 73-76 for more details.
[17] General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ; Preceded by, Nikita Khrushchev (as First Secretary) ; Succeeded by, Yuri Andropov.

local committees, and Soviet offices. Along with the unintended results of his policies, the ethnic clashes floured in the society making it more challenging to convince the ethnic communities. The radical policies and internal disturbances made it difficult for leaders to suppress the people; the freedom flowed into the society, unlike before, resulting in an unexpected impact on society (Gorsuch,1996).

The Post-Soviet period shows a decline in economic growth in the country. The citizens were guaranteed all kinds of services and facilities, including employment, health, child care, pensions, high quality of education, and secure society with a Socialist system. Even though the most privileged section of the state-sponsored services were the political, cultural, and scientific elite groups, the country's overall economy benefited from the high economic growth. The employment rate and GDP decline contracted by four per cent in 1994, and unemployment rose to 8.4 per cent in the Post-Soviet period (Curtis, 1996). The newly formed state system could not support the citizens to overcome the transition period's trauma. A vast section of people, especially women workers and single parents, lived with bitterness, confusion, and remembering the security of Soviet time. Unemployment hit the people with less state-sponsored health service. Male mortality rate increased, and the burden of economic decline raised the stress, resulting in high alcohol consumption and smoking. The psychological problems of citizens have increased by 50% since the transformation period (Barret, 2009). The socio-psychological problems among women increased with the worst economic and political unrest.

2.2.2 State and society

Despite having a classless society as the idea of Soviet society, the society during the Soviet period perceived the powerful position of the ruling class. Party politics determined social status than market forces. The ruling class consisting of government officials, powerful party officials, and eminent personalities who controlled the heavy industries, enjoyed facilities and privileges, including quality education, better living standards, and medical facilities. The working class of the country for whom the new government was formed had to live with the low living standards waiting for hours to avail themselves of daily life food, water and other services. The peasants were left in the last row of social structure, lacking basic pay for work, a minor living standard, and no representation in government. The social stratification of Soviet society

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continues to be reserved in the country even after the demise of party power—the post-Soviet society is characterized by the wide gap between rich and poor. The new affluent class of the Russian Federation belongs to the political elites, old party members and the new business class people. The rural population belongs mainly to the agricultural sector.

Because women were the visual face of the Communist revolution, the condition of women transformed during the Soviet era, and women's liberation, according to Communist ideology, was the very first stage toward universal freedom. The objective of the economic, social, and political realms was to equalise women and men. To encourage women in their roles as mothers and wives, Soviet officials gave material and emotional encouragement. However, the Soviet Union's goals for women's issues varied under the diverse environment in various parts of the Union. Women had no prominent position and little freedom, particularly in remote places of the Soviet Union. As a result, they attempted to transform women's inferior position by enlisting them into Soviet farmlands, industries, and academics. Participation of women in the labour force was the highest in the Soviet period. Women's participation in agriculture was the highest compared to the industrial sector. In 1939, the share of women in agriculture was 52 per cent, whereas it was only 24 per cent in the industrial sector. The share of women in the industrial sector increased by 39 per cent in 1940, 47per cent in 1960, 51 in 1980, and remained 51 until the disintegration of the Soviet Union (Metcalfe & Afanassieva, 2005). In terms of entry of women into politics from 1937, the unofficial party policy to ensure women in the political field increased the share of women in the Supreme Soviet Council and Local Society Councils until the abolition of reservation. That was their way of defending against women's oppression. The main objective was to transform women into committed Soviet citizens.

Women were allowed to participate in politics and the economy throughout the Soviet Union, irrespective of regional differences. Women were encouraged to become educated Communist women, performing their obligations and making decisions of their free choice, both in the home and social, financial, and political. Women were identified as the necessity for the building of a socialist country. Nonetheless, under the Soviet Union, what a woman could and could not do was demarcated by the demands of the rule. As a result, while the Soviet Union attempted to raise the status

of women in society, the dictatorship also burdened them with onerous duties and obligations they could not always accomplish. In the Soviet vision, there appears to be a conflict between recognising them as parents, completing their tasks, and exercising their personal choice. Perhaps the Soviet authorities simply sought to transfer women's allegiance and obedience from the household to the new state rather than liberating them (Ozge, 2018).

2.3 Gender in Russian Federation

The Russian constitution adopted by the general referendum came into force in 1993. The Constitution makes provisions relating to the equality of all people before the law. Chapter 2 of the Russian constitution deals with the rights and liberties of the citizen guaranteed by the constitution. Article 6 specifies that "every citizen of the Russian Federation shall enjoy full rights and freedoms on its territory and shall perform equal duties determined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation" (World Bank, 2003). Article 19 of chapter 2 deals with the fundamental rights and freedom of citizens that says,

> The State shall guarantee the equality of rights and freedoms of man and citizen, regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property and official status, place of residence, religion, convictions, membership of public associations, and also of other circumstances. All forms of limitations of human rights on social, racial, national, linguistic or religious grounds shall be prohibited (UN, 2014).

The constitution also ensures non-discriminatory policies and treatment for all Russian citizens, and several democratic institutions have come up to ensure its implementation. However, the traditional values and attitudes related to the family, children, and religion remain essential and firmly held. The structure of the state and the political organization of Russian society have undergone significant transformations. However, the traditional values remain steady and unchanged in all the domains. Unfortunately, though, these values have in no way increased the aptitude of Russians for social organization and activism. Part 3 of Article 19 of the constitution states, "Men and Women shall enjoy equal rights and freedom and shall have equal possibilities to exercise them"(Baskakova et al.,2003). No official agencies are tasked with identifying and removing inequality in the Russian Federation at the national and provincial levels. In theory, the Russian Federation's

Ombudsman is responsible for reviewing any breach of human rights case, but only in circumstances when all other legal remedies have been explored or in cases of significant and structural abuses. Russia is the signatory of the CEDAW, and ILO makes them obligated to protect women's equality, prevent discrimination, and provide equal opportunities for jobs and equal pay for men and women. Part four of Article 15 of the Russian Federation's Constitution states that

> The universally accepted principles and norms of the International Law and international treaties effected by the Russian Federation constitute an integral part of its legal system; if the international treaty ratified by the Russian Federation lays down regulations other than those established by the law, then the provisions of the international treaty are enforced(World Bank, 2003).

Russia is a signatory to a vast number of global treaties aimed at preventing and eliminating discrimination, notably gender discrimination, including the following:

- The International Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights (1996)
- The International Covenant on civil and political rights (1996) and an optional protocol attached to it (1966)
- The UN Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (1979)
- The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention no: 100 on equal pay to men and women for equal labour (1951)
- The UNESCO Convention on combating discrimination in education (1960)
- The ILO Convention no: 111 regarding discrimination in labour and employment (1958)
- The ILO Convention no: 156 on equal treatment and equal opportunities for working men and women: employees with caring responsibilities (1981)
- The European Convention on Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (1950)

The social composition of the Russian federation features a growing civil society with social organizations, which acted as extensions of the party in the earlier periods. The formation of women's associations, sports clubs, youth organizations, environmental groups, and many NGOs as part of the civil society formation. The trade unions could not gain legitimacy among workers due to the connection with management and government, but the NGOs working for women and other groups gained much attention from people and international support. The inequality in all levels of society soared since 1991 with the country's transition into a market economy. Russian

Federation Code of Administrative Offences, in 2011, included article 5.62 defining inequality

> that is, violation of human and civil rights, liberties, or legal interests on the basis of sex; race; the colour of skin; ethnicity; language; origin; property, family, social or employment status; age; place of residence; religion; beliefs; or affiliation or non-affiliation with public associations or any social group results in administrative fine (Muravyeva & Hoare, 2020: 23).

The existing inequality of the broader gap between rich and poor increased from 0.26 to 0.42. The wealth gap between the wealthiest ten per cent of Russians and the lowest ten per cent has expanded from four to over seventeen times. Another feature of current Russian society is social inequality along with gender, ethnicity, age, and other lines. Disparities in the standard of living and participation in economic, social, and access to justice systems are intertwined and intensified, effectively segregating the Russian population over financial and other categories and reinforcing inequalities (OXFAM, 2014). The question of Gender ideas is essential; it is necessary to know how the nation reacts to this and the understanding of gender equality among people to find out the core idea of patriarchy and gender inequality in Russia. In Russia, women have participated in almost every sphere of the country's development at par with men. The enduring image of Russian women is one of strong, courageous, and energetic personalities and remains like a bright star in the sky of Russian history. The contribution of women in Russia to the political, social, and economic sphere has been phenomenal. They have played tremendously essential roles in building up the Soviet Union and new Russia. The formation of gender has had a considerable influence on the country's history. The agrarian community worked based on land and preserved communal harmony throughout the period. It almost rejects the individualist idea and instead promotes the system of cooperation. The post-revolutionary period made it connect with socialism. Another factor determining the society's nature is the role of the Orthodox Church, which had a considerable impact on the people and the state. An examination of the condition of women in Soviet history is essential to find the changing status of women in Russia and consider how it affects the formulation of equality between sexes. We need to understand how women were treated and affected by the political and social-economic societal changes.

The yearning for socioeconomic transformation was considerable when Russia began its shift from Marxism to capitalism in the early 1990s. On the other hand, it lacked an understanding of running a free market system and the skills to solve the social issues that arose in its changing landscape. The shift impacted every aspect of Russian society, resulting in changes in society, ideological, ethical, and family sectors. The political and social shift of ideals and values resulted in a complete disruption of the whole structure of societal interactions, with gender relations being one of the most affected. When the shift began, the concept of gender was reexamined from all perspectives, including the social, economic and political sectors. Active women's organizations started in the late 1980s, and the very first gender paper was released in the Soviet Union. The USSR Academy of Sciences' Presidium established a gender studies department at the Center of Social and Economic Population Problems in April 1990, and the term "gender" was introduced in government discourse. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization convened the initial international forum on gender studies in Moscow in 1990. (Johnson & Saraninen, 2013). Gender studies in Russia were first strongly tied with the women's movement and so aspired not just to provide information but also to encourage reforms in the social system. The First and Second Independent Women's Forums were conducted in Dubna in 1991 and 1992, respectively. Registered NGOs were free to follow their policies, obtain donations, and form alliances with other Russian and international groups. They began projects on a variety of subjects, including the historical study of the women's liberation movement, feminism's concept and theory, women's issues and women's rights, and the traditional aspects of genders, as well as publishing educational resources for the ordinary people. The increased support and contact with foreign institutions resulted in the fast interchange of ideas and implementation of information. The gender issue group of UN institutions in Russia provided a vital position in the awareness process. The Russian Ministry of Education added 'Feminology' as an emerging field to various Russian university programmes in 1996. The gender aspect has been enhanced since 1998, and the field has been called 'Feminology and Gender Studies.' Deputies of the mainstream political parties prepared a code 'Gender Law' in 2003 (Skorniakova et al., 2020). It was written from a liberal viewpoint on an equal opportunity, claiming that eliminating gender bias and ensuring equality, liberties, and career options for men and women is essential for the country's long-term prosperity. Enterprises should strive for gender parity in work.

The drawback of the draft was that it did not include any detailed operational techniques. The State Duma Committee on Family, Women, and Children Affairs resolved to form a joint committee to conclude the law in 2009. The degree of internal studies and NGO operations has steadily decreased since the mid-2000s. Unfortunately, continuous efforts to put the draft Gender Policy to the Duma for a second review failed, and it was placed on hold. The UNDP working group in Russia was terminated in 2010. Programs to encourage women in Russia have lost considerable financial and intellectual assistance after 20 years of excellent work with the UNDP on women's empowerment, equity, and gender equality. Since 2012, the frequency of gender seminars and writings in the educational field has declined dramatically in recent years, as has the proportion of gender programs at institutions. At the Russian Ministry of Labour's Department of Demography Policy and Social Protection of the Population, there is also a State Duma Council on Family, Women, and Children, as well as a division on formulating governmental policy in the sphere of population policies and gender equality concerns (Muraveya, 2018).

Nonetheless, the actions of these agencies are primarily focused on resolving issues affecting families and children. In November 2017, a special committee led by Duma Deputy Oksana Pushkina was formed to finalise the *Gender Act* for revision. However, the State Duma's Women's, Family, and Children's Committee advised that the proposal be dismissed in July 2018, arguing that it had lost its significance (Chubarova & Grigorieva, 2021). Criticism from the public and other conservative parties emerged about the inclusion of the word 'gender' in the proposed draft, citing that the word does not have a correspondent in Russian (Muravyeva & Hoare, 2020).

The progress of Russia's political and economic system over the past decade has been accompanied by structural changes in many aspects of society, which have created new possibilities while also creating a slew of new challenges, one of which is the rise in gender inequality. Gender imbalance in labour and the labour market affects all countries, as does unfair control over resources such as capital, education, and health care, as well as gender disparities in the rights and dignity and the voicing of domestic politics. The Russian scenario is peculiar in some ways because of the gender concerns that have become increasingly prominent over the last decade, such as the worsening of women's socioeconomic status, the diminished ability to participate in decision-making, and the feminization of poverty (Rhein, 1998). The idea of gender

and its supporting activism has gained negative connotations since 2012. The notion of gender and feminist activities as western supported ideas that threaten the country and its tradition has become the norm ruled among the society, especially after the Pussy Riot protests and the subsequent trial of the band's female members. The church and the government put forth patriotism and tradition where only man and woman exist for the nation, and no new norms are significant (Muravyeva, 2018). Women's rights in the country have not been identified or protected under a specific independent institution. Women's right and equality comes under the other broader instructed departments, including "State Duma's Committee on Family Affairs, Women, and Children and the Department for Demographic Policy and Social Protection of Population under the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation (Muravyeva & Hoare, 2020). These institutions focus primarily on the issues of family, children, and demographic issues rather than gender inequalities. The protection of motherhood is the only area where women get adequate support and advancement in the country. Whereas the legal protection provided in the labour Code for mothers and women is rarely invoked, other areas like decision-making power inside the family and critical governmental positions are never addressed or discussed on any platform.

2.3.1 Women Question under Soviet Rule

Soviet laws were more advanced regarding equality, freedom, and the deliverance of women. Soviet women's right to vote, equal pay, and other services and benefits were highly progressive for their time in early modern history. Women become a subject in law in minimal areas such as property, land, and inheritance. In the pre-Soviet era, the property rights of women in the country were stable until the mid-sixteenth century; later, under the rule of Ivan Grozny[18], right over land started to shrink, which relates to the adjacent link between military service and land ownership. The term dowry was not mentioned at that time, but an indication close to it existed as an obligation of the brother to give the best he can during his sister's marriage. Rights related to dowry and widow's rights reached a high point in the sixteenth century and declined later. According to the 1947 code, the daughter's property inheritance was only possible

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[18]Ivan IV Vasilyevich, sometimes referred to as Ivan the Terrible, served as Moscow's grand prince from 1533 to 1547 and as Russia's first tsar from 1547 until 1584.

without a son. During the mid-seventeenth century, women could obtain rights over their husband's service land (Weickhardt, 1996).

The Bolshevik revolution fought against social inequality and identified capitalism and private property as reasons for social inequalities. The Marxist idea of class as the basis of inequality believed the abolition of the class would bring an equal society where women enjoyed equal social roles in society. Marxist ideas identified that it was not the gender that kept women inferior, but the class society that kept the women inferior to men. Thus, they believed the revolutionary class struggle could bring equality to society. They believed the theory of building a socialist state would end the inequality and build an ideal society with equal economic, political, and social needs with no oppressive class. It would enable women to enjoy their rights and freedom not to fight separately to secure their rights under a socialist state. Lenin states, "To achieve the complete emancipation of women and make them equal with men, we must have a social economy and the participation of women in general productive labour" (KB, 2005). The women issue was not the central idea of the Bolsheviks. They find it necessary to coordinate women workers in the revolution to achieve the primary goal of overthrowing the monarchy. To accomplish this goal, women were assigned to fulfil the social and reproductive roles; the state came up with welfare policies and programs. Such systems were not entirely gender-neutral, sometimes denied equality in general, and significantly curtailed women's rights. Women's questions became a supporting role in addressing the state's demographic and economic issues. It silenced the real point of inequality in social institutions and maintained the idea of women's 'natural role'. Silence on the concept of socially constructed gender roles and patriarchal institutions continued to remain stable in society contributing to the difference between men and women.

Early years of the Soviet period, authorities believed that political and economic transformation would result in women's liberation, which could only change the social status of women as second citizens. Bolshevik regime came up with the critical laws that resulted in immense changes in the lives of Soviet women, growing women's rights in both the private and public domains. Necessary changes were made in the marriage law, separating the marriage system from religion and making it happen with the consent of two parties who wished to live together. Women were allowed to carry their surname after the wedding and were not required to shift to the spouse's

apartment. Inheritance rights were made equal for daughter and son. The abortion bill of 1920 made abortions legal and accessible in Soviet hospitals. To dislocate the church from the family and personal life, the authorized model of making men the head of the family was abolished; thus, the women took part in family matters and children (Carlback, 2009).

The revolution brought a Communist government that considered gender equality based on women's economic independence, giving equal rights in economic production. A working decree assigning eight hours for men and women became the cornerstone of socialist political and economic policy, keeping the state above the individual unit. Working women were granted childcare facilities and other supporting policies such as maternity leave and flexible working hours to support them in taking care of family responsibilities, which were the greatest compared with other western European countries. The presence of women in the Scientific and other educational sector could see as the progressive gender policies of the time (Ruthchild, 2017)

The family code of 1926 made officially registered marriages and living together arrangements legal. Divorce was made easy, with no need for consent from both parties. Children were allowed equal rights without being born out of registered or not registered marriages. The code successfully reduced the role of the church in individual life. Law on family and marriage received much criticism for leaving the women with the burden of family responsibility, no security of family life, and children without proper care and authority (Goldman, 1984). Besides, the new legislation was founded on destroying the family from the outset. In its traditional aspect, this contradicted the principle of complete equality of the sexes (Salganik, 1994). The 1926 code on marriage and family instructs fathers to give maintenance for children after separation from mothers even if they are not legally registered, and a 1936 decree added strict punishment for fathers who failed to pay the maintenance for children (Carlback, 2009).

Later, the state came up with other laws and regulations on family, marriage, and divorce. The new code of restrictions hoisted upon the society was termed as the outcome of the demography issue, which has been a running theme in Russia's long history of internal and external events. The country had gone through two World

Wars, causing immense loss of men and causing extensive famine throughout the country. The regressive economic planning resulted in the downfall of economic development, especially among peasants in the country who underwent acute starvation, putting 31 per cent of people below the poverty line. It contributed to malnutrition and other health issues among Russian people. The post-Soviet countries had gone through a flawed health care system. Medical services and medicines have become too costly for huge populations. The quantum of health expenditure has repercussions that are more significant for women than for males for various factors. The Russian government's GDP share expenditure on the health sector is shown (see figure 2.1). Only 20% of the expenses required to preserve women's health are covered by federal programmes (World Bank, 2003). In Russia, one's ability to obtain high-quality treatment is dictated chiefly by own wealth and location. In 2011, the higher-earning group's healthcare costs were 10.8 times greater than the low-income groups and 11.3 points greater in 2012. By the end of the 2000s, disparities in health expenditure per capita had grown to 10–12 times within several locations (OXFAM, 2014). Russia spends 7% of its GDP on health care, much less than most industrialized economies. From 1995 to 2014, there were noticeable fluctuations in the money spent in the overall healthcare spending as a percentage of GDP in Russia. The urbanization process was fast in the Soviet period, resulting in a low birth rate as urban people preferred fewer kids to rural people. Another trend of population decline was the lifting of emigration restrictions. In the early 1990s, the unending economic crisis and political unrest forced the citizens to seek better job opportunities outside Russia; the experts in technology and scientific sections found it easy to leave Russia (Pant, 2017).

As mentioned early, the women's question was not the primary issue of the Bolsheviks; the interest of the country remained essential. The population census of 1936 gave shocking results to the authorities and resulted in the decree of 1936, which restricted abortion. The declining birth rate was an increasing issue the Soviet authorities faced (Stone, 1969). Motherhood was promoted and protected, giving allowances and rewards to women who got pregnant. Family law offered special provisions for maternity, primarily for single mothers. Honoring mothers came into effect, and the "heroine mothers" term became used to reward mothers by giving titles and awards. The official data shows an increase in unmarried women who received

state allowances. Through a considerable increase, it reached 1.8 million in 1950, then 3.2 million in 1957 (Carlback, 2009). The restrictions on abortion did not receive much attention; they did not cover women's human rights. The new code on family and marriage made the previous condition of non-registered marriage illegal, and children born out of marriage could not take the father's name and receive financial support legally.

Figure: 2.1 Total health spending as a percentage of GDP
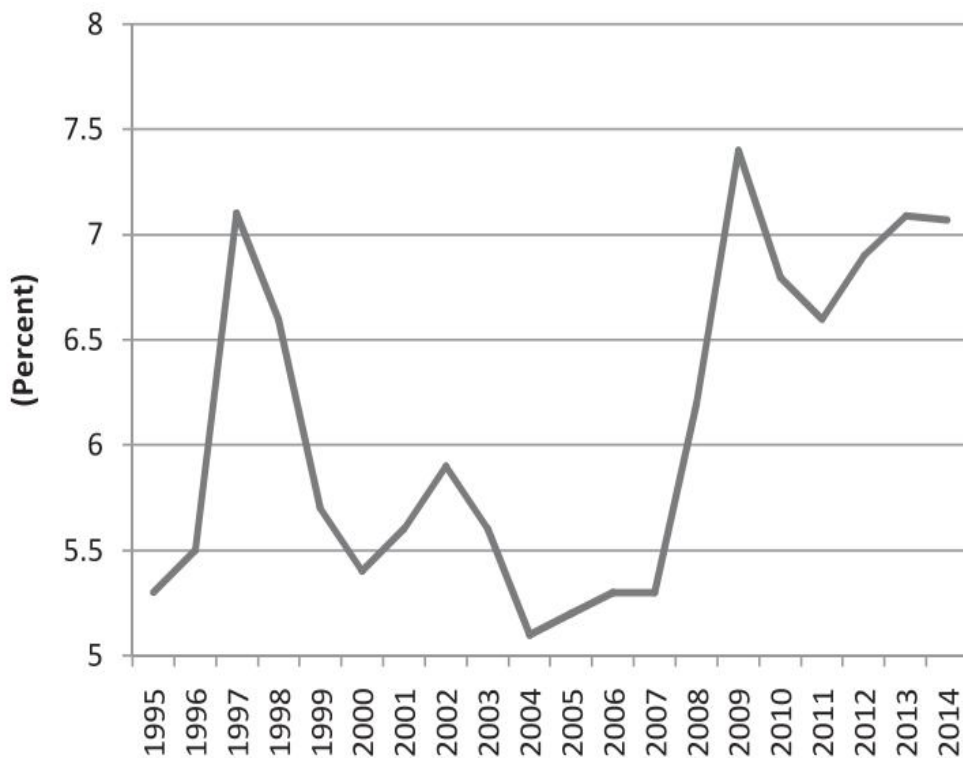
Source: Pant, 2017: 14

On the contrary, the abortion law was mentioned as a precautionary step toward protecting women from illegal abortion problems. The problems faced by women in the family relationship and other vital issues were not given much attention. The officials did not address the dreadful condition of state-owned hospitals and the judgmental attitude of doctors as the reason for illegal abortions. Stalin's rule in the Soviet period gained criticism over the growing state power. Formal legal equality was assured for women given education and professional training. They treated it as necessary in state-building.

Nevertheless, it did not give them an equal position in society and family relationships. Social hierarchy and inequality continued to serve the base of society, making women out of the decision-making process and politically silent. After Stalin, the Kruschev era came with the openness in social policy, not only dealing with the increase in birth rate or emphasizing reproduction role but also giving attention to the upbringing of family and a new approach of including all groups of society, youngsters, pensioners, and women (Turbine, 2015). The decree of 1944 received much criticism during Khrushchev; it was possible to discuss and criticize the law in public after 1953, following the meandering shift in the internal political structure (Carlback, 2009). The discussions and changes in the marriage and family law that had started early in the regime of Khrushchev became formally codified as state policy during his successor Brezhnev's era. Brezhnev advised protective legal rights for women in fulfilling reproductive roles, thus giving importance to a productive part. The moral laws and legislation on family and marriage laws were increasingly in sync with the conservative idea of control over women's sexuality (Mespoulet, 2006).

Gorbachev's era marked a shift in the policy toward women's questions. His reformation policies did not change the commitment of pre-existing policies. Nevertheless, his policy of openness brought changes in society by shifting the restrictions upon open discussions and debate over the topic related to women absent in the earlier periods. Even though the women's issues were not discussed much or fully liberalized during his term, the openness resulted in freedom to some extent. Gorbachev's policy of women returning home allowed them to sit back at their homes if they did not wish to participate in work. In his book perestroika, he described women's natural position as a caregiver, naturally gifted to them and as a choice. By defining women's caretaker role as a fundamental role, he implied the formal legal right of participating in production as a strange involuntary role that deviated them from performing the natural position. Freedom for open discussions and debate allowed women activists to organize independent movements and organizations, and the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies was formed in 1989 (Turbine, 2015). However, the call for women to engage in womanly missions influenced the understanding of gender in society. The outcome of the new liberalization policies affects women in two different ways. The impact of market reforms put extra stress on the daily life of working women as they lost jobs and the removal of state-

sponsored welfare provisions walloped them. The consequences of market reforms, mainly financial burden, fell on the women responsible for managing the households.

On the other hand, some feminist scholars benefited from the openness with the outer world. The ratification of CEDAW put the responsibility on the government to keep the record of the status of women in society, which was absent in the earlier times (Hemment, 2007). It resulted in the immediate acceptance of women scholars who are experts in the area who could successfully undertake the responsibility of working and speaking on the area in front of the international community. It led to the urge for feminist scholars in demand. After perestroika, Russian women activists criticised the government's attitude toward women. The Soviet government failed to address the significant issues women faced in society. They could participate in the labour force, but the legal equality of equal pay was not guaranteed. They were paid 30percentgae less than the male workers. They have faced gender inequality while seeking job opportunities and discrimination in promotion, hiring, and payment. The notion of gender inequality was visible in schooling, inserting the feminine quality in girls, making them inferior to boys.

2.3.2 Soviet Government Policies for Women and Demographic Issues

The Soviet leaders addressed the women's issues linking it with political change that the liberation from the totalitarian regime could liberate women. They granted the right to women to participate in employment and supported them by giving them state-owned facilities to take care of children and family. Arguably, there was more pressure from other internal and external problems; the government could not provide the facilities and support them in fulfilling their rights. The increased domestic violence and decline in birth rates resulted in an imbalance in family relations, leading to a rise in single-parent families. Later on, to address the demographic issues, the government reinstates the need to conserve the idea of women in the family. They argue for the need to preserve and protect the role of motherhood. Glorifying women into their 'natural role' became the government's policy to challenge the demographic issue. Policymakers followed a strategy to prepare adults for adequate gender roles based on biological differences. The introduction of a course in education in 1984 to establish the essential role of women and men was a policy during the Brezhnev period. The course was titled "the ethics and psychology of family life", which deals

with the roles to be fulfilled in family and relationships and the definition of the masculine and feminine ideas (Buckley, 1981). The curriculum was part of the eleventh five-year plan to tackle the demographic issues by creating commitment among the youngsters and making them aware of the need and importance of family life. It was designed to escalate the esteemed role of women as a mother. It taught the young Russian female to successfully run a family by motivating and making them aware of fulfilling their most crucial reproductive role. It taught her to nurture the feminine qualities of caring, affectionate, being a good woman and becoming a successful wife. It did not give them the idea of sexual education or other rights and careers. Along with the secondary school curriculum, the government started family consultation centres to counsel family members to build a healthy family atmosphere to reduce divorce rates. The new curriculum taught girls and boys about the male and female roles in the family counselling centres and gave them the idea of family bonding and the idea of a healthy family relationship with two or more children (Kay, 1997).

All programs and policies to address the demographic issue were oriented towards the need to build a more robust family relationship, giving the people the idea of separate roles for males and females. A strong preference was given for women to perform their role as mother and wife and men to earn for the family. It created gender role division and strengthened the patriarchal idea of putting women into a specific particular role, not out of that. The womanly mission to take care of the home and reproduction became the motto of all policies. That strengthened the other issues like the increase in violence against women, but the government took no concrete action plan to address such human rights violations. Domestic violence was accepted as good for a healthy family; that is a duty of women to tolerate violence and give up their interests for the sake of the interest of family members. Becoming part of the party and state formation becomes the route to evading inequality by establishing a classless society more significant than forming a recommended gender order. The gender equality question remained silent, and the institutionalized gender order prevailed in Soviet society.

2.4 Women in the Contemporary Period

The post-Soviet period shows a substantial decline in the status of women in every sphere. It remains problematic as it was in the earlier period. The legal protections and social welfare schemes do not provide adequate support. Gender issues in the post-soviet states are addressed in general terms; there are no particular policies or programs to address gender issues. Gender roles and characteristics as promoted in Russian society through the media, policy, and public opinions are not simplistic or well defined as it appears. The global gender gap report by the World Economic Forum assesses the gap between men and women using four categories that fall under education, political participation, economic participation, and health. Among the 135 countries, Russia ranked 59th; countries like Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic hold 31 and 51st, respectively (World Economic Forum, 2021). Women in the Post-Soviet period went through the impact of market reform and were identified as losers of state-sponsored services. It also affected them in the view of reducing the family supporting allowances. Shrinking governmental services and increasing the economic burden left fewer employment opportunities. They also experienced a low employment rate and disproportionate income.

On the other hand, the improvement in the status of rural women marked a positive impact after the transition period. The rural population in Russia constitute 25.6 per cent, and 19.2 million of them are women. The agriculture sector and the local government positions are headed chiefly about 30 per cent by women in the rural areas. "Women for Rural Revival", a policy under the Women's Union of Russia, is implemented to improve conditions and organize rural women's events. The women's council is actively taking part in rural areas to improve the condition of rural women by reporting and inviting the government's attention (Cepal, 2015).

Minimal state-sponsored services for women continued in the Post-Soviet Period, and women who managed to get employment status with the shrinking economic place experienced the gender pay gap. Women in the health sector receive 50 per cent less than men in the same field. Women in engineering receive 40 per cent less than their male counterparts. The education system of the Soviet period benefited the high-qualified women employees in the Russian federation but did not help them secure higher payment sectors or equal pay with men. The wage inequalities extended to the

labour policies placing the women who fell first on the list of dismissed employees. Companies with a lower turnout dismiss women employers to escape the burden of childcare allowances, maternity allowances and such financial assistance. The private sector in the country, with its rapid growth, choose women employees in terms of physical attractiveness as a qualification. Sexual harassment in the workplace has become an increasing threat against women. Single-parent women take private-sector jobs despite fewer employment guarantees and security (Atencio & Posadas, 2015).

The low performance in Russian women's economic and political participation put the country in the lowest position than other underdeveloped countries like Malawi, which ranks 36th in the survey. The image of the Soviet woman was of the solid working person, but it changes when it comes to the image of Russian women since they are portrayed as strong working women with femininity, maternity, and domesticity (Kay, 1997). The emergence of gender study centres in the Post- Soviet period is an essential platform for discoursing discrimination, violence, abortion, reproduction, and sexuality. Even though the institutions and discussions remained marginalized in a society where gender was only seen in the family relationship, not as an academic discipline to discuss publicly, the publications and conferences increased to established centres. The patriarchal structure of Russian society is a male-dominated bureaucratic institution that only allows women to work in unpaid households and other service work, which keeps the idea of women's bodies hidden and private. The state uses the patriarchal structure to oppress women. The role of the homemaker is traditional in the western context of feminist discourse and the Russian context; it is viewed as liberation from the state's imposed gender order of working mothers. Post-Soviet gender order has been identified as struggling naturalization of gender roles seen as a peculiar feature, giving more attention to formulating gender roles. The development of gender studies in the post-soviet period was in a cultural context where the naturalization of gender roles became reasonable. All other institutions like media have a significant impact on presenting gender roles, support, and gender stereotyping (Temkina & Zdravomyslova, 2003). Gender stereotyping is vital in the country; it results in a low life expectancy for men. In 2013, the average life expectancy of Russian men was 63, while for women, it was 75 (Zakirova, 2014). Patriarchal society fixes the roles of women and specific functions for men to perform. Men in society are supposed to fulfil the head of the family and perform a

well-established successful person. The state has imposed the duty of serving in the army as a duty of perfect men. It contributes to the loss of men in the Soviet and Post-Soviet periods. An increase in alcohol use is also responsible for Russian men's low life expectancy.

Policy formulation for supporting nation-building could be seen as replicating the late Soviet period, particularly attending to women's issues and emphasizing motherhood more. Rather than giving importance to women's rights, the state always emphasizes women's reproductive health. However, reproductive health is only related to dealing with the demographic issues women are unaware of, or discussion on the choice of women over childbirth and family planning remains out of the discussion of women's questions and rights. During the transition period, the new Russia had to encounter the problems of demographic issues. The reproduction rate fell to 43.4 per cent from 1986 to 2001. In 2012, the birth rate started to grow but very low 0.2percentage and slightly increased by 0.4percentage in 2013 (Bokovikova, 2013). The demographic issue is crucial as it significantly impacted Russian society.

Since the Second World War, the demographic issue has ruined the state and society. Between 1959 and 1988, there was no discernible trend in Russian male fatality. At the start of this time, the average lifespan was 63.12 years; by 1988, it had only little grown to 64.80 years, with swings in between. Females followed the same trend; however, their life expectancy increased slightly faster - 2.82 years versus 1.68 years - from 71.61 to 74.43 years. From 1988 to 1994, Russia's average lifespan dropped dramatically for the next six years. This was particularly true among men, for whom the surge in death rates was astounding by any standard. Their life expectancy at childbirth declined by more than one year per year. By 1994, it had dropped to 57.54 years. Females experienced a less drastic reduction, but it was still significant. During those six years, their average lifespan has decreased by 3.3 years to 71.13 years. Moreover, by 1994, Russia's mortality rate appeared to have reached its weakest point since World War II (Bennett et al., 1998). Medically unnecessary deaths have always been more remarkable in the East than in the West, and they increased after the Soviet Union fell apart and health-care delivery systems in Russia crumbled. The country's population declined by two million in 2000, reaching 146.5 million (Pant, 2017:7). When Vladimir Putin announced the population to be the nation's most critical concern in 2006, Russia's negative trend had increased slightly. The dropping birth

rate line crosses over the rising death line; From 2012, the status started to get better, although slowly, with the number of births and death rate converging and heading favourable approach numbers in 2013 and 2014.

Under his presidential term of Putin, the political system became more restrictive and surveillance-based. Examining the policies adopted by Putin during his presidency can help explain how his policies affect women and their rights in society. The State Family Policy of 2012 discusses the state's initiative for families where they find women's questions fit. The national plan for women comes under the family policy with a stated intent to provide all kinds of social and economical protection for women. The report states the government's initiative in supporting the NGOs that support women. The social welfare of the country excused the establishment of an authoritarian state. Putin uses the lens of social welfare to restrict civil society activities and rights. In 2006, he started the politics of gender by introducing a pro-natalist policy (Chandler, 2013). His social welfare policy shifted the idea of social welfare and put more stress on patriotic ideas. The disintegration phase was critical in population issues. The main reason behind the sudden decrease in the population was the massive emigration to Western Europe after the independence of the Soviet Republics. This continued for a long time, and Putin identified this as one of the country's significant problems in his speech in 2006 (Jonas, 2015).

The working model legitimized by the soviet tradition is represented in the liberal discourse of sex equality and supported by the logic of the market mechanism. In the post-Soviet version, the duties of the working mother are not a civil obligation. Privatizing motherhood and parenthood from civic duties is combined with personal work. Paid labour becomes a personal choice for women. The duty to participate in social production has been replaced by an economic need to provide for one's family, which has necessitated a more active role for women in paid work. For a particular section of Russia's entrepreneurial class, the female role as a homemaker is becoming a mark of lifestyle status. The considerable difference between Soviet and post-Soviet societies could be seen in the individuals' attitudes towards sexual relations. The younger generation shows a casual attitude towards sexual life. Discussion on sexual issues was not allowed in a former society, making society reluctant to talk about sexual issues at home or in educational institutions. The restrictions on quality

contraceptives and awareness of a healthier pregnancy negatively affect the country's newborn babies' health (Temkina & Zdravomyslova, 2003).

2.4.1 Women in work

Gender equality is the opportunity to participate in work with men. The Russian Federation's legislation supports men and women's basic protections to participate in legitimate economic activities. Article 19 of the Russian Constitution delivers equal freedom, rights, and opportunity regardless of sex. Labour rights are provided in Article 2 of the Russian Federation's Labour Code (Ostrovskaya, 2020). Russian labour law follows international standards and does not include any discriminatory elements. In practice, however, establishing gender equality in the workplace is challenging. This equality concept did not consider the patriarchal hierarchy in the public and private domains. Working outside the home and motherhood puts women in a situation that pushes them to stay home instead of working outside. They find it easy to take care of the home and children than carrying the double burden of working in and out. They found it easy to avoid state suppression and outside anarchy by merely spending time at home. The term equality equated to the full participation of women in the labour force. The problems like the lower wage gap and stratification of job opportunities never came into the discussion, representing the features of a patriarchal structure where women lived under oppression (Atencio, 2015). Instead of creating a gender-sensitive society, it hides the gender order of society and terms it as a situation of equality. It also results in a negative implication for feminism among Russian women (Becker, 1999). Achieving a classless society is identified as equality for all; thus, the term feminism is considered the invader from the western side that diverts from the original root of exploitation.

Women's history in the labour force is vital in addressing workplace inequalities. It is necessary to see how women came into the workforce in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was a significant proponent of integrating women into the workplace. The working women's status in the Soviet Union was the most outstanding achievement of the period. Even though women were allowed to work outside the home, Soviet women did not enjoy gender equality at home or in society. The shortage of males invited more women into the labour force; simultaneously, gender segregation in work was visible. Labelling of the job as feminine and masculine persisted in work.

Women's power was used more in the state formation. The promised equality of the Socialist revolution took theoretical form after the 1930s following a shortage in the labour force. It is positive to see the increase of women labourers in the USSR labour force (Rozhanovskaya & Pardini, 2020).

Socially and culturally created gender segregation duties of men and women work as the basis for inequality. The role of women as caregivers is identified as the intrinsic nature or duty of women. The number of women in some sectors such as storeroom workers, messenger, goods inspectors, and distributors increased from 59 per cent to 79 per cent in 1970. The status of women in the workforce and society, in general, was not a great political concern in the USSR as in some Western countries; it did attract the attention of several Soviet economists and sociologists. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, numerous Soviet sociological surveys documenting the issue of the 'double burden,' the inequality of men and women within the home, found that women spent double the time men spent home taking responsibility for home and children. It was estimated that women spent on housework and childcare were not much less than their total working time in production. It identified as the shortcomings in Soviet policy, a failure to invest sufficiently in pre-school childcare facilities, and, perhaps, an inappropriate approach to protective legislation, together with social prejudice, combined to frustrate the attainment of sexual inequality in employment. In addition, taking care of the home and children remained women's domain, and work and family as a responsibility of women. More female employment did not mean less work. During this period, the growing discussion on gender and sexuality was concerned more with the economic productivity and the problem of a labour shortage that would arise in the future. It stressed women's role in the family more than women's self-determination (Sperling & Valerie, 1999).

On the contrary, women were left with very little time for themselves. The Soviet government promoted more and more heavy industries, leading to the ignorance of the necessary household goods. Women were not given adequate household goods like vacuum cleaners, washing machines, or refrigerators. Gender segregation creates a considerable distance between the wage paid to men and women. Gender determines the pay for the job, not the qualification; it leads to paying different salaries for the same work. The housing crisis of 1970 made the situation; 23percentage of the families were in a dilemma, compelled to live three generations in

the same house, which added more stress for women within the family. The revolution opened up more academic and professional areas for women, but they were stuck in traditional family roles.

2.4.2 Women in Work in Contemporary Russia

Contemporary Russia is known for having a significant number of women in employment. In 2019, women made up 48.9% of the working people in Russia, accounting for nearly half of the country's employment. Men had a higher employment rate than women, 66.8% versus 52.5%, respectively. In today's socio-economic environment, both parents are compelled to work to maintain a comfortable standard of living in families with young kids. Women with children under the age of 18 had a 79.31 per cent employment rate. Post disintegration difficulties of society have had a more significant effect on women than men regarding the role and duties they play in the family. Women are more burdened than men with the pressure to combine paid career and life obligations because they are generally required to look after kids, sick household members, and older parents. Women, mainly working moms, are victims of workplace harassment and abuse. They find themself in situations where they cannot assert their civic and employment rights (Ostrovskaya, 2020). Women were compelled to combine their economic needs and motherhood. The post-perestroika period witnessed a political and economic change that resulted in removing protective measures for working mothers. The financial crisis of 1992 in post-soviet Russia caused the removal of all social services, including kid care allowances, quality government services including hospitals, education, pensions, and protection for senior citizens. The withdrawal of the state from the social service made a considerable impact, mostly on women. Women lost their jobs due to the sudden economic unrest. They were compelled to work in dangerous working conditions with a lower wage. Most women were educated but did not have any work that suited their educational qualifications and talent. In 1992 with the introduction of new market policies, unemployment hit the nation, and women were the most affected. Most women were kept out of the workplace; 74 per cent of the unemployed citizen were women (Sperling et al., 2001) (UNDP, 2005).

Men found it easier to find a new job, and women found it difficult as women's being undervalued in the job market made it difficult to find new job opportunities. The

private sector jobs became unfair, with a more harassment-filled atmosphere due to the nature of jobs offered in the private sector. There is a specific section in Russia's Labour Code that banned women from entering specific workspaces, referring to them as dangerous for safety and reproductive health. The specification for jobs for women came into the society first time in the Soviet period in 1974, as part of fighting against the population crisis in the country. The newly formed Russian government included the banned jobs position in the new Labour Code[19] in Article 253. Later in 2000, during Putin's presidency, the government added some more to the list, making it 456 job positions banned for women. In 2019, the government made legislation to reduce the list of banned job positions to 100 in a law enacted in January 2021, allowing women to work as truck drivers, train services and in Navy service (Ostrovskaya, 2020) (Themoscowtimes, 2019).

The economic sidelining of women kept them jobless and pushed them to keep focusing on family and childcare. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and new policies was not the same for all people, especially women who lost jobs and struggled in daily life. The compelling situation of women to sit back at home appeared as the women's return to their natural role in the family, not as a compelled situation of economic stagnation and failure of the state to identify the gender issues. The existing hierarchal superiority of men compelled the women to sit back home to create more job offers for men. It strengthens the existing inequality in public and private places. Choosing the nature of the job is also decided by the gender role as women had to sacrifice their educational qualifications and passion, as they could not relinquish familial responsibilities. At the same time, men can choose the job to perform well and are well paid (Voronina, 1993). The difference between the wage scale for men and women shows the wage inequality for women with the same qualifications as men. Women are paid less than 32.8 per cent of men for work even if they possess higher qualifications than men (Turbine, 2015). The Russian wealth inequality pattern is also distinctly gendered. This is owing to a significant wage disparity between men and women. Women lead the overwhelming number of single-parent households, accounting for 29 per cent of all parents with kids below 18, and women often comprise the majority of pensioners. Women retain to do a substantial

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[19] adopted in February 2002. Visit https://www.lawyersrussia.com/employment-law-in-russia for more details.

portion of volunteer care and domestic work, limiting their opportunity to engage in all elements of society on an equal basis with men (Ostrovskaya, 2020).

The federal policy of the Law of employment in 1993 was an initiative from the government to ensure employment rights following the western pattern. Along with distributing employment benefits, the law recommends providing support for employers in terms of training and counselling. The assistance was available for those unemployed people who officially registered under the state. The nature of jobs where women received assistance and support shows the pattern women prefer and get quickly. Women were trained for new vocations like accounting, massage therapy, makeup, stitching, and babysitting (Dakin, 1994). In addition, Russia has accepted two key International Labour Organization (ILO) treaties aimed at achieving equality between the sexes: *The Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951(No. 100)* and the Convention Concerning *Discrimination in Employment and Occupation of 1958 (No. 111)*. Under Convention No. 111, participating countries agree to proclaim and implement national legislation promoting an inclusive workplace and conduct in work and labour to remove gender bias. The Labour Code of the country has many distinct rules: There shall be no unreasonable rejection to complete a contract agreement; there shall be no wholly or partly limits or giving of explicitly or implicitly advantages in the conclusion of a written agreement based on gender or other criteria unrelated to the technical abilities of workers. Article 64 of the Labour Code mentioned that the pregnancy or the status of infants of women would not be a reason to deny a contract of employment. (Ostrovskaya, 2020).

The gender segregation in the labour market leaves men mostly owning giant enterprises at private and government levels with powerful positions and resources. Even though the number of unemployed men exceeds women, the number of unemployed women with higher qualifications is higher than men (Rimashevskaya, 2013). February 1, 2002, a new Labor Code of the Russian Federation came into force. During the previous 80 years, the state's legal regulation of female labour proceeded from the principle of equal rights guaranteed to men and women. However, the recognition of woman's reproductive function and the resultant double burden by society fostered the enactment of special rights for working women conditioned by their maternity status. Unfortunately, these rights have often been interpreted as benefits. However, under international law, such as the CEDAW (Article 4.2),

extraordinary measures aimed at maternal protection are recognized as special rights rather than benefits or unequal treatment (UNDP, 2005) (World Bank, 2003). Even after the labour code, gender segregation and wage parity continued. In the following year, women in the health care and education sector constitute 36.3 per cent higher than men, with only 19.0% (Ogloblin, 2005).

The major obstacle to gender equality in the labour force is the absence of a particular agency to deal with the discriminatory practices and ensure equality. In the Russian judicial framework, a judicial complaint is only one option to fight against discriminatory practices. In practice, the civil or criminal obligations for bias hardly lead to criminal penalties. Even while women have the option to complain to a trial in discrimination cases, they face significant difficulties in doing so. This is due to the lack of laws governing the requirement of evidence for every one of the defendants in claims of discriminatory practices, as well as the lack of severe sanctions for enterprises that participate in discriminatory treatment. Gender discrimination in the country is visible despite the law and supporting laws. In 2019, ILO and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR[20]) condemned the discriminatory practices in the Russian labour field while considering the case of *Danilenkov and Others v. Russia No. 67336/01*. In the judgment of the case, the ECHR found gender discrimination in the workplace, including bias in selecting employees while recruiting and promotion, discrimination against women for their pregnancy, and difficulties in granting parental leave and resuming the work (Ostrovskaya, 2020). Despite the necessary law to eradicate gender bias, the gender wage gap exists in the country; the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection identified the wage gap between men and women as 30 per cent. A change like selecting jobs for women could be seen in the later period. The percentage of women working in biological and science rose to 63percentage— the skilled workers filled with 49 per cent. The unskilled work like agriculture, forestry and other jobs declined to the 31percentage which women highly engaged in the earlier period (Brien et al.,2015).

The cultural and traditional system that makes women responsible for childcare and domestic work creates the most significant challenge for working women in Russia.

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[20]The European Convention on Human Rights is an international convention to protect human rights and political freedoms in Europe. Drafted in 1950 by the then newly formed Council of Europe, the convention entered into force on 3 September 1953.

The 'working mother' is Russia's most common gender arrangement, with fewer women adopting the 'working woman' model. Maternity and the first child's delivery are emphasised in the working-mother model. Men may be designated 'helping hands' when it refers to home responsibilities, but hours devoted to waged labour are bargained with parenting and domestic chores, and housework is women's job. Men are primarily engaged in households as the primary breadwinner, with little involvement in childcare and household responsibilities (Rohde-Abuba, 2015). Even though the working percentage of women in Russia shows a better stand for an equal work opportunity, the gender segregation in work exists in the wage and nature of work women engage in.

2.5 NGOs in Russia

From 1992 to 1996, development in nongovernmental organization activities in Russia was at its peak. These organizations addressed both political and social issues. The social needs represented by the organizations were mainly economic, survival, health, religious, and family problems (Lipovskaya, 1997). Women's NGOs are one of the most developing civil institutions in Russia. NGOs in the country are funded mainly by the west, which started as part of strengthening civil society.

The formalization of socio-political activism creates a civil society formation in the country. Founders such as Eurasia, Ford, Soros, and USAID (United States Agency for International Development) play an active role in forming and strengthening NGOs working for women and gender equality. They have received mostly assistance as funds and training for running successful NGOs. Most organizations exclusively depend upon support from western founders. Very few NGOs receive funds and support from Russian authorities. The NGOs working for the women received tremendous support from foreign donors as part of the democratization process than the organizations that aimed at other groups like pensioners groups and other charitable organizations. Many were based in Moscow and St. Petersburg and some provisional cities like Yekaterinburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Novosibirsk, and Samara (Henderson, 2003). Soros Foundation was the first foundation from the West to start in Russia, mainly with scientific research and cultural matters, following other

organizations such as MacArthur[21], Eurasia[22], and Ford[23]. These developments caused changes in the context in which voluntary organizations formed and sustained themselves (Lipovskaya, 1997). The Network of East-West Women (NEWW) has a very successful project, its headquarters in Washington Dc. It has more than fifty organizations in East-Central Europe and USA. Another large project, which grew out of the NEWW, was the formation of the Russian Legal Committee in 1995. This group comprises professional lawyers, feminists, and political activists working to support and aid women in human rights activities (Stryker, 2007). Many Non-governmental organizations are working in sports, arts, children's and elderly, and pensioners groups. Among all that, only a few concentrate on women's issues. The attitude toward the feminist ideas among the general people and the tight legal procedure made it difficult for the women groups to flourish and actively engage in programs. Even though the women groups are less in number and active, the formation of other NGOs became a sign of the emerging civil society in the country. The complicated registration process compelled many organizations, especially feminist groups, to stay unregistered as it reduces the space of their activity and intention of forming the groups (Sundstrom & Lisa, 2002).

Women's organizations emerged as part of a new social movement. Support from foreign foundations opened the women's organizations in the country, where formations of such organizations were a mere dream. In 1991, the first contacts with western colleagues were established by Moscow feminists in the Centre for Gender studies, which resulted in the organization of the first independent women forum in 1991 and the second forum in 1992. Since 1992, the number and diversity of women's organizations have increased considerably. The first significant classification divides the groups into 'introvert' and 'extrovert'. The introvert groups mainly work on the problems of their members; these groups are small in numbers and not highly developed in political and gender consciousness. This group primarily includes single mothers, mothers with disabled children and widows. One such organization in St. Petersburg named *'Euphemia'* works for adolescent girls, mothers and prostitutes.

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[21]is a private foundation that supports nonprofits by giving grants and making impact investments. Head quarters Chicago, Illinois, United States.
[22]Eurasia Foundation is a privately managed non-profit organization supported by the United States Agency for International Development
[23]The Ford Foundation is an American private foundation with the stated goal of advancing human welfare. Created in 1936 by Edsel Ford

Extrovert groups are large and deal with many political and social issues. These groups are professional, such as the Moscow-based Association of Women in Media, Association of Women, Business in Russia, and the Russian Association of University Women. They mainly provide women's lectures, seminars, and training programs (Lipovskaya, 1997). The organization of Soldiers' Mother's (SOMO[24]) NGO is a group formed by like-minded women who came forward against the atrocities of army persons. The group actively engaged in political activities in many parts of the country. The military unrest in Russia was prevalent during the transformation period like Chechnya and other internal and outside conflicts. The army men were subjected to severe cruelties and forced to suicide. Many youngsters who tried to escape the military services bribed officials to get rid of army services. The organizations worked for the better condition of soldiers; some of the regional branches were radical and demanded proper facilities and post-service privileges for the rest of life and families.

GAIA is an independent organization formed in 1990 to help women cope with the transition problems that affect women. The organization's founders aimed to eliminate the patriarchal practices of society. Their working method allowed women to become part of the socio-economic process in the country. They started English coaching classes and sewing centres for women, focusing on the children and women. Developing international connections was a critical working condition for the organization to get material and financial support (Racioppi & See 1995). Many NGOs concentrated on the need for support for women from domestic violence mostly comes because of the alcoholism of Russian men. Few of them served shelter homes for sexual assault or domestic violence victims. One such shelter house was found in Murmansk in 1997, and another in 2008 in Psok (Johnson & Saarinen, 2013). Due to the excessive funding crisis and legal problems, many shelters had to close.

Today the number of women's organizations in-country is much more than in the 1990s. A growing number of women organizations is a sign of an increase in the activities of the female citizen in public life; apart from such roles, they take an active

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[24]The organization was founded in 1989. Before 1998, it was known as the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia which was founded by Maria Kirbasova. It is a member of the human rights organization Human Rights House.

role in politics and activism. The network of organizations organised national campaigns on the increasing violence against women and the need for women's presence in politics. Most crisis centres provide counselling for women. They have concentrated on the importance of awareness of violence and providing counselling for physical and psychological torture.

Women organizations have started to ally with politicians and bureaucrats to influence the decision-making; at the same time, it threatens the organisation's independent working as they have to follow the authorities' rules to work and sustain themselves. Most groups working on women's issues have no positive impression among the citizens. The groups working especially for women can be divided into two. One is traditional value-oriented groups working mainly politically dependent without any charity work. Another group emphasize feminine ideas without much attention from the public. Feminist ideology has lower acceptance in Russia, a throwback from the Soviet era that continues in the post-Soviet society. Most of the women groups stay away from the public domain, as the feminist ideas have not received much support from the public. They remain active in the academic field rather than in socio-political areas. Many people get involved in such an organization's activities and benefit from the services provided. The outreach of organizations, mainly those set up in cities rather than rural areas, makes it difficult for rural women to benefit from the services. Most of the feminist groups supporting domestic violence mostly work in the cities. Women from rural areas primarily suffered from such sexual abuses and violence, leaving less access to such self-help groups. The women groups are mainly two in nature; one is traditional in theory, attached, and benefited from government, and the other is enriched with radical feminist ideology, detached from the public, and controlled by government policies (Sundstrom, 2002).

The less acceptance of feminist ideology among the public is mainly due to the connection with the Soviet policy of dealing with the women issue, which settled a strong abhorrence towards feminist ideology. The ideology of feminism is viewed as a western supported invader to destroy the cultural setup of the country. Feminism can be defined as a frame that consists of the idea that women deserve equal rights and protection from discrimination, and it links with one another to come together and resist discrimination. Some Russian activists reject the idea of feminism, especially

radical feminism, as it rejects men and argues for separatism. They find it wrong. For some Russians, feminism comes along with lesbian ideas. It was termed a feminist who gives negative attitudes rejecting traditional gender roles and heterosexuality. That makes them reject the western idea of feminism (Valerie, 1999). The rejection of gender and feminist discourses was prevalent in the period. *"The Second Sex[25]"*, written by *Simone de Beauvoir*, was banned until 1994 (Afanassieva & Metcalfe, 2005). The critical discourse on gender ideas made it difficult to establish feminist ideas among the people, and it hardly gets into consideration for a matter of discussion. Institutionalized gender roles result in less research and literature on gender.

Negative attitudes towards the feminist groups are broader among the Russian women who treated them as not to be followed by good familial women. The religious faith of lesbian and gay people is not natural; the same goes with feminist groups. The civil society in Russia is not strong enough to defend citizens' rights as the authoritarian government has come up with restrictions from registration to funding. Those groups actively engaged in social service or any works were solely dependent upon the foreign funds, and many of them were relatively small and worked mainly around the main cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg. Many of the crisis centres work in the core of the cities and are not much interested in the city's outskirts (Zdravomyslova,

The number of women organizations increased with support from foreign funds and international women groups. In comparison, the working of women groups is not much satisfied in terms of the idea they hold. Most of them working under the government support deny them to carry a free and fair deal with real issues of women. Other NGOs working with a motto other than feminist ideologies could perform better in society than women groups. Putin's strategy to restrict civil society is visible in the move to curtail the activities of NGOs. In 2006 legislation to control the activities of NGOs, both domestic and international organizations, on the ploy of working as foreign spies are such a move. NGOs were put under high restrictions and directed to reregister; many were denied registrations. At the same time, he managed to sustain his popularity by creating groups, including youths, to raise his popularity Idushchem

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[25]The Second Sex is a 1949 book by the French existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, in which the author discusses the treatment of women throughout history. Beauvoir researched and wrote the book in about 14 months between 1946 and 1949.

vmeste[26] and Nashi[27] are two such young groups working to promote and popularise his policy and image (Rosefiedle & Hedlund, 2009).

2.6 Family in Russia

Law decides the legality of a marriage-based family in Russia. The state monitors the family's actions, defends its assets, and prosecutes those who break family laws. The Russian Federation's Constitution and Family Code serve as the foundation for the rules on family and marriage in Russia (Bebtschuk et al., 2012). Article 1 of the family code defines the principle of family legislation; it states,

> The family legislation shall proceed from the necessity to consolidate the family, to build family relations on feelings of mutual love and respect, on mutual assistance and the responsibility of all its members before the family, from the inadmissibility of anybody's arbitrary interference into family affairs, from the need to ensure for all family members the opportunity to freely exercise their rights and the possibility to defend these rights in court (Family Code, 1996).

Section II of the family code of the Russian federation deals with the marriage and termination of the marriage. The family remains the essential foundation of Russian society. In actuality, the Russian Federation's Family Code only recognises and controls families that are recognised within the framework of an official marriage. In Russia, the family's origin, growth, and function are influenced by the people's values and cultures. Before World War II, the patriarchal family was the most common in Russia. This kind is characterised by a male-dominated household and the subjection of all other family members to him. The child-centred family has become the norm in the postwar period, from the late 1940s to the 1980s. Such families place a high value on children's well-being and the conservation of relationships for children's sake. In recent years, there has also been a tendency toward domination of the partnership family type, emphasising balanced participation from both couples in the family's operation (Bebtschuk et al., 2012). Restoration of traditional family values continues to be on the government agenda. In 2018 the president of the state, in his speech,

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[26]is a Russian electro-dance band, whose song "Takogo kak Putin" was a hit across Russia and created worldwide fame for the band.

[27]movement appeared in 2005 along with other youth organizations that "worked" for the Kremlin. it was a mass movement with financing (mostly from the pockets of loyal oligarchs,) and access to top government officials. Its objective was to oppose a hypothetical "color revolution" in Russia. For more details   https://imrussia.org/en/politics/420-the-fate-of-the-nashi-movement-where-will-the-kremlins-youth-go.

stated, "In the coming years, special attention should be paid to "supporting the traditional family values, motherhood and childhood" (Zaitseva et al., 2021). The necessity to protect established relationships and familial ideals is just recognized within the context of the current legislation of family ties within current legal settings. There are no effective contemporary tactics or adequate systems for implementing change.

Motherhood in Russia is an essential aspect for women in Russia. Giving birth to a child is believed to be the most crucial duty of women, fulfilling the natural role as a woman. The tradition of glorifying women's role as mothers and political concern with the falling birth rate has continued beyond the 'demographic crisis to national security. Women have been displaying a definite disinterest in producing enough children to reverse the downward trend in population growth for almost as long as politicians have been trying to persuade them to do so (Kay, 1997). Mothers teach their daughters how to become perfect women and wives. They tend to train their daughters to survive, maintain their family, and handle relationships rather than empower them. Women should be caring and soft-hearted and not speak rough to men, especially husbands. A woman with a rude attitude is not a natural or perfect woman fit for family (Rudakova &Reisch, 1999). Leaving a violent man is difficult in Russia. The chronic housing shortage and complex registration system make it difficult to leave and live separately from a violent partner. The Soviet Union always had an urban housing crisis; this has become worse with the privatization of much public housing and the inflated housing demands of new Russians, which has resulted in the conversion of many communal apartments. For those women without much wealth, obtaining a house is complex, and divorced couples often have to continue living together. No law requires police to remove a violent man from where he registered to live with his wife. No hostels or shelter homes are available for the assaulted women to live separate from violent husbands (Attwood, 1997). The protection of motherhood included in the eleventh five-year plan for addressing the demographic issue was meant to increase the prestigious motherhood and create a healthy environment for raising children. A child gets the initial lessons from his home and learns through his family experiences and peer groups. Learning gender roles are psychological; the best models of gender roles received by a child in the early stages are from family. Adults are the most influential models for kids in

learning gender roles. For a Russian girl, the opportunities to follow the formally prescribed role are vast with the interaction from mother, grandmother, elder sister, and teacher.

Sharia law[28] ruled the Muslim minority's social, familial, and civic affairs throughout the Russian Empire. Russia's multi-confessional structure recognised Islam and established a government-controlled Muslim structure led by Muftis[29]. Concerning private property, marriages, separation, and succession, Muslims in Russia remained bound to Islamic laws enforced by the local qazi. When Muslims differed, Russian authorities interfered, becoming engaged in the definition of Sharia. Muslims formed political organisations during Russia's failed 1905 uprising when the Tsar allowed residents the ability to organise a legislative system and indulge in politics. The aspirations of Russia's Muslims are frequently framed as proposals for cultural or political sovereignty under Sharia law. Starting in the late 1800s, women from reform-minded households began building a different style of Muslim girls' and women's academies. In the late 1800s, Muslim girls might join Russian primary and secondary schools or Tatar schools or learn with a woman instructor, an *abistai*, in her home to take a conventional *maktab[30]* education. Conventional schooling remained dominant, but new institutions got the attention of the secular teacher. The madrasa began offering modern education and conventional Islamic studies in 1895 and was a separate institution for girls. Amid communist Russia, Muslim feminists fought for Sharia-based rights for males, but they did so in a rapidly shifting political situation. Muslim feminist activists like *Burnasheva* left the discussion on Islam laws and women's equality after joining the Communist Party, who believed that spirituality could not be used to stand up for women (Kamp, 2015).

There is an emerging trend among Russian women to convert to Islam for several reasons, primarily related to family matters. Young Russian women are increasingly interested in marrying a Muslim - an Arab, a Turk, or a male from the Caucasus. According to their Russian wives, Muslim men are ideal marriage choices because they do not consume alcohol and carry their entire earnings home, making them the

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[28]In Arabic, Sharia literally means "the clear, well-trodden path to water". Sharia acts as a code for living that all Muslims should adhere to, including prayers, fasting and donations to the poor.
[29]A Mufti is an Islamic jurist qualified to issue a nonbinding opinion on a point of Islamic law.
[30]is a type of elementary school in the Muslim world. Though the kuttab was primarily used for teaching children in reading, writing, grammar, and Islamic studies.

focus of attraction for Russian Slavic women. At the same time, how females view the family is not very relevant, whereas home and family are vital to them or enough to motivate them to take drastic measures, such as changing faith. Women seem to find a marital relationship with a Muslim more appealing than a non-Muslim (Konczak, 2019). The trend is alarming in the status of women in the country who struggle to carry out the family life with increased violence and lack of financial support.

2.6.1 Family code in new Russia

The constitution of Russia, adopted after the transformation in 1993, offered the concept of the family as a union whose members carry equal responsibility to protect and preserve the family. Constitution protects individuals who were expected to care for each other. People are obligated to take care of their family members; there comes the importance of family. It allows the family to work as a bridge between their free will and responsibility (Chandler, 2013).

The change in the political transformation has resulted in women losing equality in family relations. It can be identified as a result of the new political and social order that allows individuals to possess property and achieve wealth, resulting in the dispute over the property in the marriage and changing the equality between husband and wife. The stereotype of women as homemakers was only very rarely challenged and encompassed more than the simple distribution of domestic tasks. The precise point is that the necessary quality is keeping a comfortable and welcoming household. The belief that a better half only makes a woman complete is widely accepted. Marriage and parenthood before the age of twenty have been common in Russia for many years, and many women have borne their first children whilst they and their husbands were still in higher education. For many, this has meant great financial hardship, house problems, and additional strain on their marriage and has hindered their educational or professional progress. Many young women consider gaining a higher education essential in terms of both personal development and future professional opportunities (kay, 1997)

The Family Code of the Russian federation that came into existence in 1996 deals with several important rules dealing families relationships in terms of property between spouses after marriage and after divorce and rules about children. The history of formulation of family law is relevant as contemporary law is derived from the old

family structure. The rules of the blood conflict are the first codified legislation in Russian history. Such legislation attests to a public order that existed solely between families when it did exist and was ineffective in extending into a family's interior connections. The husband had unlimited divorce rights; however, the wife was not freed from her marriage even if her husband died and was obligated to attend to him in the next life. The Eastern Orthodox Church introduced Byzantine Law[31], a combination of Justinian's Roman Law and the Church's canons, into this primordial pattern of family life in the eleventh and subsequent centuries. This imperial-ecclesiastical combination was passed through Russian legislation. In the area of family law, Orthodox Russia's legislation enhanced marriage and elevated it to the status of a religious ceremony. Christianity slowly and continuously expanded its authority over the entire population and family law. The family's dominant role was given to the spouse. As the family's head, the wife was required to follow her husband, live with him in affection, devotion, and unconditional loyalty, and give him every agreement and commitment. The spouses were meant to live jointly, and all acts relating to a purposeful parting were explicitly forbidden. To this ancient tradition of family rules Marxist concept of family was brought after the revolution. According to Marx and Engels' concept, a family is a historic unit whose evolution must be defined in terms of economic factors instead of celestial decrees. In 1917, Soviet jurists questioned the Tsar Russian Code's family law. Their goal was to demolish pre-revolutionary ideas. Several of them went further than Marx and Engels in their ardour, preaching the demise of the state, religion, and institutions. The Soviet state freed marriage from unnecessary restraints, removing all religious and spiritual remnants. Thus, the formation of a Civil Registry Bureau[32] in 1918 for registering marriages, divorces, births, and other events was heralded as a positive step forward. The Proclamations on Marriage and Divorce of December 1917 and the Family Code of 1918 were intended to overturn pre-revolutionary family law's religious principles entirely. Furthermore, the 1917 and 1918 laws were designed to be transitory, clearing a path for the family to be transformed into a free expression limited only by the

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[31]With more Orthodox Christian and Hellenistic influences, Byzantine law was essentially a continuation of Roman law. According to the majority of sources, Byzantine law refers to the Roman legal traditions that began after Justinian I's rule in the sixth century and ended with the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century.

[32]The primary purpose of civil registration is to establish the legal documents required by law. Civil registration generates documentation that supports an individual's right to recognition as a person before the law and acknowledges their formal relationship with the state.

individuals' free choice rather than by legislation. These trends culminated in the new Family Code of 1926, which consigned marriage and divorce to voluntary contracts, with judicial and government authority limited to a bare minimum. The amended family legislation of 1944 and 1945 reestablished the courts' authority over divorce (Berman, 1946).

Chapter 3 and 4 of the existing family code on marriage and divorce deals with the rules for entering into a marriage relationship and separating the couples. The law gives specific rules to register the marriage and for the spouses' separation. Article 11 on the rules to enter into a marriage proposes 1) Following the expiration with one month of the time of their submitting a request with the registration offices, a marriage shall be finished in the attendance of the parties coming into the partnership. The registrar's office may allow a wedding to be completed before actual expiration within one month if there are reasonable grounds for it, and it will also prolong this period, and not by over one month (Famliy Code, 1996).

The active family laws are founded on the solid observation of the equality concept in the relationships between partners from the standpoint of the law. The Family Code's rules are primarily gender-neutral and are based on the concept that spouses are recognized as equals. The country's constitution has detailed the parental right and duties over children as equal for both men and women irrespective of their marital status. Parental rights over a child are acquired by registering the parents in the birth book of the child. No such law or regulation is mentioned in the rule as the custodial right of any parent over the child; the rights and responsibilities arise solely from origin. They were considered the inherent right and duty of a parent to take care of the child and fulfil parenting. Parents' rights and responsibility for the child remain the same even if the child physically stays with any parent (Khazova, 2005). The third section of the family code deals with the duties and rights of the couples. Article 31 of the code is written explicitly for the spouses' equality in the family. It includes the right of each spouse to choose their career or profession and where they will reside and live. The couples shall equally address the concerns of maternity and paternity, the raising and well-being of kids and other concerns in the couple's lives, following the concept of the marriage partners' equity. Article 32 specifically mentioned the choice to adopt the surname after marriage. When engaging in a marital relationship, the couples may choose a surname of any of them or can choose a common surname,

or each couple may keep his original surname, or they can add the surname of the other person with his original surname, except explicitly provided by the rules of the Russian Federation's citizens (Family Code, 1996).

 Even though the equality in family responsibility and parental role does not reflect in practice, other family code laws contradict the equality principle. The Family Code contains several sections that imply gender equality violations without providing sufficient grounds for such violations or supporting arguments. Article 17 of the Family Code limits a husband's right to dismantle a marriage all through his wife's pregnancy and a year after the birth of a baby, and Articles 89 and 90 of the Family Law act make it compulsory for a partner to support a wife during her pregnancy and for three years after the child's birth. The spouses, according to Article 34 of the Family Code, own property obtained during marriage jointly. The spouse who has fulfilled home or parenting tasks or has had no separate earnings for other legitimate reasons during the marriage also enjoys the right to joint wealth developed during a wedding. Whereas following other laws makes some differences to the constitutionally guaranteed equality, such as Article 89, paragraph 1, of the Family Code states that couples have a legal responsibility to support one other financially. This obligation is shared equally by two parties, and the system makes no discrimination among them in this regard unless in rare circumstances. Mutual benefit and cooperation among partners is an unavoidable feature of a healthily working marital union. However, the above said the law is merely coherent, as, under Russian family law, a married woman who has chosen to dedicate oneself to family and homemaking duties has no authority to assert help from her partner solely based on relationship status, whether during the marital relationship or in the event of a dispute. In effect, the Family Code, as revised in 1995, allowed couples to govern their wealth connections at their own choice by signing an alimony contract or a marital bond (World Bank, 2003).

The concepts and articles of the Russian Family Code describe the contemporary view of marriage as a civil compact between two fair and independent members of opposite sexes. The Family Code of the Russian Federation Article 1.4 states, "Citizens' rights in the family may be restricted only on the ground of federal law and only insofar as it is necessary to protect the morality, health, rights and legal interests of the other family members and other citizens" (Family Code, 1996). The terms of morality and

right of other family members are stressed on the part as the marriage is only identified as a reproductive unity of society that in a way strengthen the conservative rule of family and marriage as a union of heterosexual people and denial of homosexuality. The amendment of 2013, which banned the adoption for the couples of same-sex marriage, came concerning the amendment of 2008 that allows only registered couples to adopt children (Muravyeva, 2018). Making such amendments and not modifying the traditional view of family and marriage laws shows the country as not inclusive of homosexual people and not accepting the idea of gender equality.

2.6.2 Social Safety measures for women and children

The State Duma endorsed the "Concept of Legislative Activity for the Advancement of Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities for Men and Women" in 1997. Despite nominally guaranteed legal equality of rights between men and women in Russia, the Concept authors emphasize that women are treated unequally in various areas. This explains that men and women do not have equal opportunities to pursue their constitutional rights and freedoms (World Bank, 2003). The state has enacted laws to provide social security for working women with children, linking the family and employment policy besides basic allowance for workers, some special allowances for supporting single-parent mothers, army officers, and widow children. Maternity leave includes seventy days before the delivery and seventy days after taking care of the baby.

Along with maternity allowance, child allowance is given for children up to eighteen months old. Allowances are correspondence to the minimum wage. Women who have been in the labour force for a minimum of one year receive supplementary allowances of thirty-five per cent of the minimum wage. Single mothers or women without financial support from partners receive an allowance of forty-five per cent of the minimum wage for children until their eighteenth birthday. Later the allowance amount was increased to fifty-five per cent. The benefits of entrepreneurs cover the special subsidies in shopping for milk for families with small children and a low income. Children at the age of schooling are supported with subsidies for uniforms. In order to protect the employment right of pregnant women and women with children up to the age of three, the law supports them from arbitrary dismissal from jobs and allows them flexible working time. The family plan of the country gave priority to

executing the policy dealing with the support to families. It covers women's employment protection, child allowances, and supporting women in business, all dealing with running a successful family (Cepal, 2015). The proposed plans to make working women more inclusive in society and family do not turn out to be positive for working women. The woman who wants to obtain those healthcare benefits must file a claim with the Social Security Insurance Fund; only then will she be able to collect the compensation fund transfers from the Social Security Benefit Plan. This is a lengthy procedure, which does not generally result in a favourable outcome for the applicant. In practice, women are frequently denied access to processing assistance payments (Ostrovskaya, 2020). Although the state seems to have been proactive in expanding public welfare funding, Russia's state spending on education and healthcare has been dropping. State funding in education and health has already been reduced, and privatization seems to be the fundamental feature in the social sector (OXFAM, 2014).

Rural areas have severe challenges, with healthcare institutions falling by 75% between 2005 and 2013. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) examines how a country's well-being advances in three critical perspectives: an acceptable quality of living, a healthier and longer life, and literacy. Russia was ranked 62nd out of 173 countries in 2000 as a nation with "medium human development." Since, Russia has improved in all three parameters, ranking 52nd out of 189 countries in the most recent index. Since 2000, transformation and employment market reforms have cut unemployment in half, from 10.58 per cent in 2000 to 4.5 per cent in 2019 (Pilchon &Russell, 2022). Even though the ranking of the country is in a better position in HDI with the improvement in all three key sectors, the global gender gap index by World Bank shows a poor performance ranking the country at 75 in ranking. The global gender gap calculates the gender discrimination and achievements in the sub-index, including economic participation of men and women, educational achievement, political participation and the health sector. The country ranking in the economic participation, health and education makes least in the development ranking between 40 to 45 (World Bank, 2016).

The decline in public spending in the health and education sector was not the only reason behind the poor gender development in the country - the policy shift to the

protection of traditional values also contributed to the existing gender disparity. The emphasis on traditional conservative values shifts the focus from the individual to protecting the family, concentrating more on the concept like 'motherhood' and 'parenting' than real gender disparities. It eventually narrowed the gender and women's question into motherhood and family. The policy package of such listed first in incentives to promote the conception of a second child has been incorporated in 'extra solutions to protect families and children,' or generally 'Maternity capital,' (2007), in the hopes of increasing infant mortality rates. The second legislature includes a modification to the health care legislation law regarding abortion, followed by the new health law (2011), which places significant restrictions on abortion rights. The Orthodox Church holds its position on the policy by supporting a promotion to ban abortion. It did not result in a complete abortion ban but a social situation where women feel uncomfortable and awful to go to clinics or hospitals. Pregnancy due to rape was the only 'social criterion' for performing an abortion between 12 and 22 weeks of pregnancy. The safety measures for women and children could be seen as positive as backing up working women and single parents. At the same time, such policies are only helpful in increasing the country's fertility rate and birth rate. Moreover, the new policies supporting motherhood and tackling the birth rate only contribute to the increasing trend of calling back the women into the traditional role that is more gender unequal in the practical sense.

2.7 The Education system and Gender

Paragraph 3 of Article 43 of the Russian Federation gives everyone the right to free, competitive education. Under the law, the state gives resources to cover educational expenses within a quota, i.e. the proportion of children at every state university. The extent of quotas has always varied from case to case and from each subject to the next. It is determined by the state's contribution to the college's funding, regional requirements, social programs, and other, occasionally subjective, data. The Ministry of Education is the national executive branch's single authority in charge of executing government plans at all levels of academia. The educational governance framework at the regional scale is made up of the appropriate agencies: educational panels, public sector organizations, and so on. They are in charge of defining and implementing national education policies (Saifullova, 2016).

In Russia, women have better academic qualifications than men do. However, significant issues arise regarding putting women's educational values into practice. The objective of boosting the population's academic achievement in elementary and special vocational qualifications at all phases of the country's growth was accorded strategic value throughout the Soviet era. As a result, this approach increased the essential markers of individual development over a short period and established them at reasonably high levels by worldwide standards. It resulted in a levelling of the highest educational statistics for men and women. The process of incorporating females in all phases of technical and vocational education was highly active during the completion of the first five-year plans. Between 1927 and 1995, the percentage of female higher education institutions climbed 28 times, and their percentage of the total percentage of students surged twice. The state's equality concept technically promised equal learning opportunities for men and women, and because it was public, women were given access to a high-quality education. Toward the late 1980s, women made up 90percent of the total educators, 79 per cent of the medical personnel, 60% of technicians, and 40% of scientific professionals. Women were on a level with men in terms of education level, and in some circumstances, they outperformed men. Females make up 56 per cent of students in higher education, indicating a trend toward feminization of the education system. Women's participation in post-secondary education is also on the rise, yet women continue to be underrepresented in this field. Women raised their percentage of post-graduate students from 43 per cent to 45 per cent between 1996 and 2001, while their share of PhD students went from 30 per cent to 41 per cent (World Bank, 2003: 36).

The educational attainment of females does not reflect in the employment career of women in the later period. At the same time, the education rate for females remained high throughout the Soviet Period until the reduction in public expenditure on education, followed by the economic and political changes in the system. Gender discrimination in the education system existed in the Soviet period prohibiting females from specialized vocational training denied under the Labour Code of the Russian Federation, citing health hazards. It continues in the present educational system. Another area where gender disparity exists is the school curriculum, and textbooks uphold conventional gender preconceptions, particularly regarding domestic and parenting duty distribution. More often than male colleagues, a

significant portion of the teachers and staff female instructors behave as advocates of patriarchal social beliefs by advocating for the separation of male and female subjects in school. The school curriculum course contains the *Ethics and Psychology of Family life*" clearly formulated with this aim. The course work deals with the systematic process of setting up a family, the relationship between men and women, and the reproductive role of the family. The course gives an in-depth discussion of family members' rights and responsibilities (Kay, 1997). The idea that a man should provide for and protect his family while a woman plays the role of homemaker and mother is not only used in arguments for removing women from the labour market. The redevelopment of a division of family roles according to gender is also essential to re-establishing relations between the sexes. Many families have long adhered to the traditional separation of men's and women's work. One of the primary justifications for proposals to remove women from full-time paid employment before the collapse of Soviet rule was the well-documented gender inequality in time spent on household chores and domestic duties, which left women shouldering the now 'notorious double burden' (Kay, 1997). The participation of women in the workforce was identified as a double burden for women as it was the compelled situation for women to act or take duty, which is not naturally meant for them. It was even identified as the cause of family life's destruction, increased divorce rate, and parenting problems. Even women were not expecting to share the family responsibilities with men as they have had a history of supporting roles from the state-sponsored childcare policies and other allowances to perform their daily responsibilities well. Therefore, it made the situation of both men and women solely responsible for women after the state's withdrawal from supporting childcare (Afanassieva & Metcalfe, 2005).

Moreover, it is claimed as a situation where the political and economic sector can survive without the participation of women, whereas the family cannot be fully functional without the active role of women. The idea of very many gender-segregated roles made it difficult for Russian women to come out of the family and participate in socio-political activities. Women's traditional and cultural idea as great mothers and family supporters does not include her as a leader. Leadership quality is inherent in men. Even today, women take part in high-profile jobs and enjoy an economically independent life; they are still not welcomed or supported by the so-

called social institution to leave their 'natural' role. Being a wife and mother is treated as a women's best and primary role.

The transition period of reduction in public expenditure on education resulted in gender asymmetry in two ways. The expansion of paid teaching in the humanities, social and economic career fields and these professions are largely feminized; the share of females among students brings the total 67-71 per cent, is primarily responsible for an increase in university enrollment rates. Paid education is five or ten times less common in polytechnics, where males make up the bulk of students. The paid education system resulted in a decline in girls' enrolment from a stable household budget; education for girls makes little sense as a woman is disadvantaged in the labour market. To add to the damage, the lower economic benefits from investing in female education and patriarchal customs may lead parents to prefer to fund their sons' education over their daughters. The other factor is the traditional role of women as wives and mothers, which contradicts the educational career. The time of occupational education and skill development for most Russian women corresponds with parenting and caring obligations, which impact a female's career growth. According to the Russian Federation's State Committee on Statistics (*GOSKOMSTAT[33]*), the overall number of people working in Russia fell from 71.1 million to 57.92 million in the nineties, a reduction of 13.2 million people. This drop, which began with women in the workplace, eventually affected men. Within the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups, men shrank at the cost of the older, while women shrank at the expense of the younger (Mezentseva, 2005).

Public funds spending on education were drastically reduced, both in actual and social terms, due to the shock therapy program and the economic slump of the early and mid-1990s. For more than ten years, the demands of secondary schools and higher education systems have been underfunded by more than two-thirds, resulting in inefficiencies in faculty wages, infrastructure degradation, and outdated instructional methods. In 2000, educational institutions' budgets were supplied by less than a quarter of the standard level. The Russian authorities approved the National Doctrine on Education in 2000. In that year, the Government Law established a five academic building program. The Russian Federation's determination to play a significant role in

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[33]The Federal State Statistics Service is the governmental statistics agency in Russia. Since 2017, it is again part of the Ministry of Economic Development.

the transformation was made evident in 1999, 2000, and 2001, when the government's budget expenditures for education increased by 50% yearly. Similar good changes have occurred in the Russian Federation's subjects. During the 2000s, the ratio of students who were self-financed against those who were state-owned flipped. Self-funding was 34.4 per cent of students in the year 2000/200, and it climbed to 61.5 per cent in 2011/2012, even though the proportion of education places did not grow significantly (OXFAM, 2014). Outrageously rigid bureaucratic environments and high rates of fraudulent activities also trouble Russian educational institutions (Balzer et al., 2011). The contribution of government spending devoted to national education was between 11 and 12 per cent; it peaked at 12.7 per cent in 2004 but fell to 10.9 per cent in 2010. However, the cost of state spending on education in the total GDP increased, rising from 3.6 per cent in 2003 to 4.3 per cent in 2010. Because of the decline in public expenditure in the educational sector between 2000 and 2009, the proportion of primary schools declined by 17% in remote locations and 5% in urban areas. Smaller schools were either shuttered or merged. Over the last 18 years, the percentage of undergraduates attaining education in Russia has climbed 2.5 times, from 2.8 million in 1990 to 7.1 million in 2010. The increase is due primarily to a rise in the number of students who study in private colleges (Gewinner, 2016).

Between 1992 and 2000, the number of male students increased by 327,000, or 25%, while the number of female students increased by 763,000, or 50%. In 2005, higher education was feminized, with 57 per cent of women and only 43 per cent of men enrolled. The first law on education was adopted in 1992 and approved in 1993, making it Article 43 of the Russian constitution. Following the years in 1994 government sanctioned the Education Development Program. In 1998, the academic council of the country updated and amended the education law and higher education policies. The state policy of high-quality free education remains the state's slogan regarding the education system. The crucial documents in the education sector introduced by the Russian Federation are the following: "The Conception of Russian Education Modernization until 2010, The Federal Special-Purpose Program of Educational Development from 2011 till 2015, the national priority project "Education," The national educational initiative "Our New School" (Starodubtceva & Krivko, 2015).

The education for all and equal chances for girls and boys in education have been called up in the State Duma's Committee on Maternity Family and Youth. It specifies the equality in opportunity for girls and men in vocational training and educational programs. The clause that the banned list of women from entering some jobs made it impossible to train in vocational education in specific industry sectors, whereas the lift of the ban may allow women to acquire the benefit of vocational training programs (Viktorovna, 2021). In order to protect the rights of girls' education, the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Labour and Social Development take the following plans to ensure the education for girls. 1) It ensures the removal of drop out of girls and completion of education 2) provides the system of evening schools to ensure the education for pregnant girls and mothers with infants. 3) Activating parents, teachers, and non-teaching staff to boost gender awareness in society. 4) Special courses to promote awareness for Parents, School staff, and all academic personnel about sex education. 5) Special teaching aids and introduction of textbook references for motivating girls and making them aware of the need to participate in the country's cultural, social and political sectors and to help boost their self-esteem. 6) Making girls aware of the need for economic independence (UNESCO, 2020).

In 2003, Russia entered the Bologna[34] Method, introducing third-stage higher education, the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System, and competency-based syllabi, and universality was among the focuses of academic progress. After an authority shift in the Education department in 2004, the reform's focus shifted. *Isaak Kalina*, Director of the Department of State Policy, released an updated perspective on promoting education to the Ministry for the first time on November 4, 2004. Including 1) Increasing the standard of technical education, especially tertiary and vocational education, 2) guaranteeing availability of advanced secondary schooling, and 3) developing a modernized comprehensive educational system. Dmitri Medvedev, Vice Prime Minister, took the initiative in academic policymaking on September 17, 2007, when he recognized the objective of the national initiative as developing an overall sense design of reformation of education that would improve the standard of learning and pave the way for the framework for the near future (Pogosian, 2012). The National Doctrine of Education in the Russian Federation until

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[34]is a crucial process of integrating different higher education systems in Europe with the goal of developing a European Area of Higher Education and promoting the European system of higher education globally to boost its global competitiveness.

2025 accepts the fundamental education focus at school. The Doctrine emphasizes the need for mental, ethical, economic, social, constitutional, and environmental education and patriotic and religious harmony. In this regard, primary school curriculums include specific studies focusing on religious foundations and traditions of the Russian Federation, ethical values, cultural and historical heritage of world religions, and other topics. The students' guardians or legal family, based on their preferences, can choose only one subject. Since April 2010, the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation has included Foundations of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics in the secondary school program. The schools from 19 Russian regions began to study the subject as an experiment. Since September 2012, the subject has been included in the curriculum of all Russian regional schools (Starodubtceva & Krivko, 2015).

The school curriculum and state policies emphasise cultural values and religion more than the need to make awareness programs on women's need for education and gender equality. It is nowhere mentioned the need to achieve gender equality. Making girls aware of the cultural and traditional needs and duty makes them more inclined toward the traditional gender role. The emphasis on duty and cultural norms are explicitly related to the traditional role of motherhood than independent women standing with her values and rights. More concentration on cultural and moral values indicates implementing the governmental policy to preserve the traditional hierarchal society that imbeds patriarchy.

2.8 Political Participation and Gender inequality

Gender was profoundly tied to transforming from communist rule to the current Russian administration. Women faced numerous challenges during the unstable era of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. On one side, the exposure and "perestroika" policies resulted in a tardy "rise of feminism", which afforded women considerable independence. Conversely, the Russian state's change exacerbated cultural and social disparities. It was reflected in changes in attitudes toward gender relations, with a predisposition to favour patriarchal culture. Participation of women in the political field has consistently remained low. Women were politically more active in the Soviet period than in women's current political participation. The communist ideology was prevalent in society, and women got the chance to participate in electoral politics and

related social and political activism. Though the political participation was nominal and under the control of party ideology, women managed to acquire politically enriched ideas and activism under the controlled party system.

The legislature of the Russian state is a bicameral body. There was a quota system which required the 33percentage of women in the People's Deputies. Abolition of the quota system has resulted in an unparalleled decay in the number of women in representation in the legislative body since 1990. Women's political participation and awareness of women are yet to be developed. The number of women in the legislature in the USSR Supreme Soviet was 33percent in 1984; later, in 1989, it reduced to 15.7 per cent and 5percentage in 1990 (Tishkov, 1993). This period was in the time of transformation of society from an authoritarian political system to a liberal one, with freedom of expression and other civil rights, which were not available under the communist government. At the same time, identifying women's roles as mothers and caregivers becomes more robust. The first parliamentary election in the new Russia witnessed women's political movement. Women of Russia, the first women bloc, participated in Russia's first parliamentary election formed by uniting three women groups. The three organizations were The Union of Women of Russia, the Association of Women Entrepreneurs of Russia, and the Union of Women of the Navy (Lipovskaya, 1997). The women of Russia were the first party to promote its candidates for parliament after the disintegration. In the Soviet period during 1917, ' the League for the Equality of Women and the Women's Alliance for Aid to the Motherland' was the only political groups of independent women contested for the national legislative assembly (Sillaste, 1995).

Before 1993, only 5.3 per cent of women were in the parliament. Compared to any other western country, the percentage shows the better condition but is relatively low compared to the Soviet period. The women elected to the parliament secured only nine out of 178 seats. Out of 440 seats in the total State Duma seats, only 60 women were elected. Later on, in the 1995 election, out of the twenty-seven committees of the Duma, two of them, the Committee on family and Youth Affairs and Ecological Protection Committee, were chaired by women (Racioppi & See 1995). The Women of Russia was the descendant of the Soviet Women committee, though it managed to secure the 8.1 per cent of seats in the Duma after its first election to the Russian national assembly. The party's main aim was to ensure the complete representation of

women in the national assembly, though they gave more stress to the problem of women's unemployment, which was the severe issue Russian women faced at that time and got less attention from the state. Women were the section hit severely by the country's political changes; half of the women were affected by the withdrawal of the state from the subsidies. Unemployment was a huge issue faced by the Russians after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and women were the section who went through it mostly as they got fired from work firstly and quickly due to their gender. The newly formed Russian women's party concentrated on the issue of women's unemployment by ensuring adequate political representation to formulate laws that support and benefit women to get over the unemployment issue. By addressing the most needful issue of women in Russia, groups managed to get the highest percentage of the vote at the time. The fact that the number of females is higher than men in the country makes it more surprising how winning a female candidate has become problematic in Russia's political field. Generally, the female voters of Russia chose a candidate with a much stronger image who could protect the citizens and the nation. They prefer someone determined to protect the weak, putting themselves in the weak column and being protected by the strongest. They see such qualities more in male candidates than females.

Not many women in Russia find it essential to participate in political activities. They remain apolitical due to several reasons. Different women's political parties formed during the 1990s after the Perestroika, such as Political Equality, The Search for Radical Female Initiative, The Unified Party of Women, The Radical Party, and Women of Sovereign Russia. However, they all remained low membership and out of national politics actively without the strong support of fellow women voters (Sillaste, 1995). Women's political participation in Russia is relatively low as active engagement in work at home and other social activities seem more time-consuming and suitable for women. Participating in political activities started in the 90s with more independent organizations opening. Alliance of Women in Russia could not stay strong in the political arena and failed to show any legislative work; they failed to win in the election and could not even manage to get the necessary 5 per cent on the party list (Lipovskaya, 1997). The women candidates who won the elections managed to get into positions. Some of the women who have been selected for ministerial positions were Ella Palmfilova, who served as Minister of Social Protection until 1994.

Lyudmila Bezlepkina served as minister of Social Protection during 1994 -96, Tatyana Dmitrieva as health Minister from 1996-98, and Minister of Labour and Social Development was Oksana Dmitrieva. Valentina Matveinko was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, the highest post held by women in Russia. Some women have held the post of advisors to the president. Galina Starovoitova and Yekaterina Lakhova served as the president's advisors during Yeltsin's presidency, assisting him on Family and Women issues (Nechemias, 2000).

The Russian Federation's Ministry of Justice had recognized 139 all-Russia electoral groups as political groups till December 19, 1998. Barely 21 women are amongst these organisations' leaders, amounting to only 15% of the total number of organisations requesting to participate in the elections. The State Duma elections of 1999 marked yet another milestone in Russian society's adoption of the parliamentary government system. Contestants and coalitions were authorised to provide voter rolls in support of the bloc or place a bond, according to the Act on Elections passed before the 1999 elections. Women are disadvantaged by these advancements because they typically do not have access to funding. An electoral union might pay an election bail rather than presenting voter signatures; the bail was 83,490 rubles for a contestant and 2,078,250 for a regional bloc. Twenty women were selected to the State Duma in 1999 by a separate constituency. Women elected to the State Duma had either struggled in election campaigns or had experience working at the federal or regional levels of the power structure. Fourteen women were chosen to the State Duma on party tickets in the same election. 29 In all, 34 female MPs were elected to the third session of the State Duma. Not all female contestants, on the other hand, succeeded. Two women's parties were defeated: "Women of Russia," which received barely 2.07% of the vote. "The Russian Party for Women's Protection" received only 0.82 per cent of the electorate (World Bank, 2003). In 2003, Russia's position in the women's political participation rate was 94th among 181 countries; in 2011, it mounted in the 91st position. The position of Russia in 2015 is 100th, which is an authoritarian state. It shows that the position of women in Russian politics has not changed with the factors of the democratization process unless it reduced the support for women candidates at the time of election. The increase of a right-wing ideology in the political field makes it difficult for women candidates to get adequate representation (World Bank, 2003:92).

The tenure of holding any office of women representatives' remains low, and the attitude towards them as a secondary status leads to the marginalisation of women representatives. Lipovskaya (1997) pointed out how the gender principle of Russia influences women's political participation. The media and other platforms present women in political space referred to their physical or sexual appearance without giving any importance to their political programs or participation. The general attitude towards the women representatives and the low status of women in the political arena kept the number of women in the Russian political field relatively low. The growth of independent women's organizations could not support women to achieve a better position in the political field (Nechemias, 2000).

Following the 1995 election process, many women, irrespective of political background, started to acquire recognition. E. Pamfilova of the "Russian Federation's Republican Party," L. Vartazarova of the Socialist Workers' Party, and V. Novodvorskaya of the "Democratic Union" have positioned careers as prominent leaders. In 2007, the position of women in Russian politics grew considerably. As a result, 63 women were elected to the state Duma in the fifth session, accounting for 14% of the actual number of delegates. It is worth noting that this number has steadily increased. The number of female MPs in the Federation Council has increased from six to eight, despite a fall in the total number of seats in the Federal Assembly's upper chamber. In 2017, the state had 71 female members, the highest number in history. The situation in the Federation Council is similar: 29 women are a large number. Gender disparity continues to be a distinctive aspect of the Upper legislature body, notwithstanding a rising tendency in the number of female legislators (See figure 2.2). Women do not make up 20% of any legislative party. Women's share in the state Duma remains below 10% of most political parties. The United Russia party's election programme for the 2016 legislator's polls has a female topic like "motherhood and childhood" safety. Women are exclusively related to motherhood in their election propaganda. Political parties usually do not keep any women supporting agendas.

Most women candidates belong to United Russia (See Figure 2.3), and the party's agenda followed by the women candidates of the party is discriminatory. The women candidates follow it due to a lack of political experience and not having a clear agenda on women's issues and rights. The only party that holds a gender-sensitive agenda in Russia today is Yabloko, failing to enter the state parliament in the last election. Its

party manifesto for 2002 included achieving the constitutional establishment of equal opportunity for men and women. It structured a women fraction in 2006, keeping the idea of gender equality. The Women's Union Of Russia added the expansion of women into decision-making roles and inclusion of women into government posts as its ninth objective in the manifesto. Only 28% of the Federation's subjects possess female members in the upper body of the legislature. Both senators are women in many places, including the Nenets Autonomous District, Primorsky Krai, and the Republic of Tyva. Most regional domains with female representatives are republics or districts with a significant minority ethnicity populace and big manufacturing centres. Equality exists in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Russia's two main urban areas with a federal situation: one man and one-woman delegate. In Russia, women have a higher representation at the municipal council level, accounting for roughly 31% of elected reps all over the country. Women occupy 54 per cent of all administrative posts in executive committees, which is much greater. City mayors, on the other hand, are seldom women. In 2019, women made up only approximately 8% of mayors in Russian towns. The most significant urban centres have the most significant proportion of female mayors, around 20% (Muravyeva & Hoare, 2020).

Figure: 2.2 Percentage of women in Russian Parliament (Figures in %)
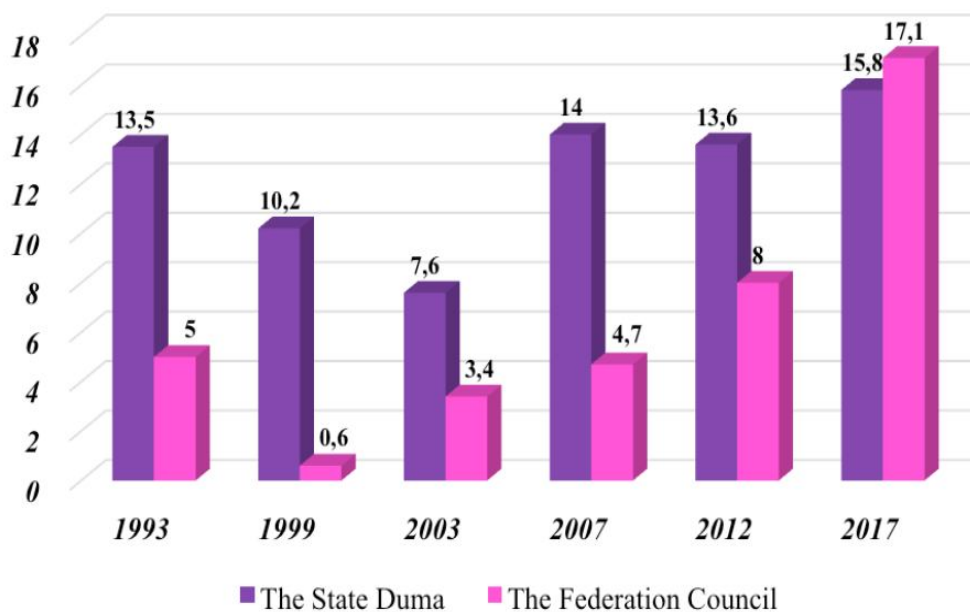
Source: Pilkina, 2019: 3

100

Figure: 2.3 Women belong to Political parties of the State Duma
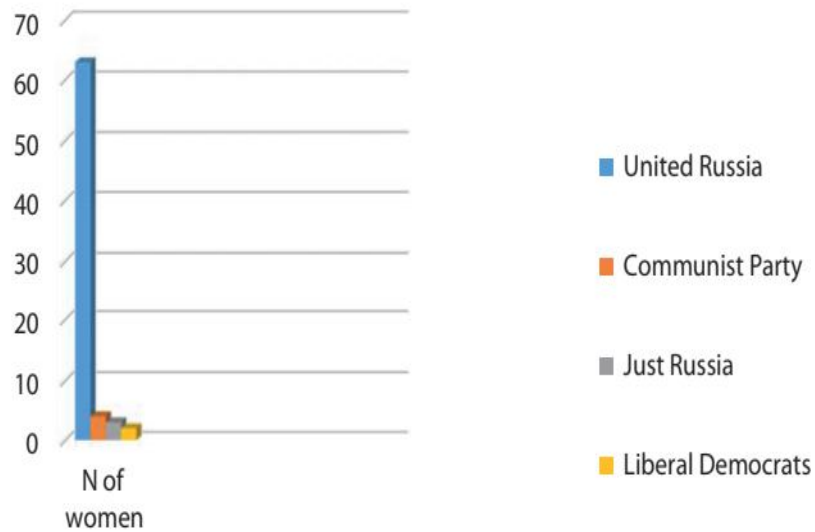
Source: Muravyeva &Hoare, 2020: 30

The government report stating the achievements of the Beijing Declaration, the participation of women in the political field shows a positive sign. The participation of women increased, starting with the number of women in government positions. The number of women in the Federal Council, the upper house of the Federal Assembly, was 28, with a speaker and deputy speaker. The number of women members in the State Duma of the Federal Assembly was 70. Women who held other positions in the country were Governor of the Russian Bank, Commissioner for Human rights, and the Presidential post of the Commission of Children Rights (Cepal, 2015). The perception that only men are fit to rule is a socially and culturally supported constructed belief. Men are biologically and physically stronger than women and fit to deal with political power, and games make women less accepted by people in the political field. Russia's cultural and traditional political picture gives the same idea of the participation of women in Russian politics. Women play a crucial role in election campaigning and gathering support for the groups or public political organisations they belong to, but they hardly ever go to decision-making posts in the party hierarchies. Though political parties have resources to run electoral campaigns, women do not have access to these resources. The share of women in the political parties shows the outlook toward women leaders in the party (See Table 2.1). The support for a female candidate for a powerful position shows the general attitude toward women's political participation in the country. In 2006, 65% supported seeing women in powerful positions, whereas

after the long run of government policies to bring back the traditional role of women, the support for selecting a female candidate decreased to 49 % among women and 19% among men (Muravyeva & Hoare, 2020). Thus family became the tool for oppressing the women and keeping the divide between masculine and feminine gender roles; this divide helps sustain the idea of connecting women's issues only with family and her interest for the whole family.

Table: 2.1 Representations of Women in the Parliamentary Parties in Russia (Percentage)

	Overall number	Men	Women	Proportion of women (%)
The State Duma (7th convocation)	450	379	71	15,8
United Russia	343	280	63	18
Communist Party of Russia	42	39	3	7
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	39	37	2	5
Just Russia	23	20	3	13
Not included in the faction	2	2	0	0

Source: Pilkina, 2019:5

Another aspect that could stymie women's efforts to promote their rights is the media's position on these matters, as its significance on public perception cannot be underestimated. The Russian media tends to underreport events and actions involving organisations that promote women's issues. The media, especially women's magazines, do not adequately make people aware of problems such as female issues and their actual status in society and government initiatives to improve women's status. In practice, the media is frequently used to perpetuate traditional gender roles and preconceptions about "women's role" in society. Businesswomen and their accomplishments and essential women's profiles and actions are rarely and infrequently highlighted in newspapers, publications, television, and radio programmes. Fashion events, celebrities and movie stars are among the most common themes discussed in the media. Such a method does not instil a feeling of respect in women, nor does it boost their self-esteem in their power or self-respect; nor can it encourage them to seek state or political office and assume public responsibilities (World Bank, 2003). According to the World Economic Forum, Russia has the most negligible value in the Political Empowerment sub-index. The sub-index measuring

the political achievement includes the proportion of women to men in posts in government and the percentage of women to men in legislative offices used to quantify the gender gap at the uppermost scale of political decision-making (World Bank, 2016). Insufficient democratic representation also implies that women are not fully involved in the budget, resulting in gender-biased budgeting and erasing any chance of programs and projects in that sector. Women take the burden of the consequences of the financial downturn and cutbacks due to a lack of women in powerful positions of government and fundamental economic issues (Muravyeva, 2018).

2.9 Violence against women in Russia

Russian women have endured gender violence and discrimination throughout their life, irrespective of social and economic development in the country. Growing violence and discrimination against women are understood in connection with the culture and laws. Because violence reflects and strengthens underlying gender-based inequality, women are disproportionately victimized. Over the last few years, the Russian Federation's government and its people have gained a better knowledge of Domestic violence against women and domestic violence, as well as the long-term harm that these types of violence bring to women, their kids, other household members, and the nation as a whole. The idea of eradicating discrimination and exploitation through socialism was the Soviet ideology. It did not recognize gendered violence as a manifestation of dominance. Along with other crimes, rape and domestic violence are regarded as unnatural acts and the criminals as psychologically ill. There were few references to rape in the Soviet press, although the crime continued to be recognized in law, with the original 1922 provisions carried over into all subsequent versions of the criminal code, including that of post-Soviet Russia (Hemment, 2007).

The law treated rape as a crime punishable by fifteen years of imprisonment and the death penalty, but the law was rarely evoked in the period as the rape cases and other violence against women, as such cases are dealt with mainly through the party committees or trade unions at the initial stage and hardly reach into the judicial level. The issue of violence against women in marriage received more attention in the press but was blamed primarily on alcohol abuse. There was no attempt to understand violence against women as something structural, part of the social script of gender

relations in soviet society. Gender violence became a topic discussed in public with the introduction of glasnost, which lifted the restrictions on such topics that were considered taboo in Soviet society. Domestic violence and rape in Russian society are customarily considered the naturalized male expression of anger provoked mainly by women's behaviour. The idea of a new discourse on gender violence and domestic violence began in the society, including international norms and discussion of women's issues. Concern about gender differences has not diminished with Russia's move to the market economy (Attwood, 1997). The women's crisis centre was registered in 1993, although Natalia Gaidarenko, director of the Moscow centre, 'Sisters' had been running a part-time telephone helpline for women since 1990. The emergence of the women's movement in the country boomed when the communist party lost its control over the socio-political organizations. It gave a chance for women-centred groups to speak and act against violence faced by Russian women and give awareness and protection to them. Centres operating in the Russian Federation, both centres were based in Moscow. Concern about the lack of reliable information about violence against women, and the attitudes and assumptions inherent in the work that has been carried out, led to the establishment of the Russian Association of Crisis centre for women in 1995 (Hemment, 2007).

Intimate partner violence misconceptions are undoubtedly among the most persistent gender stereotypes. These beliefs affect not only ordinary people but also officials of legislature authorities, lawyers, law enforcement officers, and other elected authorities. They also play an essential part in the country's refusal to tackle family violence again. Vyacheslav Volodin, Speaker of the Russian Federation's State Duma, noted, "We have looked at both the analysis and the conclusions of sociological research, and we see that the majority of society - 59% - advocated not strictly regulating issues in such minor conflicts which do not cause harm to health" (Davitovna, 2021:8). The Speaker equated the situation of domestic violence to that of a regular conflict, stating that the act was intended to preserve and strengthen Russian families.

The lack of laws dealing with violence against women weakens the existing legislation system in protecting women's rights. Laws related to violence against women do not conform to CEDAW regulations that deal with family issues. CEDAW instructs the government to close the violations against women by bringing effective

laws. The existing law does not provide adequate protection for the victims and punishment for preparation. Part VII of the Russian criminal code deals with the law of any violence against a person as a criminal. While wife beating is widely accepted as a regular aspect of married life, there is no specific mention of domestic violence. Domestic abuse is punished under the introductory provisions of the *Russian Criminal Code* (RCC) or the *Russian Code of Administrative Offenses* (RCAO). In terms of criminal law, the RCC criminalizes the following aspects of physical assault that may be included in a domestic abuse case. The amount of bodily pain determines the seriousness of the offence.

Table: 2.2 Articles on physical violence in the Russian Criminal Code

Intentional infliction of grave injury	Article 111
Intentional infliction of moderate (average) injury	Article 112
Infliction of grave or moderate (average) injury while in a state of affect	Article 113
Intentional infliction of grave or moderate (average) injury in excess of the limits of self-defence	Article 114
Intentional infliction of light injury	Article 115
Repeated battery	Article 116.1
Torture (defined as systematic battery or other violent acts) *also includes psychological violence*	Article 117
Infliction of grave injury by negligence	Article 118
Infection with a sexually transmitted disease	Article 121
Transmission of HIV	Article 122

Source: Duban, 2020: 30

There is a need to set up laws regulating and criminalising all kinds of domestic violence. Under the Russian criminal laws, bodily injuries are included in the criminal offence; other offences, especially domestic violence of different kinds, do not get proper attention or importance. Some of the Russian criminal codes deal with violence, such as Article 112 describing activity engaging in harmful activity to a person's health intentionally, Article 116 beating a person, and Article 119 homicide. These criminal offences do not mention the relationship between the victim and the preparatory. That fails to identify and act for the increased domestic violence in the Russian family system. Article 117 is the one in which describes the nature of victims. It mentions "torture the causing of physical or mental suffering utilizing the systematic infliction on beating or other forcible actions that describes the nature of the victim as minor, apparently helpless, or materially or otherwise depended on the guilty person" (Russia, 2010). Failure to identify domestic violence as a threat to

women is a severe defect in protecting women's rights. Violence in public against a person identifies with greater importance than violence against women inside the family.

Moreover, in Russia, violence against women within the family is considered a private matter which needs to be identified as a mere family issue, not as a harmful act against women. Violence is a significant threat to protecting women's rights and balancing gender equality within the family and society. The amendment in the Penal Code of the Russian Federation with effects in 2003 came with a notable change in domestic violence, putting them into the category of private prosecution, justifying them as rights of a particular person and between two persons. Hence, it is ultimately their wish to go for complaint or not. In 2017, Putin decriminalised some domestic violence forms (Fish, 2017). These amendments clearly show the state's irresponsibility to protect the victims of domestic violence and treat gender problems as unnecessary to give stress and protection from the state.

Figure: 2.4 Number of Violence Against family Members in Russia 2012-2020
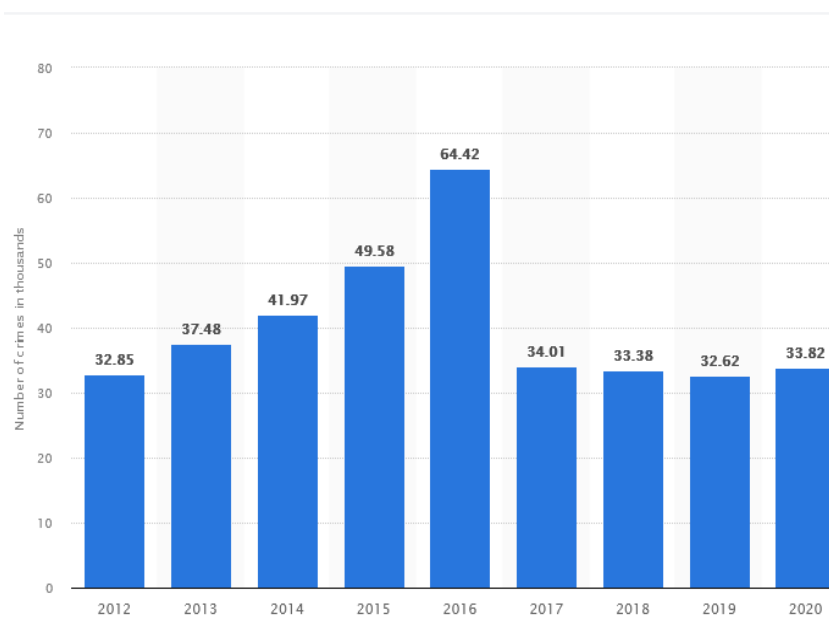
(Source: Statista, 2022)

The violence reported in Russia against family members was high until 2016 and showed a decline in the following years. It declined after the hike in 2016 cannot be considered a positive sign of a decrease in the cases. The decriminalization of domestic violence in 2017 can be taken as a reduction in the number of cases reported

or considered under the domestic violence act. After 2016, there was a decline in violence cases from 64.42 to 33.82 per cent. The absence of a specific law related to domestic violence makes it difficult to find official records from the enforcement agencies about the exact situation in the country. In terms of official data, the Russian Federation's Department of Internal Security reported in 2019 that approximately a third of all killings occur in the domain of family or personal relationships in Russia, and every fourth family encounters other types of violent actions. More than 34000 offences associated with intimate partner assault" was reported by authorities throughout the nation in 2018. Women are the main crime targets undertaken towards members of the family. Women accounted for more than 70% of all affected people by violent criminal acts perpetrated against a family during this time. In several situations, the sufferer was the offender's spouse. The trend of violence against that member of the family in Russia in 2018 is shown in table 2.3

Table: 2.3 Victims of Crimes Committed against Family Members – 2018

2018	Total number of victims	Number of women victims	Proportion of women victims
Individual victims of crime	33 378	24 478	73.3%
including in relationship to the perpetrator:			
spouse	15 859	13 442	84.7%
son/daughter	5 675	2 972	--

Source: Duban, 2020:12

Several proposals concerning domestic violence have been developed since 1996 but have been consistently denied by Russia's State Duma as unimportant. In 1996, the first initiative for a federal law, "*On Preventing Domestic Violence,*" was filed in the Russian State Duma, but it was dropped from discussion in 2001. Bills introduced in 1997 and 1999 have gone the same way. As a result, the administration ignored this issue for nearly two decades until 2016. Sh. Murzabyeva, a member of the Russian Federation Council, and A.V. Belyakov, a member of the Russian Federation Council, introduced a federal bill "*On Preventing Domestic Violence*" to the Russian Federation State Duma in 2016, which was created by representatives of the Ministry of Labour's Coordination Group on Gender Issues since 2012. Women's voluntary organisations and the RF Presidential Committee on the Development of Civil Society

and Human Rights endorsed this law. The proposal was again dropped from the table after failing to pass the first phase of evaluations. At the end of 2019, the public slammed the most recent legislative draft by the Russian Federation Council (Osanova, 2020).

Not just conservative legislators who are genuinely opposed to any legislative restriction on this matter voice their opposition to the proposal, but they also express their opposition to the bill. The proposal was also criticised by all those who endorse the implementation of domestic and family violence regulations because it exempted physical assault as a primary consideration and did not endorse any efficient survivor safeguards. The law's stated goal was reunification between the complainant and the perpetrator. The battery is among the highly prevalent kinds of domestic abuse. However, battery injuries are not deemed injurious to one's physical by themselves; such acts breach human rights to be free of aggression and put others at risk. The battery falls into the category of "preventable" offences. It is possible to avoid more heinous offences, such as killing, by quickly identifying and prosecuting those who have attempted battery. The Russian Federation's Supreme Court suggested in 2016 to remove crime charges for battery and relocate a section on the battery to the group of administrative offences, decreasing the punishment to payment of 30,000 roubles, 15 days in prison, or 60 to 120 hours of forced labour. In 2016, civil rights advocates successfully established criminal culpability for the battery. Nevertheless, it was partly decriminalised, with the battery being relocated to the Russian Federation's Code of Administrative Criminal offences and Article 116 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation being altered to outlaw battery against partners, kids, and other dependents (Davitovna, 2021).

A Coordinating Council was established to execute the National Action Strategy for Women (NASW) and, mainly, to update policies on eliminating intimate partner violence. Delegates from several ministries, agencies, departments, and NGOs make up the Coordinating Council. The Council is in charge of carrying out the NASW in its totality, including identifying goals for state action on enhancing gender relations. At the national and provisional levels, some encouraging examples of coordination committees have been encouraged among government, government entities, and NGOs that support women survivors of domestic violence. Establishing rules for

delivering welfare programs to women and children in cases of domestic violence is one example of cooperative work (Duban, 2020).

The procedure of filing an intimate partner violence case makes it difficult for the victim to get justice. The post-Soviet period shows a higher rise in violence against women. Six hundred thousand women experience violence at home, and 40 women die out of violence every year (Turbine, 2015). Article 20 of the criminal code procedure provides the registration of violence cases only based on the report of the wounded person; if two parties re-join, then the case is subject to termination. A case is only considered to be opened when the complaint filed by the victim meets the requirements of Article 318 of the criminal code. It is essential to note the procedure; if the case registered by the aggrieved party meets the requirements, the magistrate initiates the procedure-injured party become a private claimant, and they have to perform a dual role of victim and the role of the prosecutor to prove the guilt of the convict by presenting evidence. An ordinary citizen does not know the prosecution process and cannot argue and present the evidence to prove the convict's guilt using the foundations of criminal law. State initiatives for the victims of domestic violence established rehabilitation centres under social service agencies. It is direct for rehabilitation centres in all constituencies regulated by the federal law of Russian federation number *195-FZ*, which identifies domestic violence as a problematic situation in life. The definition of violence replicates the state's stony responses to the violence and victims (Ostrovskaya, 2020).

Furthermore, in the case of domestic violence, the situation mentioned above of filing the case and getting justice becomes complicated for the aggrieved party as the factor of post-traumatic stress plays a significant role in the victim's life. Another factor that leads to the failure of the case is that in most cases, the victim commonly stays with the convict in the same apartment, giving the convict a chance to coerce and pressure the victim. Parting with the ferocious husband is challenging due to the improper registration procedure and shortage of apartments. Thus, in most cases, the private case does not get legal support according to the country's criminal code for two reasons: firstly, it does not meet the requirements of the terms of the criminal code; second, the settlement of both parties. Moreover, the victims are unaware of the court proceedings and criminal procedure (UN, 2010).

Incidents of sexual violence in the country also come to approximately 30,000 – 40,000 in a year, according to the report of the ANNA[35] centre for violence against women in the country. State laws and rehabilitation centres do not support sexual violence victims—only NGOs concerned with rape and sexual victims with limited resources (ANNA, 2015). Russian Penal Code of Article 131, section 19 deals with rape and sexual violence, which falls under the 'Private Public prosecution' category, which makes cases under these sections only initiated under the report of the victims or by their legal advisors. More than the legal terms, the crimes mentioned under these clauses make the pathetic condition of Russian law regarding the state's attitude about sexual violence. Other crimes identified under the sections are Violating patent rights, copyrights, and other constitutional rights such as the right to equality and privacy. The solemnity of the state dealing with sexual violence is evident from the equation of sexual violence with patent and copyright violence. Same as domestic violence here, the law makes the victim helpless and unable to get justice by inserting the condition for the criterion of such crimes. The long process and conditions in criminal procedure make the victims not seek legal help in such situations. The data of victims approaching the legal system in such cases is estimated at 12 per cent and 14 per cent in 2007 and 2018, respectively. Victims' reported calls for help to crisis centres found 3875nd 3534 in 2007 and 2018, respectively (Russia, 2010). The laws dealing with rape and sexual assault themselves manifest gender unequal reference. Chapter 18 of the RCC, titled *Crimes against the Sexual Inviolability and Sexual Freedom of the Person*", deals with rape and other sexual violence. Under the chapter, Article 132 says, "Pederasty, lesbianism, or any other sexual actions with the use of violence or with the threat of its use against the victim or other persons, or with the taking advantage of the helpless condition of the victim, shall be punishable by deprivation of liberty for a term of three to six years" (Criminal Code of Russian Federation, 1996). The country's criminal code does not mention sex trafficking or protection for female victims.

The writings of violence against women show the need to establish a gender-sensitive society. Most of them identify and justify violence as an act of protecting the feminine nature and culture, mainly accusing the increasing participation of women in social

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[35]Established in 1995, the National Center for Prevention of Violence "ANNA" provides social, economic, and legal assistance to women and children in crisis.

activities and some on to women's behaviour. Wife battering becomes necessary action to protect the structure of the family. It justifies violence as the participation of women in the labour force, and other social activities deviated them from performing the prominent role of mother and caring for family and husband. Russian culture allows women to perform a specific role in the family that deviating from may affect family and society; as a protection for the family, most men believe it is justifiable to perpetuate violence and keep women under pressure to perform their given duties. In a way, it gives the authority to men to perform physical punishment if women are unwilling to perform their pre-decided roles and duties. One of the other factors they show is that economically independent women tend to show manly behaviours such as taking alcohol, smoking, and controlling family affairs, which results in conflicts in the family. Listing the causes of violence never identifies the violence as unjustified, rather than giving the title of moral responsibility to men to keep the women on the right path and restore the family tradition. It clearly shows the violence resulting from not being a "good" woman without giving the best to family and husbands. Such ideas greatly support the hierarchal gender role of men and women and identify violence as inevitable to restore the tradition (Attwood, 1997:108). Emotional violence occurs more commonly in abused women than physical violence. Persistent abuse subjects victims to multidimensional distress, which has long-term and severe repercussions on females' and girls' essential ability in various daily tasks.

The lack of adequate law identifying domestic violence and other arbitrary violence against women is the primary reason for increased violence in Russia. There is no systematic record of domestic violence and other crimes against women in the Russian federation to identify the need to tackle the issue. However, the inactive response of the state against violence makes it difficult for victims to reach out to the legal system for safety and justice. According to the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs report, 212,700 domestic violence cases were registered in Russia in 2008 (UN, Violence against women in the Russian Federation, 2010). The CEDAW report Of 2010 mentions women's situation in society and the state's effort to address the women's question. It points out the major drawback of the state's inefficiency in identifying and challenging the gender inequality situation in Russia. The report clearly states the major drawback of a lack of a concrete idea about the violence against women and the failure to guarantee women's labour rights.

2.10 Religion in Russian Society

Russian principle law of religion identifies four official religions of the state: Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism. Article 14 of the Russian constitution guarantees religious freedom. It states that "the people of Russia are guaranteed the freedom for religious worship, accept any individual or with others, or choose no religious group". The law forbids any restrictions on civil rights based on religion, as well as activities that incite religious intolerance and discord. It declares that all religious organisations are equivalent and distinct from the state. The legislation stipulates that the government may limit religious freedom to the extent required to maintain the government's legislative system and stability, as well as people's morals, healthcare, rights, constitutional rights, or the country's defence. Forcing another individual to reveal his or her religious beliefs or to engage or not attend in worshipping, other religious rituals, religious organization functions, or religious teaching is illegal. Among the four religious groups, Orthodox Church holds a unique position. Principles law of religion recognizes the role of the Orthodox Church in informing and mounting the country's religious culture (United State Department, 2019). Relation between orthodox and state dates back to AD 988 when the east Slavs converted and baptized into the Byzantine system of Christianity. Until 1917, the pre-revolution state and Russian orthodox had a close-by connection. Russian Orthodox influenced spiritual life and touched Russia's economic, political, and cultural life (Turunen, 2007). The root of Orthodox in Russia started from the time of Kievan Rus, by Prince Vladimir[36] accepted it as the official religion, until the period of the great revolution, which changed the country's religious status. State and church make the most of each other to coexist and sustain their power. This coexistence system can be traced back to the Byzantine culture of coexistence of state and religion, in harmony cooperating where there is no dividing line between state and religious powers.

Registration of a religious group mentioned under the principle of law on religion requires at least ten members 18 years old or above; that age group can be registered as a branch of a centralised organization or as if it worked in a place for more than 15 years. Such a registered local religious group is granted the legal right to own

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[36]Vladimir, a member of the Rurik lineage that ruled from the 10th to the 13th century, was the son of the Norman-Rus ruler Svyatoslav of Kiev. In 970, he was appointed prince of Novgorod.

property, bank accounts, permission for foreign delegates as guests and tax benefits. Registration of a centralised religious group is possible if local groups work together. All education institutions, including public schools, must offer religious education in all secondary schools. Students have chosen to take any of the four official religions or a secular ethics course as part of this religious education. Advocates of religious groups do not need to be licensed to perform religious teaching and learning linked with religious organisations or in-home schools. Religious educators should be licensed to deliver religious subjects in any other public or private school. The Department of the Federal Human Rights Ombudsman's Head of Religious Matters investigates grievances against the state's activities on religious rights. The ombudsman can intervene in favour of persons who complain, but he or she cannot force other state agencies to intervene or interfere openly in concerns that are not submitted to the authorities (United State Department, 2019).

Russian law denies the participation of the religious group in political activities, including political movement elections, providing material or any assistance. This regulation is only for legally registered religious groups, not anyone following a religion. By law, the authorities can ban any religious group if it hinders civic order or involves any "extremist activities", but the law does not provide any specific category of actions by defining extremism. Authorities have tried to disperse minority religions, categorizing those as carrying extremist activities. Several cases were reported under these laws during Putin's presidency. (International Religious Freedom Report, 2019). Foreigners or displaced people and their entry into the state is deemed "undesirable" by the law; they are prohibited from being leaders, supporters, or actively participating in religious organisations. People whose functions are regarded as extremist by the tribunals or who are being prosecuted under the legal system against financial crime are all in the same boat. Religious professionals require an agreement with a constitutionally valid religious institution and an employment permit for foreign nationals (United States Department, 2019). Religious law is identified as a threat to religious freedom in the country. The act specifies the prohibition of writings that carry ideological content that advocates religious conflict,' as well as songs, movies and sites that stories feature that are considered undesirable and can incite religious conflict. The Russian Ministry of Justice maintains to add to its list of banned materials, which now encompasses a wide range of religious items

affiliated with minority groups. In the name of anti-extremist laws[37], the law often violates the religious freedom of minority religious groups and targets them. The modifications to the religion bill in October 2014, July 2015, and July 2016 in the interest of countering terrorist acts have imposed considerable limits on the free expression of religious ideas, which are considered discriminating against minority religious minorities (Upadhyay, 2016).

In religious texts and literature, women's identities include turpitudes such as fornication, blabbing, and other immoral acts. Mention of immoral behaviour is developed from male-dominated hierarchical religious concepts. Such patriarchal views also made it illegal for women to enter the asylum, and their presence near the Sanctuary wall was termed pollutants, giving her sexuality a pejorative connotation. Even though it was the foundation for the church's daily practice, it has been reduced to a bare minimum in current times; male dominance persists (Worobec, 2016).

Understanding the difference between the Russian and Christian west is necessary to define the nature of Russian culture and religion. Religion and culture had inborn from the Hellenistic[38] world. Westerners received the early religious text in Latin, which served as the church's tongue, which was new to them. The Slavs received the spiritual readings and revival text in Slavonic translations. It was easy for the illiterate to access the religious text and make the Russian's spiritual life tranquil. These made the imprint of the Gospel strong among Russians than Teutonic[39] and Romance. The Russian orthodox made them unique and essential by their pageantry and liturgy delivered in dialect. Their rituals of revealing the sacred images using candles beautify the churches and believers' homes. Such influential rituals and traditions made it possible to hold on to the believers and continue influencing them until now.

Every domain in Russian society has been influenced by religion. Beginning in the tenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church had been the most influential organization in the land. The bond between the society and the religious culture remains strong even after the foreign invasion and regime change; it became the most influential social institution in Russianness (Pankhurst, 2012).   The influence of

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[37]list of proscribed actions: terrorism, violent hate crimes, hate speech, etc.
[38]The Hellenistic period spans the period of Mediterranean history between the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and the emergence of the Roman Empire.
[39] is a Catholic religious order founded as a military order c. 1190 in Acre, Kingdom of Jerusalem.

orthodox among Russians could not be surpassed even by the most vigorous atheist state formed by Stalin. Communist authorities worked hard to sweep away religious beliefs by removing rituals and images from society and replacing them with Russian nationhood, but ultimately, it did not succeed. The Soviet authorities used the term "Scientific Atheism" to denote the policy used to reform the Russian people. The new policy consists of moral codes and rituals to make people aware of the need to be atheists and recreate the state's religious status as a secular state (Froese, 2004). As part of building a complete communist state and swiping superstitious religious beliefs, the authorities formed an educational curriculum supporting an atheist upbringing. More than an educational curriculum, it was a multidimensional effort to cover the life span of citizens to develop an atheist ideology among the people (Burgess, 2009). The state used media, arts, books, and platforms to promote the new belief system.

The first atheist organization, named *"League of Militant Atheists"*, was formed in 1926, presided by EmelianYaroslavsky; and later, it changed the name to *"Knowledge Society"* (Froese, 2004). The activities of this group were so substantial that even the Orthodox clergy became a member of the new belief group. The anti-religious campaign witnessed mass destruction of religious places, including three significant activities before the Gorbachev era. The first attack on religion in the Soviet period was immediately after the October revolution. The main targets were church and Muslim religious places and identifying and dissolving the counter threats. Eventually, religious activities and institutions become limited and controlled. Then later, during the 1930s, many religious places and leaders were banned, and priests were imprisoned. Churches demolished. Religious places have not simply closed but converted into communist offices or official state places. Conversion of Petersburg Cathedral of Our Lady of Kazan into the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism was one act (Pankhurst, 2012).

Nonetheless, the darkest period for Muslims and Islam in USSR was under Josef Stalin's dictatorship. The initial action against Islam began in 1928, with actions like the wholesale demolition of mosques and academic establishments and the execution of religious leaders and Muslim politicians. Almost all mosques, religious schools,

and *maktabs*[40] were destroyed during the anti-Islamic drive of the 1930s (Akhmetova, 2018).

Severe restrictions on religious activities started to impose at the end of the period. An ease in the matter of restrictions came during the Second World War, as when the authorities found the church's role in nurturing patriotic sentiments, authorities upturned the stand towards religion, ensuring the restoration would not get out of hand. State church relations prevailed peaceful until Stalin died in 1953. Khrushchev period also witnessed solid anti-religious activities. Relaxation for the religious activities could see in the Brezhnev era that allowed private practices even though force continued to sustain against those who tried to do the religious expansion, giving religious education to children. Following the October revolution, the termination of the Orthodox Church began immediately; 150000 churches shut down by 1928. The number decreased during the Second World War period and increased post-war with the remerged post-war anti-religious policies (Froese, 2004)

The Russian citizens do not very much admire the state-sponsored atheist upbringing. Kind of relaxation of religious restrictions was visible in the 1980s. The religious revival phase was also a part of Gorbachev's Glasnost and Perestroika. The delay in enforcing antireligious laws was the beginning of such acts, which later led to the release of the religious prisoners. Gorbachev's meeting with religious leaders opened a new start in the relaxation. During this period, followers were relaxed with the ease of registering the congregations. The registration number increased from 80 to 12000 (Pankhurst, 2012). At the same time, the draft laws on "freedom of conscience and religious organizations" brought more relaxation for religious activities. The final version that came into effect in 1990 ended the restrictions after fifty years. The proposed legislation not only offered the practice of religion in Russia somewhat relief after years of a non-religious administration and presumed justice across all religious institutions, notably Russian Orthodoxy. The law mostly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and other European accords. The basic concepts of this regulation were again reaffirmed in the Russian Constitution of 1993

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[40] In the Muslim world, is a particular kind of elementary school. Although teaching children reading, writing, grammar, and Islamic studies, such as memorization and recitation of the Qur'an, were the kuttab's primary purposes, other practical and theoretical topics were also covered.

(Akhmetkarimov, 2019). The collapse of the Soviet Union was another turning point that brought more changes in the religious culture of Russia in 1991. The major challenge faced by the church during this period was bankruptcy, which occurred not only in fiscal terms. State-sponsored attacks on religious institutions destroyed all resources. Lack of clergy was one of the issues faced by the church, as the shortness of serving in the church made it difficult for believers to follow the rituals with limited resources (Pankhurst, 2012).

The role of the Muslim population in the country is an important aspect to look after, as the Muslim community is the second-largest religious group in the country. The Muslim population in the country increased over time. From 1989 to 2002, the population of Muslims in Russia went from 8% to 10%, and from 2002 to 2010, the percentage of Muslims increased to 10.5 per cent. Characteristics of population densities in areas where "ethnic Muslims" account for 50% or more of the population are mainly in the Tatarstan and Bashkortostan regions. Simultaneously, only four districts have fertility rates higher than the Russian average (Sakaev & Zannoni, 2020). The Northern Caucasus is Russia's other Muslim region, with a total population of 7 million Muslims. Russia has around 14 million indigenous Muslims, accounting for more than 10% of the entire population. Most Muslim migrants come from neighbouring countries, particularly the former Soviet republics. Moscow is home to Europe's highest Muslim population, with an estimated one million citizens and close to 1.5 million Muslim migrant labourers. While praising Orthodoxy's positive impact on the state's history, tradition, and society Vladimir Putin meets with high-ranking Muslim officials constantly, including representatives of the two key pillars that comprise Muslims in Russia, Talgat Tadjuddin[41] of the Holistic Panel of Muslims of Russia in Ufa and Ravil Gaynutdin of the Religious authorities Committee in Moscow. He has established an Intercultural Council of Traditional Religions. Russia portrays itself as the guardian of old conservative religions, such as Christianity and Islam—emphasising the conventional, heterosexual family—against the West's alleged moral deterioration and rising acceptance of homosexual people. Russian governments and leaders have consistently stated that Islam is an element of Russian society. Russia was granted "observer status" in the Organization of Islamic

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[41]Russian Shaykh al-Islām. He was Chief Mufti of Russia and head of the Central Muslim Spiritual Directorate of Russia, from 1992 until the end of 2015.

Cooperation in 2005. (OIC). Indeed, there were few recorded instances of outright violence targeting Muslims—or those perceived as Muslims by the attackers—almost all in Moscow. Three attacks against women dressed in traditional Islamic clothing were reported between 2013 and 2015, as was one on a male leaving a Moscow masjid. Police departments and security contractors can also perpetrate acts of aggression (Laruelle, 2016).

The status of women in the Muslim community was not different from that of other religious groups like Orthodox. The position of women in the family remains oppressed, with no power in decision-making. They enjoyed equal status under Islamic law, although it remained hard, if inconceivable, to exercise these freedoms in practice. The woman's primary responsibility was reproduction, which meant creating a massive number of males for the family's well-being. Women's health care was poor at best. Physical torture of women is also prevalent. That is the case with both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Russian official interference in building and stabilising the Muslim family as the core of the imperial political authority produced significant complexity in the community's legal systems. The re-enactment of Muslim marriage in the context of imperial law, which added new requirements to its legitimacy, confused the practices. In the nineteenth century, Islamic law's authority was restricted, limiting its authority in marital and fundamental concerns (Garipova, 2017). The condition of Muslim women in Central Asian countries, the Soviet dictatorship changed the legal codes.

The first moves toward female freedom were encouraging. The first Family Code enacted in 1918 declared women legally equal to males. The law allowed women to choose their surname when they married, gave illegal kids the same rights under the law as legitimate heirs, and simplified the marital procedure. Polygamy, early marriages, and *kalym*[42] (bridal dowry) were outlawed. This Code aimed to bring men and wives closer together and secularise marriage. Secular law and courts displaced Islamic law (sharia law) and the Islamic judicial process in 1920. Males had to be 18 years old to marry, while females had to be 16 years old. The religious validity of

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[42]is often used also to mean additional, supplementary income from working informally in a way related somehow to one's primary employment. For more details visit https://www.in-formality.com/wiki/index.php?title=Kalym_(Russia).

marriage ended with the *Code of 1920*[43]. Men and women were treated equally. Equality in the workplace has been given a fundamental requirement. Women's physical safety is also the subject of new regulations. Women's abuse and insults were outlawed, and compelling women to use veils was made unlawful. Soviet law of making abortion legal was applied to Muslim women. In 1926, a directive was published to improve female rights to separation through state courts, and it prohibited religious tribunals from hearing divorces (Edgar,2006), (Ozge, 2018).

The Soviet rule ended the religious practices and rule of religious laws in the society. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and revival of religious institutions brought back the religious influence and personal practices of religious rules inside the family and in society. However, most Russians belong to the Orthodox Church and follow the beliefs and customs of the church and its Patriarch. Another concern is the education of Muslim girls and women; a report to the CEDAW by the head of the Muslim Problem Research Centre in Russia points out the status and problems of education for girls and women belonging to the Muslim community in the country. It reports not only the educational issues but also the oppression and discrimination experienced by Muslim girls. It calls it a violation of human rights and international covenants and rights delivered by the Russian constitution. Girls are subjected to mental and even physical stress, which can result in psychic trauma, which can damage both mental health and ability to strive socially. The incident of a school teacher not allowing Muslim girls to enter the classroom wearing religious dress calls for a national-level critique as it is against the Russian constitution. This incident occurred following President Putin's ban on the religious dress of Hijab[44] on educational premises. In 2013, the Russian Educational Ministry released a letter to executive agencies with a suggestion to ratify a legislative act setting students' attire guidelines in schools and colleges. It also used a framework-regulated norms ordinance that established specific student attire rules. It resulted in similar incidents in educational institutions in various country regions. All of these legal actions established by Russia in recent years provide some ideal circumstances to promote bias against Muslim women and girls, posing a significant hurdle to fulfilling the equality of opportunity at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. They violate the

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[43] Russian Civil Code for more details Kantorovitch, 1923, https://doi.org/10.2307/788325.
[44] a head covering worn in public by some Muslim women.

right to participate in the state's society and politics, obstructing their advancement in society. These customary acts establish uneven circumstances for men and women practising Islam and women of other ethnic and linguistic groups and women practising Islam to integrate themselves as people (Latypov, 2014) effectively.

2.10.1 Role of Orthodox Church in Russian Society

The Russian Orthodox Church holds the most rigid form of patriarchal hierarchy. The man who headed the Orthodox Church holds the title "patriarch[45]" and the most relevant publication of the religious group called "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" (Kizenko, 2013). The role and importance of Russian orthodoxy in society are evident from its long history. Russia's Orthodox Church always plays an essential role in the country's policy-making. Out of the total 141.9million population, 75 per cent of people belong to Russian Orthodox Christianity. By the mid of 1990s, it was about 19 per cent of Islam believers, making the second position of the religious group in the country. Most of the Muslim population resided in the Central Asian countries of the Soviet time, now identified as independent countries. That makes the percentage of the Muslim population in Russia only seven per cent. Appropriately, after the expulsion of Jews from1492, they entered the Russian social and cultural space, and many Jews communities migrated to Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belorussia. A large settlement of Jews communities in the country created the world's highest population of Jews in Russia, putting restrictions on the settlement by the tsar. During the reign of Alexander II[46], he lifted the restrictions easing procedures for settlements, education and employment. However, it did not last for long as the demise of Alexander II again brought a tightening of restrictions for them. World War I and civil wars reduced the number of Jews in many parts. During the Soviet period, Jews received extended freedom to enter Russia's social and cultural space compared to the tsar regime. Many Jews artists and writers like Isaak Babel, Veniamin Kaverin, Boris Pasternak, Osip Mandel'shtam; communist leaders like Leon Trotsky, Lazar Kaganovich, Maksim Litvinov, Lev Kamenev, and Grigoriy Zinov'yev managed to get prominent positions during the Soviet period. All other minority communities like Buddhists, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, members

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[45]the official title of the Russian Orthodox Church's primate, the Bishop of Moscow. "His Holiness" is frequently used before it.

[46] From 2 March 1855 until his murder, Alexander II reigned as Emperor of Russia, King of Congress Poland, and Grand Duke of Finland.

of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Church of Jesus Christ), Jehovah's Witnesses, Hindus, and Baha'is, and members of the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), pagans, Tengrists, Scientologists, and Falun Gong practitioners come in significantly less as only one per cent (Perret, 2014). As of new data, According to the Public Opinion Foundation, 65 per cent of the people is Orthodox Christian, while 7% are Muslim. Religious groups account for less than 1% of the populace from other religious groupings (Russia, 2020). There are no surveys on Buryats, Kalmyks, or Tuvinians' religious beliefs, where Buddhist religious groups are found mostly. In one of the old Buddhist republics, Kalmykia, barely 60% of the indigenous inhabitants claim to be religious practitioners and followers of religious rituals. Buddhists, Orthodox, Protestants, and adherents of numerous eastern faiths are among the Kalmyk worshippers. A significant proportion of Shamanists live among the Buryats and Tuvinians; some consider themself Buddhists, and some do not. Christianity of different sects represents a significant component of every one of the three typically Buddhist people groups (Filatov & Lunkin, 2006).

The leading role of orthodox and influence in state affairs remain solid and unchanged. In 1996 state Duma passed legislation forming a committee to monitor the activities of religious groups; the move was with the support of allies of the Orthodox Church. Jews community was the most affected religious group due to the excessive discriminatory laws and committee restrictions (Curtis, 1996). The role of the Russian Orthodox Church in policymaking and influencing administration is visible in the relationship between the church and the Russian administration. Even in parts of Russia, where Orthodox followers are just in the minority, the Church has a favoured position across the country. The church makes greater use of money and support from local authorities and is an essential entity in the community. In today's Russian religious scene, the Orthodox church has unchallenged domination. Its influence over other religious organisations stems not only from the fact that it has the most significant number of followers and certified agencies but as well as well-developed facilities and assets and the Russian government's help and assistance, which sees it more as an integral aspect of the country's initiatives to revive nation (Upadhyay, 2016).

Provincial subject matters shall recognise the church's unique position on its jurisdiction and regard it as a representative of the governing authority. It has played

an essential role in the policymaking in the health sector. It is relevant to mention the role of religion in the health sector as the church's role in the health sector determined public morality. The reemerged church's role in policymaking influenced the norms and principles of many policy outcomes. The Church's definition of 'threats to public health' has a negative connotation to modernity and the morality of the public. When the government acclaimed HIV/AIDS[47] as a serious threat, the officials accepted the church's introverted revision of the TV programs on sex, family, and marriage. Defining the reasons behind the spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS, patriarch *Kirill[48]* has commented on the "cult of pleasure, enormous consumerism, as well as the imposing on society of low morale and devastating things that put into question the very nature of family and marriage" (Lomagain, 2011, p 201). The influence of the Patriarch on the Russian administration made it decide to take policies on public morals. As a result of the comment on public morality by the church, the commercial programs for adults on TV disappeared, leading to a stricter attitude toward such programs. Russian Orthodox Church is highly influential in the nation's culture and identity; it has been a part of the everyday life of citizens. Orthodox churches dominate everywhere; Moscow has been identified as the country's holy city (Burgess, 2009).

Russian Orthodox Church has succeeded in reestablishing its role in society after the Soviet era. The church and its influence are higher than ever as it enjoys privilege in every sphere of society, and citizens are found to be proud to identify as orthodox. 75yeras of the communist regime kept the church from social and personal life. After the end of the communist regime, the church regained its role in political and social life. Since the beginning of a new era, the Russian leaders had closely connected with the church and patriarch. Both Medvedev and Putin continue to display their identity as orthodox and the necessity of the Orthodox Church for Russia's stability and national identity (Curanović, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Russian government prosecuting minority religious groups uses an amendment to the antiterrorist law passed in 2016 known as the *Yaralova package*. Many religious groups even find it difficult to be registered under Putin's presidency.

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[47]Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a chronic, potentially life-threatening condition caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).
[48] A Russian Orthodox bishop named Kirill or Cyril. On February 1, 2009, he was elected Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church and Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus.

Authorities used anti-extremist laws to ban the minority religious texts. In addition, religious groups' work becomes more difficult as, without registration, it is difficult for them to acquire land, property, and other things for worship. The church and the customs followed are more patriarchal and have never pretended to be a promoter of gender equality. The Liturgy of orthodox women to take part in the choir as a singer is not allowed in the altar on other essential works; she has to cover her head and sit where she is allowed to (Huskins, 2005). The group of women related to the church was the group of the nun that has had a different shade of life since its creation. The rise of female engagement in all Russian layers of society following the rapid reforms of the 1860s was intimately linked to the subject of women's place in the church. The trend and sudden rise of female Orthodox monasteries in the Russian Empire demand that this category of women and its public image be given special consideration. The overall rate of monasteries properly-recognized grew. The basis of such developing female groups was single adolescent women from underprivileged socioeconomic classes, particularly in the Russian countryside.

This significant socioeconomic group, who produced the majority of Russian nuns, has left virtually no personal records focusing on their religious proficiencies, significantly limiting accurate recreation of women's devotion in the period. The creation and expansion of compassion groups, which began in the 1860s and centred on community services, was an additional area of women's roles. These groups followed a stringent religious code and followed a convent way of lifestyle. A superior woman directed them. The critical distinction between monasteries was that the nuns could walk away from the convent, for example, to marry and keep their assets. The Convent of Saints Martha and Mary in Moscow hold a unique role within these groups. Grand Duchess Elizaveta[49] founded it in 1909. The only purpose of this group was to provide Christian charity, community services, and medical support to Russia's most disturbed social classes. The increase in female engagement prompted Orthodox theologians to ponder the significance of women's ideal role in the church. Other church leaders opposed sophisticated religious women and anti-religious feminist activists, considering the former a valuable source of support capable of resolving various cultural and moral issues (Beliakova, 2020).

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[49] German Hessian and Rhenish princess of the House of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the wife of Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich of Russia.

After the Soviet period, the restrictions on religious practices lifted, and the Russian orthodox became prevalent in the nation as the state's most powerful and influential factor. Orthodox women got recognition in religious practices after the fall of communism with the lift of the ban on religious practices. They were not allowed to take part in ritual practices. They were allowed to access education, participate in public services, and participate in publication, especially in the fast-growing field of religious publication. Participation of women in the church council increased with the time remained low compared to men, only ten per cent (Kizenko, 2013).

Putin and his new state policies needed support from religious groups to sustain power and implement their policies. In addition, the religious interpretation gave more power to their gender insentient policies. At the same time, cooperation and alliance with state powers give more freedom to religious groups. That makes them close to power and other material benefits. The Alliance of political parties and religion made the idea of nationalism as same as religion. Moreover, adding the state's development into religion and nationalism is a more critical/emergent trend in Russia. Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia support and protect traditional values as these values support them in sustaining deeply in society. Religions serve as a moral conservative value booster in and out of Russia through public life and NGOs. In this view, they reject any foreign support that effect or changes traditional values. Support from outside, especially the west, for the development of gender ideas is critically denied by both state and religious groups in the view of destructing the so-called traditional values, which help them remain intact. Unlike the western approach of separation of religion from government, the Russian government came closer to religion, and the latter has played a role in influencing the economic and political changes in the country. Legislation to restrict social and non-governmental extends the restrictions to other minority religions (Zhuplev, 2008). Some cases reveal the nature of the Russian state and Orthodox view on protecting traditional values and state interests relating to human rights and personal values.

In 1996, the Russian Federation was admitted to the Council of Europe. It has agreed to and approved numerous agreements and accords under the purview of the Council of Europe ever since, including the European Social Charter in 2009. Russia must modify its family code under this treaty, which provides core social responsibilities. President Medvedev oversaw the development of this change, which was presented to

the State Duma in autumn 2012. This unarguable matter became the central policy problem at this point of the legal procedure, with the church joining other right-wing parties in protesting the 'intrusion of western rights law'. The possibility that the proposed law would make it simpler for government to take the kids away from maternal support enraged families' organisations. Priest Vsevolod Chaplin, in charge of links between the Moscow Patriarchate and civic society, said that "international bodies" as in charge of driving modification. Religion opposed the government interfering in families' freedom and rights. The values protected and valued under the Orthodox Church and religious head clearly show the church's interest. The following are examples of 'traditional values': general populace exposure to Christian signs, opposition to all kinds of transsexual rights, strict limits on the spread of women's fundamental freedoms, objection to abortion, mercy killing, fertility and the protection of devotees' religious speech rights, i.e. the fight against any free expression that could be construed as profanity (Stoeckl, 2016).

The church uses different methods to keep the men and women close to the church activities. They controlled private life connecting the family's morale and obligation to nations connect the people with the church. Giving a hand to the government, the church came out with the need for men to take responsibility for framing family life. The increase in alcoholism has been a problem faced in family life and demographic issues. To handle this issue, the church and government introduced the 'Day of Family, Love, and Fidelity', principally the directions for men to lead a happier, healthier and peaceful life with family. It does not mention women's life, merely making WOMEN secondary in family and society.

2.11 Conclusion

Women experienced patriarchy under the totalitarian state. The expression of masculinity under the hierarchal totalitarian system manifested women at the bottom of society. Soviet authorities addressed the women's questions and integrated them into the economic activities but kept them out of the decision-making process. It was not the prime concern of the proletarian government to address the women's issue of equality. The participation of women in the production hand to hand with men only gave them an expectation of a gender-equal society yet to come. The term gender has less significance in the Russian context. The unidentified gender struggle in personal

and professional life makes it challenging to form support for women's activism and protect women's rights. The new Russia experienced the same gender unequal policies of the authorities, as the primary concern was strengthening the state. Each government policy aims to develop a state that denies gender equality or does not give importance when it denies gender equality.

It is evident from the country's history that religion has had a great influence since its formation. It plays a vital role in society and culture. Religion, which lost its relevance in the Soviet Period, emerged as powerful after 1991, especially after 2012. The influence of the Orthodox Church in society is imperative; along with the state, religion plays a vital role in keeping the traditional gender roles. State policies of protecting traditional values of society implemented through various platforms of educational curriculum and other rules get adequate support from religious heads and followers. It became easy for the government to implement the policies through the most powerful and influential social institutions. All other social institutions come under the significant influence of religion. Strict state policies to control citizens' activities, feminist activities, and other opponent voices are usually passed with solid-state power and the support of religion. The country's history and the contemporary situation show the strong relationship between the Orthodox church and the state and the role in defining family and individual rights.

The Russian experience of feminism is crucial in terms of assessing gender equality in the country. More than considering the problems of gender, gender studies in the country got space to develop as academia. The real issue of inequality is never discussed in its term, and the spirit of gender discussion remains in academic discourse. The general attitude of Russia towards feminism has always been negative, and it does not influence the people like other countries. Especially the women in the country take a dangerous path to follow that destroys the everyday life. The greater importance of family and motherhood nurtured by state and religion in the policies strongly adverse the feminist and gender ideas, stating them as western ideas to destroy the culture and the country. The state often considers feminist activists opponents of state and the country's tradition. Such messages to the people resulted in a negative attitude towards feminist activities. The traditional attitude of stereotyping women as inferior by creating gender roles is still prevalent today in Russian society. The traditional views which give the idea of women being happy only with married

life are strong and continue to make women get married and have children at a certain age has become compulsory for every woman. In addition, this idea of family is strongly supported by the state with the help of religion which is the strongest supporter of the state and highly influential among people. Preserving family and supporting motherhood became an essential policy concerning the population crisis in the country. However, the policies never address women's issues like domestic violence or rights in private and public life. Gender-based violence is a significant threat to gender equality.

Gender issues have never been a concern of policymakers while addressing the women issue. Most of the policies related to women's education, work, and family only deals with the state's interest in addressing the demographic issue. The lack of proper law addressing real issues like domestic violence and gender-based violence is essential while addressing gender issues. Even after ratifying important treaties, Russia still has no moral law that deals with domestic violence. Gender equality is assessed based on equal opportunity in the economic, social and political sectors. Even after achieving a qualified education, women are denied acquiring a job or choosing the career they wish to possess due to the existing gender imbalance. The low political participation of women is a mixed result of traditional gender roles and the culture of the hierarchal system of society. That makes it inappropriate for women to select electoral politics as a career. The general notion of women as powerless and subordinate to men makes them not qualified to enter the political field as the ruling is always meant for men in society.   It is relevant and essential to make people aware of gender inequalities to achieve gender equality in Russia.

Chapter 3

**PATRIARCHY IN INDIA AND ITS EFFECTS
ON GENDER EQUALITY**

3.1 Introduction

Gender equality refers to the equal respect and value for men and women in society. It ensures equal opportunity for men and women to participate in activities. Gender equality is considered an essential aspect that leads a nation to progress. India has adopted measures to encourage gender equality; despite the governmental actions and growth in the society, the gender gap still exists in Indian society. Gender inequality persists in social, economic, political, and legal aspects. Lack of gender equality results in women's inability to access opportunities and denies the life vision of future generations. Gender construction varies from country to country; however, the meaning and construction vary in different social and geographical sectors; the system of patriarchy is the single reason for the oppression of women, the unique method that disadvantaged women all over the globe. The gender system that prevails in India treats women as inferior. It provides the basis for the oppression of women in Indian society. The prevailing gender system in India is highly hierarchal and unequal, which build unfavourable condition for women inside the family and in society. India has achieved economic growth and development in all sectors; the gender gap remains a severe problem hindering women's development. The Indian constitution guarantees equality. Article 15 states that "the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth" (Laxmikanth, 2017:7).

3.2 Status of Women in British India

The British colonial rule in India implicated a separation and economic difficulty and perpetuated male supremacy culture. The condition of women in India during the colonial period cannot be taken as the new form of exploitation or oppression after the country's colonisation. The worst situation of women in India, described by American author *Katherine Mayo* in her *Mother India*, describes the detailed explanation of exploitation, oppression and violence faced by Indian women and girls. The existing male-dominant culture of Indian society worsened under the colonial rule that spread and continued the famine, slavery, and inequality in a consistent method.

The British rule strengthened the religious and cultural inequality and legitimised the unequal religious law as the right one to spread and perpetuate their rule in India. The

decree of Bengal Governor Warren Hasting[50] for the application of Brahmin written law as the law binding all Hindu religion siting it as the legal and written likewise of western law. Other caste and sections of people did not follow the upper caste customs or were followed by unwritten customs; the law of 1772 brought all lower caste sections and other women under the upper caste authority. The lower caste women were not bound to the unequal upper-caste law regarding marriage, divorce, and property rights; the law brought all women under the callous customs and regulations (Mayo, 2015).

The British rule in India has been identified as beneficial for Indian society, marking the development of the country's infrastructure. It could be seen as a tactic of the colonial rule to smoothen their administrative functions and trade. They carefully tried not to change the religious, cultural, and community sentiments and not provoke the native population by altering their religious rules or laws. They stayed away from the core and domestic matters unless they directly affected their administration or trading purpose. One of such changes is the Succession Act of 1865[51], providing inheritance law applicable to all religious communities (Khan, 2000). The Act came in the context of the easy way for the tax collection from all princely states and in connection with the Christian community who has been following the local customary law.

The British rule has been argued to be a positive way to liberate Indian women from the evidence of British laws that suspended the inhuman customs and rules of the country that put women in an inferior position. The law of 1829[52] prohibiting Sati[53], the most followed inhuman custom of burning the widow, was one among the British effort to stop the atrocities against women. Widow remarriage was allowed by British rule in 1856. Female infanticide, widely practised in India, was outlawed in 1795, 1804 and 1870. The Child Marriage Ban Act of 1929 could be seen as contrary to the

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[50] Warren Hastings FRS was the initial Governor of the Presidency of Fort William, the president of the Supreme Council of Bengal, and thus the first legally recognized Governor-General of Bengal, from 1772 to 1785.
[51] This Act establishes British India's legislation in circumstances of intestacy or bequests inheritance. The law that governs the transfer of a dead person's unmovable and movable possessions (www.indiacode.nic.in).
[52] On December 4, 1829, the then-Governor-General Lord William Bentinck issued the Bengal Sati Regulation, which outlawed the practice of Sati in all British Indian jurisdictions. Sati was classified in the legislation as "revolting to human nature's emotions."
[53] Sati is a Hindu tradition in which a widow offers herself as a sacrifice by resting on top her husband's cremation fire.

British effort to secure women's rights and sexuality by introducing the Christian religious law of connubial rights. The rights allow the men to control the women and their sexuality after marriage as it does not allow women to break an unhappy married life (Liddle & Joshi, 1985). Female infanticide was widespread in the country stating several reasons. Foremost among them was the girl child as a burden for family and other Hindu custom of offering to religious God for blessing the parents with more children. Infanticide is carried out by starving the baby to death or giving poison. Under the governorship of Lord, Wellesley[54] Company brought the regulation Act of 1795 and 1804 [55]to end the practice of female infanticide (Belmekki, 2012).

Women's suffrage emerged at all Indian levels after the Montague Chelmsford reform[56]. The proposal from the women's association went through endless rejection from an extremist who believed the right to freedom for the female to vote was a threat to Indian tradition. The other political groupings, such as Nationalists, who believed religious and cultural reforms could bring freedom to the country, supported the women's demand for the right to vote. Citing the conflicting nature of the demand with the cultural set-up of the country, British authorities denied the demand and considered the female question in the referendum in the Indian Assembly in 1919 (Southard, 1993). The British government in India could not support or guarantee women's suffrage in India, seeing it as problematic when women's suffrage was not guaranteed in England up to 1928[57].

British imperialist rule in India never wanted to liberate women; they used the gender disparity and economic distraction as a tool to continue their imperialist rule-defying

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[54] From 1797 until 1805, Major-General Lord Charles Wellesley served as governor of Madras (now Chennai) and governor-general of Bengal.
[55] The Bengal Regulation Acts of 1795 and 1804 made it unlawful to kill a female newborn, and in 1870, an ordinance prohibiting female infanticide was passed. The ordinance made it mandatory for parents to document the births of all children and allowed for the identification of female children for a period after birth, especially in areas where this practice was common. This was a frequent practice among upper class Bengalis and Rajputs who saw women as a financial drain (www.jagranjosh.com).
[56] The Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms, generally known as the Mont–Ford Reforms, were implemented by the colonial administration in British India to establish self-governing bodies. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India from 1917 to 1922, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India from 1916 to 1921, are the names of the reforms. The reforms were articulated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which was published in 1918 and served as the foundation for the Government of India Act, which was passed in 1919. These Acts related with constitutional changes.
[57] The Representation of the People Bill, passed in February 1918 in England, gave women over the age of 30 and men over the age of 21 the right to vote. Women must be married to a member of the Local Government Register or be married to a member of the Local Government Register. In 1928 the Act permit everyone above the age of 21 to vote (www.bl.uk).

self-rule in India. The imperialist rule did not care about the situation of women and used the inferior position for their use as possible. It is evident in the connection of British soldiers' legalised prostitute centres in India. The Indian women who were widows were not granted permission for remarriage, especially upper-caste women. After his death, the younger children and women who were expelled from their husbands' houses were not allowed to return to their parental house or remarry and ended up in prostitution for survival. A study report by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay[58] in 1869 describes the condition of Indian women-identifying 90 per cent of widows are forced to leave their homes and end up in prostitution (Liddle & Joshi, 1985).

The colonial period was unequal in terms of the distribution of resources. The very nature of the Caste system in India made it easy to expand the imperial rule. The first attempt to give the English education to Indians was identified as a positive sign of the colonial period, whereas the English education for the uneducated Indians was identified as a tool for easy administration in India. The Upper caste benefited from English education as they enjoyed the dominant position on land by birth and urban profession by acquiring English education. The upper-caste women were not allowed to work outside or socialise. The English education changed the composition of the upper-middle-class family. The participation of women at social and educational levels was not accepted by the conservative later on but accepted in upper-caste families by identifying the status of the family and the possibility of supporting the husband's career. The newly emerged trend was accepted by upper-caste parents viewing it as attracting the best marriage proposal for daughters. It increased the number of educated girls in the upper caste in the Bengal province during the 1870s. The newly educated upper-class elite women actively engaged in social transformation through organising women's organisations, journals, and art centres. The formation of "Nari Shiksha Samiti" and "Widow Home" By Abala Bose[59] was identified as a social activity of the period in Bengal after the surge in the education system among upper-caste Hindus (Southard, 1993).

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[58] Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay was a freedom fighter and civil rights activist in India. She was a founding member and the first Organizing Secretary of the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC).
[59] Lady Abala Bose was a Benagli social worker and an educationalist noted for her efforts in the area of women's education as well as her attempts to improve the living situations of widows See Southard, 1993:403 for further details.

The working populations in pre-independence India, the rural area, constitute peasants and property owners in rural society. Due to land reforms, the post-independence period showed a movement against the feudal landlords. The agricultural workers union emerged in the northern part due to incidents like the Bihar famine of 1966[60] and the 1967 uprising of Naxalbari[61] (Omvedt, 1975). The affirmation of the rural agricultural workers was also the emergence of women in the society, as they constitute the rural agricultural workers primarily and poorly paid.

3.3 Gender inequality in Independent India

The oppression of women and inequality experienced by women in India was not only the cause of imperialist rule or male dominance in the system. Both intensified the suppression of women continues. Women in Independent India suffered from oppressive institutionalised customs and regulations, and lack of economic opportunity put them in continuous exploitation. She has not enjoyed the rights guaranteed under the constitution in free India. Even after the country's independence with a planned development system, women still struggle to achieve equality. Traditional patriarchal, hierarchical customs and regulations make the life of Indian women more miserable, and the gender gap continues to be a fundamental problem in society; it reflects in the low ranking of India in the gender equality index. The gender imbalance results from mixed causes that include lack of education, poverty, lack of systematic laws, and identifying the importance of gender equality.

According to the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) (2015), India ranks behind its neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the Gender Equality Index. The UNDP developed (Gender Development Index) GDI for the first time in the year 1995 with the view of assessing and supporting gender equality while making policies (Arora, 2012). The UNDP report shows women's participation in politics, and the percentage of women representatives in the Indian parliament is only 12.2, whereas Pakistan and Bangladesh constitute 19.7 and 20 per cent, respectively (Misra, 2014). The GDI rate and HDI measurement are mainly based on women's access to

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[60] The Bihar famine occurred between 1966 and 1967 in Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh. The official figure of death as from Bihar drought was 2353, with almost half of those deaths occurring in Bihar. see dbpedia.org for further details.
[61] Naxalbari uprising was an armed peasant revolt in 1967 in the Naxalbari block of Siliguri subdivision in Darjeeling district, West Bengal, India. It was mainly led by tribals and the radical communists leaders of Bengal and further developed into the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist).

the paid workforce, education, health, and participation in politics and other socio-cultural aspects. Efforts were made to empower women by educating them and enabling them to get a better position in society, but these remained imperfect because the number of women stayed out of these facilities, and the education process created new inequalities and gaps. The economic and political transformation method strengthened the patriarchal system (Dubey, 1995:17).

The government of India adopted several policies and programs for the upliftment of the status of women in society, along with the support of state governments. Some of them are "National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Gender Sub Plan (under the 8th Five Year Plan), Women Component Plan (under the 9th Five Year Plan), Swadhar, Priyadrashani, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (RMK), Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), Awareness Generation Projects for Rural and Poor Women, Kishori Shakti Yojana (KSY), Swayamsidha Mahila Mandal Programme, Condensed Course of Education for Adult Women, Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls-Sable (RGSEAG), Swa-Shakthi, Swawlambn program, Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana Conditional Maternity Benefit plan (IGMSY-CMB), Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women, Swawalamban Programme, Swashakti Project, Integrated Child Development Services, Indira Mahila Yojana (IMY), Maliha Samridhi Yojana (MSY), Balika Samriddhi Yojana (BSY), National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level, Sukyana, Ladli Laxmi Yojana, Apni Beti-Apna Dhan (ABAD) and many more" (singh). Although all these policies and programs' gender gap still exists in Indian society, the plans above mostly developed women economically. Nevertheless, according to the Global Gender Gap Report, the economic gap has increased by one per cent since 2006 (Malhotra et al., 1995).

Existing gender inequality is an interconnected outcome of the patriarchal-hierarchal system that Indian society follows. Prof. Amartya Sen divides gender inequality into seven types. The first one describes Mortality inequality, which denotes the disparity in life and death, and high rates indicate for women. The second one is co-relate, with the first one named Natality inequality. The third is the most definite preference for boys over girls in the country that always been the high preference for boys to be born

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rather than girls. The third is economic inequality, which refers to men's opportunities and advantages in employment. Men are rewarded with promotions and a higher salary than women in the employment sector. Ownership inequality connects with the ownership rights of the property mainly belonging to men. It makes women voiceless in family and society. The fifth one is Opportunity inequality. It is about discrimination based on opportunities that always benefit men, primarily in higher education, higher posts, and choosing professional courses. Sixth is necessary facilities inequality, precisely what the title refers to as it is. The seventh and the last one is household inequality; the household responsibilities have always been unequal in sharing household work and childcare (Kohli, 2017).

India holds a highly patriarchal system rooted in religion and culture. With some exceptions in some communities, the solid patriarchal and patrilineal customs have the tradition of men holding authority in the family and acceding to family property and title. The inheritance is related to religion, tradition, and culture rather than instigated or dealt with by law. The religious inheritance tradition heavily favoured the men, leaving little scope for women in property rights. All religious and cultural laws and traditions follow the same inherent rule that keeps women from property rights. Each religious community follows their own rules for inheritance. The Muslim community is governed by the Muslim inheritance law that entitles the daughter and widow half the son's share. The Muslim law of the Shariat Act[62] of 1937 is not prevalent in Jammu and Kashmir except that all other Muslim communities under the Sharia in the country follow the inheritance act. In actual practice, daughters or widows hardly receive their share. The Hindu and Christian community follows the law of succession, saying the property right is equal among females and males or to whoever in the wish of will (Khan, 2000). In actual practice, the daughters who receive the money or any material as a gift during the marriage are treated as not qualified for the share in the property. Unmarried daughters and sons become the

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[62] An act establishing the application of Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) to Muslims. This Act could be referred to as the Muslim Personal Law. "Notwithstanding any customs or usage to the contrary, in all questions (save questions relating to agricultural land) regarding intestate succession, special property of females, including personal property inherited or obtained under contract or gift or any other provision of Personal Law, marriage, dissolution of marriage, including talaq, illa, zihar, lian, khula and mubaraat, maintenance, dower, guardianship gifts, trusts and trust properties, and wakfs (other than charities and charitable institutions and charitable and religious endowments) the rule of decision in cases where the parties are Muslims shall be the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat)" (http://www.bareactslive.com).

successor of the share of the property. The landlessness of Indian women is the one reason for their low social status. Their share in the agricultural product is much more than men, and they own less land than their part in agricultural activities.

3.4 Gender and family system in India

Indian constitution does not explicitly mention the norms of the family; however, it emphasises fundamental rights, equality, and justice for the person. Article 38 deals with "The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions at the national level" (Laxmikanth, 2017). The Family Welfare program (1977) was India's primary explicit family policy. Family planning was an integral part of the program. The goal of the strategy was to promote Planned Parenthood with one child/ two-child norm through an independent choice of the family. The maternity and child health program was part of the Family welfare program, stressing population control. "Small family Norm" was one of the ten national and social values, highlighting the National Education Policy of 1986. The 'Family Welfare Policy' stresses the small family norm; it could be identified as a euphemism for population control (India, 2005). A family court set up in 1984, followed by the Family Courts Act, provides recognition and recovery for issues related to marriage and divorce. Family courts give priority to appeasement more than gender equality. India developed a 'National Action Plan' to care for gender-specific needs. The document failed to identify the intra-family inequality as the basis for gender inequality, so it does not indicate any action to deal with the problem. It resembles the drawbacks of the policies in that it always fails to ensure gender equality by identifying its root. However, the socio-economic schemes for women have increased rapidly, such as the Program for the Development of Women and Children in the Rural Areas, The Scheme for Employment and Income Generating Production Units, the Support to Training cum-Employment program, The Socio-Economic Programme (Desai, 1995).

India's patriarchal and patrilineal system allows men to inherit the family property that passes from father to son, but women should be settled into the family where she gets in to marry. The system will enable her to become a member of her husband's family, but she also has to perform the prime duty as a wife and mother, not beyond

that. The marriage system makes it more difficult for women, as they cannot select their partner. The method of marriage with dowry provides economic solid and social enticements to prefer a son over a daughter. It gives the increasing number of female infanticides in the country.

The major obstacle to the existing gender inequality could be identified as an outcome of the current "sex roles" in society. Because generally, women hardly get chances to go for higher education and get into where they want to work or choose the profession. Even though they rarely get to go to school, they go to work. Half of the women do not get the opportunity for higher education; very few are allowed to work or continue in their field if they get it. The existing gender order does not allow women to participate in economic, political, and social activities; it restricts them from domestication. It is well established that the responsibility of women is to take care of the family and do domestic work. It becomes the 'natural role' of the women to perform and a prime duty to follow. Thus, gender inequality in society is an interconnected outcome of the patriarchal system. That allows men to control women.

Understanding gender order in society is connected with understanding culture into different classes, caste, and religious strata. Gender inequality is derived from the stratification of society and the role of women identified in the layers. Women's economic dependency is a crucial aspect that makes women oppressed in society. It is determined that women's financial participation is one of the primary vital points in reducing gender inequality. Another power structure in the Indian family is gender, age, and generation. The family system in India is built on a hierarchy of gender. As a powerful social institution, the family consists of rules and regulation, which regulates the gender order within a family and society, strongly supporting patriarchy. These patriarchal orders in the family decide the roles, responsibilities, control, and distribution of wealth and power among family members within the structure of a hierarchical order based on gender, age, and generation (Desai & Temesh, 2014). The root of gender inequality starts within the family; duties and responsibilities given to women make it difficult and fail to get adequate recognition inside the family and in society.

The idea of a perfect woman has originated from the concept of Manusmirit, which treats as the basis of Hindu ideology written by Manu 2000 years ago. It describes the duties or nature of the life of women as

> In childhood, a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent; and though destitute of virtue or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife (Wadley, 1988).

The joint family is known as the prototype of the Indian family system. The joint family system has developed mainly for the preservation of family property. Endogamous marriage and childbearing are essential for the ideal family type. As a result, single-person households, single-parent families, mixed marriages, and childless couples are not accepted as "normal" family types (Desai, 1995) socialisation process starts within the family, and gender roles are well distinguished within the family. It strongly influences the socialisation process.

Gender differentiation starts in the early stage of life; children experience the distinction from the beginning, starting with the relationship with others and the distribution of resources among the family members. In reality, the discrimination begins even before the birth; son preference over girls could be seen as a significant example. The sturdy son choice is a cultural construct product of gender bias reflected in the sex-selective abortion and the low status of women (Kohli, 2017). It is evident from the data that sex-selective abortion is increased, resulting in a declining sex ratio of 964 in 1971 and18 in 2011 due to adequate law (Misra & S, 2014). Three reasons are immediate causes of the decline in sex ratio son preference, fertility decline, and the presence of high technology in sex determination. The socio-cultural factors of kinship and property system also make the continuing son preference and result in sex-selective abortion that causes the decline of sex ratio. Sex-selective abortion is the hard part of son preference in India, especially in the northern region of India. The Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PCPNDT) adopted by parliament in 1994 (Bhardwaj, 2015), the act prohibits prenatal sex determination to stop female infanticide.

Traditionally Indian families accept a male as head of the family. It is challenging to take a woman as head of the family. It also makes the parents prefer to have a son more than a girl as only the son could pass on heritage. Such discrimination within the

family makes it difficult for women to secure a place inside the family and in society. Preferences for the son and the disadvantage of being a girl eventually result in the limited resources for women, ad it occurs with no access to education, making them economically dependent (Malhotra et al.,1995). Both males and females grow up with the very idea of male supremacy. It is taught right from the family that the role of women is to take care of the house and men to earn for the family that what they see inside the family and in society. The gender bias in society varies according to the region. Such practices are more vigorous in the Northern part than in the South (Kohli, 2017). Discrimination starts from the early stages of life and continues throughout life. Modern India is not an exception in this regard for gender discrimination.

The control or power of men over women begins within the family relationship. Often children experience male supremacy or son preference through the parents from their behaviours, rituals, celebrations, division of power, and responsibilities. Girls are instructed to spend their time inside the home performing household work, while boys are allowed to spend outside engaging in learning skills and other mentally and economically productive activities (Kohli, 2017). All these give the proper direction of gender. It provides the notion of male supremacy. Traditionally Indian families' the head of the family has always been male. It is not easy to accept a woman as the head of the family.

The formation of masculine and feminine roles happens inside the family, and it sharpens in them as they grow up and when it comes to other social institutions like education and religion. The formation of gender roles starts with the family. Parents direct girls to do housework and boys to perform other masculine jobs. Parents advise and trains girls that they must perform the household task. It creates a sense of dividing the roles between them according to gender. Gender-based violence occurs daily in Indian families irrespective of class, culture, status, society, and religious affiliation. Wife beating and physical maltreatment of children are the two most common forms of family violence, and this is not a recent phenomenon. This violence against women is a result of male supremacy. It is supported by the dependent status of women as Manu in the chapter – IX verse 3 'Manu Smriti,' said: "Women, while young she remains under the control of her father, after marriage under the control of her husband, on his death and in old age under the control of her son/s; she does not

deserve complete independence at any time." (Condorelli, 2015). It is essential to underscore the distinct nature of violence transpiring in the home between intimate partners (husband and wife), sibling violence (brother and sister or vice-versa), and in-law violence (Mother-in-law) in the family unit. This is precisely related to the specific circumstances provided by the private, concurrently mystified, and protected family environment and hidden behind internalised images of idealised family unity. It is always justified the subordination of women to men in the society for the virtue of being a good woman, mother, and obedient wife. She has to restrict herself for the sake of the whole family, community, and the well-being of society.

3.4.1 Marriage System

Marriage is a vital component of relationship arrangement. The Indian marriage system firmly adopts the idea of patriarchy. Most parts of India follow the patrilineal system: family passes through sons, not daughters. Girls are considered part of the family they marry, not their parents. The marriage system is considered for reproduction; thus, the age of girls matters. It tends to get girls to marry early to assure their chastity and reproduction capacity (Malhotra, Vanneman, & Kishore, 1995). The patriarchal system does not allow girls to stay in their parental family after marriage. The critical factor of the Indian marriage system is the dowry system. Dowry consists of money or goods offered by the girl's family to the groom. In recent years, the dowry system has made marriage moreover a business. The trends in the dowry system made it a burden for girls and mostly the reason for the increasing violence against women (Sharma, 2007). Dowry has become a widespread menace all over India, with obese consolidation in the country's northern and southern parts. Therefore, daughters are always considered a burden for the family as spending money on their education will not gain any financial assets; instead, it puts the family more in debt as the marriage and sending off daughters again cause a financial burden. Dowry practice is directly linked with significant problems like infanticide, domestic violence, and other crimes against women. More surprisingly, modernisation in society and education does not change the country's dowry practice simultaneously; the rapid change only increases the value of money and goods (Condorelli, 2015).

Religion has a vital role in society, as the dominant position played by faith is best understood in the view of belief as an organisation of power. Religion can be seen as primary in the existing gender order of the society, and it helps maintain an integral patriarchal system (Woodhead, 2012). In India, the family belongs to different religious groups, following the personal laws of their religion. Each religious group has its family, marriage, divorce, and children. Most religious groups have rules and ideas that help sustain patriarchy in the family and society (Desai, 1995). Every religious group holds a culture that denies gender equality and perpetuates patriarchal norms. The personal laws keep women inferior to men and treat women only to complete family and men. Various religious groups follow various marriage rituals and traditions. Relevant laws relate to marriages in India are *Indian Indian Divorce (Amendment Act) 2001*, *Indian Succession Amendment Act 2001*, and *Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act 2001* (Sankaran & Madhav, 2001). Another factor regarding marriage is age. Girls and boys have conventional ages for marriage in every region, but girls' ages were more rigorously followed because delays endangered family status. A boy's marriage can be postponed without negative implications, and he can remarry later in life (Leonard, 1976).

In India, it would be exceedingly inappropriate not to accept unrecorded marriages as legal, as many marriages proceed unofficially in family circles, even without the involvement of religion, or in any conventional way that must also be acknowledged as legitimate. Unregistered marriages are not considered invalid. However, minimal fines may be connected to non-registration to promote documentation. On the occasion that a partner is left homeless and the other spouse enters into a new marriage, the documentation of the first marriage will be evident, preventing a spouse from abandoning his home, kids and financial commitments. The Bill proposing Mandatory Registration of Marriages is not meant to question or intervene with any of India's existing forms of civil code but rather to guarantee that marriages of all traditions and beliefs can be certified. The existing laws of registration of marriage or divorce are

1) The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872: Part IV of the Act covers detailed rules for registering weddings performed by priests and preachers and a separate part dealing with registering Christians in general and other Christian groups.

2) The Kazis Act of 1880: Marriages are signed by both parties by religious representatives known as "Kazi" among Indian Muslims. The Act gives authority to the states to select Kazis to help Muslims with marriage ceremonies.

3) The Anand Marriage Act 1909 is related to registering marriage among the Sikh community. In 1954, the Act was absorbed into the Special Marriage Act, and then in 1955, with the Hindu Marriage Act. In 2012, it was revised to provide the recording of marriages between Sikh people who chose to drop out of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955.

4) The Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1936 proposes that the priest passes on the marriage records to the registrar chosen under the act by the state government.

5) The Special Marriage Act of 1954, primarily designed to allow cross-community weddings, applies to all Indian nationals, regardless of belief and faith.

6) The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955: The purpose of enrollment within this Act is to make it easier for an individual to get evidence of marriage through certification. The state government has the authority to establish laws for registration.

The Supreme Court and the High Courts have often highlighted the importance of mandatory marriage documentation. The most critical judgement was in the case of Seema v. Ashwani Kumar, the court observed, "we are of the view that marriages of all persons who are citizens of India belonging to various religions should be made compulsorily registrable in their respective States, where the marriage is solemnised" (Law Commission of India, 2017). Madras court emphasised the need to register the marriage, pointing to women's security. Many Indian states have adopted the compulsory registration of marriage under the state government.

The position of women in different stages of life are married, divorced, and unmarried; women do not come up in the mainstream as all these sections of women in different religious communities and caste groups go through different kinds of oppression, exploitation and inequalities. All those women have different rights to use power and resources—a married woman in a nuclear family and joint family experiences different kinds of power inside the family. Power-sharing of a married woman in a lower caste and upper-caste women and educated women are based on different experiences. The widow in an upper caste/ class and lower caste/ class section goes through different socio-economic crises. The same goes for single parents of upper and lower caste women. The freedom of education for younger girls

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and going outside to get social interaction in rural and urban areas varies according to different regions and religions.

3.5 Religion in Indian Society

Religious rituals in society are positioned around male-dominated public places such as churches, monasteries, mosques, temples, and other religious learning centres. Hierarchy is the dominant feature of this system as it works in a way where women keep being out of the scene. Here comes the importance of the home as a place for religious practices for women (Keinanen, 2010:119). This is relevant for all existing religious groups. The role of women in following the religious rituals at home is essential as they are assigned to be the caretakers of all home chores.

Regarding religious practices, ritual purity becomes the critical aspect to follow, and it is reserved as a woman's duty to meet the necessary conditions. Preparing food and creating a clean space for many religious rituals is essential. In a patriarchal society, these duties rest with women. Regarding religious rituals, women are not part of the rituals; they reduce the role of castaways in the hierarchy. Here, the rituals and customs of each religious group give the idea of how women were treated under each religious group and the position of women reserved by each religious community. The principles of Hindu social organisations kept women without any rights. The Hindu marriage act of 1955 made substantial changes in the Hindu marriage system that applies to all members of Hindu society. The law directs the age limits for marriage for boys and girls to be 18 and 15, respectively. Hindu marriage act includes the provision of monogamy. Section 5 and clause 1 of the bill deal with monogamy and allow men or women only to get married if the first partner is dead at the time of marriage. Before the codification of the *Hindu Succession Act of 1956*, the Hindus were governed by the inheritance law prescribed in Dayabhaga, or the Mitakshara (Singh, 2013). The ancient Hindu inheritance law rooted in the joint family system directs the preference for a son. It says,

> The fundamental conception of the Hindu joint family is a common male ancestor with his lineal descendants in the male line. Even under old Hindu law, the rights of sons were recognised, and they acquired equal interest with the father in the ancestral property as coparceners (Singh, 2013).

The birthright of property from father to son and then grandson shows the priority for the son in the family and property rights. Hindu Succession Act of 1956 gives daughters the right to claim their father's property (Sharma, 2007). Later the Act amended in 2005 came closer to the gender-equal clause with the power of property for a daughter like a son by birth. Hindu Married Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act of 1949 made Hindu women claim maintenance while residing separately from husbands under particular conditions. It includes

> if the husband is suffering from some serious illness which has not been contacted from the wife, if the husbands behave so cruelly towards the wife that her residing with husband in danger, if the husband deserts her without her wish if the husband marries again, if the husband adopts another religion, if the husband keeps concubine (Sharma, 2004).

These all-Hindu codes give equal rights to men and women in the family and marriage system and aim to end the exploitation of women in Hindu society. Even though specific laws make women's lives easier, they are rarely followed in society. Very few attempts have been made to eradicate gender inequality adopted by the Indian penal code; such acts are *Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929*, *Medical Termination Act 1972*, *Special Marriage Act 1974*, and *Dowry Prohibition Act 1961* (Desai, 1995). Child marriage is a severe crime widely seen in all religious groups.

The personal law of the Muslim community is based on the sacred scripture Quran. According to Muslim law, marriage is a civil contract. 'Mehar' is necessary for a Muslim wedding, which the bride receives in exchange for her approval of her acceptance as a wife. It considers respect towards the bride. Muslim law for divorce favours men as it is easy for Muslim men to get divorced and put women's lives under a stigma. The Quran also mentions women's property rights; its fourth chapter describes, "Women are entitled to inherit a portion of a parent's or husband's wealth" (Sarkar & Sarkar, 2007). Talaq, under Islamic law, refers to the husband's right to dissolve the marriage and divorce his wife. One such form of talaq is that of talaq-e-biddat[63] of instantaneous triple talaq. This practice has been highlighted for its discrimination against Muslim women and was touted as a careless custom that goes against the Constitutional mandated principles of gender justice and equality. On 22 August 2017, a judgment by the Supreme Court brought this practice into the

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[63] means instant divorce. It is a form of Islamic divorce used by Muslims in India to end the ties of marriage.

limelight, with the five-judge bench ruling the triple-talaq as a form of divorce void in the Shayara Bano vs Union of India case. The judgment was a landmark decision and signified a momentous change in the lives of Muslim women across the country. The 'Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2017' was introduced in Lok Sabha on December 28, 2017. The bill aims to give effect to the judgment of the Supreme Court and protect Muslim women who are still prone to being victims of the practice of triple talaq. The Bill proposes to declare the pronouncement of talaq-e-bidder by Muslim husbands void and illegal, making the act of announcement a punishable offence. It is a crucial step in ensuring Muslim women's rights as citizens of India and providing them with Constitutional protection of gender equality and justice (Swaniti, 2017).

Two laws govern Muslims' property rights in India: Hanafi for Sunni groups and Ithna Ashari for Shia groups. Under Muslim personal law, women do not get an equal share in property like sons. The law permits the male to gain a share in a property twice as a female. The Shia inheritance law gives the same treatment to men and women in the property (Subramanian, 2008). Agriculture land is not in the purview of the estate. It makes the most unusual situation in the Northern part like Delhi, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, where agricultural land is a significant share of the property that puts women in an unequal situation. In 1949 in some parts of South India, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh, women were given a share in agricultural land (Singh, 2013). Even though the personal inheritance code applies to the Muslim community in some places like Southwest, in Kerala, the matrilineal inheritance system is prevalent, whereas other parts of India follow the patrilineal method.

Marriage and family in the Christian community are considered institutions sanctioned and blessed by God. The primary aim of the wedding and family is to identify the proliferation and development of the personality. The role of church and priest in personal and family life is very influential. Everyone must follow the rules and regulations for a marriage church certificate, which is essential for marriage validation. Widow marriage is allowed in Christianity. The Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 regulated marriage and divorce among Indian Christians (Sharma, 2007).

Religion is a powerful societal agent and plays a crucial role in gender order, making it challenging to challenge the existing gender order. Despite different religious rules in India, the ideal behaviour of females is based on the codes of Manu and the Hindu culture. After introducing Islamic regulation, the rights and rules regarding education, property, selecting the life partner, and all the system of purdah or veil are accepted and incorporated into the states for female elements. Because of the nature of the veil, the system was more appropriate for the existing credence system (Shah, 1986). It is impossible in India to fight against gender inequalities unless it challenges the existing Brahminical hierarchal system. Dalit women have celebrated 2nd December as Indian Women's liberation Day since 1996. Ambedkar burned the Manusmruti on the day as a symbolic act of destructing the existing caste hierarchal system (Pawar & Moon, 2014).

All religious regulations strictly follow the isolation of women with greater prominence. The family's honour relates to women's virtue; it is always maintained by the seclusion and restriction of spatial movement. The solitude of women is varied related to the family's community, region, and economic status. The head of the family controls the sexuality of women and is shielded by the rituals, especially to secure the purity of the particular caste. The different religion in India has particular rules and regulations for Indian women to follow. Women accept such rules and regulations to achieve the position of good wives taught to be sacred and idealised for a decent life. Even though different religious sects were present in India, particular religions shaped social institutions and identities. However, the struggle for women to get access to work, education and building career are different in the parts of India. The situation that prevails in different parts varies. The north Indian belt carries a more rigid system following the religious practices than the south region. The participation of women in the production process, especially in agriculture, makes women's status in the southern region higher than in the northern region. It does not guarantee complete freedom from the hierarchal order of male superiority. The women in the Southern region also go through the vulnerable condition from birth with the male superiority but vary in degree compared to the Northern region (Condorelli, 2015).

Religion is essential in differentiating the differences among women; not every woman belongs to different religious groups, and caste groups go through the same

condition. The issues of inequality that prevails in Indian society cannot be generalised. The position of upper-caste landed women is not the same as the lower caste or Muslim women in society. The widows are a group of women who have to live out of the societal space. They are supposed to stay out of festivals and religious ceremonies. There are several rules to follow by a widow in her daily life. They are restricted in everything, from their physical appearance, like wearing a particular dress, and not wearing ornaments or a colourful dress. Their attitudes make it difficult for them to lead an everyday life. Widow Remarriage is allowed in society; still, few choose the option of remarriage due to the attitude and cultural restrictions. A widow is considered to live for her kids if she has kids. The socialisation and cultural barriers make the remarriage concept distasteful. In the earlier period, Hindu rituals for widows did not allow remarriage and made her shed physical decorations, including hair, ornaments, and makeup, and send them to particular places designed for widows for the spiritual journey. The movie of Geetha Mehta, "water", beautifully portrays the widow's situation in Indian society (Chapman, 2014). Over time, the attitude towards widows was still not welcomed by all sections or religious groups. Changes took place along with the cultural changes in the contemporary period.

3.5.1 Caste and Gender

Millions of people perceive caste in India today as a particularly rigid and oppressive form of inequality. The institution of religion made the situation of severe inequalities against women in India. The caste and gender hierarchy system is the supreme. Caste has been a central point in Hindu society as a system of social relations. Its central notion is a hierarchy based on the ideas of pollution and purity. A caste is a group of people who are directed to marry to preserve the system. His birth follows that a man born to a particular caste remains the same until death (Kumar, 2014). The caste system in India dates back to the Rig Veda[64]. In Purusha-sukta, the part of the Rig Veda gives the origin of four varnas: colour, which divides men into four groups. The Source of men described in Rig Veda is "Brahmans, Rajanyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras sprang from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the purusa (God)" (Sharma, 2007). These four divisions, later on, became a caste. The 'untouchables' are the peoples

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[64] The Rig Veda is the oldest of the four Vedas, as well as one of the most important Hindu writings. It is a big set of chants to the gods that are sung throughout traditional rituals. They were written in Vedic, an early language that evolved into classical Sanskrit over time (www.bl.uk).

who belong out of these four castes. Brahmans became the most respected group as they performed religious duties, and they came to be known as the upper caste group, which has a higher position in society. Kshatriyas became the protectors of the land. Vaisya, known as occupation and Sudras, belongs to the lower one and Dalits are considered out of the caste system (Obulapathi, 2016). Each caste formed a unique system in following all social matters from birth to death and avoiding mixing up with other caste groups, notably the inferior caste. Caste maintains religious and occupational hierarchies. The rituals and traditions validate the hierarchal order and help sustain a rigid society.

Birth became the sole criteria for continuing the caste system. Once a man is born into a particular caste, his social status is predetermined and not meant to change regarding wealth, profession or knowledge. Rigid social and cultural restrictions through marriage continue the caste system. There are hundreds of castes and sub-castes in India today. The caste system in India prevails in every religion, including Hindus, Muslims, and Christians. The purity and pollution in the caste system are based on birth in a separate caste group. The caste group must follow the hereditary occupation, separating the upper and lower caste. Disputes lead to clashes between members of different castes. Caste clashes are reported much more extensively than before, although not all such clashes are reported. There is some pattern in the use and abuse of the sexuality of lower-caste women, also though the trend is changing. Of course, women's purity has long been recognised as the cornerstone of the Hindu theory of caste and kinship. The merge of untouchable people into the upper class made it possible for those out of the system to follow the religious rules. It is necessary to bring attention to the criteria used in the 1911 Census to identify the untouchable groups. Some of them are those people who do not accept the domination of Brahmins, deny the mantras and rituals of Brahmins, have no faith in Hindu Holy texts, do believe in Hindu Gods, and finally, those who eat meat and do not accept the concept of Holly cow (Pawar & Moon, 2008).

Caste is a sturdy structure and an integral part of Indian society, and it is necessary to identify the position of women in it. Women in the lower caste are positioned at the bottom of society. Dalit women face discrimination and violence being women and in a lower caste. The vulnerable socio-economic condition makes them difficult to escape from dual discrimination. Being a woman, they are subjected to violence and

discrimination inside the family by patriarchal men, and outside the public places, they are subjected to destruction due to the community to which they belong. They face humiliation from dominant castes and more abuse and exploitation than upper-caste women (Kumar, 2014).

Most importantly, they face exploitation mainly in their workplace as they primarily work in the informal sectors[65] due to poor economic conditions, lack of proper security, and lack of fundamental rights. Such condition mostly makes them subject to violation and exploitation, and vulnerability makes it hard to escape from such crisis (J et al., 2006). Such atrocities continue in India regardless of constitutional rights that guarantee 'discrimination based on caste and gender article 15 (1)' and Article 46, which mention the 'protection of Dalits[66] from the social injustice and all forms of discrimination (Laxmikanth, 2017). To protect the rights of Dalits and women, the Indian State has enacted a series of laws. Identifying the pervasiveness of discrimination and exploitation of Dalits in the society, The *Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes Prevention of Atrocities Act* came in 1989 (J et al.,2006). Unlike upper-caste women, Dalit women have not been restricted to working outside the home or socialising with other communities, she has to work alongside men outside, but it does not lower the risk of subjecting them to patriarchal subordination. She is at constant risk of facing discrimination and exploitation in private and public places. Even though she can work outside and earn money, it never gives her equal rights with men inside the family. The identity of women and Dalit women makes their life more miserable. The discrimination she faces in educational institutions and the workplace never came to light. Despite the strict reservation law for Dalits in educational institutions, according to the National Commission for SC/ST[67], 75 per cent of Dalit girls drop out of primary education. Commission points out the reason

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[65] An ILO expedition to Africa in the early 1970s originated the phrase "informal sector." This is always be mentioned that the 15th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) accepted a 1993 definition of the informal sector that only covers one type of informal wage worker: employees of informal enterprises (Carr&Chen, 2001:6)

[66] The word "Dalit" means "oppressed". It's a substitute for "untouchable." It also refers to India's casteless sections. Dalit is also known as the outcaste. It is an identity for a group of people who have long been considered untouchables. "Dalit" is derived from the Sanskrit word Dalit, which means, "downtrodden," "suppressed," "crushed," or "broken to pieces. For more details www.arcjournals.org

[67]Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are two distinct groups; both groups have faced and continue to face severe oppression and marginalization before and after the independence of India. Scheduled Tribes are classified as marginalized communities due to their geographic isolation. The definition for "Scheduled Tribes" has been kept from the 1931 Census, just like the term for Scheduled Castes, which was carried over from British-era legislation. See www.thequint.com for more details.

for dropping out as poverty, escaping humiliation and isolation from classmates, sometimes from teachers. Lack of access to resources and poverty results in a high rate of undernutrition among Dalit women, with about 65% of ST and 56% of SC women suffering from anaemia (Dalit Resource Report, 2014)

 Women face discrimination in public and private places due to socially constructed rules. Lower caste working women deal with gender discrimination in workplaces and the home. They make time to take care of family and to work outside. Most of them unwillingly give up on their desired profession due to the roles they have to fulfil as a mother and wife. The unbalanced working mode is the most peculiar form of gender discrimination.   The upper caste or caste discriminates against Dalit women within the community because of their gender. It is essential to note the kind of dispensation Dalit women face today; she faces problems while enjoying their given rights and freedom, and at the same time, they meet exemption while seeking legal and judicial help. Such violence undermines their right to development and denies them to lead a prosperous life.   Dalit women face violence both in private and public places. Abuse within the family is expected due to alcoholism among husbands. Violence in the workplace, incredibly informal sectors and daily wages in labour sites increase, and economic dependency make them stay silent and fear losing jobs, putting them in a state where they often do not report violence. Verbal abuse in government space is the most common, and medical negligence in government hospitals increases (J et al., 2006).

The National Crime Bureau Report of 2020 shows the different crimes against Dalit women across the states. Table 3.1 shows that violence against women has increased even after the long struggle and existing constitutional rights for women. It shows the caste disparity in Indian society. Dalit women are more independent or allowed to work outside than other caste and class women, but the violence against them threatens their fundamental rights of life and work. The cases reported under sexual harassment are high in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, and Rajasthan. Rape cases against Dalit Women are high across the state except for a few North Eastern States where the Dalit population low shows the lowest cases except those states and Union territories states include with highest education rates like Kerala and other states show a higher number rape cases include Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu.

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Table: 3.1 Crimes against Dalit Women in India

Sl. No	States/UT	SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act r/w IPC											
		Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty											
		Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty (Adults+Children)			Sexual Harassment (Sec. 354A IPC)			Rape (Sec. 376 IPC) (Total)			Assault or use of Criminal Force on women with intent to Disrobe (Sec. 354B IPC)		
		I	V	R	I	V	R	I	V	R	I	V	R
1	Andhra Pradesh	192	221	2.3	37	39	0.4	110	111	1.3	11	32	0.1
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Assam	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
4	Bihar	13	13	0.1	0	0	0	30	30	0.2	7	7	0
5	Chhattisgarh	42	43	1.3	2	2	0.1	113	114	3.5	2	2	0.1
6	Goa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	Gujarat	69	70	1.7	16	16	0.4	116	117	2.8	5	5	0.1
8	Haryana	174	175	3.4	54	54	1.1	195	195	3.8	20	20	0.4
9	Himachal Pradesh	3	3	0.2	2	2	0.1	14	14	0.8	1	1	0.1
10	Jharkhand	44	44	1.1	4	4	0.1	31	31	0.8	10	10	0.3
11	Karnataka	184	196	1.8	21	22	0.2	124	124	1.2	21	22	0.2
12	Kerala	140	140	4.6	32	32	1.1	140	140	4.6	4	4	0.1
13	Madhya Pradesh	699	739	6.2	99	99	0.9	509	511	4.5	3	3	0
14	Maharashtra	460	473	3.5	122	123	0.9	351	352	2.6	14	14	0.1
15	Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Odisha	103	103	1.4	13	13	0.2	182	182	2.5	35	355	0.5
20	Punjab	11	11	0.1	1	1	0.0	24	25	0.3	1	1	0
21	Rajasthan	566	574	4.6	62	62	0.5	476	484	3.9	44	44	0.4
22	Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	Tamil Nadu	40	40	0.3	3	3	0	116	123	0.8	3	3	0
24	Telangana	88	96	1.6	13	13	0.2	225	227	4.1	3	3	0.1

25	Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	Uttar Pradesh	534	536	1.3	132	134	0.3	604	604	1.5	81	81	0.2
27	Uttarakhand	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0.3	0	0	0
28	West Bengal	5	5	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	0
29	Total States	3367	3482	1.7	613	619	0.3	3368	3392	1.7	266	288	0.1
	Union Territories												
30	A&N Island	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	D&NHaveli& DamanDiu	0	0	0	0	0		1	1	8.1	0	0	0
33	Delhi	5	5	0.2	0	0	0	3	3	0.1	1	1	0
34	J&K	1	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	Ladakh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	Puducherry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total UT(s)	6	6	0.1	0	0	0	4	4	0.1	0	0	0
	Total All India	3373	3488	1.7	613	619	0.3	3372	3396	1.7	267	289	0.1

I: Cases Reported V: Number of Victims R: Crime Rate (Source: NCRB, 2021: 87)

Dalit women get more space and freedom of movement and work than upper-caste women, but they are denied safe, security, and choice to work and live. Upper caste women get higher education higher in percentage compared to Dalit women. The government has introduced several programs and policies to eradicate discrimination and to the progress of backward class women, such as MNREGS in rural areas and SGRY (wage employment scheme), SGSY in rural areas and SGSRY in urban areas (self-employment), Rashtirya Mahila Khosh (credit scheme), housing schemes like Indira Awas Yojna, Kanshi Ram Awaz Yojna, water, sanitation, and other programs and SC/ST component plan. Special schemes exist for Dalit girls' education and women's capacity building. The SC/ST Atrocity Act is also at the national level, and SC/ST Commission is at the national and state levels. The 11th five-year plan of government aimed to empower SC. The SC Sub Plan of 1979 directs the state government to spend at least 16% of the total out of the idea of the union budget to develop the SC. These programs and policies never achieved their goals. The table shows the actual allocation for the SC, revealing why discrimination continues (Dalit Resource Report, 2014). The inequality continues in all sectors, including education.

3.5.2 Tribes in India

The tribal population in India spread around the Northeastern, Central, and Southern parts. The leading tribes in the Northeastern region are Gurung, Limbu, Lepha, Garo, Khasi, and Naga. The north part consists of tribes group Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, and Bhil. South part tribe groups are Chenchu, Malaya, Kota, and Toda (Von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1982). They are small groups living in a closed community with their language and traditions. Tribes contribute 8.08 per cent of the total population. Chandigarh, Delhi, Haryana, Pondicherry Punjab, and Orissa are the primary states where tribal people belong more than others.

There are 613 tribe groups all over India, and the poor economic condition led to a decline in the growth of tribes. Tribal people are different at their political, economic, and ecological levels, so they also face differences at various levels. The common problem faced by the tribal people is mainly poor economic conditions and adaptation issues to the non-tribal people (Sharma, 2007). The poor financial condition made the life of tribal women more badly as they suffered more in each stage of their life. Some tribes follow a matrilineal society; members of the clan or group receive their family name from the mother's side. Besides, the female head decides the succession of the property. The marriage system in such a group is opposite to the patrilineal society; the husband lives at the girl's residence. Tribal women who live in delicate eco-regions such as forests and hills depend heavily on agriculture, animal husbandry, forests, and other natural resources for survival. Collecting and selling forest products form an essential source of income for them. Life of tribal women goes through struggles with standard social features: a) drop out of girl from traditional schools, b) early child marriage, c) early and frequent childbirth, d) malnutrition and poor health, e) maternal mortality, f) infant mortality g) poor sanitation h) poverty (Hazra, 2014).

The tradition and customs that prevailed among tribal communities remain the same as they live out of the village or reside on the periphery. They are not subject to the customs and norms of any religion, mostly following their ancestors' traditions. Therefore, marriage was different in the sense of mutual agreement and widow marriage was not banned, and like men, women also have the right to divorce, unlike women who belong to other religions and castes. The root cause of this system among the tribes is the absence of the right of property or land. They work on other property

mainly owned by the upper class, working hard for men and women. The idea of the absence of the right to the property leads to the absence of chastity in women (Pawar & Moon, 2008)

In 1952, Nehru adopted five principles to administrate tribes in India. The following are the principles: a) Tribes should be allowed to develop their community based on their genius, b) Tribe's land and forest need to be protected, c) to provide training and opportunity for tribes in their administration and to reduce outsiders, development programs without affecting their indigenous social and culture, e) development policies aiming the improvement of their quality of life. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs in India was formed in the year 1999. The Constitution makes special provisions for the SCs and STs, contained in parts XVI from Articles 330 to 342. Article 338-A deals with establishing a national commission for STs to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards (Laxmikanth, 2017). Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), along with the schemes of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya, provided 100% assistance for running and maintaining the schools. Despite the various programs for educating tribal girls, education status is always law among the tribe, especially girls. In the national policy for tribal identified, the dropout is the outcome of poverty and economic backwardness. State governments are directed to provide all facilities, including books, stationery, and scholarship, all fall out to continue to rise. The national policy report suggests teaching the native language as a valuable tool to maintain education status. It found that teachers of the tribal schools come out of the community, making it difficult to accept their culture, and it causes psychological problems among the children and contributes to the dropout (Saxena, 2005).

The importance of NGOs working among tribal groups is increasing— a handful of NGOs are working to develop women's education, employment, and empowerment. 'National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation' (NSTFDC) is an apex body under the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. NSTFDC initiated an income-generating scheme for tribal women by giving loans at the interest of 4% for running any activity costing up to one lakh, aiming for women's economic development (Government of India, 2017). These schemes and policies under the ministry are implemented through various non-governmental organisations. Despite all these

programs and policies to develop girls through education, the dropout rate of ST and ST girls is higher.

The role of NGOs in the health sector is vital because health issues among children make their lives worse. Nutrition deficiency among children and pregnant women is a critical health issue women and children face. Pregnant women never get adequate food and nutrition and give birth to a child; this continues after birth and affects the physical state of children. Genetically inherited diseases are more common among them. Lack of awareness makes the diseases spread more. Nutrition deficiency, poverty, and infant mortality are significant issues faced in the health sector (Nanjunda & Dinesha, 2011). The role of NGOs regarding health among tribes has become essential due to the mode of operation. The volunteers directly contact the children and women to identify the problems. Providing hand-to-hand information regarding the issues and giving solutions is very useful. Direct involvement of NGO representatives with the technical and human resources is essential, and it helps the government provide more attention.

'SC and ST Atrocities Prevention Act' is a significant landmark in protecting the rights and freedom of Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes in India, but in actual practice, the law is rarely safe and secures their rights and liberties. The system acts according to the law of the hierarchal caste system of the society and fails to protect the Dalit and Adivasi[68] women survivor. Tribal women face injustice from the system; she has lesser access to proper education, health, job, and other basic needs. Even though the government allocates enormous funds to develop the empowerment of tribal women, they benefit least from all that resources. The increase and enlargement of the corporate sector in the mining and other illegal activities in the tribal areas resulted in massive displacement of the tribal groups and adversely affected their daily life, especially women and children. It has increased sex trafficking and exploitation due to the continuous economic and social exclusion they face (CEDAW, 2014).

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[68] Adivasis is the aggregate name for India's numerous indigenous peoples. The name Adivasi was coined in the 1930s, partly as a result of a political drive to create a social identity among India's numerous indigenous peoples. Adivasis are officially referred to as "scheduled tribes," however this is a legal and constitutional word that varies from state to state and area to area, and hence excludes some indigenous communities. See minorityrights.org for more details.

An increase in the number of women in the labour market is the reason behind the growth of the development of western society (Condorelli, 2015). Nowadays, there is an increase in women in better positions and jobs. Those who belong to the upper class are economically and socially privileged; sections in industrial and urban areas benefit from developmental programs and policies. The development is not among all sections of women. It does not reach every section as the social barriers make it difficult for all women to enjoy the benefits and share resources. The lower caste and tribes in the social category became disadvantaged in economics, education, labour, and health women in these groups were more affected than men of the groups did, and more did in general.

3.6 Women and Education System in India

The education system in India is very much part of the gender system. Education is state-organised and controlled by either state or central government. National Education policy states the importance of education for women, as "education will play a positive, interventionist role in women's empowerment" (Nuna, 1995). Education as a means for a developed society should be provided without discrimination. Providing equal education opportunities is necessary to build an equal socio-economic society. Education must be accessible to everyone, and the needed condition for the success of the same is essential to achieve the meaning of education. It is essential to see the formulation of sex roles in society and how boys and girls perceive the differentiation of gender roles. The general perception of gender roles or division teaches the distinction and is viewed as inherited and accepted as natural. The schooling system allows teaching boys and girls different roles according to their gender, not skills and interests.

The role of education is vital because it provides economic independence and, most importantly, self-esteem. Lack of education makes women unaware of their rights, and lack of confidence and knowledge makes them accept child marriage and other violence; eventually, it makes their lives more miserable. In India, women's education is critical to the country's overall growth. It contributes to the development of human resources and the enhancement of life efficiency at home and overseas. Schooling is among the most powerful tools for empowering individuals, and communities, especially women and girls. Academic achievement and literacy rates are indicators of

a society's overall growth. Gender equality and women's empowerment are critical to success and long-term development. India has taken several distinct approaches and techniques since independence. The education of women and their social position is interrelated. Education provides better social status and empowers women. A widespread indigenous system in the early period allowed education for mostly higher caste males. The number of educated women was deficient—those with a high-profile family status were found in the educated women category.

The societal changes began with the social reformers who identified the need for education for all—women education in the society land at a turning point with the introduction of missionaries. Until 1854, the imperial rule in India did not accept any responsibility in terms of education under the pretext of existing social and religious neutrality. During that period, educational institutions for women were very few; in Bombay province, only 65 girls' schools were under private management, making accessing ordinary people to education difficult. At the same time, there were 2875 educational institutions actively running for men. The gap between men and women for access to education continues to sustain after independence. Women students get entry to universities in India much later in the 80s. In Calcutta, it started in 1877 and in Bombay universities in 1883. The progress in women's education was gradual until the Indian ministers gave the administration the upper hand in the province. After that, the female literacy rate rose to 6 per cent in 1946 from the very low of 1.8 per cent in 1921. Advance in female literacy was visible after the independence period with the emergence of educated women into the women's movement and the influence of social reformation during the independence period (Kamat, 1976).

The changes continue to take in Indian society with the influence of the National Committee on Women's education. It recommended that the government end the gap between men and women in the educational sector. It is reflected in the enrolment rate of female students from 1960 onwards. The number of educational institutions increased from 472,000 to 794,000, increasing separate institutions for female students. The literacy rate of females increased after the adoption of special recruitment of female teachers to educational institutions. By adopting the principle of equality in the constitution, India started to reveal a better performance in female literacy and education (Ramachandran, 2006).

The female enrolment in the state was very low from 1950 to 1955. A gradual increase in the enrolment rate was visible from 1960 onwards. The enrolment rate always goes up, reaching the highest in 2016 (Ghara, 2016).

In India, it is a fundamental obligation to provide education. India's constitution deepened with the idea of equality. The literacy level in the post-independence state was deficient, only twenty-five per cent for men and 9 per cent for women. The Indian education policy of 1964 identified the need for a successful education program for both men and women to achieve the success and development of society. After making education a joint responsibility of the centre and state, the development in the education sector started to grow considerably with the introduction of the foreign assistance into the education sector starting in the 1970s. India launched enormous educational plans at the central and state level. Literacy campaigns, educational plans, and national gender awareness programs were started.

Figure: 3.1 Literacy Rate in India 1981 to 2017
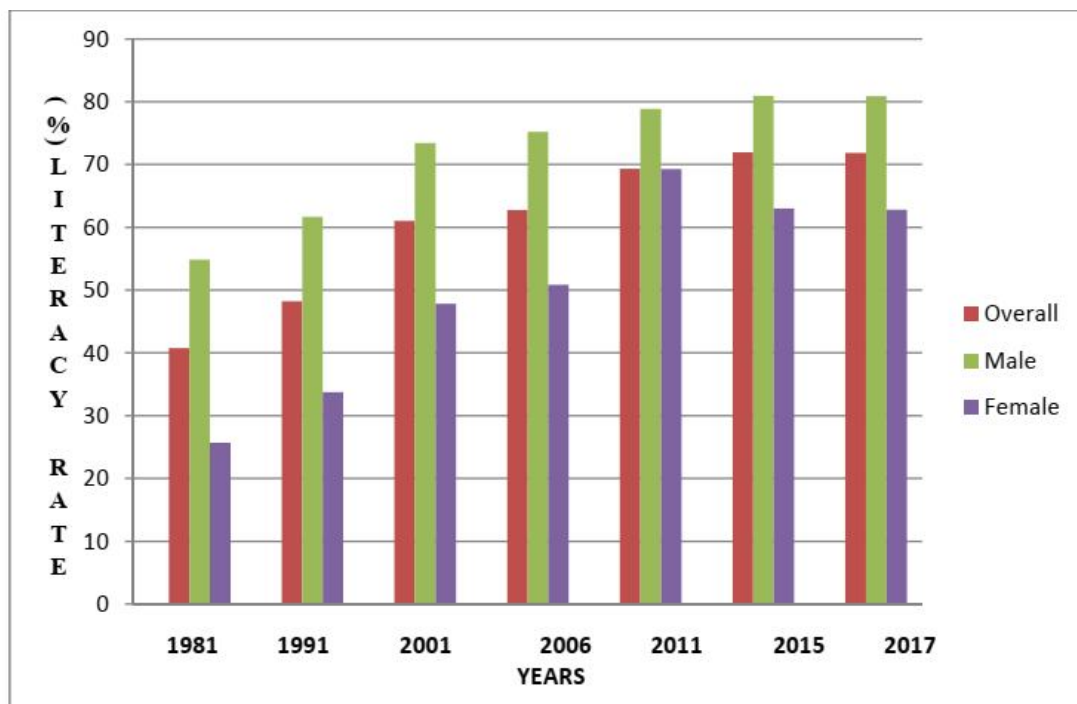
(Source: Jadon & Shrivastava, 2018)

The gender divide in education has been narrowing nationally, and female rates have been rising yearly. Despite this, there is a divide between both genders. According to the data, women have always slipped behind men regarding literacy and education.

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Women's right to education is part of the government's development projects. In the National Education Policy of 1986, India brought the view on gender and female education by adding the following statement

> Education will be used as an agent of fundamental change in woman's status. In order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women; The National Education System will play a positive, interventionist role in the empowerment of women. It will foster the development of new values through redesigned curricula, textbooks, the training and orientation of teachers, decision-makers and administrators, and the active involvement of educational institutions". This will be an act of faith and social engineering (Sahni, 2018).

The Indian National Education Policy (NEP) provides a systematic approach to developing education policy. The policy has gone through several revisions. The policy's main goal was centring education to achieve the constitutionally guaranteed equality and social justice. The policymakers identified the role of education in redefining gender roles and achieving development through bringing gender equality. It envisaged gender equality by redefining the existing gender roles and promoting women's contribution to non-traditional professions.

There are many reasons behind the fall in the female literacy rate. Foremost among them is the existing gender-based inequality. It makes it difficult for women to achieve education. The low literacy rate results from gender discrimination that does not allow the girl child to get an education despite advancing them to get into the family chores. More than education, a girl child gets instruction and training to fulfil the house chores from childhood successfully. Another reason behind the low literacy rate among females is the concept of marriage. The existing gender roles explicitly direct society to make girls perfect or fit for marriage than other career achievements. India had the highest number of child marriages at 24 billion, constituting 40 per cent of the total 60 billion child marriages worldwide (Sumanjeet, 2012). Bihar, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are the central states where girls get married before the age of 18. The number of girls getting married before the age of 15 decreased. It changed to the increase in the number of married girls before 18, showing that awareness programs and policies could not bring changes in the old inhuman customs. (Singh, 2013).

Early marriage makes their lives miserable; it affects them physically and makes them vulnerable. Child marriage is an outcome of tradition, poverty, and patriarchy. In a society where tradition stresses the virginity and purity of girls, marriage is an easy and possible option to protect the family's honour. Uneducated mothers often do not get a position or space to participate in the decision-making process inside the family. Girls drop out of school after primary education due to poor access to educational institutions and a lack of safety inside and outside school premises. These happen primarily in rural areas, and it varies in different states. Kerala has the highest female literacy rate in urban and rural areas compared to the other Northern states such as Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Velkoff, 1998).

Girls are not a similar category; the factors like caste, region, class and religion further complicate their disadvantaged space; and they do not enjoy equal status as men anywhere. Due to various reasons, the inequality deepens, and it is essential to point out that bringing policies to tackle this is essential to overcome the hurdles. Although the government is bringing effective plans and programs to ensure quality education with adequate resources in the education sector continuing to thrive, the inequality continues in terms of reaching the developments in the marginalized sector. Educational achievements in the overall society have not successfully covered the marginal section keeping them at the edge. There is also an identifiable and significant rural-urban divide. Despite the special programs to achieve educational success among rural and tribal societies, the Dalit and tribal girls continue to fall back in the education difference in different states. Rural women from scheduled castes or tribes likely have the lowest educational achievement. Girls in rural areas fall back in the educational and employment sector. The Cultural, social, and economic conditions of girls in rural areas prevent them from achieving the opportunities. In rural areas, girls are more likely to get into family responsibilities early. As a result, families are hesitant to send them to school. Other factors obstructing girls' education include physical safety, mainly since they must walk a significant distance to school and dread sexual harassment. Compared to the situation in rural areas, girls who belong to urban areas get more significant opportunities and facilities to gain an education. Even though the gender gap remains wide, the access to education and other facilities is relatively better in urban spaces.

Regarding the inequalities in the educational sector, it is significant that the students enrolling from lower caste people are relatively low compared to the other category. The number of girls is also lower than men in all categories.

Figure: 3.2 Enrollment Rates of Social Group and Gender
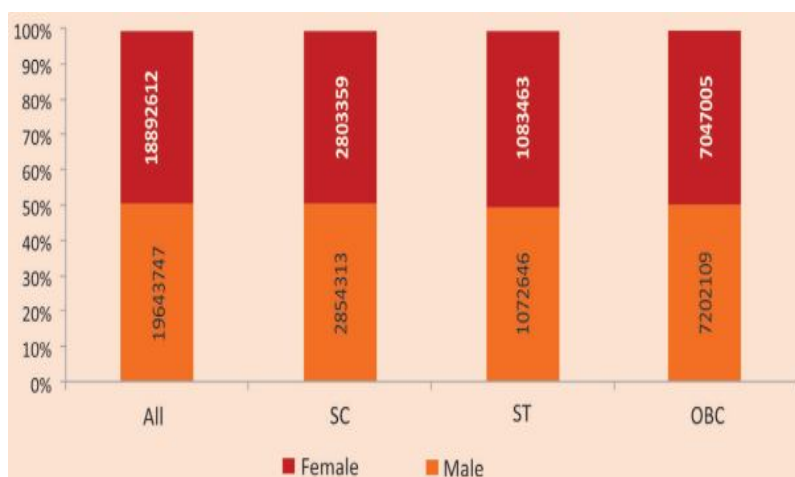
(Source: AISHE, 2019-2020: 39)

The chart mentioned above shows the enrollment rate in the country. The rate of men in all three categories shows that men get more opportunities in the educational sector. Regarding the caste barrier, the girls and boys in the non-privileged sections show a low rate, in that girls also tend to get a lesser chance of getting higher education for several reasons, including poverty and lack of facilities.

In India, the low education rate for females is not only due to access or lack of facilities. While poverty, caste disparities, religion and geographical position exacerbate gender imbalance, specific gender-differentiated views cut across all socio-economic classes, making girls fall below boys in exposure and enrolment rates. It covers the specific responsibilities of females to fulfil in family and society. Across all divides, education fosters gendered socialization and inequity. Even while it provides women with more opportunities for progress, it is clear that girls' education is still ingrained in the societal milieu. School curricula and education remain explicit agents of cultural formation and social control without attempting to alter the informal and formal socialisation processes.

The existing social mechanism over women decides whether females receive education and when and where they should get an education. It is also attached to a

part of the culture that does not allow girls to decide on their education, career, or life. The girls are mostly deprived of choosing their study and career subjects; parents generally choose their careers for children, especially girls. The trends come with the notion that girls are not meant to work after marriage, and marriage is set to take up at a certain age. Education qualifications are seen as social status or marriage criteria for girls. Another case of financially backward parents, even if they set to provide higher education, the financial situation of giving them education and the burden of dowry later for marriage makes them stay away from giving higher education. After marriage, it falls under the groom's family's choice to work or study. Generally, girls get fewer chances to work or continue higher education after marriage.

Religion also plays a role in creating hurdles in achieving success in education for girls. The period between 500 CE to 1899 CE is considered when women's status in the history of India started to deteriorate. The status of women in society and family is represented as low in the Hindu holy textbooks, especially in the Manu Codes (Chanana, 2001). The position of higher caste and lower caste women were the same in terms of education, as no one was permitted to get knowledge of religious teaching or ceremonials. The marriage and serving husband became the duty of women to perform and made the sole duty, the age for marriage of women was lower, and child marriage became normal, impeding formal education. Widows were not permitted to remarry, even the kids who became widows at young age and education was forbidden for widows. The duty of women is expected as mother and wife, and no life out of the prime duty is permitted. The ideological clash between the educated men from urban space and the traditional view brought the difference in the Hindu community in the Bengal, where the idea of education for women started to spread due to the influence of western education. The situation of women in other communities like Islam was also tragic, and they were allowed to use the right to education in private, not in public. Boys were allowed to take religious studies outside the home, particularly in the specific religious institute. In the Muslim community, resource issues seem to surpass parental resistance as women's primary barrier to continuing their studies, contrary to popular notions about conservative forces being the source of low levels of education.

Among the different religious groups in India, the lowest among the major religious groups belong to the Muslim community. The Christian community holds the highest

education among all religious groups. The overall educational status shows that men in all religious groups are higher than female education. The female share of Christian religious groups holds the highest percentage among all. The lowest female educational rate is directly linked to the Muslim community's lowest educational rate. The low educational rate for men could be why they would not allow women to get an education (Amin, 2015).

Contrary to other communities, women who belonged to the Christian community had better conditions than other major religious platforms. Even though the Christian men dominated in family and religious matters concerning education, they had a space to get education for women in the sacred space, especially in convents, especially for girls and devotees. The women in the early period enjoyed fewer educational rights, mainly in sacred spaces. Women's higher education share is comparably low among the Muslim community, and Christian females hold the highest in terms of higher education for women. Some exceptions are visible in religious education imparted to them in private space and limited to upper-class women. Class and gender interrelate in society, and gender roles have omnipresent effects (King, 1987).

Figure: 3.3 Enrollment Rates of Different Social Groups (Gender wise) in India
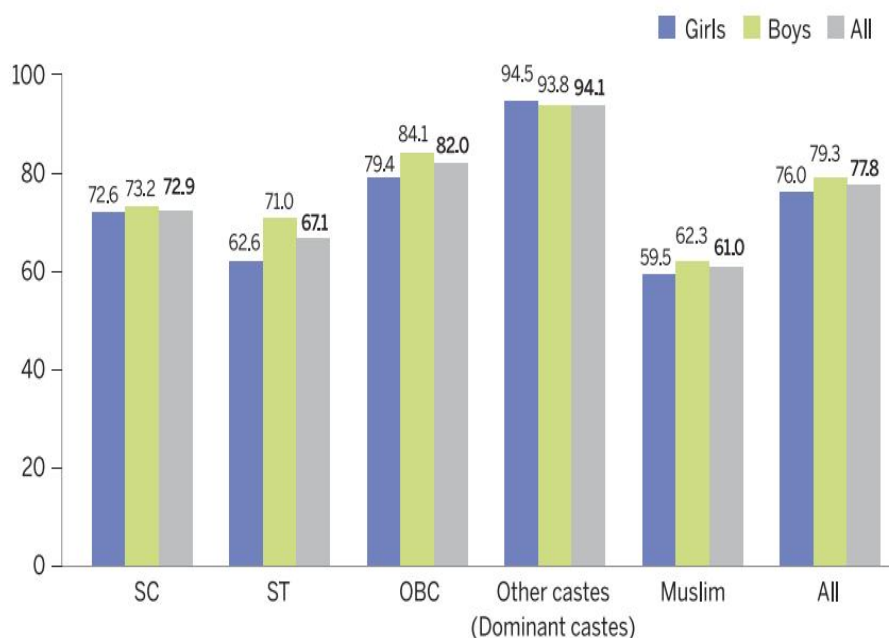
(Source: AIDMAM, 2021:32)

The figure shows the enrolment rate of secondary and higher secondary school students belonging to different social groups. The enrolment rate for girls and boys is

higher in OBC and other higher castes and lower in the Muslim community. Among all the social groups, Muslim girls and boys hold the lowest enrollment rate. The enrolment rate for boys in all social groups is higher than for girls, and girls' enrolment rate from SC/ ST is lower than higher caste girls. Muslim community girls show the lowest enrollment rate of any other social group.

Regional-wise differences also make a difference in these as the Northern part of the country has financial issues, the main reason for the poor education status of the Muslim community. Contrary to these, the girls from different classes and religious sections show better educational status in the southern part. Regional disparities make it crucial as the southern part shows more incredible achievement in education for girls with better facilities. Kerala spends 6.3 per cent of GDP on the educational sector, whereas, in the northern belt, the UP makes it only 3.7 per cent (Husain, 2018).

Higher education in the country changed dramatically with privatization and self-financing institutions from 1991 onwards. Privatized higher educational centres provide professional courses that widen the gender gap. Highly-paid professional education is not accessible to the marginalized and low-income families and girls. Later, the shift from general studies to professional courses marked considerable growth, and the demand for vocational courses changed female higher education and career plans. Females' traditional roles changed into personal staff, management, and IT professionals (Singh, 2007).

Figure: 3.4 Female participation in Diploma Courses
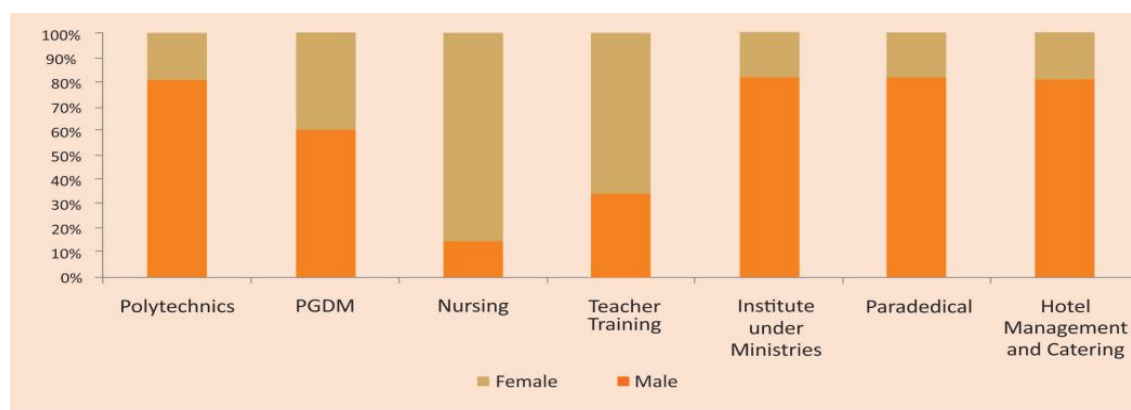
(Source: AISHE, 2020).

There are 3805 polytechnic institutions in India; among the total, 746 are in Maharashtra. Female enrolment in the polytechnic institution is low only 18.8 per cent. The highest enrolment of female students is in Nursing, 85.4 per cent, and males are less in the nursing field, only 14.6 per cent. Teacher training is the next female enrolled course, comes 64%.

According to the latest data from the All-India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE), across India, 79.5 percentage students are enrolled at Under Graduate level and 11.2 per cent at Post Graduate level. A small portion of 6.9 per cent of students is enrolled in Diploma courses, including teacher training, nursing and mechanical streams. Maharashtra tops the list of highest student enrolment in universities number 9,67,034, Tamil Nadu in the second position with 9,26,490. Of the total enrolment in the Arts field, 52.9 per cent of students are female. 52.3 per cent of female students are in the science stream. The percentage of female students in B.Tech courses is low compared to the arts and science stream; it constitutes only 28.5 per cent. The teacher-training course is filled with 66 per cent of females. In terms of higher education, percentage of the female is low in terms of men in higher education except for MPhil, Post Graduate and other certificate courses (AISHE, 2020).

Figure: 3.5 Enrollments in different Higher education
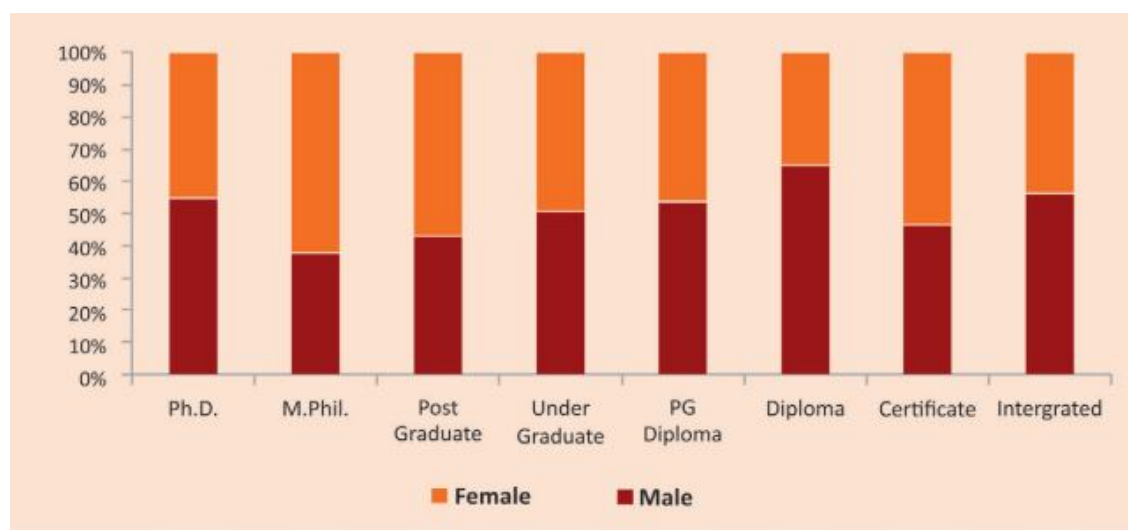
(Source: AISHE, 2020)

All other courses, including Diploma and PhD female, share less than male. Diploma courses have the lowest number of females, only 34.9 per cent women, whereas the male percentage is 65.1 per cent. Out of the total registration, SC students belong to

only a 14.7 percentage, and 5.6 per cent is the total share of ST students. The religious minority group is also seen less, constituting only 5.5 per cent. Distance education has become a highly demanding education sector, allowing female and married younger female students to access education. Out of the total enrolment rate, 11.1 per cent of students are enrolled in distance education, and the female share in that is 44.5 per cent. Mostly distance education is high in Delhi, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal (AISHE, 2020).

It is imperative to consider that entering primary education does not successfully cover the existing gender inequality. Access to school or public space is not the empowerment that follows them into their lives. Entering schools gives them a greater chance to change their lives, but the school atmosphere is an extension of family and society where the existing patriarchal gender inequalities sustain or without questioning. School premises are another space for carrying the gender roles. For example, girls are expected to perform the works like dusting and sweeping in classrooms, and girls usually participate in the arts, not sports items. School is the place where children develop the idea of making the future. Schooling helps to shape and decide their life and goals to achieve. In these contexts, socialization in school makes boys and girls develop gender ideas, and they mainly grow the idea of what to become in life and choose a career during their schooling time. To address gender issues, it is essential to have an educational system that supports gender sensitization programs and carries the idea of gender equality.

In India, some of the programs were initiated, especially for promoting education for girls by assisting the creation of primary school teachers primarily filled by women. NEP is a policy of the government to bring gender equality and remove societal wicked practices and prejudices. NEP identifies the need for a healthy and educated girl child in society. In the northern region, there was the mentality that education was only meant for boys because they were the ones who brought wealth to the family. Hence, boys are getting the education and the necessities to succeed in they are very well nourished. Mahila Samakya is a working program initiated by the central government and implemented in 1989 to carry out the policies of NEP; it aims at the rural women, chiefly socially and economically backward sections of the rural society (Velaskar, 1990).

India has worked in a multipronged approach through Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, the Education for All programme, to remove barriers and enrolment of girls in school, motivated by the conviction that including girls will help achieve gender equality. To achieve these goals, they increased access to educational institutions and provided basic facilities, including free textbooks for girls until class VIII. To increase the enrolment of girls in the schools, the infrastructure for girls like clean and separate washrooms and increased the intake of female teachers.

Figure: 3.6 Intakes of female Staff from different social groups
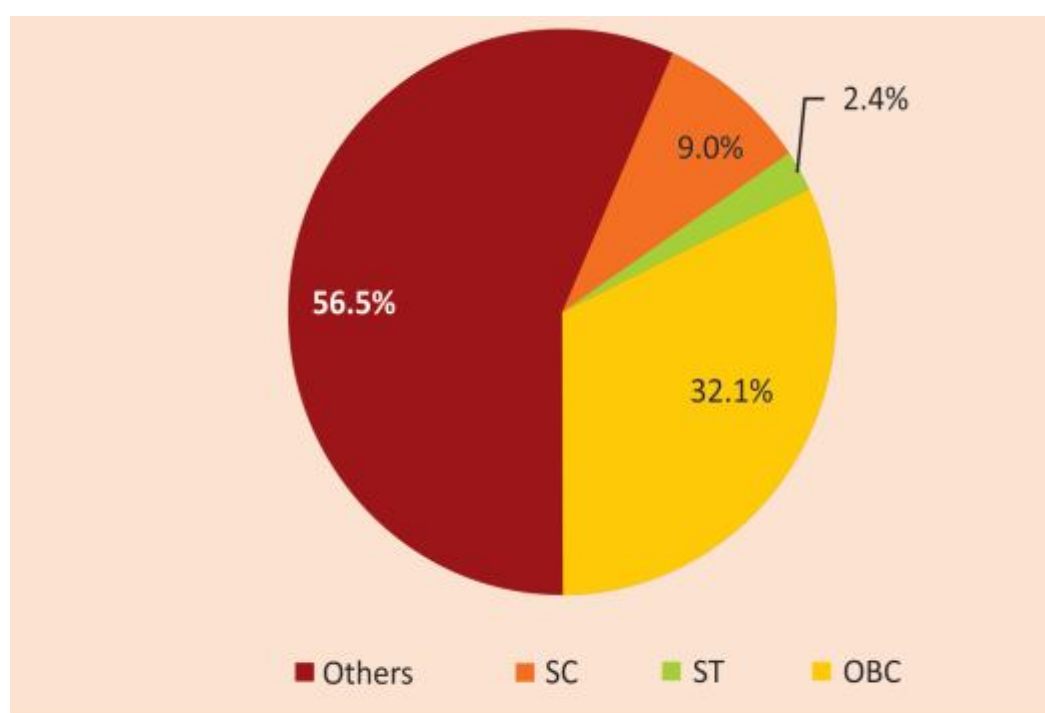
(Source: AISHE, 2020)

Intake of female staff from different social groups is necessary to create a friendly atmosphere for students from different social groups. The chart shows the percentage of female staff from the general community is higher than any other group.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya is an initiative of the government to provide education for marginalized sections of society. In 2008, the Indian Government introduced incentives for girls in secondary education. It aims to reduce girls' dropout after primary education mainly to secure the educational access of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled tribes who struggle to achieve secondary education due to the financial

crisis. The construction of a hostel for females for secondary and higher secondary school students is a scheme of government put forward in 2008 and instigated from 2009 to 2010 (Sahni, 2018). After the adoption of NEP central government introduced the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) to achieve the goal of elementary education for all citizens. SSA is framed to target girls aiming gender apprehensions. The framers included the outline of the policy stating, "Here should be a 'congenial learning environment' for girls to provide equitable learning opportunities, or that teacher training should include gender-sensitive content" (Mohan& Vaughan, 2008). The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE), passed by the Government of India in 2009, ensures every Indian child aged 6 to 14 the access to enter in and finish eight years of primary education. This regulatory drive, combined with global primary enrolment initiatives, has resulted in a 17.4 million increase in female enrolment (Government of India, 2021).

3.7 Women and Work in India

India has seen tremendous population and economic expansion, industrialization, and demographic change throughout the last four decades. Changes are also visible in the education pattern, fertility rate, and sex ratio. Remarkable changes were visible in girls' primary education. Not all these changes could reflect women's labour market in the country. Inequalities in work are still visible and even higher than despite the higher achievement in education. In India, inequalities in the labour force are connected to many factors. Gender biases exist in the labour market, mainly in payment, recruitment, and hiring. Male domination in society is reflected in the workplace, resulting in gender segregation—the inequality results in a considerable decline in women's participation in the labour market. Women's workforce participation is different in the different regions of the country. The Southern and Southern West of the country shows higher work participation than the Northern part of the country. The International Labour Organization's report on Global Employment Trends shows a substantial decrease in India's labour force. The rate fell from 37percentge in 2004-05 to 29 per cent in 2009-10. Of the 131 countries on the list, India ranks in the 11th position from the bottom (Batra & J, 2016).

The increase in wages and income in India has been in progress, but the inequality between men and women in wages and income remains as it is. The structure of

inequality that persists in the Indian Labour market is tenaciously strengthened with the fall of women's labour participation. The central part of female economic wealth comes from their contribution to the paid labour force (Blumberg 1991). The trend remains as it is despite all labour laws. It is tended to concentrate on women's involvement mainly in lower-end jobs, and her income remains the law. The notion of women is into the 'household work'; it is perceived as less interest in investing for the women to get into better education; it results in she has to remain in lower-end jobs. Even in the case of educational status, women's literacy rate and educational status have increased, but it does not reflect in the labour force.

Figure: 3.7 Employment Rate for females in India 1991-2021
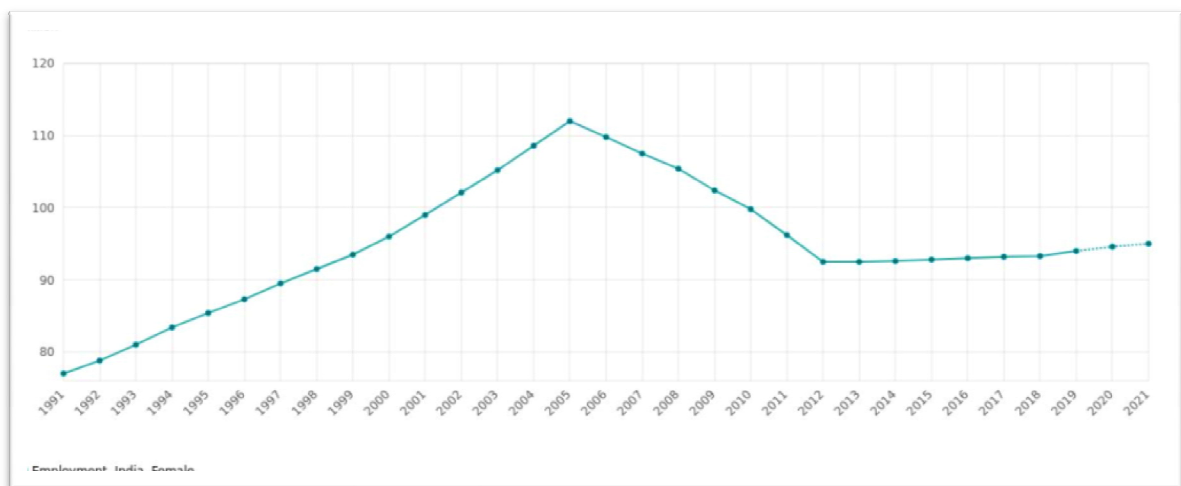
(Source: Soni &Mishra, 2021).

The work participation rate of women in India always remains low. According to the 1991 census, participation of women was low for urban women, only ten per cent and 27 per cent for rural women (Patel, 1994). Women's total work participation rate was 25.5 % at all Indian levels in 2011. According to the Labour Force Survey in India, despite the economic growth and increased women's education, the female participation rate remains low. In rural India, it is low at 19.7%, and in urban spaces, it is more petite than in rural areas, only 16.1%. According to the development index, the growth in female education, economic growth, and labour participation are supposed to be higher than the rate. However, India ranks in the first five worst countries regarding performance on economic participation and prospects for females in the Global Gender Gap Report for 2020. The urban women working space is

shrinking for multiple reasons, mainly security issues. Most of the female population willing to work and unemployed belongs to the age group of 20-24. Increased market for a home-based business is another possibility for women willing to contribute to the economic matters of family. Most of them struggle to contribute only five hours a day for their extra income apart from the care work and family responsibilities. The data on informal workers is hardly recorded, and India's rural and urban female forces are mainly focused on the unorganized sector (IWWAGE, 2020). Since 1977, particularly during 1999-00 and 2004-05, has there been a rise in the female work participation rate. This is primarily due to an increase in underpaid rural female familial labourers in agricultural production (Ghai, 2018).

The unpaid work of women at home always goes unnoticed or unrecognized. They spend considerable time in unpaid work that increases over time with other responsibilities. SAP programs have cut down many government services, making access to services difficult for ordinary people; such responsibility eventually falls upon women. The health sector is one example of caring for sick people who need utmost care and being taken care of by women. The more challenging condition with the poor infrastructure, especially in water scarcity, the availability of drinking water and maintaining sanitation solely fall upon women. International Conference on Labour Studies defines work and economic activity as "Work comprises any activity performed by persons of any sex and age to produce goods or provide services for use by others or own use" (Mondal et al., 2018). Inclusion of the word 'by others or for own use' states the substantial alteration of work done inside the home for others and oneself.

Women's labour participation needs to be analysed, including varied factors. Labour force decision regarding women needs to be seen from the household point of view as it has been added as a responsibility meant only for women. Women's labour force character is different from the male as it depends on the age of entry, marital status, and reproduction. Women's participation in the labour force increased in some sectors, such as financial and personal services (Sankaran & Madhav, 2011). An occupational profile shows that most women in rural areas work in agriculture, weaving, stitching, fishing, farming, and forestry sectors. Focusing on self-employed work is seen in rural areas due to difficulty finding paid work. Urban workers concentrate on service sectors in nursing, teaching and other contract labours.

Migrated workers from rural areas mainly work on construction sites (Balla et al., 2011).

Women's direct engagement in domestic work is not by their choice, or they do not have any alternative but to skip the domestic chores and participate in paid work outside the home. Most upper caste and class women tend to spend their time in domestic chores irrespective of their educational status. Both urban males and rural men show a higher labour participation rate. Women in the marginalised section show higher participation in labour than other social groups. Women's participation is lower than in the transgender groups.

Figure: 3.8 Labour participation (Urban &Rural)
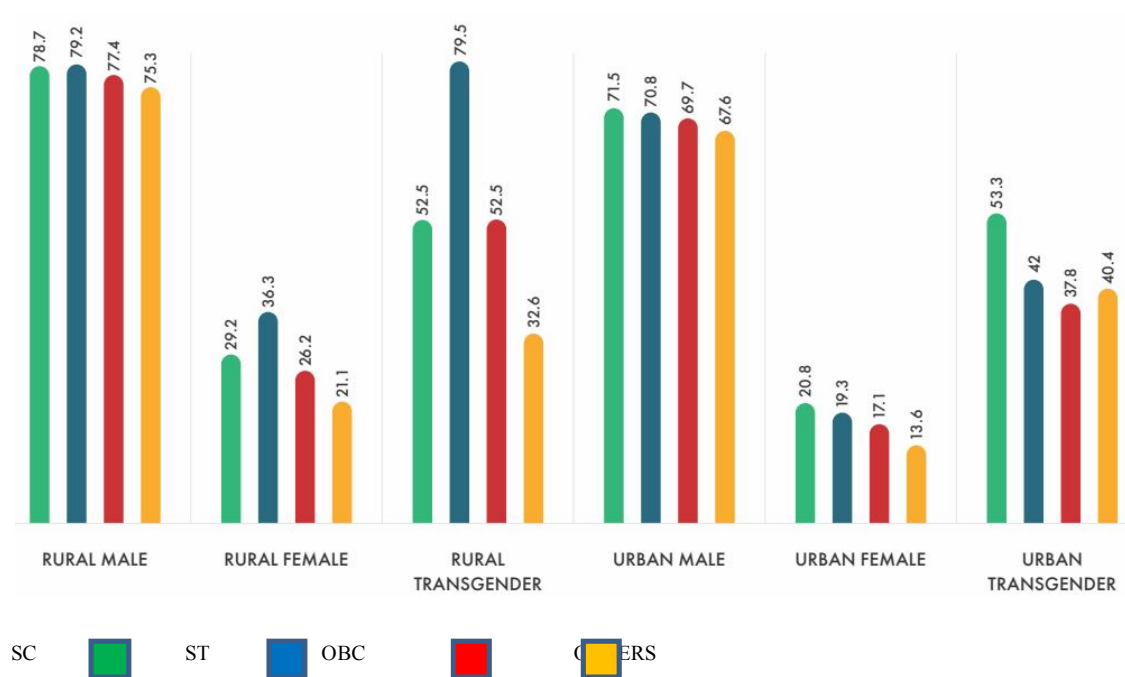
(Source: Menon et al., 2019).

The gender ceiling is a trend that makes women it challenging to achieve higher positions in jobs even if they are qualified. Increasing educational qualifications and modernity allows women to work outside the home. At the same time, it is essential to note that the growth in specific sectors indicates the nature of jobs that women are allowed or get entry into specific fields. Female labourers are considered less trouble-making than men, which helps to increase the notion of creating a sense of sex segregation in the labour force. Age and household responsibilities determine the

nature of women's participation in the labour market. Most women get into work in their 30s after their role as mothers and childcare. Women were considered cheap labour and were primarily selected without qualified male candidates. The social taboo of working under women makes men feel inferior; it denies women getting promotions and higher positions in companies. Another factor that promotes gender discrimination in job opportunities is the role of women as a mother. Most companies prefer men to women as pregnancy and allowances are considered a liability and compel them to prefer men.

The gender order of society does not allow women to work outside the home. In addition, if she can work, it has to be correlated with the nature of her household responsibilities and other issues like security and preference. The government of India has implemented the maternity leave provision for women working in government or unorganized sectors. Bidi and Cigar Workers Act (1966) stipulate maternity benefits are covered for women working in home-grown based jobs. In Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Gujarat, the Act benefits agricultural workers (Van Klaveren et al., 2010). Working women's status in a modern family is acceptable due to financial stability, but it never makes women stay out of family chores or share responsibilities with men. Educated women also choose to stay with the familial responsibilities after marriage. Educated women mostly marry educated men with higher income and financial stability; it further discourages women from participating in work for economic needs.

Those women who get the opportunity to acquire higher education and professional training do not all get into the workforce due to the gender roles that make it necessary to be inside the house rather than in the workplace outside. Working women are often treated as a threat to the hierarchal family setup and masculinity, where masculinity is perceived as men's ability to control women and secure the financial prospect of the family. Another thing that regulates women is the stereotype regarding the nature of the job. Women get an easy way to traditional stereotyped jobs such as teaching, nursing, and clerical jobs, considered well suited for their gender. That is also sometimes allowed until marriage or after until birth of the first child. The entry of males into these jobs is relatively low due to traditional gender roles, which do not allow men to enter the care service, and domestic work is termed womanly work. The men's underrepresentation needs to be discussed regarding gender-based

job segregation, which pushes women to choose such jobs, especially nursing. Security issues are the most affecting factors that deny women work outside the home. The rising sexual assaults and violence make it difficult for women to work outside, especially in the unorganized sectors that hardly provide security for women workers. Rural women are mainly associated with self-employed work, and the regular basis of salary work is low compared to urban women. casual works are the primary source of income for rural men, whereas regular works dominate in urban space. In terms of employment and wage, there has been an essential rise in inequality in India. The number of women is significant in the productive sector of rural areas, less in urban areas. The number of women in the low-paid, unorganized, non-agricultural sectors is increasing, and fewer women succeed in the organized sector (ILO, 2018).

Figure: 3.9 Daily wages in Rural and Urban areas by Gender
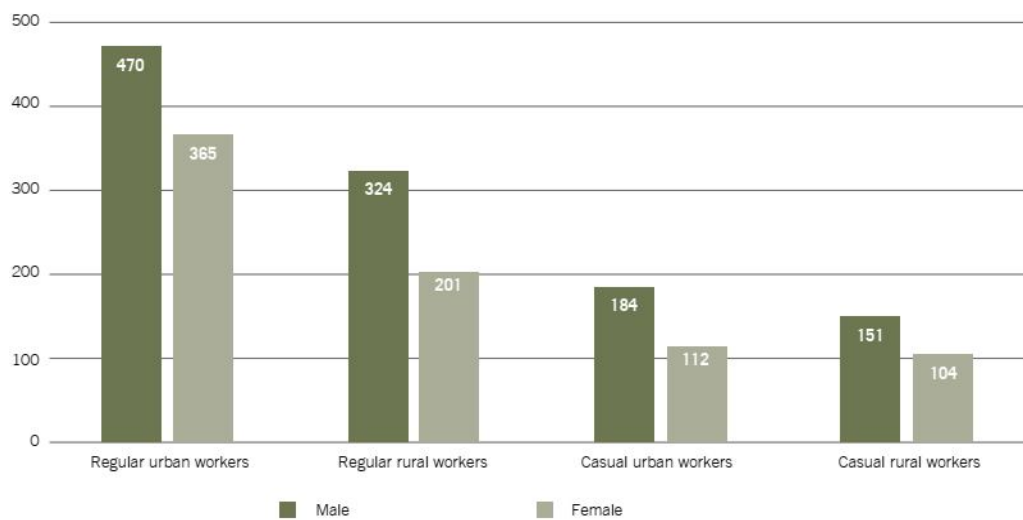
(Source: ILO, 2018)

The report shows a considerable gap in regular wage pay. Regular urban men workers are the best paid. Casual work pay for females in both urban and rural areas remains low. Women's unpaid work inside the home does not allow them to look for paid work outside the home. The portion of unpaid work inside the home for rural and urban females is not much different. The same goes for male participation in everyday work. Rural and urban men constitute almost the same in work mentioned earlier.

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The new public employment pattern also follows the trend of low wages and contract work for women. Providing public service is focused on workers with low-paid, uncertain contracts with no benefits. The trend has primarily been visible in schooling and health service. The guest or contract teachers are mostly underpaid women workers without basic work security or benefits. The other set of underpaid women workers is the ASHA workers in the health service sector, who are hardly paid and work in a hostile environment. Women share in the unskilled work, domestic work, construction work, and service increased in rural and urban areas, so male workers mainly carry out such works. The cleaning, laundry and other unskilled work in hotels, offices, and other urban spaces are mainly done by men and paid higher than women. Women in unskilled works of urban space are primarily included in the beauty services, sales girls and wholesale markets.

Women engaged in paid domestic work are an increasing trend in urban spaces. The low-paid domestic work is an emerging trend in India than in other countries; the emergence of a newly affluent middle-class section that demands such domestic workers is the reason for the increase in urban space. The essential thing is the increasing feminization of domestic paid work in the urban space is that any labour laws provide legal protection. Very few states had covered the paid domestic work to the minimum wage laws act. The act comes under the purview of the state government. In Tamil Nadu, after a long time of demand and pressure from workers and the NGOs, the state government has included the paid domestic work under the *Tamil Nadu Manual Labour Act* in 1982. In 2007, domestic workers formed the welfare board for their minimum wage demands and the particular time and task framework in paid domestic work. Following this, very few states added paid domestic work under the Minimum Wage Act. The Kerala government took the initiative to add paid domestic workers to the welfare board for Kerala Artisan and Skilled Workers, allowing the workers to benefit from the social security scheme. As an emerging sector of paid domestic work, especially for women, ensuring social security and minimum wage is an utmost important area in securing the fundamental rights of workers. The Indian government still has not endorsed the ILO convention for domestic workers. The convention mentioned the basic steps to fulfil workers' rights of wages, working hours, and security measures. Convention's ratification is essential in implementing the guidelines (Ghosh, 2013).

The female labour participation rate is different in different states; it varies region-wise. The Northeastern states and some states in the Southern regions show a better image of female participation rates than the Northern states. Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Himachal Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Meghalaya, and Sikkim mark the participation rate between 32%- 50%. At the same time, there are states where the rate comes between 5%- and 15%, namely Bihar, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Delhi. Kerala shows a poor participation rate below 30, where the educational rate of the female is higher than in all other states.

Figure: 3.10 Female Labour Participation Rate in the Indian States and UT
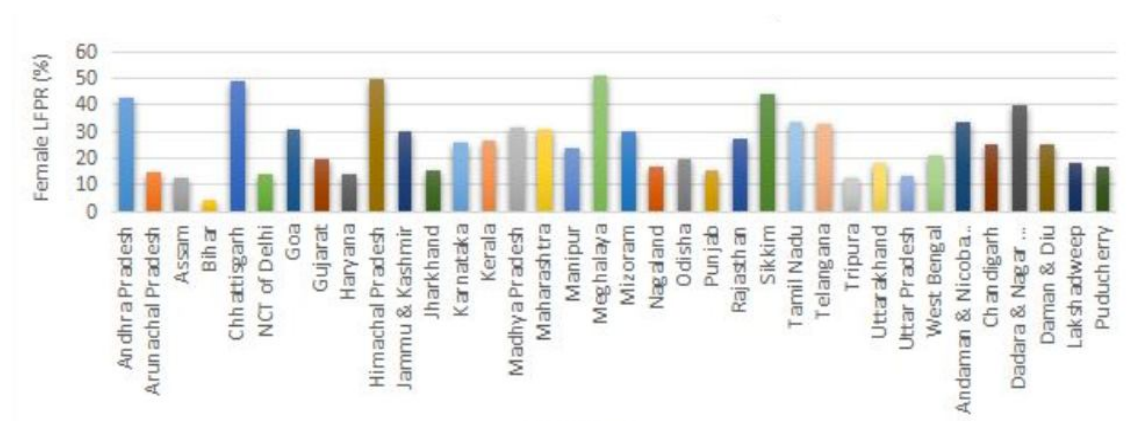
(Source: Soni & Mishra, 2021).

Women often choose flexible employment because of their family responsibilities. It results in a higher number of women in lower-wage jobs. Flexible employment opportunities are mostly less secured and paid, making women's working atmosphere threatening and ending up in violence and sexual threats. In the flexible employment space, some are unsuitable for married women due to the time constraints of the job. Service sector jobs are suitable for unmarried women due to the late-hour work as this work is discordant with the duties of women as wives and mothers. In search of flexible employment, women often select private-sector jobs. IT field generally offers a flexible timing for work. Identifying the issues of working mothers, the government has passed a resolution to provide baby care facilities mainly for women who belong to the poor rural marginalized section. Many working women struggle with the poor infrastructure facilities. Mainly women working in informal sectors go through poor sanitation facilities.

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Despite being an emerging economy and influential member of the G20, India shows a decline in the labour force. Several Acts deal with wages: *the Minimum wage Act* of 1948, the *Payment of Wages Act*, 1936; the *Payment of Bonus Act*, 1965; and the *Equal Remuneration Act*,1976 (ILO, 2018). Out of eight ILO conventions, India ratified only four. Regarding the implementation of labour laws, The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) stated,

> If we take the effectiveness of coverage of different labour regulations into consideration, the actual coverage of the labour regulations in India is minimal: the laws themselves apply only to a small proportion of the workforce, and they are actually implemented in the case of even smaller segments (Klaveren et al., 2010).

The laws enacted in the labour force never applied in actual practice. Out of the total workers, only 2.5-3.9% get covered in the labour laws of working conditions, and the Minimum Wages Act applies to only nine per cent of the total working labours. The inferior position of women in the family and workplace is related to the existing patriarchal hierarchy. Women in the workplace do not carry vibrant employer-employee positions. They often carry a master-slave mentality.

Mainly, the women workers are not represented in the trade unions that guarantee workers' rights or give power to employers' negotiations. Women take a large portion of workers in unorganized sectors, making them stay out of the organizations and worker's unions. The formation of working women organizations rarely or does not get adequate support or representation in the formal institutions to fight for their rights. Ela Bhatt founded the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). The organization grew out of the Textile Labour Association (TLA), one of the oldest textile workers' unions. In 1995, workers from construction jobs and informal sectors founded National Centre for Labour (NCL). Many worker rights and laws were passed under the organisation's pressure.

In 2005, as part of the rural poverty alleviation program, the government enacted the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) to ensure minimum wage and work for marginalized people in rural areas. The program aimed to secure the SC, women, and rural population by giving 100 days of unskilled work with a minimum wage equal for men and women. During the initial year of the Act's implementation, it covered 18.7 million households covering 200 districts all over the country, and later

the Act covered 605 districts. In the first phase, the program covered 41 per cent of women workers out of the total number of workers; it grew to 47 per cent in the next year (Klaveren et al., 2010). In 2009, the project was renamed Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS).

Regarding project formulation and construction, the MGNREGS, launched in India in 2006, has chosen a different framework for public labour. The scheme is administered by the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), and the central and state government has equal responsibility and power in implementing and achieving the scheme's goals. It has become the unique rural development program under the central government with an annual budget of 8.44 billion in 2019-20. MGNREGA assures 100 working days for women annually; it ensures women's participation in rural areas. Women in rural areas are attracted to the MGNREGA work plan due to the policy of giving work to unskilled people near their living areas and the wage parity (McCord, Paul, 2019).

The MGNREGA program is implemented based on the 'right to work'; therefore, it comes under the government's duty to make citizens aware and assure them access to the scheme's benefit. People in rural areas are authorized to register under the scheme. The priorities are given to the marginalized community and women. As a part of registration and keeping the record of work-related details, the registered members receive a work card during registration. One-third of the registered members are women; currently, fifty-three per cent of the beneficiaries are women under the scheme. The act specifies the work facilities that ensure the needs and safety of the workers. The facilities included the basic needs of drinking water and a place to rest in the intervals. To integrate the mothers into the scheme, the working facilities included the provision for babysitting if five or more children under six years go together with their mother. It also specifies the work site for the workers, as the place of work should be within five kilometres of their house to make the travel of female workers more feasible (IWWAGE, 2021)

Figure: 3.11 Women's participation in the MGNREGA program 2017-2021
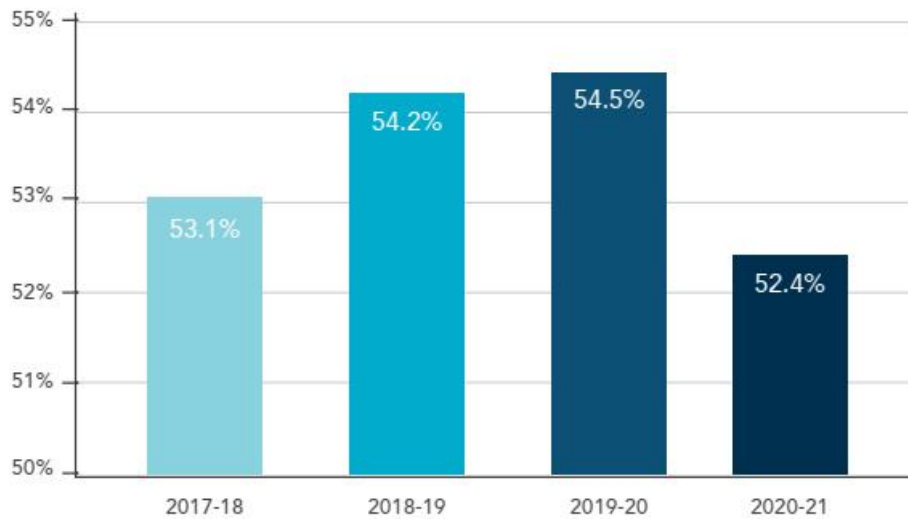
(Source: IWWAGE, 2022)

The participation rate of person day work declined after the 2020 period due to the pandemic lockdown.

3.8 Gender Budget in India

The gender budget was adopted in India in 2000 at the union level. Gender budget is defined as "applying gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process; it means a gender-based assessment of budgets, incorporating a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process and restructuring revenues and expenditures to promote gender equality" (Goel, 2019). In 2004, 'The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD)' identified the gender budget as essential for addressing inequality. The first gender budgeting appeared in the 2005-06 union budget, including ten demands for grants (Gender budgeting Handbook, 2007). The gender budgeting handbook of 2007 released by the Indian government state that the gender barriers in society prevent women from gaining their share in the flow of public goods and services.

Gender budgeting, on the other hand, is more than just an accounting exercise; it is an ongoing practice of retaining a gender analysis throughout the budgetary cycle to guarantee benefits include women and girls effectively as men. The government of India became the inventor internationally in the formation and launching of gender budgeting. The constant effort made by the central government to implement gender

budgeting at the state level has resulted in its effective implementation. Each state government attempted to implement the plan by organizing a proper plan. They included a gender budget statement in the state budget and adopted the policies by setting a gender policy manual with a gender data book and appointed nodal officer at the district level. Odisha was the first state to implement Gender Budgeting at the state level; in 2004, 19 out of 26 states implemented gender budgeting. Odisha's government approved a Women Component plan to ensure 30% of the annual program for women. From 2004-to 2005, the state government submitted information regarding the schemes for women and women regarding projects to the Women & Child Development departments and provided an annual report of the programs initiated under the system (Government of India, 2021). Following Odisha Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Lakshadweep and West Bengal adopted the gender budget system from 2005 to 2007. Many states, including Kerala, Rajasthan, Punjab, Maharashtra and Jharkhand, took another five years to implement the policy at the state level from 2010 to 2016 (Government of India Annual Report, 2018-2019).

3.9 Women in the Indian Political System

Political participation is an essential aspect of the empowerment of women. Representation of women in the power structure gives them a voice to speak for their rights. The representation of women in politics is a critical factor of democracy. They give the share of power to all and represent the marginalized voice who are not well represented in a democratic country. Indian constitution guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens. Regardless of the constitutional right of equal opportunity and freedom, women in the political sphere remain low due to traditional notions and gender discrimination. The participation of women in electoral politics and their role in power-sharing and policy formulation is not the only factor of women's empowerment but also determines the success of a democratic system. Due to the effects of the women's movement and the proposed quota system, women's participation in the political field, mainly in voting, is increased in India.

Women's participation in the nationalist movement gave them the strength to fight for their rights. The presence of women in the swadeshi[69] movement in Bengal made the

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[69] The Swadeshi movement was a self-sufficiency movement that was a part of India's independence movement and helped to shape Indian nationalism. There was growing resentment among the Indians

beginning of the journey of struggle. The Women's Indian Association (WIA), based on madras, came up with the right to vote in 1917, marking a landmark in the Indian women's movement. The WIA representing the Indian women, leaders Sarojini Naidu, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, and Radhabai Subbarayan attended the second Round Table. The right to vote for women in India is guaranteed under certain conditions. Women holding property rights got the right to vote in the initial period. The social structure of the Indian Caste system kept a large section of people out of society's social and political life. Only a few sections of women who hold higher social positions with their male partners enjoy some rights. Later in 1935, The Government of India Act provided the voting rights extended to other categories but limited to a particular section of qualified people like property owned or married to property owned males and the educated women. The Act provided a quota of 41 seats for women in the province and limited seats to fifteen for the central legislature. The reservation made a difference in the next election putting the country in the third position with women representatives in the legislature globally, following the United States and the Soviet Union. The number of women elected to the legislature was 80 (Rai, 2005).

Even though the base of women's electoral politics started during the national movement, the post-independence period does not reflect such changes. The participation of women in the independence struggle was quite impressive during the independence period. After independence, the number of women in the political field declined, which connected with the existing social customs and traditions. The families connected with political parties or having higher social positions could participate in political activities. The participation in electoral politics was merely family influence rather than aiming for social change or bringing changes in women's condition. The exclusion of women in the political field keeps women's representation low in dominant political parties. The ruling Congress party of the 1950s and 60s targeted to elect at least fifteen per cent of women candidates in electoral politics, but the share of women was only five per cent until the 1980s (Dutoya, 2016).

In the first Loksabha election, the participation rate of women in electoral politics was only 4.4 per cent. Later, after the 1990s, only the percentage stood at more than seven

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before the government's intention to partition Bengal was made public in December 1903. In response, the Swadeshi movement was formally launched on August 19, 1905, from Town Hall Calcutta, with the goal of reducing foreign imports by relying on Indian products.

per cent. It reached the highest 11.2 per cent in the 16th election in 2014 (Rai, 2017). Women's representation in the number of voters turned out to keep ever high in the year of 2014 general election. Representation of women in the lower house of parliament is 36 per cent from the first in the Loksabha election of 2014. The upper house constitutes 22.92 per cent during this period. The performance of India in terms of women in parliament shows the country's political empowerment condition. It stands in the 148th position, lower than Pakistan and Afghanistan. Those countries are poor in development in many sectors than India (Nisha & venthan, 2018).

Table: 3.2 Share of seats held by women in India's Parliament and Local Government Body

Year	Lok Sabha	Rajya Sabha	Panchayati Raj of India
2014	11.42	12.76	46.14
2016	-	11.07	-
2018	-	11.48	-
2019	14.36	-	44.37
2020	-	10.33	-

(Source: Soni & Mishra, 2021).

In India, political representation increased better than before. Still, several factors keep women out of the power structure. The proposal for 33 per cent of reservation for women in parliament and the state legislature was introduced in 1996 in response to the international discussions on gender equality, particularly political representation. The quota system was introduced, and since the proposal was introduced in the parliament, it does not gain adequate importance, and not a single time has the ruling government made an effort to pass the law. The representation of women in local bodies was passed without delay in 1993. The 73rd amendment act brought 33 per cent of reservations for women in local bodies (Oxfam, 2014). The reservation in local government bodies brought many women into the power structure. The number of women in the national legislature and state legislature not satisfactory gives them a better voice to represent themselves. In addition, in 2009, the

government came up with 50 per cent for women in all local bodies. Many states like Rajasthan and Orissa passed the legislation and took the initiative to enact the act (Bhatla et al.,2012). Political representation is identified as participating in activities like voting, campaigning, holding public positions, and lobbying pressure groups (Rai, 2011). The presence of elite women in the political sphere alone cannot be considered enough to consider the growth of women in politics.

The strongest women leaders in India's political history show the capability of women in politics. At the same time, a male superiority in society denies the entry of women into formal politics. Keeping women in the political parties' lower strata makes it challenging to reach higher positions. India has always had strong and charismatic women in its political parties and influential positions. Sarojini Naidu was an important figure in the freedom struggle. India had strong women as Prime Minister-Indira Gandhi, the first and only women Prime Minister of India. Pratibha Patil became the first female president in India. Meira Kumar was the first woman speaker, and many eminent women political leaders like Jayalalitha, Phulan Devi, and Mayawati reached the highest positions in their political careers (Figuers, 2012).

The entry of Dalit women into the political field is necessary for emancipating lower caste women. India's social and cultural background kept the lower caste women out of society. In 1995, when Mayawati became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for the first time, Dalit women held an important position in the political field of Uttar Pradesh (Govinda, 2006). The emergence of Mayawati and her political fraction made inspiration for Dalit community and Dalit women to participate in political activities actively. Women's presence in the political area is relatively low. The political field has always dominated the upper class, urban women's presence and ideas. Women of all sections do not get adequate representation in the political field.

In the incident, a women president in a village of Madhya Pradesh was humiliated for being a lower caste woman and was not allowed by their fellow workers to hoist the flag ceremony on Independence Day. The Incident occurred in modern India, where the constitution guarantees no discrimination based on caste and laws to protect the rights. Later, she approached the court and won the case (Jayal, 2008).

The caste and class structure are essential in entering into political activism. The political background is essential in capturing seats or power positions, making it

difficult for women, significantly lower caste women, to perform better in their political field and capture seats reserved for them. Those women who belong to higher caste and class follow the path and inherit the political power from their father or husband, making it easy for them to acquire the support for winning electoral politics. Another important factor determining the entry of Dalit women into the political field is the resources (Govinda, 2006). Women from high class and caste have richer resources and social support to spend enough time in their political field, moving from household chores and child support. Financial support is essential as winning electoral politics is needed effective campaign, and major political parties with considerable funds to spend on the campaign do not always support candidates from the marginal community. Women who do not have such support have to compromise their careers in political activities. It makes another condition in which women enter politics much later than male counterparts after their responsibilities or having no dependents at home. Later entry into the political field makes them less experienced and weaker (Haridas, 2008).

The Indian political field has always been gender exclusive. Male dominance remains at its peak in the political field. Women are generally not treated as the better option for the political field. The male dominance and patriarchal attitude of society tend to accept men as powerful and fit for political activities. The reasons for keeping women out of political activities are many. Social, economic, and religious factors contribute to the lower representation. Women's economic dependence keeps them out of formal electoral politics as they have less access to the resources. Generally, the social attitude towards women does not support participating in political activities, as it is believed to be reserved for men. Religion also plays an essential role in determining the entry of women into politics. Religious beliefs hold a higher position among the people; they influence and determine people's choices. Most religious groups prevalent in Indian society give the second position to women in society and family relationships. All religious beliefs hold the idea of women as home caretakers, children and the elderly. They have to look after the homely affairs, and working out of the home is only for the economic support for the family, not for the women's empowerment. The major religious groups do not support women participating in the political field. The political agenda of keeping women in front to gain voter turnout has recently increased. The criminalisation of politics in recent years also tends to

keep women out of the field, increasing the taboo that women are not meant to rule or not strong enough for the political field.

3.10 Violence against women in India

Violence against women in India is a growing crime resulting from gender inequality; it is a grave form of human rights violation. The violation harms women and forces them to escape social and economic life. It is the gender hierarchal system that gives a male supreme hand in perpetrating such crimes. UN provides a concurrence definition of violence as

> Any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (Fried, 2003).

Article 2 of the UN constitution distinguishes different kinds of violence against women.

> Violence against women should encompass, but not be limited to acts of physical, sexual, and physiological violence in the family and the community. These acts include spousal battering, sexual abuse of female children, dowry-related violence, rape, including marital rape, and traditional practices harmful to women; such as female genital mutilation, non-spousal violence, sexual harassment and intimidation at work and educational institutions, trafficking of women, forced prostitution, and violence perpetrated and condoned by the state such as rape in war (Pande & Malhotra, 2006).

Identifying the different forms of violence against women in Indian society is necessary. Violence against women is the most challenging indicator of gender disparity in Indian society. It exists in every society, irrespective of caste, class, religion, and educational background. In a life cycle, a girl experiences violence in each stage of her life. The violence starts with the prenatal stage with the female infanticide and later takes the form of differential access to care, food, education and child marriage. Other violations include child marriage, incest, molestation, domestic violence, sexual violence, femicide, honour killing, the threat of sexual violence, forced prostitution, trafficking, marital rape and psychological violence. Violence against women took a new form heightened by the internet and communication technology. Violence against women exists in all religious, class and caste groups

ranging from discrimination to physical and mental violence. In many communities, violence is visible, and some are not visible or not identical exist with the help of cultural and social elements. Violence against women is rooted in gender inequality that refers to the act of discrimination or deprivation of rights (India, 2012).

Despite the developmental programs and policies for women's empowerment in India, violence against women threatens gender equality severely. Besides the empowerment programs, mass punitive measures to curb such atrocities against women are in place. Article 21 guarantees the basic human right to life. Further, the fundamental rights deal with equality for all citizens and positive discrimination for women and children in identifying their social and economic detriments. Strong patriarchal values give the validation for continuing the violence and discrimination against women. The majority of women face discrimination and violence in private and public spaces. In 1998, The National Crime Records Bureau of India (NCRBI) reported thriving crimes against women in India. The below-mentioned pie chart shows the different forms of violence registered under the crime bureau in 1999.

Figure: 3.12 Violence against Women in India-1999

Total Recorded Crimes Against Women 1999
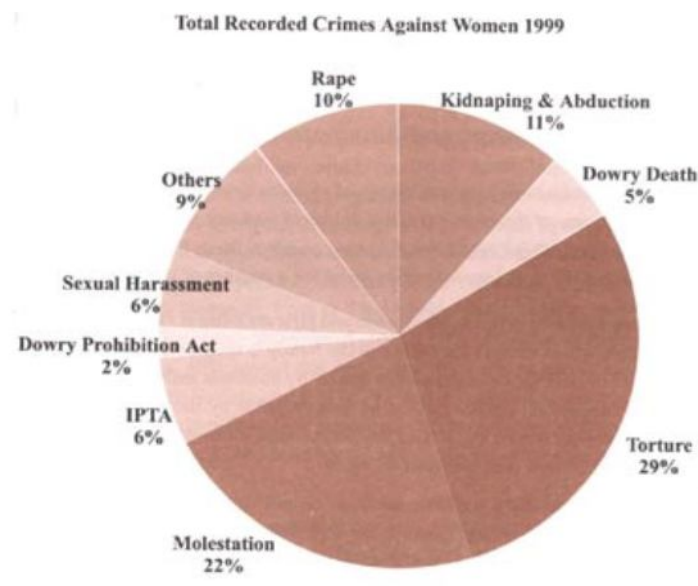
(Source: UNFPA, 2004)

The NCRB data undoubtedly shows the continuous rise in the violence against women in the country. The crimes from 1999 until 2019 show the continuity in the rate of crimes against women. Even after the adoption of significant laws against the

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crimes, the crime rate continues to sustain as more vital than before. The Dowry Prohibition Act came into existence in 1961; however, the dowry death continues to take part in society without much change in the number of cases until 2021. Rape and other atrocities also show the highest of all time. The arrival of new forms of violence against women, such as acid attacks and online crimes, adds to the difficulties for women in the contemporary period.

The cases registered under different violence against women significantly increased from 2015 to 2019. Acid attacks and cybercrimes are the new forms of violence against women in India. Cybercrimes increased significantly from 792 in 2015 to 1632 in 2019. A total of 150 cases were registered under acid attacks and 42 cases under an attempt to acid attack. Traditional violence, such as dowry-related death and domestic violence, also increased. The Cruelty by husbands and relatives is high throughout the year, totalling 125298 in 2019. The cases registered under the Dowry Prohibition Act are 13297 in 2019. Five hundred fifty-three cases were registered under the Domestic Violence Act, and 7115 deaths were registered under the dowry-related deaths. Trafficking of women reported the highest in 2019, with a total of 966 cases. Rape cases reported in the country remains high from 2015 to 2019. There were 34651cases in 2015, 38947 in 2016, and 32033 in 2019. A total of 283 cases were registered as gang rape cases in 2019 (Rajya Sabha Secretariat Report, 2021)

Violence against women in Indian society is deep-rooted in gender inequality that keeps women under attack, making them vulnerable in all stages of life. Male preference tendency of the society made it difficult for a girl child to survive the prenatal violence, and it continues to the later period making her economically, psychologically socially dependent on the male. Each form of violence has a connection with the male superiority that makes women unaware of the violence they experience daily and unable to defend against the direct attack they experience in private and public spaces.

3.10.1 Domestic Violence

Domestic violence in the Indian family has become a standard for trouble-free family life; beating a wife is justified in that way — many domestic violence cases go unreported due to society's attitude. An official report of violence against women shows the depth of abuse as there happened 8,233 dowry deaths, 106,527 cases of

cruelty by husbands and in-laws, and 45,351 assault cases (Misra & S, 2014). Women prefer to stay with their husbands suffering due to the social stigma attached to divorce and the negative impact on women and their families. Societal rules do not allow women to stay single or single parent is still talk of chastity of women. The gender order of the society wants women to be 'obedient wives' and good mothers; therefore, it is necessary to accept and bear violence. It became a norm as violence against women was treated as usual and sometimes mandatory for a successful married life. It occurs in every family; caste, class, and women often suppress this. Even though several laws deal with violence, the societal custom does not allow women to approach the legal system to end the violence (Weitzman, 2014).

Going against the husband is mainly treated as the worst manner for women or acts against the husband and family happiness. Most of the time, violence occurs due to the existing gender roles that make women responsible for family chores and unable to perform them well, ending up in violence by husbands or relatives. Domestic violence gets society's acceptance because the concept of domestic violence is regarded as a matter between husband and wife. For the family's honour, women usually keep the matter secret or admit it as a part of their natural life and do not want to break the abusive relationship due to the existing social stigma attached to divorce.

Domestic violence is brutality against women; it has been normalized in Indian society due to the wrong concept of violence as an essential way of showing care, affecting women mentally and physically. The patriarchal set-up of the community allows domestic violence to accept even by women as a normal situation. It has shown the power hierarchy among family members between men and women in the marriage system. In 2005, the government adopted special laws to protect women from domestic violence. The Act defines domestic violence as "comprising physical, mental, verbal, emotional, sexual and economic abuse, harassment for dowry, acts of threatening to abuse the victim or any other person related to her" by adding a provision of security for aggrieved wife from the husband the law ensures access of resources, shelter homes, medical services for the wife during the case.

There are several laws, including IPC Section 498A, state that

> Husband or relative of husband of a woman subjecting her to cruelty–
> Whoever, being the husband or the relative of the husband of a woman,

subjects such woman to cruelty shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term, which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine (India, 2012).

The Act specifies the note on harassment includes forcing the woman or her family for any valuable gifts or property. It comes under the IPC section 304B (UNFPA, 2004). Violence against women continues and increases day by day. The progress in society does not end violence; instead, it increases the intensity and different kinds of abuse. It is identified as the root of violence against women due to the patriarchal system supporting men's superiority over women. That hierarchal system provides the space and power for the male to impose their will on women, considering them as other gender or inferior. The cruelty from the husband or family is rooted in the gender norms that give men the authority over women and the belief of the 'duty' of women to tolerate the pain.

The latest UN ranking of gender index shows the poor condition of India, which stands in the position of 132 out of 148 nations. The country, which has a developing index going up, has a written constitution assuring equality for all people. India's attempt to empower women and end violence against them failed to meet the goal. Growing violence is an example of how the country became perilous for women. The *Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA)*, 2005 aims to protect women from all kinds of violence, including physical, mental, economic, and verbal, in the private space. The act also protects those in a living together relationship (Ahuja et al., 2000).

Domestic violence case is reported high chiefly in the three states, mainly Madhya Pradesh (248 cases), Kerala (194), and Jharkhand (73). The increase in cases from 2017 (137) to 2019 (194) is the highest among other states. Kerala Despite coming in the top position in the chart of most literacy rate and sex ratio and other social developments, Kerala shows many domestic violence cases. It clearly shows the idea of gender and violence against women is need to be handled with the most importance. The domestic violence cases in North-Eastern states and other Union Territories reported zero in the same years. The total number of cases in 2017 was 616, 2018 579, and 553 in 2019. (Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Report, 2021). Many cases go unregistered or unreported due to the societal attitude towards women and many other reasons like the economic dependency of women, fear of losing kids

and family and retaliation, character assassination of women and lack of support from natal family.

The number of violence cases against women increased by around 49 per cent from 2001 to 2011. Same time the sentencing rate remains low. The Dowry system contributes majorly to the violence against women. The practice remains active in India, although the Indian government came with the 'Dowry Prohibition Act in 1961 (Misra & S, 2014). Later, the parliament brought amendments to the law in 1983, 1984, and 1985, which resulted in the modifications in the criminal law dealing with the dowry-related crime section in the IPC. Changes were made by introducing new section 498A with the clause of 'cruelty and harassment for dowry in the IPC section (Singh, 2013)). Inclusion of the 498A made instantaneous changes in the Evidence Act of 1972 that subjected to change the act, which reads

> To provide that where a woman has committed suicide within seven years from the date of her marriage, and it is shown that her husband or any relative of her husband subjected her to cruelty, the court may presume that such suicide had been abetted by her husband or by such relative (Singh, 2013).

The law relating to dowry also directs the state government to appoint Dowry Prohibition Officers (DPOs) to check and take measures to prevent dowry, giving powers to the officer to collect the evidence for demanding or accepting dowry. A loophole in DPA is that the law does not end the dowry system in marriage by generally restricting the expense of marriage. It does not mention steady steps or mechanisms to practically stop giving or taking dowry. Apart from all these technical parts of the problem, dowry is an outcome of a culture that made women an object; these days, marriage has become more of a venue to show the family's social status. Eventually, marriage becomes more glamorous. It could be only possible to stop the practice of dowry by creating awareness about the value of women in reality. Even today, the DPA law remains on paper as the dowry system increases and the patriarchal system approves, where such practices add more consent to sustain it actively. Instead of treating dowry practice as evil for girls' parents, it takes it as a family pride and an easy way to get rid of their responsibility by giving more dowries. The Dowry system is not only a threat to the girl but has also provided a wrong notion of treating women as commodities. It also strengthens the son preference mentality among the parents, which, in a way, is a profit game.

Table: 3.3 Cases Registered under DPA Act in the Period of 2017 -2019

S. No.	States/UT	2017	2018	2019
1.	Andhra Pradesh	434	320	472
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0
3.	Assam	191	1138	1377
4.	Bihar	1097	2094	3289
5.	Chhattisgarh	35	18	7
6.	Goa	0	0	0
7.	Gujarat	0	2	2
8.	Haryana	21	18	24
9.	Himachal Pradesh	1	1	1
10.	Jammu & Kashmir	1	1	0
11.	Jharkhand	1186	1224	1899
12.	Karnataka	1567	1568	1745
13.	Kerala	9	3	3
14.	Madhya Pradesh	44	77	59
15.	Maharashtra	36	36	26
16.	Manipur	0	0	0
17.	Meghalaya	1	0	1
18.	Mizoram	0	0	0
19.	Nagaland	0	0	0
20.	Odisha	2316	1595	243
21.	Punjab	4	5	3
22.	Rajasthan	1	5	4
23.	Sikkim	0	0	0
24.	Tamil Nadu	225	206	237
25.	Telangana	11	12	6
26.	Tripura	0	0	0
27.	Uttar Pradesh	2938	4371	3833
28.	Uttarakhand	50	104	26
29.	West Bengal	0	7	7
	Total State(s)	**10168**	**12805**	**13264**
30.	A&N Islands	0	0	0
31.	Chandigarh	0	1	1
32.	D&N Haveli	0	0	0
33.	Daman & Diu	0	0	0
34.	Delhi UT	11	15	26
35.	Lakshadweep	0	0	0
36.	Puducherry	10	5	6

(Source: Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Report, 2021)

Bihar, Karnataka, Jharkhand, Odisha, and UP are the states with the highest number of cases. Most North Eastern States show a total zero number of cases over the years. Assam is the only state in the Northeast region with the highest rate of dowry cases. The cases related to Dowry go unregistered primarily because society accepts the dowry system. Among the Southern states of India, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka show the highest rate of cases. Cases in Kerala are declining, falling below ten and decreasing from nine in 2017 to 3 in 2019. Mostly the girl's family accepts the system and is ready to give away the money or gift asked for. It validates the culture of giving dowry acceptable in society. There were many dowry-related death cases in the country during the period. It gives the idea that the dowry system sustains society even after existing laws eradicate rigorous crime. Table:3.6 shows the details of dowry death. The reported cases in West Bengal in the same period from 2015 to 2019 were below 10 and 0 in the year 2015. However, the dowry data of the dowry death in the state for 2015 shows 499, and another year showed a high number of deaths. Like West Bengal, the cases of Kerala where the numbers of reported cases

were below ten from 2015 to 2019, whereas the death makes more than 10 in the same period. In other Northern states, the highest reported cases are in UP, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh; the death is high. It shows that the country's dowry-related cases go unreported for various reasons, including the fear of losing relationship status and pressure from reasons like the responsibility of kids, social stigma of divorce, and the unwelcomed nature of parental home. Women hesitate to report the cases for these reasons, making it a continuous menace in society.

Table: 3.4 Dowry Deaths during the year 2017-2019

S. No.	States/UT	2017	2018	2019
1.	Andhra Pradesh	152	140	112
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	1
3.	Assam	171	174	156
4.	Bihar	1081	1107	1120
5.	Chhattisgarh	74	79	76
6.	Goa	1	0	1
7.	Gujarat	9	9	9
8.	Haryana	245	216	248
9.	Himachal Pradesh	3	4	4
10.	Jammu & Kashmir	8	8	8
11.	Jharkhand	248	252	299
12.	Karnataka	206	200	194
13.	Kerala	12	17	8
14.	Madhya Pradesh	632	547	550
15.	Maharashtra	233	200	196
16.	Manipur	0	0	0
17.	Meghalaya	1	1	3
18.	Mizoram	0	0	0
19.	Nagaland	0	0	0
20.	Odisha	326	372	342
21.	Punjab	68	67	69
22.	Rajasthan	457	404	452
23.	Sikkim	0	1	0
24.	Tamil Nadu	48	55	28
25.	Telangana	251	186	163
26.	Tripura	33	18	38
27.	Uttar Pradesh	2524	2444	2410
28.	Uttarakhand	60	63	57
29.	West Bengal	499	444	444
	Total State(s)	**7342**	**7008**	**6988**
30.	A&N Islands	1	0	0
31.	Chandigarh	1	6	6
32.	D&N Haveli	0	0	3
33.	Daman & Diu	0	0	2
34.	Delhi UT	120	153	116
35.	Lakshadweep	0	0	0
36.	Puducherry	2	0	0
	Total UT(s)	**124**	**159**	**127**
	Total (all India)	**7466**	**7167**	**7115**

(Source: Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Report, 2021)

3.10.2 Rape and Sexual Assault

Rape or sexual assault is widespread, increasing menace all over the country. It was noted that the frequency of cases doubled, and the sentences decreased. The increase in the reported cases is highly shocking; it increased from 2919 in 1973 to 24 206 in 2011 (Prachi et al., 2015).

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> Rape or sexual assault occurs if a woman is forced to participate in a sexual act without her consent, this may take the form of threats, coercion, or physical violence. Rape and sexual assault are particularly distressing crimes for the victim, and the effects can last for a long time (Irish Observatory on violence against women, 2013).

Many cases go unreported; even those reported do not bring any changes. Instead, it creates panic among the women's community and denies their freedom.

The social stigma attached to rape cases causes the women to stay silent. That fear makes them silently suffer such attacks. World Bank report on gender-based violence identifies the most challenging to compact the violence is the failure of victims or survivors to report the cases. Only two per cent of women in India makes it successful in reporting the cases. Women in rural areas were significantly least inclined than urban women to ask for support. The hurdles to revealing and asking for support include social rules and structures that are insensitive to the requirements of women. Taking violence as part of life, culture became a social norm. Violence has significant economic consequences in addition to human losses. Costs of healthcare administration, lost earnings for the victim and their family members, and lost production, are among them (World Bank, 2014: 89). WHO states, "The ideology of male sexual prerogative is the chief factor that leads to sexual assaults." Indian penal code sections 375 and 376 refer to the rape cases. Section 375 states,

> Man is said to commit "rape" to a woman in a circumstance like against her will, without her consent under false promise, consent by coercion, with her consent when she has unsound mind or intoxication and is unable to understand the nature and consequences of that to which she gives permission, or with or without her consent when she was under 16 years of age (Madan & Sinha, 2013).

Section 376 deals with the punishment for rape. In 2013, the Criminal Law Amendment Act enlarged the definition rape, including the provision of non-penetrate sex under the rape, and more rigorous the criminal law. The Criminal Law Act of 2018 increased the sentence for rape from seven to 10 years, and life imprisonment to 20 years or the death penalty for convicting girls under the age of 12 and gang rape cases (Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Report, 2021). There was a considerable increase in the rape and sexual assault rate from 1995 to 2012. An increase of 81 per cent in rape cases shows the dangerous situation of gender inequality. The region-

wise analysis of the gender inequality index shows that southern states come under the less gender inequality index category. The northern states like Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh fall under the higher rate of inequality (Paribhasha, 2015).

There are too many social misapprehensions regarding rape. People tend to take action against rape because of several factors, such as the dressing style of women: women are mostly criticized for the dress she wears when rape occurs. They criticized them for not following the 'descent dress code' suitable for the culture, making her guilty of being raped. In some cases of drunken men, people take that as an excuse for committing the crime as he was not conscious and a mistake of the unconscious state; at the same time, drunk women are considered guilty for provoking men and not following the manner of a 'good women.' Women are supposed to stay at home after a particular time or accompany men after entering public places after a preferred time suitable for women to be safe. Women who drink, smoke, and travel at night are considered not 'good women' and deserve to be raped. Such an attitude of the public toward the action of rape makes the crime normal, which strengthens the creation of a 'rape culture' in society. The culture of treating women as inferior and weak developed a sense of attacking women as usual. Such an attitude should not promote, making women vulnerable and easy prey.

The total number of rape cases in India during 2020 is 28153; out of the total cases, the 26655 cases are child victims. Rajasthan is the state that has the highest number of child rape cases (1279), and the total number of rape cases (5337) is also the highest in Rajasthan. Uttar Pradesh stands second in the year's highest rape cases (2796). Maharashtra reported a total 2065 cases. Among the Southern states, Andhra Pradesh reported the highest number of cases (1107), followed by Telangana (765), Kerala (647) and Tamil Nadu (390). In the North-Eastern region, Assam reported the highest number of 1658 cases. Other states, including Manipur (32), Tripura (79), Arunachal Pradesh (63), Meghalaya (67), and Mizoram (33), have cases below 100. Only two states, Nagaland with 13 cases and Sikkim with 13, had cases below 10. The Northern region shows the highest number of cases all over the country. Total 1323 cases reported from the Union teriitories. Out of that 1319 cases are reported as child rape. (Government of India, 2020).

3.10.3 Cyber Crimes against Women

Cyber Crime is a fast-growing crime area in India. Cyberspace is a multi-functional and complex environment connecting people and thoughts globally. Cyberspace delivers various services and communication; despite the wide variety of merits and benefits, it has become a malignant space threatening the security of women and children. Cybercrime can be thought of as the digital equivalent of a traditional crime performed in the real world. Because the nature of cybercrimes makes it difficult for them to be replicated very quickly in cyberspace, deterrence, rapid identification, and quick response are crucial. In general, a cyber-criminal in a confined area with access to the digital world fits snuggly, is influential, and can discreetly engage in criminal actions. Cybercrimes have become prevalent and intense with the lack of technological ignorance and awareness among ordinary people.

The new fast-growing crimes include cheating in money transactions, breaking private data and threatening, cyberstalking, and defamation. The total number registered under the cybercrime section in 2017, 2018, and 2019 are 4330, 6262, and 8684. The lack of awareness among ordinary people and the unrecognizable nature of the crime makes it easy and fast-growing crime in the country. The global nature of crimes involving highly sophisticated method makes the cybercrimes brings judicial complexity in identifying the convicts and tracing the crimes. Cybercrimes are not separately defined in the law. Any crime with the help of the internet and technology is considered cybercrime and parallel to the other crimes that come under the IPC sections. Information Technology Act of 2000 deals with the curbing of Cybercrimes. The Act includes the punishment for different kinds of crimes using the material in electronic form, assessing the increased crime rate of cybercrimes government initiated to launch of an online portal cybercrime.gov.in with the help of the Nirbahya fund to tackle the issue. The site was created in September 2018 for citizens to register or report cybercrimes, especially child pornography or child sex crimes. The portal enables the citizens to report and complain about the cases without disclosing the details of the victim and follow up on the case in the portal. Later in August 2019, a new online portal was launched to register various cyber crimes, specifical crimes against women. State Crime and Criminal Tracking Network and Systems (CCTNS) work at the state level to tackle cybercrimes and cyber police Stations (Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Report, 2021).

3.10.4 Honour Killing

Honour killing is a widespread crime in Indian society, attached to the caste system. The violence or atrocities are mainly faced by the young couples who wish to marry against the belief of their community or family. The offence is murder; usually, victims are women who are considered to the channel bring dishonour to family and community. Honour killing as violence against women can be traced as an aspect of patriarchal society, where women cannot have the power or position inside the family to participate in decision-making, especially freedom of choice. Honour killing is associated with other incidents such as the killings of rape victims by family members to keep the honour of the family from the shame of sexual assault. Most cases go unreported because of the nature of murder with the support of family or community, mainly in rural areas. The community councils in the rural areas known as Khap Panchayats[70] carry on the morale vigilance in the rural areas; the whole village is bound to their laws and regulations. The Supreme Court has noticed the influence of khap Panchayats in the increasing morale vigilance has deplored the Khap Panchayat system concerning the Arumugam Servai vs State of Tamil Nadu case in 2011(Government of India, 2012).

 Honour killing targets those women who choose a partner outside their community, caste, or religion. Honour killing is an atypical case in Indian society; a special report to the UN in 2002 identified the practice of violence against women in the family and community in the name of honour. Such practice became prevalent in many societies considering justiciable for community or the esteem of family. CEDAW, in article 16, provides the freedom for women to choose their partner and enter into marriage freely; it further states the equal right of partners in marriage life and equal responsibility for parenting (Singh, 2013). Article 253 of the constitution gives authority to parliament to make laws to fulfil India's commitment to stand with any international covenant or decision taken in any international treaty for the betterment of society. In the case of Lata Singh vs State of UP (2006), Supreme Court has stated that such activities of harassment or atrocities against men and women who are primary and marry outside their caste or communities should not be subject to violence and directed for criminal proceedings against the perpetrators of such acts of

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[70]A Khap is a community organisation representing a clan or a group of North Indian castes or clans. They are found mostly in northern India.

violence or harassment. Another important observation of the Supreme court in the case of Bhagwan Das Vs. State (NCT of Delhi) (2011) 6 SCC 396] states, "this is necessary as a deterrent for such outrageous, uncivilized behaviour, All persons who are planning to perpetrate 'honour killing' should know that the gallows await them" (Government of India, 2012).

India has ratified several laws and accords to safeguard its citizens from such crimes. Most of them have come under the fundamental rights of the Constitution. The Indian Constitution contains numerous clauses that allow an individual to exercise his or her liberty of choice regardless of caste, religion, or gender, as well as protection from honour-related crimes such as honour killings. Articles 14, 15 (1) and (3), 17, 18, 19, and 21 of the Indian Constitution are also violated by such killings. The right to equality before the law, or equal protection under the law, is assured under Article 14 of the Indian Constitution. Every person, heedlessly of status or circumstance, is subject to the regular courts' jurisdiction. Honour killings are under the purview of Sections 299 and 300 of the Indian Penal Code since they include the murder of a specific individual, usually a female. Usually, the lower caste person is subject to violence as the incidents of honour caste relate to the caste conflict it comes under the prevention of atrocities against Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. As a signatory in the CEDAW, India is obliged to protect the citizen from organized crime practice of honour killing and ensure the right and freedom to enter a marriage of their choice. The physical and mental health of a person is the highest achievable standard of health; India, as a party to the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR 1976), should ensure the highest achievable standard of health. The UN identified and condemned the act of honour killing. It mentioned the eradication of the crime by enacting the acts of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) and Working towards the Elimination of Crimes against Women Committed in the Name of Honour (2003) to protect the individual from the inhuman activity (Probindia, 2019). The adoption of the Act *The Prohibition of Unlawful Assembly* (Interference with the Freedom of Matrimonial Alliances) Bill, 2011" is such an act to tweak the crime in the early stage not to thrive into the evil crime scene. The act provided for the end of any communal, religious, or self-claimed legal bodies to pressure the couples from getting married. In addition to

other offences under the Indian Penal Code, the Act is intended to create particular offences against such gatherings (Kumar, 2012)

Table: 3.5 Honours Killing during 2014-2016

SL	State/UT	2014		2015		2016	
		Murder (Section 302 IPC)	Culpable Homicide not amounting to Murder (Section 304 IPC)	Murder (Section 302 IPC)	Culpable Homicide not amounting to Murder (Section 304 IPC)	Murder (Section 302 IPC)	Culpable Homicide not amounting to Murder (Section 304 IPC)
1	Andhra Pradesh	0	0	2	0	2	0
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Assam	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Bihar	0	0	0	0	3	0
5	Chhattisgarh	0	0	2	0	1	0
6	Goa	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	Gujarat	2	0	21	4	10	0
8	Haryana	1	0	2	0	2	0
9	Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Jammu & Kashmir	3	0	1	0	0	0
11	Jharkhand	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	Karnataka	2	0	0	0	0	0
13	Kerala	0	0	3	2	0	0
14	Madhya Pradesh	7	0	14	0	18	0
15	Maharashtra	5	0	1	0	8	0
16	Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	Odisha	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Punjab	5	0	8	0	8	0
22	Rajasthan	0	0	2	0	0	0
23	Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	Tamil Nadu	0	0	1	0	1	0
25	Telangana	0	0	1	16	0	0
26	Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	Uttar Pradesh	1	0	131	37	16	6
28	Uttarakhand	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	West Bengal	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL STATE(S)	**26**	**0**	**189**	**59**	**69**	**6**
30	A & N Islands	0	0	1	0	0	0
31	Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	D&N Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	Delhi UT	0	0	2	0	2	0
35	Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	Puducherry	2	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL UT(S)	**2**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**0**
	TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	**28**	**0**	**192**	**59**	**71**	**6**

 (Source: Government of India, 2018)

In India, most cases of honour killings are reported from the UP, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. The act of honour killing is mainly found in patriarchal societies where the purity of the women comes in with the honour of the whole family and as a duty to be protected by the elderly male. Gujarat, UP, and Madhya Pradesh show India's highest number of honour killing cases. Murder cases show 131 in UP. North-Eastern states show a total zero number of cases due to the region's social composition. Telangana from the Southern part shows the highest number of murder cases.

The incidents of honour killings in Tamil Nadu gave us the complex reality of caste atrocities in modern times. Most honour killing cases come out as suicide or go without evidence. Mostly lower caste people have become victims of these barbaric crimes, making it easy for the assailant to cover it. Tamil Nadu judges made a historic verdict in three honour killings against the culprit. In 2016, in the case of the killing of 26-year-old Shankar by his wife's family, who belongs to an upper caste, the Tirupur Court had sentenced death punishment to the perpetrator after a 20 months-long trial of the case. The continued struggle of Shankar's wife made it successful in attaining justice for Shankar. In another incident of a young couple from another district of Tamil Nadu, a Dalit girl and upper-caste men eloped and married. After months, the boy's family found the couple's whereabouts and managed to bring them back to the village. The couple returned to the village with their 39 days old infant, and the boy's family brutally killed the whole family. The court sentenced the culprit to 30-37 years of the sentence. In another grave incident of killing a daughter for eloping with a Dalit man, the couple was found by the girl's family one year later, and the female was killed by her own family. Thirunallveli Session Court sentenced the girl's parents to death. The cases mentioned above are some of the examples of honour killings that happened in the country after the year 2016 (Firstpost, 2019).

Despite the provision to make the needed laws and commitment and because of lag in implementing existing laws, it is a complex reality that honour killing continues in Indian society. One of the main problems in tackling the crime is the lack of separate laws in dealing with the crime. The honour killing comes under the provisions of existing criminal laws, and Acts still forming separate legislation to tackle the increasing number of crimes is necessary.

3.11 Constitutional and Legal Provisions for gender equality in India

The constitution of India enshrined the principles of equality and justice. It is visible in the Preamble, fundamental rights, duties, and directive principles. Constitution provides positive discrimination to ensure the empowerment of women. Since independence, India adopted the equal rights of women and men in the constitution and other policies and laws to protect and promote gender equality and prevent discrimination and violence against women. Along with this, India has ratified international convents and many human rights ratifications to safeguard equality. The

Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is most notable. As a signatory, CEDAW India takes the responsibility to eliminate all kinds of inequality by taking proper measures to prevent societal disparities and promote and secure women.

Relevant constitutional provisions regarding equality are a) Equality before law for women mentioned in Article 14, b) Article 15, which deals with no discrimination on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, positive discrimination for women and children 15 (iii) c) state to give special attention to the educational and economic support for the weaker section and to guard them against all kinds of mistreatment and injustice d) To promote the political participation of women reservation of one-third of the seats for SC, ST, and women (McGeown, 2015). Under the Constitution of India's Seventh Schedule, 'Police' and 'Public Order are State subjects. The different state governments are responsible for maintaining peace and order and protecting residents' lives and property, including crimes against women and girls.

Apart from the constitutional rights for uplifting women and weaker sections, the government has enacted several laws to protect them from discrimination and violence, which later added to the weakening of women. Violence, sexual assault, and atrocities are the challenges women face, especially working women. IPC sections 376, 373, 359, and 504 deal with rape, kidnapping, abduction, molestation, and sexual harassment. Dowry death has been a severe form of violence against women in society; measures have been adopted and enacted to abolish dowry and related violence. IPC section 302, 303 deals with dowry-related death. Aside from the IPC and CrPC, the Ministry of Women and Child Development administers Special and Local Laws (SLL), which include: *The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956*, The *Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act* (PWDVA), 2005, *The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act* (PCMA), 2006, The *Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace (Prevention, Protection and Redressal) Act* (the SH Act), 2013*, Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act* (POCSO), 2012 (Rajya Sabha Report, 2021). In order to strengthen the laws regarding harassment in the name of dowry, the Dowry Prohibition Act was modified in 1984 and 1986. It clearly defined dowry and made the offence non-bailable. To make the law more efficient, the police investigation was

made compulsory, and section 113 and 133B directs the unnatural death of women within seven years of marriage as assisted by the husband and his family.

The IPC section 375 deals with sexual violence against women. The definition of rape and sexual assault under the section has been criticized for the long excluding all kinds of sexual assaults except penetrative intercourse. Amendment in 2013, the Criminal Law Amendment Act provides changes in the definition of rape considering the loophole in the law. Bringing the uncomfortable situation such as an indecent act of gesture, songs are also considered sexual offences under the IPC sections 294 and 504 (Government of India, 2021) (ICRW& UNFPA, 2004). Prohibition of *Child Marriage Act*, 2006 revised in the parliament *Bill No. 163* of 2021, The Prohibition of Child Marriage (Amendment) Bill, 2021. The changes brought concerning the age of marriage "child" means a male or female who has not completed twenty-one years of age" making 21 years the official age for marriage and many other clauses to fight against the child marriage practices (Loksabha Bill, 2021). In correspondence with the marriage laws of each religious community, the Indian law support women in getting their rights regarding matrimonial, maintenance and marriage life (Government of India, 2021).

In India, laws and policies regarding the development and welfare of women and children are under the Ministry of Women and Child Development's direct control. The formation of the ministry as an independent body was in 2006 until it was under the Ministry of Human Resource Development. The programs and policies are adopted and launched under the ministry to promote and protect the rights of women and children and to make them empowered. The Ministry of Home Affairs has been working to combat crimes and assaults against women and children by advising state governments and union territories (UTs) on improving technology, infrastructure, and training. The Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS), e-courts, e-prosecution, e-prisons, e-forensics, and other features for an interconnected crime control system are designed. Furthermore, the Crime Multi-Agency Centre (Cri-MAC) is an intellectual capacity concept designed to share information data to prevent criminal activity (Rajya Sabha Report, 2021).

Sexual harassment at the workplace is a hazard for women while fulfilling their right to work and be able to be economically independent—women working in the informal

sector risk security due to economic weakness. The government has created an act that provides the provision to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. In 2012, the lower house of parliament passed the law; then, later in 2013, t became an act by moving to the upper house of parliament. All employees must implement the law. The bill provides a secure environment for women workers in the workplace to increase women's participation in labour and achieve women's economic empowerment. It took a long time to enact the act as it was first introduced in the cabinet in 2007. It took 6years to pass the bill. The law includes all the sections of workers in the informal, formal, public, and private, all kinds of the working sector, including domestic workers. The law directs every employer to have an internal committee to deal with the complaint and investigate—a District officer in charge of the committee in each district. Even though the internal committee is a necessary condition for every office, the actual practice of protecting women from harassment at the workplace is not a completed mission.

Women often do not complain about the harassment or keep silent about such incidents, as the economic condition does not allow them to risk losing their job. With the social stigma attached to such actions as sexual harassment, women are not ready to come forward with complaints as it brings dishonour to family and questions the character of women. Lower caste women working under the upper caste employer is another situation that leads to remain silent on sexual harassment in the workplace. Officials often treat them with prejudice. Corruption, gender, and caste bias are reported as barriers to implementing the law. To make the act more protective, an online complaint system was developed by the ministry named Sexual Harassment electronic–Box (SHe-Box). It gives women a platform to complain against sexual harassment at work, regardless of place or status of work. Whether a woman works in a public, private, or unorganized sector, she can use the online platform to report the abuse or harassment (Government of India, 2021).

The equal remuneration act of 1976 directs the employer to provide fair payment for men and women who do the same work. The employer cannot differentiate the pay for men and women based on sex. It also directs not to keep any bias or discrimination against women during recruitment, promotion or transfer. It is against the law of equality and the right to work. Although India is moving towards a progressive side, allowing women to enter into the other male-occupied jobs, it does

not allow women to stick to the chosen career as the household responsibility puts restrictions and mindset of people, which obstinate on the fulfilling of so-called duty of women to take care of home makes it difficult for women. It needs to realize the restrictions on women and why women are restricted to a particular job that makes women more dependent and vulnerable. The unbalanced division of household work in the family makes women spend more time in the household.

For effective defence against sexual assaults, the *Penal Law (Amendment) Act 2013* was enacted, which enlarged the definition of sexual assault to include non-penetrative sex and strengthened the crime provisions concerning rape and sexual assault. Furthermore, the *Criminal Law (Amendment) Act* of 2018 was adopted, among other things, to impose even harsher penalties, including the death penalty for the rape of a girl under the age of 12. The Act also stipulates that investigations and trials must be completed in less than two months. In 1970, the Ministry of Home Affairs formed the Bureau of Police Research and Development (BPR&D) to upgrade the police department by supporting a rapid and comprehensive examination of police challenges and using scientific knowledge of police procedures and techniques. BPR&D has published a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for the arrest and trial of rape cases in all States/UTs to enhance gender awareness among police personnel in States/UTs. The Ministry of Home Affairs has adopted the following steps in recent years to assist States/Union Territories in the prevention and detection and quick action by law enforcement agencies in cases, particularly in crimes against women. According to the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2018, Investigation Tracking System for Sexual Offences (ITSSO) is an online analytical tool developed to evaluate and control criminal prosecutions in sexual offences within two months. Based on ITSSO data, the subject is frequently evaluated with the States/UTs, including at the Inter-State Zonal Council meeting. The National Database of Sexual Offenders (NDSO) contains information on almost 9 lakh sexual offenders across the country. This database can be used by police officers conducting investigations to detect violent criminals and stay updated on sexual offenders. It was started to stop cybercrime throughout the country. Cyber Crime Prevention against Women and Children (CCPWC) scheme is a program that supports the transmission of cybercrime awareness messages via SMS; Twitter handles @Cyber Dost, a radio campaign, and the release of a Handbook for Youth and Students (Rajya Sabha Report, 2021).

Besides the constitutional rights and legal provisions, the Government of India founded several support mechanisms for women facing violence and atrocities. In 1992 a National Commission for Women (NCW) was set up to examine and implement the legal provisions delivered by the constitution and other legal provisions. All states also set up a state-level committee to align with NCW. A women's Court, *NCW, set up Parivarik Mahila Lok Adalat* to precede the pending cases related to the divorce, custody and maintenance (ICRW& UNFPA, 2004). The commission investigates the cases of women's violence and assures the relief for victims immediately. Commission order for the inquiry commission for severe cases, which implement a detailed study and findings, submitted based on inquiry. The Internal Complaint Committee handles matters of sexual harassment at the workplace set up under the *Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013*, to look after the cases related to the workplace. The commission made the procedure for complaints against violence or atrocities accessible by accessing the online portal. The website offers a unique username password during registration. All crimes violating women's human rights are coming under the matter of the committee; a total of 23562 cases have been registered on the website so far (Government of India Annual Report, 2018-2019).

The commission takes steps to ensure the rights of women living abroad related to matters of matrimonial complications. Commission developed a particular cell to handle the matters coordinating with the concerned ministry departments. The matters related to the NRI matrimonial cases complaints are forwarded and handled with the Indian emphasis abroad and ensure the legal and financial assistance to the victim. The commission has taken the suo-motu cases in violation of human rights violations of women and violence against women. In collaboration with the Delhi police and Tata Institute of Social Science, the Commission has developed a project to protect and support the victims of violence by giving counselling and legal service. The project was later replicated in other districts and states, including Bihar, Assam, Meghalaya, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Tamil Nadu. In order to promote the safety of women and awareness, the commission organized workshops and conferences all over the country in different states. In the view of increased cybercrimes, the commission has launched 'Digital Shakti' collaborating with Facebook and Cyber Peace Foundation to spread awareness on cybercrimes and

advice on being on social media platforms to avoid problems and create awareness. The commission made an effort to create a source of revenue for girls in the region of North-Eastern states in partnership with Airbnb for skill development management and micro enterprises (Government of India Annual Report, 2018-2019).

Apart from the previously mentioned laws and the formation of Committees, the Indian government has taken several reforms in recent years to ensure women's safety and support. These include the following: *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao* (BBBP) works to stop sexual preference female foeticide elimination, to secure the safety and security of the female child, and to assure female schooling, with the overarching purpose of raising the child sex ratio and dealing with issues of women's marginalisation across the life cycle. OSCs (One-Stop Centers)- It has already been established all over the country to enhance methods for solving the issues of women who have been victims of violence, as well as to increase accessibility to an interconnected set of benefits for women who have been victims of violence; such as health services, police assistance, legal assistance management, social and emotional advice, and provisional support systems. Women's Helpline (WHL) Scheme Universalization- Since April 1, 2015, it has been in place to get rapid and 24-hour urgent and non-emergency assistance to women who have been targets of assault throughout the country through a referral service. The Ujjawla Scheme was set up to provide the following 1) prevent the trafficking of women and children for sex trafficking. 2) Aid in the survival of victims and their placement in maximum security, should provide adequate care by meeting basic needs, 3) aid in the reunification of survivors into their families and communities, and 4) aid in the reinstatement of cross-border victims (Rajya Sabha Report, 2021*). Mahila Sakti Kendra Scheme* is an initiative of the central government to empower the rural women; through the scheme, it works in cooperation with the state and selected 115 districts in a community manner. Mahila police volunteer scheme was launched to create a woman police volunteer to assist women in crisis as a link between police and society. *Swadesh* is a rehabilitation and support system for victims of violence and aged deserted women. It offers victims basic needs of food, shelter, and economic assistance to lead a decent life. In 2013, under the Ministry of Finance government's supervision, the Nirbhaya Fund Scheme was launched to improve women's security and safety in the country. So far, 4857.62 crores have been provided under the scheme (Government of India Annual Report, 2018-2019).

The above-mentioned safety and security projects developed and implemented by the government for central and state-level protection are funded by the Nirbhaya Fund Scheme. The government had set up a fast track court for the particular trail across the country under the Nirbhaya Fund Scheme. The government sets up a total of 860 fast courts for the speedy and efficient trial of rape cases. However, the cases pending in the country are 784551 until 2020 is the incapability of authorities to implement the laws. Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra have the highest number of courts, 372 and 115, respectively, whereas the most significant number of cases is pending in these two states. Despite the strong laws to prevent sexual assaults and violence against women, the greatest challenge in the country is the lack of implementation and practicality of the laws.

Another point to add to the slow implementation of the law is the lower representation of women in the advanced initiatives, including governance, law or order system, judiciary, and other powerful positions. Out of the total number of civil, district and Armed Special Forces, women constitute only 10.3 per cent all over the country. As a part of encouraging women since 2019 government of India has given Women Power Award to recognize eminent women for their role in empowering women. The president's annual award is conferred on International Women's Day. The award inspires and motivates women across the country (Rajya Sabha Report, 2021).

A large part of increasing atrocities against women is rooted in societal attitude and behaviour; proper education and awareness are necessary to tackle gender-related crimes. In handling the crimes against women, exceptional training and awareness have been provided for the police forces in each state. Being the immediate force in handling the atrocities, the police force is expected to be more sensitive to gender-related crimes. As part of awareness programs, the Ministry of Education has launched self-defence and training programs for the girl child in schools. The program intends to train the girl child to make herself strong and mindful of tackling the attacks and protecting herself in a critical situations. In order to empower the girl child and as part of evolving skills, adolescent education programs are brought into the curriculum for both teachers and students. All the educational materials and textbooks are prepared to include gender concerns of equality and women's rights. The New National Educational Policy of 2020 carries the gender-equal principles in

curriculum and syllabus, creating more importance for gender-related matters in education.

3.12 Conclusion

Modernity does not bring any changes in India's social and gender inequalities. Patriarchal social structures continue to serve as the basis of all sections of society despite religious, class, and caste differences. The construction of gender in Indian society has connected with the roles, culture, and regulations. Discrimination against women is a social reality in India. It is explicit or concealed, regardless of region, class, caste, religion, or status. The development of society seems to be almost nothing to do with eliminating gender inequality; moreover, it gave new aspects or dimensions for continuing or strengthening inequality and violence. Using modern technology for pre-natal sex determination and abortions, trafficking, and sexual abuses through social media, disorders are added more to existing gender violence.

Society always expects gender to perform specific roles and follow the community's hierarchical order, which justifies the 'natural roles' of each gender. Family and parents socialize the children to fulfil criteria that appear to be 'normal' for society. Such gender order makes accepting a 'homogenous sexual group difficult.' Each culture or region has different gender roles to perform. Each culture is the continuum of such preconceived ideas. The most unfortunate part of gender inequality is that women often take it as 'normal' to be suppressed, subordinate to men, and follow hierarchical order. Most of them are unaware of the exploitation and accept normalcy to keep the family happy and society. Religion, family, educational institutions every social institution provides a platform for the existing patriarchal gender order that gives males supremacy and thus marginalises women. Traditional and cultural boundaries for women make them inferior to men because they are always in the second position in the family and public places.

The social institutions in society are leaned on the traditional notion of a hierarchical system—a more powerful religion that controls people's private and public life. Religion has a role in controlling the family system in society which is an essential part of where gender roles start to create and perpetuate in the minds of men and women—violence against women in many forms present in our country. Violence is an outcome of gender division and hierarchical order. The notion of women as lower

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than men gives the message of violence as a means to control and maintain the lower section. The caste system works on a hierarchical base that often reflects the means of violence to show the power and position of the higher section to the lower. Lower caste women subject to the caste- gender discrimination and violence is a sad reality of modern India. The existing unequal system should be subject to the changes that accommodate a gender-equal society

Education is a way to achieve a society equal for men and women; the purpose of education should be to eradicate prejudices and distasteful thinking in society followed through customary superstitious practices. Education as a tool to make societal changes must be embodied with principles of equality. Education plays a positive role in confiscating the discriminatory system, which is artificial. Gender discrimination because of human-made rules and practices can be removed by including principles that value equality. Therefore, the schooling system, which allows girls and boys to differentiate the biological sex and social gender as separate concepts, is necessary for India's educational program to develop a gender-equal society. Education and health facilities could help boost the morale and strength of women to take part in the paid labour force and become economically independent. At the same time, it cannot fully eradicate gender inequality in society as it comes and survives with society's patriarchal mindset and attitude. The change is possible through the change in the primary institutions of patriarchy, such as family, and the state could ensure the changes with the solid and efficient laws that deny the growth of gender inequality at all levels. The laws only cannot bring changes for better conditions for women. The consciousness of a gender-balanced system should be emerged and be promoted by the state and be nurtured by educated youngsters for a better future.

Gender order in the country makes women inferior to men; it results in violence against them and makes them more vulnerable. Specific reservations for uplifting the women's community could not bring societal equality. Several laws and civil society activities challenge gender inequality in the country; the deep-rooted patriarchal system remains stable and persists with social institutions' help. It is necessary to identify that male supremacy in the system is the cause of gender violence, and policies need to be challenged in patriarchy. Fighting for a gender-equal society should be identified as a fight against the oppressive system of patriarchy and

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customs, which supports the system to remain robust, not against men. The gender order in the society gives the conclusion of men as superior and women as inferior this order of categorizing women into the second sex gives all power and creates a divide among the society to treat women as inferior. The gender-biased laws are contrary to the essence of our constitution that provides equality among all citizens. Separating women based on their sex is an abrupt violation of human rights.

Any change is possible only through a total social change in socio-cultural settings. All sections of women could get access to the resources and opportunities. Caste and class barriers keep women out of the development process. Eradicating caste barriers is one of the social changes that could bring changes in the condition of lower caste women. Gender-sensitive programs are necessary for the removal of social norms and gender rules. Government initiative to eradicate gender inequality is only possible through making aware of women their rights and bringing changes in the social institutions.

Chapter 4

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON RUSSIAN AND INDIAN WOMEN

4.1 Introduction

The chapter deals with Globalization and its impact on Russian and Indian women. Patriarchy and gender inequality can be seen as a universal phenomenon which needs to be analysed, and it is essential to analyse the impact of globalization on women and these systems of inequality. Globalization has completely changed the world system; its impact on one sector affects the other end of the world. The chapter discusses the concept of globalization and defines globalization. It also deals with the effects of globalization in the social, economic, and political spheres. The chapter deals with how globalization brought changes in Russia and India, its impact on women and how it affected gender discriminatory practices in both countries.

Not all countries follow the same socio-cultural and economic pattern. The effects of globalization on each sphere were not the same everywhere. It affected different sections of people of different countries differently. Its positive effect on one section of people adversely affects the other section. A developed country's experience is different from other underdeveloped and developing countries. Even within different regions of a country, the effect of globalization is not uniform. This chapter discusses the impact of globalization on women in Russia and India. These countries' socio-economic, political, and cultural spaces are not similar. The status of women, be it their social or economic or political, in both these countries differ too.

The adaption of the globalization process in the countries was different. Each country responded to this phenomenon differently. Globalisation started a new era by fundamentally changing the social, economic and political fields. The impact of globalisation on women and men was not similar either. Women are not a homogenous section, and the different sections of women were adversely affected by globalization worldwide. The universal existence of patriarchy puts women at a disadvantage, and the impact of globalization is the same in both countries regarding security and inequality in resource distribution when it comes to women. This chapter deals with the effects of globalization on each section of both countries, particularly women. The positive effects of globalization on women changed the existing gender norms of society.

4.2 Globalization: A Conceptual Analysis

The terms 'Globalize' and 'Globalism[71]' came out during the 1940s. At the beginning of the 1990s, the term 'Globalization' started to be discussed in academia and entered into the public discourse of many countries, mainly developed countries. Lechner (2009) defines "Globalization as the process in which more and more people become connected in more different ways across larger distances." Antony Giddens defines globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Chirico, 2014). The origin of globalization cannot be accurately identified. Giddens (1990) and Robertson (1992) explained the historical contextualization of globalisation. Giddens described globalization as a natural ally of the development of modern society with the accumulation of wealth and resources. He observed that modernity has moved into a global stage, and society has become a 'world society.' Robertson states that globalization is "pre-dating modernity and the rise of capitalism" (Benyon & Dunkerley, 2014: 8-9). By assessing this particular characteristic, scholars have identified globalisation's different qualities, strengths, and limitations. Conway and Heynen, in globalization's dimensions (2006), identify three distinguish thoughts: Hyperglobalizers, Sceptics, and transformationalists. Hyperglobalizers like Ohmae describes globalization as a "New era has dawned in which global forces supersede nation-states, and a much more efficient borderless global economy emerges through the establishment of transnational networks of production, finance, and commerce in which corporate capital thrives, achieve efficiencies and encourages accumulation and progress" (Conway and Heynen, 2006: 6). Liberals consider globalization a by-product of technological development. They believe globalization would strengthen the political arena by propagating democracy worldwide. Economic development causes the spread of democratic principles worldwide (Kasowicz, 2007).

The multifarious effect of globalization is described as "a set of processes that involve not only the world economy and technology but also governance, military, cultural, demographic, human rights, migration, and environmental dimensions" (Ferguson and

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[71] The concept of globalism has emerged during the era of 90's. it used to demonstrate or illustrate inter-connection of multi-continents. It mainly characterize spread of products, investment, and technology across national borders and culture.

Mansbach, 2012). Globalization created a more interconnected world than a free world, making people and nations dependent on each other (Fischer, 2003). World Bank report on globalization described it as the process of integration of society and economy. The process of an interconnected world did not merely happen as a flow of goods and services throughout the world; it could be taken as a point where no country could stay away from the process of interconnectivity. The flow of ideas and goods made the world interconnected but diverse (Mark et al., 2020). The integration happens with fewer trade barriers, the development of communication technologies and a faster flow of ideas and wealth.

On the other hand, integration raises the chances of widening the gap between rich and poor, power contribution, and cultural uniformity. Globalization ensured the participation of countries worldwide in the global economy. It has helped reduce poverty in many countries while not working for countries with unfavourable geographical conditions (World Bank, 2002). The process of globalization was identified not as a new phenomenon but as an old one, starting the first wave from 1870 to 1914 when there was the flow of goods, capital and humans. The gap between globalized and non-globalized countries was immense, resulting in poverty and inequality. Later, from 1950 to 1980, with the integration of Countries through trade relations, multilateral trade policies like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade[72] (GATT) came in the second wave of globalization. Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) came out as integration among the industrialized countries; other developing countries were stuck with unstable economies. The growth change worldwide was slightly different from the first wave, although inequality remained strong. The globalization wave after 1980 came with modernized technology that transformed the world. The development of technology in transportation and communication increased the integration of more developing countries into the globalization process. Developing third-world countries that were not part of the process came into the fold by entering economic globalization, possibly changing all sectors. Along with economic openness, developing countries have rapidly opened the area of investment, and private investments increased Foreign Direct Investment

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[72] A formal agreement that reduced or eliminated trade barriers by abolishing or reducing quotas, tariffs, and subsidies while keeping considerable restrictions in place. See https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gatt.asp for more details.

(FDI)[73]. It mainly benefited countries with better domestic financial policies with solid institutions (Collier & Dollar, 2002).

The financial world market underwent intense changes after 2000, removing trade barriers and import charges. It gave the consumer a greater variety of products at lower prices and ensured a market for domestic products with more significant incentives. Exports, typically a factor of economic development for developing countries, help create jobs by allowing businesses to sell goods outside their boundaries. Trade improves export performance by encouraging people to concentrate on occupations in which they and their countries own market advantage. Greater integration and fewer trade barriers invite more foreign share in the local market, enhancing productivity. As the interconnected world becomes the nature of the world system keeping away from the world market, the development process keeps the states at the bottom of the system and adversely affects the people. Therefore, by participating in it, developing countries could flourish their economy. At the same time, integrating with the world economic system, the state must take measures to make workers capable of competing in the global market and give them support to not to continue work for health and other basic needs (IMF, 2008).

The outcome of globalization in a neoliberal capitalized world is the unequal distribution of wealth, as neoliberal discipline destroys, dehumanize, and destabilizes, especially the issue that are streamlined as social inevitabilities make poor, weak and powerless people uncompetitive. In the process of globalisation, regional and global institutions, which are necessarily influenced by cultural variations, play vital roles. There were also more open and democratic global debates on people's issues on human rights, the environment, on the plight of children. The ILO, International Red Cross, and many UN agencies sought to provide guidelines for equitable treatment of people, regardless of their material wellbeing or state power. Significantly, many Non-Governmental Organizations have grown internationally (Conway & Heynen, 2006:27). The world is becoming increasingly interconnected with globalisation, with simultaneous pressure toward unity and diversity (Samantroy & Upadhyay, 2012:134). According to Aguilar and Cavada, ten demerits of globalization can be identified as i) growth in poverty and inequality, ii) higher concentration of income,

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[73] An investment in the form of controlling ownership in a business in one country by an entity established in another country is known as a foreign direct investment (Duce & Espana, 2003).

iii) the explosion of consumption and exclusion, iv) increase in unemployment and growth in the informal sector v) the loss of labour rights and double exploitation of women vi) environmental deterioration vii) less participation of developing countries in world trade viii) the economic domination of transnational companies ix) financial crisis x) decrease in international assistance and an increase in global debt (Conway, 2006, p 82). The collapse of the post-second world war economic order was identified as the triggering point of globalization. The most significant change during World War II resulted in the decline of the role of the US and the dollar in the world economy. Some thinkers identify this as the beginning of US hegemony in the world order and prosperity and the new beginning of global financial markets (Coleman & Sajad, 2013:2).

The rise of neo-liberal theories emphasized the higher efficiency of the worldwide market than the nation state's provision of public goods, particularly related to the population's welfare. This changed the UK and the US policies and later in other countries. International financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank have imposed this idea upon emerging countries. Scholars identified that economic integration weakens the state's power to control and act. Some argue that state powers in a globalized world do not diminish, whereas it gives them power and position to choose the appropriate plans for the welfare of people and the nation.

Samir Amin (1931) argues that in the phase of imperialism and globalization, the core countries enjoy and secure their monopoly in the world economy. As globalization intensifies imperial power, it widens the gap between dominant and developing nations. Globalization works on the idea of the hierarchy of power and wealth. Those with power and wealth expand their influence on the powerless, dominate the other and use resources and humankind (Mittelman, 2004). In another sense, those countries that adopted and integrated the global changes quickly into their economic policies mainly benefitted. What happens in East Asian countries[74] where living standards rose higher than ever with policies to tackle economic issues. By the end of the 1980s, with the decline of Soviet policies to support developing countries and more integrated world politics, the conditions in Latin America and African countries worsened the economic situation (IMF, 2000). In 2000, the annual meeting of IMF

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[74] It includes china, Hong Kong, Japan, Macau, Mongolia, North Korea, South korea and Taiwan

and World Bank noted that "although globalization has brought opportunities for growth and development to both rich and poor countries, not everyone has been able to take advantage of the new opportunities" (Kacowicz, 2007).

Dimensions of globalization are connecting chiefly; the effect in one sector visibly or invisibly influences another area. Changes in the economic condition cause an increase in migration. It can more possibly affect culture. Same time economic conditions and migration conditions cause a security threat. The opportunities in the globalization process always come along with the risk of loss in unexpected ways, mainly the security threats. Globalization's peculiar feature is more integrated trade and fiscal markets. That result from progress all over the world but varies in degrees. Especially developing countries witness an unequal growth that some of them, mainly Asian countries, moved towards the range of developed countries. At the same time, African countries show slow progress and even a decline in per capita income (IMF, 2000).

One of the achievements of globalization is the changes in the communication process; information passes fast like never before as it reaches from one corner of the world to another fast. It believes that world progress could reach every corner and worldwide affluence. The trade and commercial service grow faster than ever with modern communication. However, what comes from the rapid changes in technology and communication, supports the rich to remain the same and enjoy the benefit of privacy (Pereleman, 2015). The globalization process has contributed to the exchanges, associates, and congregation of social movements for a common cause, imperative drives against neoliberalism and the emergence of feminist movements. Women's movements mainly focused on women's rights, violence against women, and countering patriarchal fundamentalism.

4.3 Globalization and Its Impacts

While searching for the impact of globalization, how it affects each sector is crucial. Its association with trade, economic growth, and freedom can take advantage of a globalized world. On the other, the effect of globalization is visible in social structure, economic, cultural, and political fields. Globalization provides numerous chances for indeed global development, but it is not progressing consistently. Some countries are integrating into the global market faster than others.

4.3.1 Economic and Political impacts of Globalization

Economic globalization is an ageing process; it refers to the rapid globalisation of economies, notably in markets and investment transactions. The phrase also describes the cross-border mobility of people and information. The share of state economies covered by world financial activities, especially world trade, investment, and labour flows, is one of the most important indices of the global economy. As mentioned, globalization was invisibly present in the world order before it started addressed in its current form. The world economy suffered greatly in the years building up to the Cold War, from 1914 to 1945. After Great War, the old Britain-dominated world economy never entirely recovered. Many British capital markets had to be dissolved. Tsarist Russia witnessed the political and social revolution overthrowing the tsarist regime. China also went through a civil war and ended the imperial rule of the monarchy. After the Second World War, the world left into the cold war period leaving the disrupted world economy under the influences of superpower blocks. The Americans influenced the capitalist economy and socialist block (Curtis, 1996).

Economic globalization is a significant force that controls the entire process. It continuously dissolves into other dimensions, including culture, geopolitical attributes, technology, and postmodernity (Ahmad, 2011). Economic globalization involves the trade, investment, and the institution that deals with the economic activities. It requires more engagement in policy regulations that help follow more connectivity worldwide. Technological innovations and logistics system development in transportation, communication, information processing and money transfer services have been the positive side of globalization (Conway, 2007:86). The globalization of the cold war time was more concentrated or followed by the flow of goods and ideas. The socialist block included more interrelated and newly independent colonies. In the current condition of globalisation, free trade policies are promoted mainly by the following trade organizations.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) and individual countries approve WTO rules. The establishment of regional free trade zones such as the North American Free Trade

Agreement[75] (NAFTA) and the drive to establish an Americas Free Trade Area[76] (FTAA). The movement of international trade between developed and developing countries is critical to the global economy. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) impose Structural Adjustment Loans[77] (SALs) in developing countries to help regulate the inflow and outflow of finance. The quantity of wealth in the World Bank determines the power and authority over the World Bank and the IMF. In developing countries, structural adjustments primarily consist of the deregulation of trade. SALs were first used in countries in Africa and Latin America. Deductions in government spending, decreases in state employment, increased cost of food and other commodities, and changes in the position of state involvement are all examples of structural adjustments (Thorin, 2001: 12).

Seeking for World Bank loans to repay loans and buy foreign commodities, developing economies are likely to trade off essential components of their country to the World Market like land, resources, and labour. Capitalism drives businesses to nations that can give the most excellent labour or resources for the least money. In developing countries, companies have altered the job structure. Before globalisation, men and women depended on agricultural output as their primary source of income. Since entering these countries, corporations have changed the workforce from agriculture to industrial manufacturing. Despite this tendency, apart from supervisors and contractors, the industrial sector is exclusively recruiting women labourers. The industrial sector attracts females due to a dearth of female work options in other sectors. The leading cause of this labour shortage is gender segregation in the workplace, which places women in lower-paying jobs than males. Corporate entities reinforce women's employment subordination in society by providing them with lower-paying work opportunities and pay that keeps women in that status. Developing

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[75] The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) entered into force on January 1, 1994. The agreement was signed by President George H. W. Bush on December 17, 1992 (Villarreal &Fergusson, 2017).

[76] The negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) aim to construct the world's largest free trade zone, covering all 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere For more details https://1997-2001.state.gov/issues/economic/ftaa/0599_ftaa_exec.html

[77] quick disbursing finance to support measures designed to strengthen recipient countries' balance of payments within five to ten years without severely constraining demand in a manner that un-necessarily sets back economic and social development (Bajpai, 1990 https://www.jstor.org/stable/4396166).

countries' industrial Free Trade Zones[78] (FTZ) become exploitation hubs. Because there are no regulations to safeguard female employees, firms can exploit them. Women are compelled to work in unsafe situations that might generate health risks, in addition to inadequate wages (Bacchus, 2005)

Globalization favours some groups and some countries. The economic disadvantage for developing countries is identified as the biased nature of globalization. Globalization and postmodernity entwined indistinguishably with the notion of consumer society and commoditization (Samantroy, Upadhyay, 2012:132). However, global capital and global labour are more and more mobile factors of production. Both have become more volatile and impulsive in their outlines as globalization has its hold. Today's global models are more sophisticated in moves of varying distances and varying durations (Conway, 2006:80). Making essential policies and implementing new trade policies in the economic field gives ways to adapt to globalization. It resulted in insecurity, low wages, and poor working conditions in the labour market (Jaggar, 2001). Throughout times of economic distress, worldwide gender disparities mean that women and girls, primarily in developing regions of the world, are more prone to be sent out the of school by being the first to cut back on the amount or quality of meat they eat, to forego medical supplies, and end in sex trafficking and prostitution in exchange of job offer or better life condition.

Economic globalization brings economic growth regarding the increased availability of basic needs for all. The increase in opportunities for employment and access to resources leads to economic development. In that sense, economic globalization supports growth in every country with the help of inter-governmental organizations (Mccorquodale & Fairbrother, 1999). At the same time, the enlarged form of economic globalization is undermining problems like human rights. The decision regarding the economic development in each nation not taken by the state government transfers the power from the government to the economically powerful groups. It affects the sovereignty of the state and the living condition of the citizen; predominantly, it affects women's human rights. The problems with economic growth

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[78] A free trade area is a group of countries that have few or no barriers to trade in the form of tariffs or quotas between each other. See https://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/free_trade_area.asp for more details.

are violating human rights and exploitation. It discomforts the rights of economically vulnerable sections, primarily women.

The development in the economic sector is incredibly connected with political development. Economic growth leads to a robust civil society with political consciousness that will strengthen democracy. Changes in economic growth will result in taking political power. Political globalization involves exchanging political ideas, foreign representation, participating in international organizations, and being part of international treaties (Berggren, 2015:9). On the one hand, economic development fosters political rights; on the other hand, globalisation does not fully support developing a democratic state. The creation of economic growth in a country might violate human rights and concentrate power in the hands of economically powerful groups. It creates spaces for both protection and violation of human rights and oppression of women. To adjust to the globalization process state had to cooperate with specific policies and adjust to the growing interdependent world. The economic and political effect of the globalization process is not similar all over the parts. It varies depending on the policies adopted by each state to compete with the process of interdependence. The regional integration increased in the globalized political world to challenge the process. The regional collaboration came out as a result of globalization. It reduced state power in the market economy, aiming for extensive foreign investment, resulting in cooperation at the regional level (Putzel, 2004). Globalization policies arguably create a world where rich or capitalist countries rule the entire world. Restructuring the world economy under the prescribed economic policies of liberalization and privatization makes the poor and developing countries a hub of cheap labour markets with rich natural resources (Kasowicz, 2007).

The international political system was a state-centric power structure encompassing autonomous states, controls, and governs through territorial states with control over the sovereign states. The relationship between the countries was through international treaties and cannot intervene in other states' domestic affairs. Introducing non-state institutions with powerful intervention in the nation-state has created a new political power structure. Wealthy nations get hands-on with other developing countries (Jaggar, 2001). The policies of the neoliberal globalization process show it as more inclusive and equitable it favours rich countries and controls underdeveloped countries and resources with rules and welfare policies. The global impact of power

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structure made it more difficult for underdeveloped countries to compete with other nations. On the other side, the powerful countries emerged with more powers and exploited the less powerful underdeveloped countries for their achievement. The international organization comes forward and is relevant in the globalized structure. They became actively engaged in the problems that affect them globally. They are also the power structure that decides the final decisions. It became necessary for the vulnerable countries to participate with powerful countries to remain safe and benefit. The powerful actors of globalization put forward regulations and conditions for actors who highly depend on external markets and technology to compete with the world market. In order to adapt to the global market changes and receive the international organization funds developing countries had to adjust their internal market policies that immensely affect the people and their existing economic order (Tsai, 2007).

It is identified that the globalization process altered the actors' existing socio, economic, and cultural spaces but reflected in the political field as the reinstallation of colonization. Western countries' economic and social intervention resulted in the administrative intervention of developing countries, especially in Asian, Latin American and African countries. Economic integration made the developing countries depend on the western developed economic system; thus, the new forms of intervention happened through internal assistance, administrative reforms, and technological support. Developed countries reassure the developing countries to support them in rearranging their organisational structure towards a development-oriented system—a welfare policy system proposed by western countries and adopted by developing countries in the 1970s. Asian countries[79] have primarily embraced a welfare-oriented approach to nation-building, poverty eradication, and educational and social reforms involving institutional transformations. The dominance of the state over civil society became the inevitable future of the newly built administration style. All Asian countries created a market economy regardless of ideological or political ideas. The Asian countries, including India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal, followed a mixed path of socialist ideas and countries like China, Cambodia, and Vietnam followed socialist, communist ideologies, which all shifted to the market economy of western promoted alternatives. The new market economy's influence also

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[79] Asia, which is largely found in the Eastern and Northern Hemispheres, is the world's most populous continent on Earth.

is included in these countries' effective government programmes. The new market economy replaced the state power in many government-owned sectors, including service sectors. These changes weaken the state's and centralised authority's role and support newly established business profit ideas. It benefitted mainly the local and foreign companies at the cost of the requirements and concerns of the people of the developing countries. In developing countries, the state changed from a 'developmental' mediator between different classes to protecting local and foreign companies' capital interests. In many countries, the ruling party and leaders carried out the interest of market forces violating the interest and rights of the people. The World Bank data on privatization transactions in the Asian countries show a considerable increase of 108 in the 1980s to 367 in 1993 and a 30.0 per cent decline in state investment (Haque, 1998). The state's priority has shifted from protecting citizens' interests to protecting the interests of a particular business class; it often violates the rights of the people, especially the marginalized section, kept away from the benefits of development.

Global neoliberal trends began to overthrow the dictatorship in many countries with democratization. The democratization process is a way toward better freedom and justice. It flourishes the idea of a free society with freedom and rights for the development of individuals, contributing to the nation. The shift into a democratic government did not increase women's representation in the power structure. Women's representation in government bodies has been low, and it could have increased with the inclusive policies of the democratic process. However, it remained flat, and some countries like Russia declined dramatically (Jaggar, 2001). Today we experience new forms of political formations that altered the traditional concept of political societies tied in the land with residents and borders. Inside and across geographical borders, levels of governance have emerged in the new period. New institutions have connected sovereign countries and consolidated jurisdiction further than the national level. It developed a set of domestic and international rules that govern globally. Bureaucrats join limitless international talks and take part in the treaties. It includes the UN, IMF, WTO, ASEAN and many more regional and international groups with economic and political goals. Such groups have changed the political system of the world (Held, et al., 1999).

4.3.2 Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another rather than their birthplace to be temporary or permanent. Migrants move from their birthplace for various reasons, including jobs, violence, famine, and natural disasters. An increase in migration is a direct result of the economic impact of globalization. The rise of women in migration is high compared to men. The migration in the twenty-first century is quite different from the old time. Migrants have opportunities and technologies to coordinate and exchange structural ties with their home country, resulting in modernization and globalization. The situation of labour migrants is different. Both women and men are not challenged with the same encounters in migration. The trade of 9 to 12 million people from Africa to America in the mid-nineteenth century is considered the first wave of migration in the world. The global migration level fluctuates over time with the political-economic and social causes. The flow of people is challenging to track and halt. Many states depend on the migrated labourers, and some countries face difficulty tracking and supporting migrants.

Figure: 4.1 International Migration (in Million) proportional to Population (in percentages)
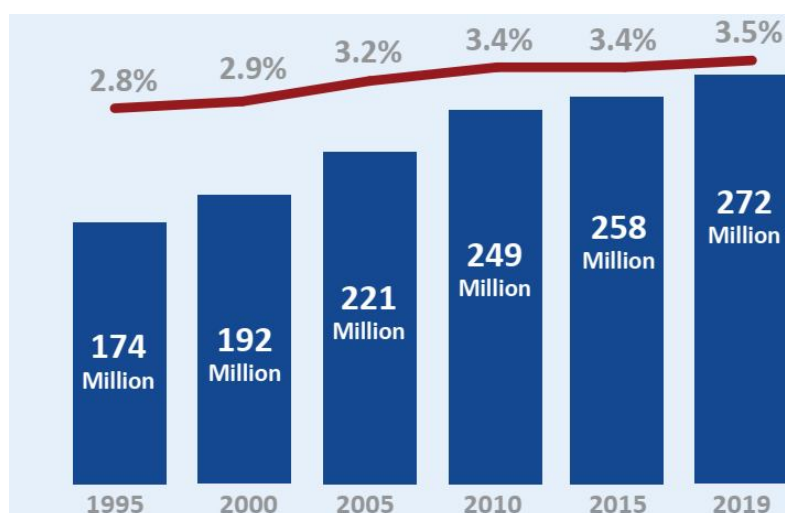
(Source: UN,2020:40)

The number of migration worldwide shows the impact of migration as it counts for 3.5 per cent of the total world population (UN., 2015). The gage of global migration increased at a high rate that 272 million constitute the migrated people mostly fall

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under the labour migration. The enormous pathway always tends to be from developing to developed countries. United States remained the priority of destiny (UN, 2020). The number of migrants worldwide increased over time and remained steady compared to the world population rate.

The situation of migration allows two kinds of the migration process in gender view. Gender discriminatory practices like violence, early marriage, and domestic violence could be the most significant indicator of migration of women. In another situation, social institutions do not give the right to women to choose whether to migrate or not. Lack of education makes women economically independent and forces them to migrate with their male partners (Appave & Sinha, 2017). Existing gender values, stereotypes, and hierarchies make women choose to migrate. Same time gender-specific work demands women migrate, like domestic work, nursing, and teaching. Gender inequality can be identified as a factor that pushes women towards migration when they cannot achieve economic, social, and political expectations in their hometown due to existing gender segregation (UN, 2004). The changes in the international market result in unemployment in many developing countries. That causes more women to migrate to developed countries to find better living conditions. These migrants assist underprivileged families in areas without an occupation or decent income.

 Gender roles and policies of the designated migrating country also contribute to the gender inequalities of women. Domestic and unauthorized workers are the vulnerable sections affected by the violations and sexual exploitation. In most situations, they take the risk of life; their safety cannot be assured; still, they choose to migrate due to the economic condition at their home. It is necessary to identify gender inequality as a barrier to migration or a condition to escape gender discriminatory practices. Nevertheless, migrated working women get a considerable voice in their families, and economic participation enables them to change gender relations within their families. Participation in the labour market gives her economic independence and the opportunity of participating in the social process. Migration sometimes gives them a chance to get the career they wish to become. It gives them freedom depending on the nature of migration, how it occurs, forceful or chosen. Migrant women often migrate to countries where gender discrimination violence remains low; they could have the freedom and economic development compared to their home country (Girad, 2017).

Global care chain is a term associated with the migration of women. It connects women worldwide and concludes the exchange of domestic care work.

The financial aspect of globalization and the emergence of TNCs affect human rights more. Economic issues are affected more than social, political, and cultural ramifications. Neoliberal policies increased the difference in economic inequalities globally. As an economic need for a liberalized economy, developing countries are forced to take financial help or rearrange their remaining liability; these result in reduced funds allocated for public services, adversely affecting women (Parekh,2009). Public-funded schools and other services are continuously working as a supporting system for girls and women from poor economic backgrounds. It enables them to attain a better life with dignity (Jaggar, 2001). Essential law for protecting the rights of migrant workers and families came up in 1990 to protect the rights of the migrant workers and families. It instructs the state to take responsibility for protecting the rights of migrant workers, giving them support during the entire process of migration, especially for women who are subject to exploitation easily (UN, 2014).

Trafficking and sexual violation are the most dangerous situation in which migrated women and girls suffer the most. When globalization paved the way for the interconnection of activists worldwide for women, it also paved the way for increasing 'sex tourism' (Parekh & Wilcox, 2014). Neoliberal globalization stressed the sex marketing of women. These impoverished women cannot find a way for their economic needs (Jaggar, 2001). Trafficking is recognized as the current form of slavery. The benefits of the human trafficking network are earning massive more than any other business; the interconnection of the world makes them an easy way to broaden the network. The number of women trapped in the network is increasing each year. Regarding human trafficking, Europe has seen a more comprehensive range of nationalities among victims than any other continent. With the conclusion of the Cold War, a substantial number of workers, especially women from the Eastern side of Western Europe, migrated.

Some of these workers were or later were sex workers, and not all arrived willingly. The crime network in human trafficking has often involved the criminals of the same place and women. in some places; trafficking takes place with the help of technology

and job offerings; in some countries, it happens through the family and other social media networks. Human trafficking becomes the most shortcut for criminal networks to make money as the target groups are women and kids most vulnerable due to their economic and social conditions. The demand for cheap labour increased the chance of trafficking people worldwide. Thus, the need for cheap labour makes trafficking part of the globalization process that goes hand in hand with the economic transition. Technological development paved the way for making trafficking an easy and challenging task for states to challenge the menace (Danailova & Patrick, 2006).

4.3.3 Global culture

Social globalization implies social interaction, the flow of ideas and closeness in culture. The world is subject to rapid change through the sudden flow of ideas and social and cultural interaction. Culture is an important and multifaceted term to understand. The Latin term symptomatic of the 'farming of plants' implies tending to the condition of life so that something more than and different from nature. Greetz define culture as a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms utilizing which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Greetz, 1973). Cultural globalization is the product of western media. Many people are now directly connected and participating in more than one culture. Kellner argues, "The contemporary western consumer culture is marked by diversity, but diversity increasingly operating through a new global scale" (Mitchell & Rosati, 2007). Advocates of the homogenization of culture deal with the globalization effects have on culture as the increased influence of American and European culture overpowering the different culture termed "cultural imperialism[80]" (Machida, 2007). Globalization makes people travel around the world. The interconnected world makes them aware of their neighbours with diverse cultures and societies.

There are many arguments on the relation between culture and globalization. Some argue that the global culture modifies the local culture and dominates or is influenced by the globally influential actor's culture. Others argue that the globalisation of

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[80] Imperialism is a term used to describe how one country asserts its control over another. Similarly to how imperial Britain dominated the American colonies economically. Now commonly used to describe the United States' global role as a cultural powerhouse. More details are available on https://open.lib.umn.edu/mediaandculture/chapter/13-7-cultural-imperialism/.

culture creates a homogenous culture or "hybridization" of culture. Homogenizing culture is an impact of globalization. In that, also some customs and language become overpowering. The spread of English as a global language is advantageous to some sections and disadvantageous in a small part of another end of the world. At the same time, the mixing of cultures is essential to some extent. The globalized world allows the unidentified local culture to emerge and get notified (Ferguson & Mansbach, 2012). Globalization acknowledges diverse cultures and regional and national concerns but also requires a degree of global solidarity. Globalization does not obliterate native, local, or international cultures, nor does it prevent the emergence of a new global culture or the expansion of society's shared goals worldwide. Globalization has resulted in a shift in humankind's information and new political values at the international and national levels. Globalization makes the possible sudden flow of not only goods and services but also ideas and information—the circulation of new ideas and information changes society, both positively and negatively. The feminist ideas of western countries influence third-world countries[81]; likewise, the food culture of European countries is extensively adopted by the South Asian countries.

Third-world countries have developed an employment culture based on the informal sector and housework. The condition of women in the upper class and educated women are different from women belonging to other marginalized sections. Societies following patriarchal order deny female participation in all sectors irrespective of class, caste., and religious differences. According to these societies, female labour expands existing domestic chores. Other home concerns arise in connection with pay and livelihood. The spread of international brands and companies all over the country like MacDonald, Coca-Cola, Adidas, and the reach of Hollywood is nothing but the certifying of range and acceptance of global culture (Benyon & Dunkerley,2014:14). Global learning is wide-spreading without knowing its depth in society, especially among youngsters. Globalization affects different age groups differently through engaging socially and economically. Youth tend to adapt the different cultures than other age groups. Women lean towards more apprehension for their own culture. The media, especially social media, is essential in spreading culture (Samantroy & Upadhyay, 2012:135). The demographic divide between the global south and north

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[81] The term coined by Frantz Fanon in his book "The wretched of earth".

continues to be comprehensive and problematic in the globalization phase. Countries worldwide experienced growth in their population, and the north experienced low fertility rates.

4.3.4 Women, Human Rights, and Globalization

Globalization results in developing a new platform and institution for human rights activities and feminist ideology. Globalization allows feminism to interrelate, coordinate, and circulate feminist ideas by observing and interpreting the gender ideas of each social condition. It ensures women's liberation by interconnecting the world and identifying the cause of oppression (Walby, 2002). The feminist question on women formerly addresses the issues connected explicitly with women's rights, violence against women, and domestic violence. Later, the discussion on women's issues started to focus on other issues like war; global governance, migration, terrorism, and climate change linked with neoliberalism seem gender-neutral, nevertheless have had a gender dimension (shelly). The most significant impact of globalization on gender is that it paves the way for developing a new gender order. Chow (1993), about globalization and women, argues, "First world feminist analysis of the third world women's condition while subversives of confident hegemonic masculinity operate nonetheless with an 'oppressive discursive prowess' of the first world" (Coleman & Sajed, 2013:72). The impact of globalization on culture is multifarious; the effect on women is thus so (Stark, 2000). The Marxian idea of globalization with the association with capitalism makes it more negative in dealing with the women's question. Globalization itself is identified as gendered as the consequences of globalization are not the same for men and women, and it has become more exploitative of women's bodies (Aniche, 2017). Bordo (2003), in her essay about "Unbearable weight," expressed the trend of commoditization of the body. The images of celebrities in movies, magazines, and other platforms change ordinary people's belief that reality should be the ideal body. Skinny, fair, smooth, and silky body ads for creams and other beauty products show women should be like that. The desire and judgment about bodies are becoming dictated by the digital. The progressive development of media shows is driven by market consideration rather than social consideration (Heywood, 2007:142).

Since gender preference began to discriminate against women, globalisation has had gender-discriminatory impacts. Women are disadvantaged by the gender segregation of labour in two ways: first, because of their lower position in the labour force, and secondly, because of their involvement in the caregiving sector as well as the reproductive obligations that their gender role entails. Both positions restrict women's exposure to wealth, making them more vulnerable to deprivation and increasing the hazards connected with globalisation. By way of their dual responsibilities, women are related to the risks of globalisation due to the sexual division of labour. As paid workers in the privatized economy, through expansionary employment consequences and unpaid procreative workers in the care economy, through shifts in workload. Because economies are not gender-neutral entities, any efforts to reform them must have different consequences for men and women participating in them. Due to their disdain for pre-existing inequities, the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF are regularly criticised as gender discriminatory and male prejudiced rather than gender-neutral (Thorin, 2001).

The 1990s shows the issues of globalization and the result of global trade policies on gender. It affected both negatively and positively. The positive outcomes of globalization, such as identifying the causes of exploitation of women and efforts to deal with gender inequalities, developed systematically with the introduction of international and national organizations. Interestingly, the newly organized groups were formed to counter the negative aspects of globalization. The employment chances for women increased with globalization, creating more opportunities for women in professional jobs and increasing the awareness of women's right to work. Women's career prospects have increased because of globalisation, and they are now adding to household expenditures, which helps to create new resources and raise household earnings. With the help of globalisation, female social opportunities have expanded in tandem with their earnings. Multinational corporations hire men and women equally because they operate in a competitive atmosphere and select the best staff regardless of race or gender. It encourages more women to seek employment. By being given a chance to participate in the workforce, the women pursued economic independence that helped them stay out of the traditional gender roles and gain a friendlier atmosphere inside the family. The changes in inter-household

responsibilities are derived from the changes in the economic contribution of women to the family.

Conversely, globalization has created disparities between countries and people by allowing unrestricted commerce and economic liberalisation, competition, and commercialization. Government budget cuts and trade liberalisation have harmed the state's ability to foster economic growth, social development and equality. This has far-reaching consequences for wealth inequality between sectors and men and women (Catagay & Erturk, 2004). The negative side hit severely for women who stand at the lowermost of the economic and social hierarchy with various duties to fulfil inside the home and in society. People will have to seek support protection if the government ceases offering them. The international market policies such as TRIP (Trade-Related Intellectual Property) contribute to the inequality due to the rules and regulations included in the agreement. The government could not accommodate to purchase of necessary medications while the rights to the intellectual property of TNCs are safeguarded. Women, with the help of their children, are the primary caretakers for their households in most situations. Women strive to develop home-based substitutes if governmental facilities are no longer accessible. It increases their domestic workload and may limit girls' attendance at school in contexts where they often experience inequality. In a situation of insufficient government hospitals, hygiene and malnutrition, and essential living circumstances, millions of women and girls in Sub-Saharan Africa and many others are especially susceptible to Illness due to uneven gender politics and inequality (Pearson, 2003: 32). The new trade policies and privatization caused the decline of the security of workers and the commercialization of the service sector, making women more vulnerable. The labour markets with new employment opportunities had the most liberal labour policies that brought new forms of exploitation of female labour. Because of the global financial disaster, a series of economic fluctuations have occurred, affecting the lives of women and girls worldwide and changing the nature of gender parity. The fall of the capital boom in developed countries in 2008 was one of these disasters that extended to developing nations as capital inflows and export industries shrunk. It led to what was being termed a "triple crisis" in many developing nations, as the economic crisis coincided with pre-existing price fluctuations in food and energy. Such shocks disproportionately affect the most disadvantaged people, primarily women and

children, by expanding disparities and reducing the standard of living. One of the significant consequences of the global financial crisis was a shift in market structure as commodity markets decreased, resulting in employment cutbacks in nations that serviced certain commodities, like those in eastern and Southern Africa's export processing, Uganda's flower-cutting industry, and Thailand's manufacturing industry. In eastern and Southern Africa, an increase in sex work has been observed because of rising unemployment amid the global economic crisis. Economic hardship can exacerbate gender disparities by intensifying women's economic reliance on men. It can boost men's decision-making dominance in the home and raise the likelihood of domestic violence. The effects of the economic crisis are thus sensed at the most personal level of women's health. In some cases, the burden of loss of employment or struggling with the daily hardships of lower salaries and income has culminated in psychological problems (UNAID, 2012).

The discussion of feminist groups and other international organizations about women's issues and addressing gender issues at all levels makes gender issues central in the economic, social, and political sphere. Globalization causes an increase in transnational groups and NGOs working on women's issues, connecting them internationally, giving platforms and exchanging ideas (Walby, 2002). The emergence of Transnational Feminist Groups like DAWN, WIDE, and WEDO identified the neoliberal policies as a threat to gender-equal society. Number of NGOs working in collaboration with international organizations internationally to promote and protect gender equality. AWID is a non-profit organization founded in 1982 to develop and promote gender equality and human rights issues (Kristy, 2005). Increased participation in education and employment sectors and civil society gives more chances and resources to women groups. Multinational companies needed female workers with primary education, which increased women's education in developing countries where most multinational companies opened the market. Presence in an economic sector makes them economically independent and can make demands and influence the state for betterment. Foreign companies often reject the local practice of gender discriminatory customs in labour places.

 An increase in the number of women in electoral politics is a positive sign, even though it is not visible worldwide. The number of women in the parliaments could be seen as a shift in attitude toward women and the priorities of women's issues. The

shift in opportunity in electoral politics has an almost negligible effect on the gender wage gap (Walby, 2002). It is evident that the nexus of neoliberal policies and the patriarchal structure of society always denies gender equality and perpetuates gender violence. At the same time, the most crucial positive outcome of globalization regarding gender equality is the worldwide circulation of gender ideas and the addressing of gender issues. Gender-specific international laws and regulations assure the rights and act contending violence. Some of them are The International Conventions on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966) and Civil and Political Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2003) (Richards & Gelleny, 2007).

World March of Women (WMW) is one of the women's movements against inequality and violence against women. It works as an umbrella for mobilizing other women groups. The movement is an action of a collective by Quebec women in 1995. It was a protest march against poverty. Later, the women organized under labour groups, community, other women groups, and Quebec women marched against the neoliberal policies that worsened women's poverty (Dufour & Giraud, 2007). WIDE, formed in 1985, is a European network working for the global economy and development from a feminist perspective. The economic aspect of feminist issues identifies the comprehensive economic policies, and their after-effects challenge gender equality and women's human rights. The rise of women's studies as a new discourse in the 1980s gave powerful support in the broader political and social environment that enabled intangible interrogations of the system of male dominance or patriarchy. The economic and social oppression of the period relates to the emergence of women's abuse. The appearance of industrial capitalism during the period was mainly discussed and followed by the discussion of the oppression of women in a broader context. Women workers were the large section who witnessed these issues. The access to resources and power also resulted in a decline in the opportunities for uneducated and unskilled women, and they lost their traditional means of earning. Transnational feminist groups identified the immediate cause of oppression as patriarchy. It affects disproportionately different women at different levels. A different aspect of globalization has a different effect on women; some get negatively affected some gain from the development process.

Human rights violations increase globally, with many migrated workers in informal sectors and open markets. The emergence of corporates in the market sector in developing countries violates human rights by giving fewer wages in poor working conditions. Structural adjustment policies (SAP) introduced by the world bank and IMF in connection with economic globalization are criticized as a human rights violation in third-world countries. Neoliberal policies, which encompass economic insecurity, made women and girls live in peril, making them easier for sexual exploitation. Girls are easy prey to sexual exploitation, pushing them into prostitution, sexual slavery, and use by mafia groups. Women are more affected by human rights violations as more vulnerable sections in society. The informal sector and migrants are filled mostly by women. Helma Lutz comments, "house and care work is a cheap product that can be bought in the impoverished, and de-regularised labour markets of the world offer a large reservoir for these services" (Ferguson & Mansbach, 2012).

Addressing women's rights as human rights has been a positive and negative connotation in globalization. The anti-colonialist supporters criticized rights as an idea of supporting western cultural imperialism to oppose and destroy the culture and tradition of non-western parts. Western feminists also criticize it as a more masculine idea of feminine morality. Most notably, third-world feminists have well analysed terming women's rights as human rights, addressing the lack of measures to seek legal help while violating rights. Not every woman is well aware of the legal terms of rights among them; also, they cannot fight to protect their freedom due to institutional hurdles. The emergence of the concept of accepting human rights as women's rights brought changes in the situation of women generally by identifying a violation of women's rights as a violation of human rights. The emergence of transnational movements to address human rights issues as women issues is an excellent achievement of globalization; it also helped make a common ground for women worldwide to fight against violation and oppression. Responsibility for taking care of children and family members is the prime duty of women, and it becomes difficult to engage in work outside and give time at home; it makes them depend on such public social programs (Jaggar, 2001).

Economic globalization results in the development of the employment rate worldwide. Examples of countries like Chile achieved growth and fought poverty by integrating into the global market and applying liberal economic policies. However,

the gender inequality in wage disparity and social development remains the same. Another example is the case of Nigeria, which gained economic developments through financial globalization but failed to remove the existing inequality. In order to maintain the flow of foreign investment, the state has to follow the regulations and policies that keep a competitive and investment-friendly market; this government has to maintain specific economic and social policies, including privatization of government services, reducing the expense of social sector. Such moves often affect the marginalized sections of people. Women and the backward sections of the people are mostly affected by the changes; since they are not a powerful section with limited political influence to fight for their rights, they become the victims of developmental programs and policies. Many developing countries have become Export Processing Zone (EPZ) with the availability of cheap labour. Women were ready to work in unsafe conditions with lower wages due to unemployment and poverty. The EPZ of the Mexican border, Africa, and South Asian countries primarily comprise women workers who tolerate the unemployment issues mostly compared to men; therefore, they willingly accept the unequal labour offers. In order to catch up with the tariff reduction, the government withdrew from the social support system that repeatedly deprived the marginalised section of fundamental rights such as health and education. In terms of education, withdrawal of government service gives low-income families less access and forces them to reduce the number of children sent to school. Girls are the section that mainly falls back in the situation as gender roles make them less likely to acquire education. In the health sector, primarily girls and women are the victims who bear the cost of privatization (Richard & Gelleny, 2007).

Globalization's development effects are quantified using an adequate globalisation index, which assesses the rate of globalisation in the nations studied to quantify it. The three sub-indices of economy, society, and politics comprise the overall globalisation index. The social component reflects, among other things, markers of cultural affinity and social connections. The economic sub-index depicts cross-border connectivity metrics in trade in goods and services, labour earnings, and investment flows. The number of international treaties and membership in international organisations comes under political integration. In the globalisation index, Russia ranked lowest. Financial cooperation has been stagnant since 2002, following a slight

opening in the 1990s. Because of this and the relatively low level of per capita income, per capita income gains have remained low (Petersen et al., 2020).

4.4 Globalization: The Russian Experience

Like elsewhere globally, the globalization process has changed Russia locally and nationally. Interconnections across people, events, and activities increased with globalization. It connects people over the areas and stretches the economic, political, and social changes in one region that quickly affects another. It is relevant to note the nature of Russia as a country to describe the globalization effect has on Russia. The nature of the Soviet period is essential while searching for the impact of globalization as the country went through a significant change after the disintegration, and responding to the globalization process was critical. The origin of the first wave of globalization was seen from 1870 to 1914, before WWI. The period witnessed the emergence of Socialist engagements in Europe. Socialist ideas often projected the idea of togetherness. They called for eradicating global inequality and identified the need to unite the workers around the world who are subject to exploitation. After the world war, the Socialist idea gained attraction with the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in the Soviet Union. The reach of Socialist Communist ideas all over Europe could be part of creating international communities of the time. The significant influence of the spread of Socialist ideas was the formation of Communist parties among the European colonies of the time (Mark, Kalinovsky and Marung, 2020). The vital changes in the economic, social, political and cultural space come along with the response to globalization. The nature of the socio-economic and political space of the Soviet government towards globalization is needed to analyse to find the impact of globalization in Russia. It is essential to look at the Soviet system worked due to the enclosed system of the Soviet period that was not open to the global world economically. Therefore, it is relevant to look at the closed economic system of the Soviet Union.

4.4.1 Globalization and the Soviet Union

In order to understand the economic history of the Soviet Union, it is necessary to look at the formation of the Socialist system within the country. In summary, the

Bolshevik revolt in 1917 was victorious, and the Bolshevik Party,[82] renamed the Communist Party in 1918, came to power. Bolsheviks took over an agrarian-based economic system. Most of its economy and market stood upon agriculture. The agricultural share of GDP was 51 per cent in 1913. The agricultural share of the total GDP stood high until the industrial reformation policies (Sibony, 2014:29). The market was ordered militarily under Socialism, forcing the entire population to dedicate their labour to maintaining and retaining a strong military. Under Lenin's leadership, the Socialist system underwent some economic policy changes that brought the industrial sector under the direct control of the state. It resulted in massive unemployment in urban areas where positive changes among the farmers brought them the opportunity for markets, trade, and wealth. After Lenin, the economic policy under Stalin brought some remarkable change bringing the industrialization and nationalisation of agriculture. The state's role increased; under the five-year plan policy of Stalin, economic growth was at its peak. The economy and government under his direct control made the Soviet Union the best economic development before Second World War (Curtis, 1996).

In 1952, at the 19th party congress Georgi Malenkov, the politburo member, spoke about the Two World Market forwarded by Stalin. He states, "Stalin has pointed out, the united comprehensive world market has disintegrated and formed two parallel world markets: the market of countries of the peaceful democratic camp, and the market of the countries of the aggressive camp" (Moore, 2010). Stalin pointed out the capitalist system's impact on the world economy's disintegration. Soviet's economic globalization was exemplified in the form of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON[83]). Along with the Soviets, other socialist blocks, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, turn into founding members of the organization. East Germany, Albania, Cuba, and Vietnam integrated well along. The trade between the COMECON members and Soviets increased most

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[82] The Bolsheviks were a political group in Russia established on Karl Marx's ideologies. It developed become the strongest and fastest-growing party in the centre, leading to its eventual renaming as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
[83]Group of nations formerly in the Soviet Union. As the second pillar of Soviet influence in Europe after the Warsaw Pact, Stalin founded it among the communist nations of eastern Europe in 1949 to promote interdependence in trade and production. More Details on https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095626480.

of the foreign trade share of 83 per cent between the members, and only 17 per cent was with outer countries, mainly the capitalist countries (Moore, 2010:29)

The import of technology was necessary to revive the economy and strengthen the military. The relationship with the newly independent Southern countries began to thrive along with the economic needs. It was based on the common feelings to fight inequality and exploitation and find a place in the world order. It further moved to develop parallel organizations to combat western organizations. Influential among them were State Committee for Economic Cooperation. Alliance with Southern part and Africa was strong to build the Socialist blocks it reflected in the formation of a new organization named Committee for Solidarity for Peoples of Asia and Africa. The cooperation and cultural exchange through festivals and talks continued to take place in important places. In China, after successfully adopting Socialism, many state policies are back up by the Soviet and Socialist blocks. Newly independent European colonies like India and African countries received support from the Soviet Union. Global capitalism supported or derived from Western powers gave space for Socialist blocks to engage with newly independent colonies of the global South. Bilateral relations of the period were very much politically globalized, giving the idea of cooperation and fighting against capitalism (Mark t al., 2020).

During the Cold War, Soviet products and trade with Soviet country considered the best choice for developing countries. Soviet export of industrial products to the developed rich country reduced to only six per cent in 1983 it was 23 per cent in 1955. The split began in the Socialist market economy, and Khrushchev identified the need to restructure the functioning of COMECON with the arrival of the European Economic Community. The Soviet Union had export earnings with its COMECON allies from 1949 to 1960, but by the end of the Khrushchev Era, the profit had converted into a loss. When Mao Zedong began to challenge Soviet control, the most incredible split in the International Communist Market emerged. Even before Russia, China was pushed to adopt a capitalist economy. The leaders retained Stalin's market proposal of the Two World Market, and Brezhnev modified it as "Trade and other forms of economic and scientific cooperation in relations between socialist and capitalist countries are a specific form of the struggle of the two world systems in conditions of peaceful coexistence" (Moore, 2010).

Later Brezhnev had to give up Stalin's doctrine when the expansion of international capitalism in the 1960s and 1970s influenced Communist doctrine and practice even more. The open rivalry between Beijing and Moscow made it more complex. They rejected Stalin's doctrine in 1973. Globalization began to infiltrate even Marxist strongholds gradually. The increase in oil price gave a chance for the Soviet market to secure the oil market in Europe. Soviet subsidised oil prices for COMECON allies increased from 31 -38 rubbles to 16-130 by 1982. With the increase in oil price, Soviet engagement increased with the West. Internal political changes and relations with COMECON members moved to the inclined global market system (Moore, 2010).

Although one of the world powers, the Soviet economy was tangential to the world capitalist economy after the World War, precisely from the 1950 forwards. After Stalin's demise, followers of the party leadership could not push the economic system. The Soviet economic system was an enclosed centralized system that did not depend upon the global trade or flow of goods and resources. After the period of Stalin, the administration and economic policy concentrated on destalinization, resulting in decentralisation and revival of the market economy. The terms of Khrushchev and Brezhnev did not do much to revive economic prosperity. Some agriculture and industrial sector policies showed some improvements but did not last too long. That was the period when the country encountered the demographic issue. The industrial sector could not perform as before. Declining industries and lack of resources needed better technological intervention to achieve growth. The country formally relied on the national capital and resources solely concentrated on the military strength and economic growth under a strong state that actively engaged with globalization and trade with capitalist countries (Bartl, 2003). The crisis of industrial doom needed technology from outside the country, mainly from Socialist Blocks. The world order was moving in other directions from that of what Stalin envisioned. The move of China from the Marxist ideas and the global South's changes played an essential role in the 1990s. By the 1980s, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore had all identified global capitalism's triumph as the Asian future is looking. The South moving towards the West and increased Chinese engagement with Capitalism along with the reformation of Gorbachev made a crucial turning in the Soviet engagement with the global market and globalization process.

The shift in the global approach came in the Soviet Union gradually. The changing priorities of nation-building and strengthening the economy were reflected in the state policy by shifting aid programs for third world countries, which served as the base for creating a Socialist world. The breakdown of the USSR was the appalling effect of the liberalization policies of the 1990s. The disintegration led to numerous local battles, resulting in thousands of deaths and millions of refugees in Russia. From 1991 to 2000, liberal policies wreaked havoc on the national economy, with all key indicators of its progress plummeting. From 1991 to 2000, Russia's share of global GDP fell from 5.57 per cent to 2.1 per cent, while its global industry share fell from 10.03 per cent to 4.5 per cent. During the 1990s and 2000s, Russia's industrial and agricultural GDP shrank by about half. Industrial sectors of the economy face not only a lack of external funding but also a loss of critical professionals. Liberal reforms widened the gap between the rich and poor and created a small group of millionaires; on the other side large section of people were under the poverty line. All kinds of social destruction were going on in the society, including drug addiction among youngsters increased, alcoholism in the society increased, mental illness, and homelessness; everything increased and ended up in a population crisis in the county (Doberenkov, 2005).

4.4.2 Globalization in the Post-Soviet Period

In Russia, the policy to drive modernization without depending on the developed west is managed differently in each regime. The Soviet Union, under Stalin, chose a radically different path, rejecting links with capitalism in favour of highly authoritarian industrialization at a substantial human loss. As a price for keeping up a weak form of communism, the Brezhnev regime accepted extensive dependency on the capitalist world, primarily exporting oil in return for food and capital inflows. The decline in oil prices and Gorbachev's political and economic policies brought the country to another end of a centralised economy. The country's reform started in 1985; still, the control was under the communist party. The introduction of the 1986 law *The Law on Cooperative* 1987 law on *Individual Labour* paved the way for a less restricted. Later on, in 1991, the laws made it easier for private companies to introduce laws regarding individual property and less restriction on state managing business. The introduction of more laws to reduce state control and bring foreign aid to the country did not affect the central market system. The destruction of the

economic system started with the 1991 coup and the regime under the leadership of Yeltsin (Passas, 2000). The sudden changes in the economic sector without a prior plan and proper legislation made it difficult for the centralised market system to survive in a country going through a radical shift in the political domain. The most affected sections by the sudden change were women who depended on state-supported social services. The unemployment situation due to the sudden shift in the economic sector made women's lives more difficult. Most social services and benefits enjoyed in the Soviet period went unfunded (Brien et al., 2015).

The period of 1991, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, starts to experience the political and economic changes in the country towards a capitalist economy and political democratization (Ferdinand, 2007). After the dissolution of Russia's strategy, Russian exports note that interest in the international realm was to ensure sovereignty and maintain the status as a major power centre in the multipolar order of the world system. Moreover, there was also a trend of the unipolar world order of developed countries, with the United States in the leading position. Economic globalization served as the base for creating the unipolar world order. Russia under Yelstin struggled to capture the superpower position with a weak economy. It led to accepting foreign economic policies' integration with the high corruption and oligarchs in the administration. In 1994, the officials confirmed the privatization in the country with 74 per cent (Passas, 2000). The global trends affect Russia's policymaking, 'Russia's economic crisis of 1988 and an economic upturn in the period 2000-2008' all show how the global trends affect the economy. A study on Russia in 2007 identifies economic globalization as one factor influencing a country's policies (Godmirki, 2011). Liberal globalisation policies distract Russia's economic, political, and social fields. The effect of liberal policies on Russia's economy is visible in the drop in the country's gross production from 5.57 per cent to 2.1 per cent from 1991 to 2001 (Dobernkov, 2005). Falls in the economic sector had a significant impact on the social sphere.

A trend in the market of Post-Soviet space known as the "shuttle Trade" start to flourish in the 1990s. It originated in the transition period before the dissolution of the Soviet Union with the change in the country's political system. The openness in the society made it possible for people to travel around the world to other socialist countries. The simplified visa and travel process made the flow of people and goods

easy. The openness in the system and travel experience beyond the border increased the economic needs of people. It further encourages the shuttle market system; increasing demand for foreign goods leads to the expansion of the market with seventy-five per cent of the goods in the market; it includes colour TV, clothes, kitchen appliances, and food items. The illegal market system introduced foreign goods and a new lifestyle to Russian society. The illegal market provides space for an unofficial integration of the market into globalization. The change in the duty-free allowance rate from fifty to thirty-five brought a decline in almost dead of the illegal trade (Mukhina, 2014).

The end of a central state-owned market widely opens to foreign investment and privatization. The foreign investment increased and replaced with the formal national economic system. Once the investment of foreign companies and integration into the world market starts state has to attract the flow of goods and finance to the market. Making the local markets and industries fit the flow of aid and investment remains the state's responsibility. In 2012, Russia consented to the WTO after a long negotiation. The move made significant changes in the domestic market by allowing foreign investment in critical sectors, including banking, business, and telecommunication (World economic forum, 2013). At the same time, the agriculture sector remained old, not affected by neoliberal policies. Although the starting of the 90s, Russia had a higher rate of export and GDP rate at the same time, it could not take it as a sign of interconnection with the world market as the country maintained most of the export and economic connection with the former Soviet Union countries (Ferdinand, 2007). Being a key supplier of primary sources like oil helped Russia compete in the world market. The shift from a state monopoly to a privatized market was sudden in a state that regulated private trade and business earlier.

Russia's assignation with globalization resulted from a mixture of reasons, including national interest and economic pressure. The concept of the state as a critical action place has become no more as boundaries become nominal. Russian observers have identified the globalization process as a 'scientific-technical revolution' rather than an 'interdependence,' which allowed the development of new institutions like 'multinational corporations. Russia found it is essential to secure the rewards from the process and obstruct the unwanted effect (Ligvold, 2011). Social, political, and economic transformation in Russia has a considerable history since the beginning;

society has undergone many changes. Regime changes, financial and political up and downs, and the far-reaching effect of both in the community took place in the country. However, Russia remained not so close to the globalization process simultaneously; it also ended its closed society with a status of a moderate globalized country. Critics say the Russian model of globalization is a tool to strengthen the state and impose state policies. Intense action against the Chechen separatist and nationalization policies in the economic sector to make the country more authoritarian; is identified as the tactics of state authority to tackle the tension inside the state by using the tag of " war on terrorism" as part of globalization (Ferguson & Mansbach, 2012).

The power of the state did not diminish too early as it had a strong hand in the economy and administration; at the same time, it did not work as strong in terms of implementation of rules as early. By opening the international relations with the world other than socialist countries and international organizations, Russia finds it challenging to implement the international organization's covenants in many areas that prioritise national interest. For example, joining the WTO has been a long process with negotiations since 1993. The bilateral negotiation talk reached halfway in 2003, but the major obstacle to the membership in the organization was the uncompetitive sectors in the Russian market. It was visible that once the barriers were lifted and foreign companies entered the market, the uncompetitive market faced pressure (Seliger, 2004).

4.4.3 Globalization in Russia: Putin Era

Putin has always envisioned building an assertive Russia with an authoritarian centralized state system. Putin quickly and effectively consolidated the supremacy of centralized state power over oligarchs and regions. It appeared as an easier way to boost economic development. At different times, Putin's words reflect how Russia responds to and accepts globalization. Russia had approached globalisation in a unique and profoundly political manner. Due to its relative economic fragility, Russia has benefited substantially through connection with European finance, services, and technology. In 2002 addressing the Federal Assembly, he stated, "We must learn to use the advantages of the new state of the world economy; it is clear that for Russia, the problem of choosing whether or not to integrate into the world economy no longer exists" (Davies, 2016). It shows that the state was moving toward the world economy.

Russia's foreign trade increased yearly; it showed a remarkable shift of 2.7 billion dollars from 2000 to 7 billion dollars in 2008. It shows that Russia is already part of the globalization process by opening borders for foreign investment. By guaranteeing the right of organization, general agreement, and insurance against wrongful confiscation, the Foreign Investment Law (FIL) of 1999 was a critical step in enhancing the foreign investment climate. For multinational firms, the 2008 Law on Strategic Sectors boosted openness and stability (OECD, 2013:18). The integration with the world economy helped for an economic gain in the country. Russia topped Saudi Arabia's oil supply and finished second in oil exports in 2003. Russia's global commercial turnover was 148.5 billion in January-September 2003, resulting in a 43.9 billion international export balance (Molchanov, 2005: 7).

In 2003 under Putin's leadership, Russia allowed in Financial Action Task Force (FATF), which was outlawed in 2000. By the middle of 2007, Russia's partnership with the West became more substantial, and Russia hosted the G8 summit for the first time. Geopolitical events made the integration with the west complex. It resulted in a call for minimizing the relationship with the west. Russia has long been concerned that the growth of an exploitative reliance on economic alliance with the west may also be political adversaries. Russia has always adopted globalization policies in response to reconstruction and security. He prioritised securing stability in domestic and international politics with significant economic development. During the financial crisis of 2008, Putin continued integration with the global market, unlike the Soviet policy of isolation from the global market. It was always a concern that economic interdependence would shrink the power and role of the state. However, foreign investment and economic globalization were necessary for growth and rebuilding. Russia's integration into the international market system drives it toward the standardization of internal legislation and, eventually, submission to relevant international guidelines and procedures. Economic integration comes along with accepting international organizations' procedures. Russia's membership in WTO is an example of the protracted negotiations of legal terms.

Turns in Russia's globalization began with Putin's second term of presidency. In 2014 in his speech addressing the national assembly, he stated, "We must above all understand that our development depends primarily on us, we will only succeed if we work towards our well-being and prosperity, rather than hope for favourable

circumstances or foreign markets" (Davies, 2016). In 2013, the tension between Russia and Ukraine triggered a turning point in Russia's integration with Europe. Russia denied Ukraine's move to sign the trade agreement with the EU in response to the favourable position of Ukraine for the EU to end with the annexation of Crimea; in response to that, the west suspended Russia's membership in G8[84] and banned food exports to Russia.

4.5 The negative impact of Globalization on Russia

The result of economic destruction in the country was corruption. The emergence of a comprehensive set of networking and the interconnected world made it possible for growth in the crime rate and corruption in the country. Corruption is a massive problem for businesses in Russia, and it is one of the most significant barriers to market access and growth. Worldwide rankings show that Russia lags in critical areas regarding the legal system. Over the world, corruption and fraud increased with the interconnected world and technological advantage. Russia stands at the sixth position in GDP level and shows a higher level of corruption than other countries, such as Uganda and Togo, which stand lower in the GDP index (World Economic Forum, 2013). Independent Oil, Lenin Trade and Financial Corporation, and Aldzher were some cases of fraudulent investment in Russia (Passas, 2000). The centralization policy was said to reduce corruption, but the situation worsened. It became a driving force in controlling the production process in the economic sector. Most of the sections exploited by such investment and money chain rackets were pensioners, women and primarily single parents who struggled to earn for the family due to the ongoing economic depression. The interconnected world strengthens the Russian mafia network. Such criminal groups utilised the interconnected world by creating clusters to maintain the groups and carry out the missions. Technological advancement added more to organized crime worldwide (Varese, 2012).

Inequality persists in society as corruption grows. Russia, formerly known for its high standard of life, is today a country where the wealthiest half of the populace owns and consumes more than 20 times the proportion of the weakest ten per cent. The policies to integrate the foreign economy helped increase the country's GDP rate,

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[84] It is an intergovernmental organization that origined in 1975. It includes the United States, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan.

but the economic development was not visible in the social development during the period. Russia has dropped behind Mauritius and Sri Lanka in terms of infant mortality. The country left behind Uruguay, Qatar, and Cuba regarding the human development index (OXFAM, 2014).

Globalization has various effects on Russia; the health sector is one of them. HIV/AIDS has severely threatened Russia's health sector since the 1990s. The number of HIV-positive cases rose four times more than in 1995, keeping 70 per cent of drug addict cases, but in 2006, Putin declared HIV a threat to society (Curtis, 1996). Such policy changes in the health sector impacted Russia's encounter with globalization. The fight against deadly diseases resulted from multiple factors, including declining demography and new economic transition trends. Class division in society increased the gap between rich and poor widened. On the other hand, social polarization resulted in other social issues like the rise of the drug mafia, alcoholism, violence, prostitution, and epidemics. The social effects followed by the economic decline put the country in a demographic catastrophe liberal economic policy effect indirectly connected with the demographic issues which the country faces today, which eventually linked with the gender inequality in society with the introduction of policies of government to tackle the demographic problems and to recapture the socio-economic stability.

4.5.1 Terrorism

Terrorism is one of the demerits of globalization that affects the security of countries and people. Security issues have always been a critical core of Russia's policymaking. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the security issue was the most crucial area which Russia always emphasized. The free flow of money, ideas, and persons and modern advanced technology has contributed more to the terrorist activities being carried out quickly. In 1994, a new article was added to the criminal code. In 1998, *'Federal Law Number 130-FZ'* was added to Russia's law in response to the terrorist activities (Wilhelmsen, 2011). The event of 9/11 gives the need for addressing global governance in terrorism. In Russia during 2009-10, suicide bomb attacks happened. During the Yeltsin period, international terrorism was put forth in Russia's policy agenda. In a speech, Yeltsin said, "My attitude is indeed negative as it would be any act of terrorism, military interference, failure to solve a problem through talks, I am

outraged, and I denounce this" (Wilhelmsen, 2011). One year later, Russia's Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov gave a speech at the UN. He stated, "Separatism is to an increasing degree closing in on such a misshapen phenomenon as terrorism, and proposed to enhance international cooperation against terrorism" (Wilhelmsen, 2011).

4.6 Impact of Globalization on Women in Russia

Globalization has a positive and negative side that directly and indirectly affects women. On the one hand, it helps women get a supportive platform for their rights and activism and allows them to participate in global platforms that help reduce gender inequality and promote equality. Another hand, it thrives forms new exploitations (Chandler, 2013). Globalization helped feminist groups in Russia to get in contact with others internationally. Networking with western organizations gave more success to women groups. The most successful project, NEWW, is a Washington Cantered group with more than fifty organizations in East-Central Europe. Russian feminist scholar Klimenkova (1996) points out that discussion around inevitable 'matriarchy' at home and women's power over their families do not represent the reality of women's status at home.

In real life, work done by women at home is unpaid and is not respected in the same way as paid labour. It is taken for granted and puts additional pressure on Russian women. A sense of freedom came along with perestroika and glasnost. People became free of the old communist regime; they enjoyed the freedom of speech, sexual freedom, freedom of movement, and many other freedoms, which the Russian people were denied for decades. However, this sense and understanding of freedom must be understood in the Russian social context. It created chaos and denial of everything 'old' connected to Soviet times. Another set of privileges and opportunities for women were voiced through open borders.

Opening borders allowed globalization processes to extend in Russia's political, economic, cultural, and social layers. Some argue that Western influence also impacted the creation of a new state of psychology. Denial of old morals and ethics of collective devotion to building a bright future occupied the Russian people's minds. Modern politics, open market principles, democratization, and consumerism were the top priorities. Managerial business rules spread to new areas science, social welfare, public institutions, and culture. The influence was felt through mass media, public

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attitudes, state policies, and personal opinions. Despite the boundaries of 'traditionalism' in contemporary Russia, modern women learn to manipulate these 'traditional' gender images and roles in their public and private life. Globalization and gendered identities have a mutual influence on each other. The image of women changed into a beauty concept rather than remembering the icons like Valentina Tereshkova. Feminism has become a more discussed topic in society but is primarily interpreted as countering males, not as the hierarchal superiority and privileges men enjoy in the society and hierarchical order of the system.

On the one hand, the processes of globalization are being fed by the existing gender images and discourses, which are considered natural, acceptable, and customary. On the other hand, shifting meanings of 'local-global and 'private-public brought transformations of gender constructs and restructured boundaries between perceptions of femininity and masculinity. In Russia, gender identities, language, and globalization are inter-connected by the sense of freedom. Mass media has always played a crucial role in shaping gender images and public attitudes and creating information space. During Soviet times, mass media were used mainly by the state to control ideology in the country. Nowadays, they are primarily used to regulate the population's perceptions, thoughts, and emotions. Mass media is a powerful tool for manipulating images of masculinity and femininity, gender roles and identities, and the ways men and women think about themselves and others. They present and promote specific gender images consumed by people and then experienced as their own (Shitova, 2008).

Women's status in Russian society profoundly connects with the society's culture. Gender issues in society, especially concerning the women's development question, are interconnected with cultural perception and state interest. All odd gender situations are relevant to the cultural aspect of society. Even though gender equality was not well established in the Soviet period, it could be said that gender mainstreaming was more or less successful in Russian society than in the transformation period. Gender in the soviet period was regulated and structured officially, creating a sense of absence of gender or sex in the public domain. It sustained the discussion and formation of gender issues in the public domain. The Revolution marked the changes in the socio-political- and economic fields of the Soviet Union. It also marked differences in Russia's gender discourse. It changed the

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discussion of gender into a state-controlled and regulated one, and gender was silent. Russia's political and cultural changes had a colossal impact on gender issues. Highly educated Russian women had to compromise with the lower wage and were suppressed by the social ideas due to the political changes. Later, democratization and integration with the world brought tremendous changes in gender discourse during the transition period. Russian women's fraction came into the parliament, and many gender-related issues were discussed and brought out in public. The spread of information technology contributes to changing ideas and discussions on gender-related topics.

The shift from the Soviet to a new political regime brought changes in the political and economic sectors. It also changed the attitude and ideas of people regarding the family, marriage and other social and cultural systems. The notable changes in the family structure and customs could be seen as a significant turn as the images of working women in the Soviet period were considered worshipped or celebrated. In contrast, in the post-Soviet period, the images of a glamorous woman or a homemaker became the most celebrated images of women in media and people's minds. The lift in marriage registration resulted in a massive increase in promoting life in together and single-mother families. The fertility rate also decreased due to marriage registration and other economic hardships. The divorce rate increased, and the marriage rate fell in this period. However, the belief that changes in society cannot be only due to the exposure to the western world and feminist ideology that flowed into Russian society through globalization. There are many rural areas in Russia where globalization and western ideologies hardly touched or influenced show the highest divorce rate and decline in a registered marriage and working women model, so the changes in the attitude towards gender are started even before the fall of the Soviet Union and reflected in society mainly after the economic decline and socio-political changes (Ransel, 2000).

The starting of the 2000s saw a beginning of the discussion on women's problems, and it also resulted in the development of national 'Plans of Action' to improve the status of women in society, support them and promote women's role in society. In 2005, a report as part of the 'Development Millennium Goals' was published; it recognized the need to address gender issues in the broader range and identify women's problem issues relating to economic dependence were discussed, but the

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cultural aspect of gender discourse was silent. Later on, with the increased state power, the women's issues were identified only as part of the family and demographic questions, not in the broader aspect of gender inequality. The criticism towards the gender-related issues since the starting of the discussion on gender has become more potent in this period, and the idea of 'gender' connected it as harm to Russian values and part of the modern western ideology that destroys the value system of the Russian culture becomes active and negatively linked to the postmodernism (Bobylev, 2017).

Equal opportunities were a significant component of social life in the Soviet Union. The notion of equal rights was founded on the parity of the gender groups in economic activity. Even though it denied some liberties, it promoted a good amount of social fairness. The Soviet government held the idea of the right to work of all citizens; it protected and carried out irrespective of sex difference. Thus, women's employment rate was higher than ever in the Soviet period. Integration of women into the economic production made the equality of women in social space. The shift from a centralized state-owned to a privatized market increased unemployment. Women were the most affected section of people with the alarming unemployment rate. It compelled them to engage more in the privatized trade and illegal market supplies. Even though the presence of women in the illegal trade market is not new, the economic policy of Stalin brought a considerable section of rural women into the illegal market with their homemade products. The sudden changes in the political and social sectors increased women's engagement in the illegal market with foreign goods, and the integration with other countries allowed them to travel beyond the boundaries (Mukhina, 2014).

Introducing private companies and foreign investment ended employment services and the pension system. Two fundamental concepts of the communist regime that established a high degree of universal well-being in the Soviet Union were promises of hefty pension payments and stable jobs. Changes in the payment system in new Russia to adopt the global market ended up the last hope for the elderly, especially women. The new multinational companies with maximum profit motive changed the well-being of people. States had to adjust to the cut-off in the tax rates for private companies by reducing the expenditure on public services; it made the pension below the poverty margin. The retirement age for women is fifty-five in Russia; the rise in the pensioner's number in the country alarms the ageing population without financial

support. Another area of destruction is the health system of the country. Health care under the Soviet government was free of cost for the citizen, and that assurance was given for equal treatment and services for all people under the state budget. Changes in the economy brought a considerable drop in the government share of GDP in health care. In 1994, the state budget spent only 4.8 of its GDP on health care, reducing to 3.2 in 2013 (Kholod, 2018). Another area where the government cut off its service is education. Soviet people enjoyed a free education for all with a high educational standard. The enrolment rate in educational institutions and academic excellence were high in the Soviet Union. Government expenditure was high on the educational sector as state-guaranteed equal access for all social groups. The educational rate for females was high in the Soviet period. The new economic and political transition was reflected in the educational sector as the state reduced the expenditure on the education system, making it difficult for poor people to afford higher education. Drop out in schools and universities increased.

The transition period in the Soviet Union witnessed a higher fall in the birth rate. The demographic issues after the Second World War continue to threaten the country's demography. The withdrawal of the state from the social services made the situation worse. The integration into the world economy shifted the nature of the economic system; it hardly hit the people of all sections. The sudden transition made it difficult for people to adopt the new market system. The state no longer supports the health service, and a decline in quality of life resulted in a higher mortality rate. The poverty rate increased drastically, along with higher unemployment and unrest in the economic and political fields. Parents adopted the two-child policy that they could only afford without the state support in education, health and all social needs. Besides economic unrest, alcoholism was also a reason behind the fall in Russian men's life expectancy. Other factors like meagre environmental quality increased the risk of cancer and other diseases; people struggled to adjust to the sudden changes. It increased the stress and psychological issues among people; women were mainly hit with the psychological issues and stress problems (Barret, 2009).

Russia has undergone alterations in masculinity and feminine gender ideologies driven by globalisation and moderated by local norms over the twentieth and early twenty-first century. They, in essence, are the product of previous social and political activities. In today's Russia, attitudes about women result from centuries of

patriarchal control in which the patriarch of the homemade choices for all its residents. Gender was not a palpable element of social alignment, although women's equality was an official policy. Whilst gendered cultural acceptance in the Soviet Union was practical, the transformation revealed persistent constraints and preconceptions. Indeed, the shift from a communist to a capitalist system has allowed for the emergence of new ideologies, especially the flow of feminist ideas in society. A proliferation of new technologies, particularly the invention of the *Runet*, also provided new prospects for Russian women. It promotes women to reach more significant sociocultural standing by providing additional academic and employment options. It is also an effective way to eradicate gender disparities in information access, employment, support networks, and culture. The sharp increase in the Internet viewership that began in the early twenty-first century was surpassed by an exerting substantial influence on female Internet users (Kholod, 2018).

4.6.1 Trafficking

The international system has failed to keep up with the rapid changes in the global economy. The openness in trade with fast-growing information technologies and integration opened up the world of criminal activities, violence and human rights violations. Criminal organizations have evolved, expanded globally, and now threaten the global economy. Illegal commodities come from one country, are transported to another, and then sold in a different market. Mafia became a problem worldwide, destroying the peace and order of the world. Corruption is fostered by crime, which has infiltrated economics and hampered growth. The traditional crimes increased, and new forms of violence and crimes came out with the help of modern technology. Cyber security severely threatens national infrastructure and public safety, stealing identities and fraud. Due to the nature of crime and mode of operation, it becomes challenging to find the culprits and stop the crimes. Trafficking has become a fast-growing crime targeting women and children.

UN define trafficking as "Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour service, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (Johnson, 2009:122). The development of a global community made it easier to transform goods and services; on the other hand, such an event negatively influences

humans. Abridging the world is a process of globalization. Globalization strengthens the volunteer and coercive transfer of humans. Human trafficking is the most negative impact of globalization; women and children are the most natural prey. (brewer, 2009). Western, especially American feminists, have a long history of being concerned about the issue of trafficking. The first wave of activism against trafficking began during the 20th century and helped enact several international agreements. The second wave of feminist activism in the 1970s and1980s renewed feminist attention to the issue by the 1990s. In Russia, Transnational Feminist Network (TFNs) found in 1993 based in the US against sex trafficking and prostitution. Global Alliance against Trafficking against Women[85] (GAATW), founded in 1994 based in Thailand, works against coerced prostitution and works against forced sex labour (Johnson, 2009:121). The globalization process has entrenched the world economy; an integrated economic system strengthens the ways to flourish trafficking. Trafficking has become a more profitable business in the global community (ILO, 2008).

Globalization boosts interconnection between states for trade and market. The availability of cheaper labour in developing countries was vital in increasing human trafficking in connection with trade and commerce in the globalized economy. It exploits humans who struggle to meet the end. Agrarian societies are left with no option to compete with the emerging global economy and without the scope of skill development to compete with the emerging workforce. With cheap, desperate labourers, underdeveloped countries became the target of multinational companies. The deceitful companies and money chain rackets increased with increased unemployment and poverty. The smuggling of humans increased more and more with easy access to other countries and people's desire to have a luxurious life. In search of a better future, Russian women dreamt of runoff to western countries where they could get a decent job and life. This desperate need for a job and other material conditions put women in a more dangerous situations like trafficking, sex mafia racket and prostitution (Passas, 2000). The women who end up as sex workers in other countries from Russia are primarily searching for a better life partner through the internet. Marriage as a tactic for easy migration to a better job and life makes it easy to accept proposals from other countries online for a person they have no clue of

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[85] It is a world wide network created by more than 80 non-governmental organizations from different region with the aim of fight against trafficking in persons.

or have never come across before. The stereotype of Russian women as more obedient, easy to domesticate, and feminine makes them more demanded internationally and trapped easily (Luhermann, 2004).

Globalization prevents the state-centred counter-trafficking programs, as the trafficking has no state boundaries, making it challenging to counter it at the regional level. International institutions act to prevent trafficking; the adoption of the *Palermo Protocol* was an effort by the UN in this sort. Many states adopted the program to fight against the emerging menace and make awareness of the issue's dangers. The success of passing anti-trafficking legislation, the only national legislative reform on gender violence since the Soviet collapse, was marred because so much of what global feminists regarded as good practices were not included in the final legislation. There were no national commitments to prevention or social services for deported victims. In Russia, trafficking has become a growing crime. Most women and children subject to this are economically poor and dreaming of a better life. After the long dialogues, diplomatic pressure from the west, and the UN, Russia adopted legislation for criminalizing trafficking. Analysis of coverage of trafficking over time in the national newspaper *Izvestiia*[86] suggests that attention to the issue mounted because of the parliamentary attention to the subject. There was a slight increase in trafficking around the 1997 legislative hearing and much more substantial growth during the Duma's consideration of a bill on trafficking in persons. Most articles and news reports in newspapers and media highlight aspects of sex and scandal. Focusing on sex trafficking rather than other types of labour trafficking, tend to blame the women for either being prostitutes or being a part of a particularly downtrodden segment of society. Very few discuss human rights violations or the role of Russian nationals in the process. Russian notion of trafficking stems from demographic concerns about the decreasing population in Russia, especially among the ethnic Russians (Johnson, 2009:137,138). The Russian Federation's Government set up the Commission on the Status of Women in 2001, at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2002, the Department of Foreign Affairs established an official task force to address crimes against women and trafficking. In 2002, the State Duma *Committee on Civil, Criminal, Arbitration, and Procedural Law* established a cross-

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[86]Russian Izvestia is a daily broadsheet publication. It was established in 1917 and served as the official newspaper of the Soviet Union until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It now refers to itself as the "national newspaper" of Russia.

functional and joint committee to draft a federal measure to combat human trafficking (Ryazantsev et al., 2015).

 The tactics and strategies criminal organisations use to lure foreigners and Russian nationals into human trafficking are numerous and growing. In Russia, the internet's role in enlisting trafficking victims has expanded significantly, and the internet has now become a leading channel for marketing trafficking victims. Human trafficking for cheap labour has become a global problem in many countries. According to UN data, around 27 million people live in slavery globally, including 600,000 nationals of nations once part of the Soviet Union. The country's geographic location and transportation ties assisted its transition into a transit route for trafficking victims between Asia and Europe. Human trafficking for forced labour and sex trafficking are closely linked to illegal labour migration, which has drawn large numbers of persons from the former Soviet Union (UN, 2020).

In 2018, the bulk of victims found in Eastern Europe and Central Asia were trafficked for forced labour. Eastern Europe and Central Asia are essentially a subarea of source for survivors of internal trafficking within their own countries. Since 2003, the number of crimes documented in this region has been at an all-time high. President Vladimir Putin officially spoke out in support of declaring human trafficking illegal in December 2003. Although no particular legislation was enacted, the Criminal Code was revised, and *Article 127.1* declared that people trafficking was punished by imprisonment. Human trafficking is defined in Russian Code as "The buying-selling of a person or other actions committed for the purpose of such person's exploitation in the form of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of such a person"(Tverdova, 2011). Later, the anti-slavery *article 127.2* was inserted.

Furthermore, the Criminal Code lacks a term for a trafficking victim, making verification difficult and reducing exposure to rehabilitation services. The government made a few steps to safeguard victims. Like in prior years, the government did not offer financing or programmes for protective services for victims of human trafficking. Due to a shortage of financing, the final specialised trafficking shelters were shuttered in 2015; nonetheless, government-funded homeless shelters may welcome Russian and international victims. Authorities did not systematically examine possible victims getting help at these shelters for signs of human trafficking;

in previous years, the shelters supplied medical and psychological care and referrals to international NGOs and other homeless shelters throughout Russia. In 2018 and 2019, there were no reports of victims being helped in these shelters. Through "foreign agent regulations", the government has undertaken steps to curtail or outlaw the functioning of non-governmental organizations, including some committed to anti-trafficking efforts. That adversely affected the functioning of NGOs rather than challenging trafficking. Add citation. The laws and regulations of the Russian federation were not efficient in tackling trafficking (Goncharenko & Khadaroo, 2020).

Additionally, the government's attempts to put influence NGOs through the application of legal restrictions also affected those offering assistance to victims of trafficking; the authority earlier identified two locally registered NGOs operating on trafficking issues as "foreign agents" and NGO staff who criticised the implementation of anti-trafficking attempts received verbal harassment. Individuals or organisations providing material support unlawfully become criminals under the "*Yarovaya*" set of anti-terror laws, and officials could punish NGOs who illegally support trafficking victims (Russia, 2021). Regulators often detained and deported prospective forced labour victims for immigration infractions and charged victims of sex trafficking for prostitution offences without checking for trafficking indications. In 2016, the ILO Committee of Experts expressed concern that specific policies of the Russian penal code, which also include forced labour as a possible sentence, are phrased in such a way that they could be used as a form of discipline for the expression of anti-government views. Corruption among public officials and some government entities fosters a climate conducive to human trafficking. In recent years, there have been criminal proceedings involving Russian officials accused of supporting human trafficking by allowing victims to enter Russia, offering security to traffickers, and restoring survivors to their exploiters; in some cases, officials have been primarily engaged in trafficking crimes. Human trafficking has become a profitable business in today's globalizing world by smuggling humans across borders and its insidious partner. It has become a severe crime among international criminals to profit using migrants; it has become a new form of slavery and coercion, preying upon women, kids, and young girls by offering jobs and trafficking (Conway, 2007:91). The globalization process paved the way for international exchange for criminals. Cross-border economic exchange simplifies; increased trade flows provide

many opportunities to hide contraband in licit flows. State institutions are increasingly challenged by a tension between promoting free-market capitalism while restricting the free flow of drugs, arms, prostitutes, conflicts, and other undesirable commodities (Allen, 2007:95). The global sex trade involves trafficking women and children for commercial sexual exploitation, prostitution, and pornography. Children and women are treated as commodities in this marketing world, not humans (Conway, 2007).

4.6.2 Migration

Over the past years, there has been a rapid growth in the number of people undertaking international migration. According to the World Migration Report (2005), 48% of international migrants are women. According to the UN report of 2007, Russia has the second-largest labour migration, constituting 12.9 million (Lomagin, 2011). The number of female migrants' labourers, mainly from the former Soviet republics like Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova, is primarily due to the poor economic condition, and the migration to cities like St. Petersburg and Moscow is Easy for them (Bredinkova & Tkach, 2010). The Russian Federation is also home to many labour migrants from Central Asian countries and CIS republics, as well as China and Vietnam, whom human traffickers frequently target. Criminal organisations coordinating human trafficking use the Russian Federation's territory as a transit place. Human trafficking and labour exploitation are inextricably related. The following categories of exploitation are listed in Article 127-1 of the Russian Federation's Criminal Code: exploitation of others' prostitution; other forms of sexual abuse; slave labour; enslavement. Trafficking could also be undertaken for the goal of obtaining a people's body organs. In the traditional meaning, utilisation of people is considered behaviour involving the expropriation of the results of some other people's labour and the resulting advantages and wealth. The concept of exploitation of a person is defined in *Article 127-1* of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation as the methodical utilisation of the results of some other person's manual labour, which is engaged via manipulation, misuse of loyalty, abuse or the fear of violence, or taking advantage the harmed party's reliant position (Ryazantsev et al., 2015). The labour migrants mostly get into the informal sectors; these migrations do not take place through a proper official channel. These situations lead to the entering of female migrants into low-paid intimate areas with poor working conditions, mainly on work sites.

Migration in the Early Soviet period was complex due to the restrictions on emigration and movements within the country. The period 1980s shows the most significant number of migration within the country, especially among the ethnic communities. Mainly Jews, Germans and Armenians made successful emigrations. The emigration policies become flexible with the introduction of Glasnost and perestroika. The number of emigrants rose from 2,943 in 1985 to 100000 in 1991. By signing the United Nations convention on refugees in 1993, Russia was classified as the first country the resort to refugees. Signing the convention and the inadequate border security provisions following the dissolution of the Soviet Union made the country easy for illegal migrants. In order to deal with the migrants from the CIS and other countries, Russia formed the *Federal Migration Service*[87] (FMS).   Local branches of the FMS deal with the registration of the migrants giving material support and allocating them to the accepted places. The FMS works with the support funds from Russia's state fund and international financial support. The flow of illegal migrants increased in the 1990s from third world countries. 28,000 migrants were living in Moscow in 1994, and these numbers make the peoples from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Somalis. Apart from third-world countries, most of the emigrants to Russia were from CIS countries. The number of people from CIS countries to Russia in the year 1995 was in the number of 963,000. The internal conflict resulted from a declining economy and political unrest, compelling the people to leave the CIS countries. The more significant number of migrants from the CIS is mainly from Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan (Voronina, 2006).

Female labour migration is happening mainly for the standard and correctly identified poor economic conditions. The other purpose is the movement of females to other cities leaving home town as part of freedom of financial independence or autonomy of decision making. The end of the 19th century witnessed a mass migration of female peasant workers from villages to urban cities for factory and domestic work. That gave them greater freedom from the patriarchal suppression of traditional rural culture. It is interesting to note the migration of female labourers for an independent life; that shows the aspect of gender segregation in the family and society. Female labour migration in the country goes unnoticed as official records and studies on

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[87] The Federal Migration Service was in charge of overseeing immigration in Russia, registering residents, and providing Russian passports for travel abroad.

migration concentrate on the male that is a result of gender ramp are connected to the gender roles.

4.7 Globalization: The Indian Experience

4.7.1 Globalization in India

Globalization has become a necessity and drifts that every country must follow irrespective of the size and nature of the system. India is indeed not an exception to this trend. India's economy and society have both negative and positive results from adopting globalization. Women in poorer countries are more vulnerable than their counterparts in advanced states. The existing economic conditions make it difficult for developing countries to adjust to the new trade policies incapable of uniting all nations' needs. Another factor making the new world order difficult for women is gender unequal policies and customs. The gender-discriminatory customs in society worsen as women are most affected by the immediate cause of economic changes. As time passes, with the increasing integration into the global market and world system, globalization intensifies in India and encroaches on people's life. No section of society goes untouched by the effect of globalization. Every section of social and economic groups comes under its influence; when it looks at the impact on women, it goes more deeply. As they are not a homogenous section divided into caste, class, and religious groups, the impact on women differs in different sections. Apart from the sexual identity perspective, variables such as socioeconomic class, caste, household structure, education, age, the state's placement in the international economy and its ability to adapt to global restructuring in its various forms determine the multiple social effects of globalisation and the regularity among problems and challenges.

 India followed an imported exchange economic policy until the 1990s. Due to the failure to achieve the goal of poverty eradication, expected growth in national income, social development by following the inward economic policy, and changes in world political order, India looked for another step to integrate with the world economy. India witnessed two major financial renovations during the post-independence period until its new economic policy of liberalization and globalization. The political system of parliamentary democracy has been a peculiar future of India since independence. In 1950, India introduced the Planning Commission with the vision of economic growth and social development using the country's resources. It envisioned achieving

national development, eradicating poverty and tackling the country's employment issues. The goals of the economic policy came under pressure in the 1990s with the payment crisis that took place in the 1980s due to fiscal imbalance. The internal dues of the country increased since then and reached a peak in the 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet bloc, which served as the supporting system of Indian trade. In order to save the country from economic disaster, the country got help from international organizations, including IMF and World Bank. It was essential for the government to adopt the concepts of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) (Kishore, 2002). The roots of globalisation were sown in India in the early 1980s, but the New Economic Policy[88] (NEP) of 1991 gave the actual impetus. Globalization supports countries to boost international investment, enabling advanced country technology to increase exports, accelerate help facilitate better, and lower transportation and communication costs. It resulted in a series of changes in the economic sector, bringing new policies that directly and indirectly affect the country and women in particular.

India has been a part of a tiny group of 24 countries since June 1991. International organisations such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank were critical. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is a major multilateral organisation governing international trade. Various political, ideological, and economic characteristics have been modified as India has oriented its economic policies toward broader participation in the global market. One of the fundamental changes was that the global involvement of the Indian economy had a significant impact on the Indian government's administrative set-up, i.e. the instruments of Indian democracy. A forceful critique of Nehru's and Indira's model of interdependent and interlinked institutional arrangements for administration and democratic involvement has spawned a new development paradigm. Deregulation and globalisation in the economy have become new policies. A crucial distinction has emerged; governments have lost their ability to make genuine judgments on critical economic issues, while decision-making power has migrated to the most influential multinational corporations. Globalization and its effects on society have had an impact on Indian

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[88] The Soviet regime's official economic policy was the NEP, which took the place of war communism. In addition to allowing private ownership of small enterprises, the revival of marketplaces, and the sale of surplus commodities, it also put an end to the requisitioning of grains and replaced it with a fixed levy that could be paid in kind.

democracy. Most state and local governments have supported internal and external capital investment in the post-liberalisation period (Maan, 2008).

4.7.2 Economic Impact and effects on women

The country's economic sector, with the adoption of liberalisation policies, privatization and globalization were enforced to witness a series of changes. India had followed an agrarian economy. The agricultural sector was dominated and determined the country's growth and development. It has been the population's essential employment provider, and the GDP was about 59 % in 1951 (Jain & Sitalni, 2013). With the introduction of LPG policies, the government mainly concentrated on the manufacturing and service sectors. It resulted in the decline of employment in the agriculture sector. Thus, globalisation has wreaked havoc on the agricultural industry in India. Moves by multinational businesses to regulate farmers' traditional crop use increased pressure to switch to intensive crops, as well as growing costs and unstable market pricing has resulted in widespread displacement and hardship (Moffatt et al.,2011). In 1951, the 72 % of employment in the agriculture sector was reduced to 65.42 in 1984 and further declined to 61.03%, 56.64%, and 52% in 1994, 200, and 2004 respectively. It also resulted in the decline of the share of agriculture in the GDP of the country and an increase in the share of other sectors. The share of the agricultural sector for GDP was high in 1980 before the application of LPG policies in the economic sector; the service sector showed the lowest share in the period. After the 1990s, the share of the agriculture sector declined, and the service sector dominated. The industrial sector has shown almost the same growth since the 1990s (Agarwal, 2014).

The growth in the service sector remains constant after some point, sticking between 45% to 48 %, and the trend continues until 2020. Compared to 1990 to 2012, the sector showed a decline after 2012 and an increase compared to the industrial and agricultural sectors. Initial growth in the industrial sector did not continue and stuck to below 30 per cent after 2012. The decline in agriculture continued and reached 18.4 per cent in 2020. The economic policies of the 1990s significantly affected the agriculture sector, which was once the backbone of the Indian economic system. The shift in government policies greatly affected not only the economic sector but also the socio and cultural sector of the country.

Figure: 4.2 Sector-wise Growths in India
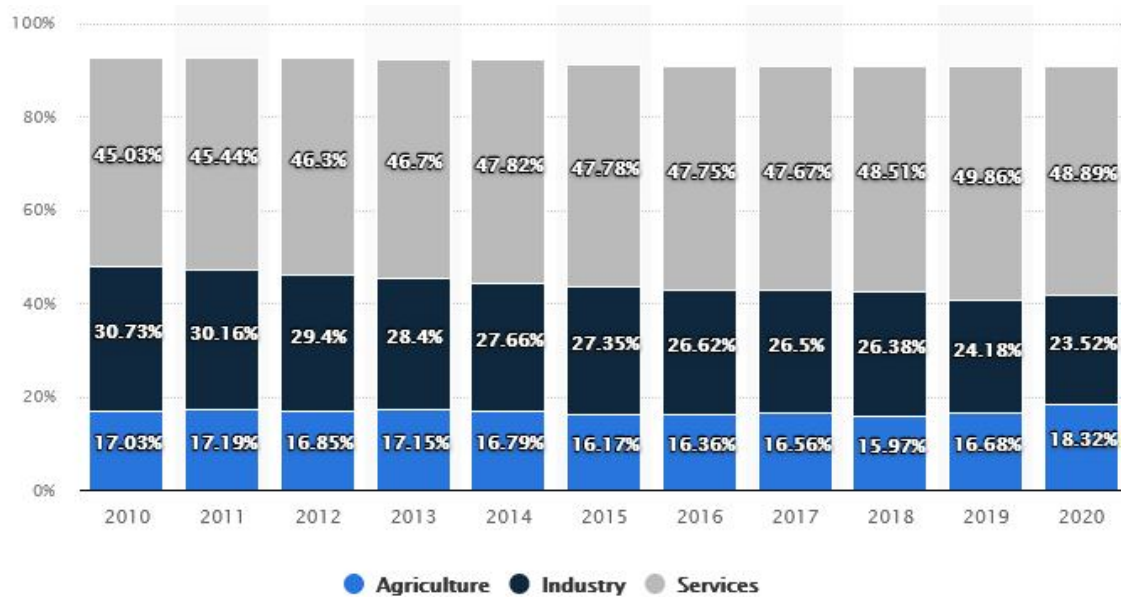
(Source: Statista, 2021)

The momentum of the global economy started to influence the Indian economy during the 90s. Changes in culture altered traditional modes of cultural expression, usage of languages and communication at the local, regional, and national levels. Developments in agriculture had a significant impact on the consumption style of people (Singh, 2000:51). Independent India's economic sector was solely an agricultural economy. As the vulnerable section was easily affected by sectorial changes, women were the most affected by the sudden changes of globalisation. Women had immense participation in agriculture, especially rural women, which was not acknowledged. Women's employment share in the agricultural sector in the rice-producing states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal was 78 %, whereas men constitute 63%. The tribal population of women in Orissa engage in 105.4 hours a day in farming, more than men who work only 50.11 (Deb & Sen, 2016). The rural population of India, who had been greatly dependent on agriculture, fell into poverty and raised suicidal numbers. Women and girls were the sections who had to tolerate the consequence, as they had to skip the meal for the elderly and kids; and leave education to male siblings. A significant section of the rural population, especially women dependent on agriculture, lost jobs and faced unemployment. The government reduced fund allocation to irrigation and other agriculture-related programs, resulting

in a considerable decline in the employment rate for general and women in rural areas. The World Bank report on poverty indicates that 44.2 per cent of the people were under the poverty line from 1994 to 1998 (Kishore, 2002). The introduction of technology into the agriculture field with a sudden shift in the traditional agriculture products made the women unemployed. The sudden decline in the agriculture sector made a significant share of the rural population shift to urban areas, making their life more miserable. It leads to other problems for women related to security. The migrated women in the urban spaces struggle to get job opportunities and end up in trafficking groups. Informal sectors essentially comprise these migrated rural women. They often stay near places near their workplace, lacking basic needs like drinking water and proper sanitation. It makes them prone to poor health conditions and often subject to sexual exploitation. Rural and urban women mostly lack proper food, and health conditions suffer from issues like anaemia, malnutrition, and gynaecological issues.

The changes in the economy with the decline in the employment rate in the agriculture sector resulted in the increase of women workers in the informed sector, and the unorganized sector is notable. The introduction of globalization into the economic sector without trade restrictions paved the way for low-paid women workers. Along with the low income, interstate migrant female workers also increased rapidly. Women working in the unorganized sector do not come under or benefit from the employment law, as it does not cover the employers of the unorganized sector. In 2008, after a long time of pressure from women organizations and NGOs, the unorganized *Workers' Social Security Act* enacted in 2008 provided security for workers in the unorganized sector (Sankaran & Madhav, 2011). Nevertheless, in actual practice, the law provides minor benefits for women. Discrimination in the labour market can be seen in choosing employment, wages, nature of work, sexual harassment, recruitment, and hiring discrimination.

Globalization resulted in strengthening the existing gender discrimination in the labour market. The government made notable changes in the trade and economic policies to the free flow of investment and increased foreign collaboration in the Indian financial system. The effect of the new market system had a different impact on different groups of people such as women, lower caste people, urban, city, and marginalised sections. Such a move greatly affected women workers' rights in the

labour market. Most of them were deprived of their rights to work with minimum wage and notably worked in poor working conditions. While focusing on increasing the flow of foreign aid, it had to compromise with the rules that provided the labourers with primary working conditions. The prominent problem women had to deal with was the security issues.

Liberalization policies made it easy for multinational companies to shift their focus to third-world countries; investing in such an economy made it easy for the availability of labourers, especially women workers, at lower wages. The multinational companies of Japan and western countries have shifted their focus to the Indian market, mainly in the industrial fields of Bangalore, Gurgaon and Hyderabad, for the cheap labour force available in these cities. They find it easy to run the companies, as women are less likely to take part in strikes and could make more profit in a limited time. Increased investment of multinational companies gives women chances to participate in the labour force that was difficult to find in the early period. It also helped them become economically independent, a significant cause of violence and gender inequality. The export-oriented market in the country primarily consists of manufacturing industries requiring a higher number of labourers aiming for the maximum profit within a minimum time. The women who work for these multinational companies are mostly less educated, low-skilled, and belong to the marginalized section of urban areas that desperately need work to meet the end. They primarily work on a contract basis with no chances of payment or work status increments. The contract nature of the work makes them obedient to the supervisors who are abusive both physically and mentally. They often work uncertain shifts for more prolonged, risking their health and life. This section of the women workers became the most exploited section. The positive sides of globalization in the economic sector, including the higher opportunities for women to choose their profession and stay independent, do not apply to every section of society. Women who belong to marginalised communities, lower caste and poor stand out from the opportunities (Arora, 2012). They continued to work in poor conditions with lower wages and limited access to resources.

Employment insecurity is a crucial issue for female employees, which causes them mental stress. A substantial percentage of women labour are in the informal economy and have no job security and essential working regulation policies. It is the same

scenario not only in the unorganised sector or small businesses but also in industries like information technology and manufacturing, where working women are compelled to work for 12 hours a day while local authorities ignore this flagrant violation of labour regulations. Women's working circumstances in India have deteriorated due to the greater usage of technology. Certain conventional areas where significant numbers of women labour, such as handicraft and food industry, have witnessed changes in the modes of manufacturing, the emergence of machinery, electric weaving, and other technologies, resulting in the termination of labour for a considerable number of women. Workers' payments in these industries are mainly determined by how quickly they produce. The introduction of advanced technologies resulted in job loss for women dependent on these sectors. When a person's pay is based on output energy, unpleasant health implications are nearly always the result.

Limiting government services occurred in many service sectors, including banking, insurance, telecommunication and infrastructure. Privatization and technological development increased the IT service. Globalization also provided new chances for persons in the unorganised sector, such as remuneration jobs or new channels for the self-employed. The integration allowed women to explore new work modes and earn better incomes. Employment growth is visible in the IT sector, with an increase from 56000 employers in 1990 to 813500 in 2003. In 2004 India became the prominent spot for foreign investment in IT services; the country gained five per cent of GDP from the sector in 2005. In 2021, it made 12 per cent of the country's GDP. IT sector increased the job opportunities for young educated sections with high payment. IT firms are primarily located in places of people with modern educated English-speaking youth employers due to their focus on export and foreign deal. So it benefitted more for the urban population more than the rural. The number of IT employers increased gradually. The number of employers in IT shows the sector's importance in India's economic development. The number of employers in the IT sector increased to 38,000, with 36 per cent of women employers (Press Information Bureau, 2022. Women benefited from the chance to advance in their careers in this industry. People's goals in general, and women's aspirations in particular, have changed dramatically due to the pervasive effect of information technology. Women in this industry are self-assured, motivated, and highly competent employees who

have made a name for themselves inside their organisations primarily to their skills and attributes (Vijaya, 2014).

4.7.3 Globalization and Inequality

The globalization process is time and again related to inequalities. At a more significant level, it discriminates between nations. As already mentioned, the development distribution is not uniform worldwide. The developed countries gain more than the underdeveloped and developing countries. The share of developed countries from the globalized market is higher than that of developing countries. The disparity is also reflected at the national level. The income distribution and development process are not similar among all sections of the people. Globalization has an uneven impact between countries and across various sections of the nation. The positive aspects of an increase in employment rate, social development and economic gain are not distributed equally among and inside the nations. People in urban areas and high-class affluent sections gained much with the capitalist accumulation, whereas rural people lost their daily earnings with multinational companies' introduction into the local markets and production units. The evolution of labour law in India indicates the difficulties employees face in their quest for a fair wage and a dignified existence, which appears to have been severely hampered by the strengthening of India's globalisation process.

Economic and social disparities abound in India. Earnings disparity and capital imbalance are the two main types of economic inequality. Individual income disparity, regional income inequality, and rural-urban income inequality are different characteristics of income inequality. India consists of people belonging to different social categories who benefited differently from the developmental programs. Not all of the society enjoys the benefits of developments in terms of rights, wealth and access to the resource. Some of the groups enjoy the upper hand in wealth and social indicators. Financial crises and policy responses affect men and women differently, but the consequences of welfare reforms on women and girls are rarely explored. Women are the marginalized section of society that least benefited from the developmental programs. Economic development resulted in social development; many people, including the poor, lower caste, and women, benefited from

opportunities and access to resources. Nevertheless, the number of women who benefit remains low compared to the overall population.

Significant changes have occurred in the economic sector in India since globalization began India. The deepened effect of globalization in the Indian market was introduced with the liberalization policies. Curtail in tax for imported goods increased privatization and transformation in the bank sector. These all marked a considerable change in the production and consumption of the Indian market system. The rise of a new middle-class people called NRI (Non-Resident Indians) is a product of the one world effect, which caused a considerable impact on the economic sector. In the newly emerged economic order, economic and trade policies changed. Indian markets have become export-oriented, and the introduction of SAP tears down the subsidies for food and fertilizer. It also brought changes in the banking, insurance, public service and social sector (Gosain, 2015). Government policies to reduce restrictions and attract multinational companies to invest in the market made it possible to grow a capital-intensive production market. It made available more job opportunities. The country could not protect the rights and give security in such a sudden change that changed the nature of the Indian market system. Multinationals identified the women workers as more cheaply and vulnerable and easier to substitute with male labour. Educated upper-class women benefitted more from globalization as they benefitted from opportunities to become economically independent. At the same time, women belong to the lower class, and the uneducated had to struggle more in the newly constructed hierarchal market system. Both cases of upper-class and lower-class women meet at one point, where they both carry the burden of working outside the family and taking care of children, the elderly and family chores. Undoubtedly, fast globalisation has intensified the difficulties of inequality and feminization of poverty.

The social development took place in India, along with the economic development not resemble all over the country. The region-wise and social group-wise disparity in the distribution of social development is also visible from the difference among regions of the country and the social category. One of the indicators of individual inequality is the literacy rate. India's literacy rate improved from 48.54 per cent in 1991 to 54.16 per cent in 2001; for the first time, the literacy rate in the country achieved high growth. However, the country's literacy rate was not increased for all the regions. Some of the regions fell behind and did not show much progress that

benefitted from the sudden growth, and it varies in rural and urban rates and is different for males and females. The growth in the literacy rate for males and females is not increased proportionally; it also varies in urban and rural areas. The literacy rate for males in urban areas consistently increased compared to men in rural areas and for females in both urban and rural areas (Census of India, 2001:2)

The development outcomes are not benefitted proportionally among the states. The high rate of development rate shows consistently among a few states. The cultural impact of globalization could visibly reflect in the urban areas where the modernization reflects instantly due to the access to resources and technological development. Therefore the negative impact of modernization impact affects urban female quickly than rural women.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has identified the country's region-wise disparity in economic and social development. Per capita income of the wealthiest state and poorest states increased. The state-wise consumption index In terms of urban consumption, Goa, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, and Maharashtra was among the top states in 2011-12. Nevertheless, Manipur, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, and Nagaland are at the bottom of the rankings. Goa, Kerala, and Punjab are at the top of the rural rankings, while Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, and Madhya Pradesh are at the bottom. The educational sector shows that Himachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Nagaland are among the top performers in terms of urban areas. Kerala, Tripura, and Himachal Pradesh are at the top of the rural rankings, while Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and Arunachal Pradesh are at the bottom. The health sector shows top performers include Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, and Punjab, while bottom performers include Uttarakhand, UP, Orissa, and Bihar. Kerala, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh are at the top of the rural rankings (Mukherjee et al., 2014: 19). Inequality in development aid is the primary cause of migration. People migrate to cities because of a lack of employment options in rural areas and improved employment options and civic amenities in metropolitan areas. Some urban centres, particularly regional capitals and smaller urban pockets, are well-served by appropriate and reliable facilities, whereas others are underserved.

4.7.4 Migration, Human rights violation, and Trafficking in India

Globalization resulted in strengthening the existing gender discrimination in the labour market. The government made notable changes in the trade and economic policies to the free flow of investment and increased foreign collaboration in the Indian financial system. Such a move greatly affected women workers' rights in the labour market; it led to issues like migration, human rights violations and trafficking.

According to researchers such as Kingsley Davis, It is worth noting that migration in the Indian region has historically been modest. The presence of caste hierarchy, joint families, cultural traditions, heterogeneity of cultural identity, lack of knowledge, and the primacy of farming and moderately property connections have been linked with this trend. However, the dramatic shift in India's economy, improvements in education and transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, and a movement in labour from agriculture to manufacturing and secondary occupations, among other factors, have recently influenced Indian people's mobility patterns. As migration is considered an indicator of regional inconsistency in development, the growing number of migrant labour in India is a question to consider whether the economic integration resulted in growth or decay in the Indian economy. UN on the interstate migration specifies the developmental disparities

> While urbanization and rural-urban migration are the natural outcomes of the transition from an agriculture-based economy to an industrial economy, the extent of such migration is frequently perceived to be excessive and urban populations have been concentrated in the largest urban agglomerations in most of the Third World nations in general and in the Asian and Pacific regions in particular; The migration is seen, not so much as a natural outcome of development, but more; as a result distortion in the development process deriving from inappropriate or ineffective planning (Das & Saha, 2013: 2).

It is noted that there has been an immense rise in the number of migrant workers from the neighbouring countries to India. The political unrest and economic condition compel the citizens of other countries to make way for India. Nevertheless, India has been the primary country sending labour to developed countries like the USA, UK and other Gulf Countries since the 1990s. Of the 272 million international migrated people, India ranks first, constituting 17.5million of migrated people worldwide (UN, 2020). The globalisation process made the country the highest in sending skilled and

semiskilled labourers to new destinations like Australia and European countries. The migrant population from India differ in socio-economic background and destination. Shrinking the space of world and time made the possibility of coming in contact with the mother country made the life of migrated workers easier (Scott, 2007).

Migrant workers are the pillar of family-supporting financially; women workers become more vulnerable due to economic hardship. Women and kids are the most exploited migrant workers; they had to adjust to the unhygienic and dangerous working conditions. Women workers are primarily distributed in the care service sectors, such as domestic work that does not provide adequate security without fair labour laws and organisational support. State and international migration both increased in the 21st century. UP shows a sudden growth from five per cent to twenty-six per cent in terms of migration. Other states following UP are Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Rajasthan. Middle East countries are the most destined for migrants (G, 2013).

Internal migration is a significant and widespread component of India's economic structure. Between 2001 and 2011, an average of 5–6 million Indians migrated annually, according to the Economic Survey (2017), resulting in an inter-state migrant population of "about 60 million" and an inter-district migratory population of "as much as 80 million". Migrants occupy a substantial area in India's major cities, with the 2011 Census revealing that migrants account for over 46% of the country's urban populace. Adivasis, Dalits, religious minorities, the impoverished, illiterate, women, those from rural areas, and those involved in cultivation in their initial location are overrepresented among employees who make temporary movements within India. They engage in public and private sectors, including construction and occupations like making bricks and handicrafts. It represents how societal inequities are mirrored in the labour market. The Interstate *Migrant Workmen's Act*, 1979, seems to be the only law that governs the circumstances of migrant workers in India. The *Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act*, 1970; the *Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act*, 1996; and the *Unorganized Workers Social Security Act,* 2008 all regulate migrant workers without regard to their immigration status. Different labour rules were merged into four labour codes in 2020, but migrant employees were given little consideration. The *Code on Occupational Safety, Health, and Working Conditions* (2020) replace 13 current

legislation that governs health, safety, and workplace circumstances, including the *Interstate Migrant Workers Act. The Employees' Provident Fund Act* of 1952, the *Maternity Benefit Act* of 1961 and the *Unorganized Workers' Social Security Act* of 2008 are all replaced by the Code on Social Security (2020). To avail the benefit of these rights, workers must show evidence of a contractor linkage and labour supporting documents to reach equality mechanisms for preservation of worker rights, which is not always accessible to migrant workers who perform daily paid labour or face lengthy and intricate contractual distribution channels with multiple tiers of mediators, or other payment networks. The advantages of employment laws do not benefit most migrant workers since many companies are exempted, and many labour migrants are not documented (Rajan & Bhagat, 2021).

Unlike Southeast and East Asia, where women's migration has been driven by the underlying variables created by employment demanding modernization and the spread of urban-related systems, women in India typically travel owing to weddings or moving with the earning household member. This category of employees, mainly temporary migrant workers, belong to lower caste and lower class has also had to contend with deprivation and has continued to be exposed to hazardous working circumstances. They are mostly hired through informal routes and are frequently vastly underpaid and overworked. Food and nutrition, appropriate services, shelter, drinking, and sanitary services are frequently unavailable. In the places they travel, migrant women encounter significant gender-based obstacles—inequality in the workforce, dangers in living environments, and a denial of available to common areas. Migrant women are disproportionately placed in industries where they are not recognised as employees. They work in the construction industry as assistants, carrying and lifting goods with their husbands or male relatives. They are almost solely assigned to this function at the bottom of the labour line. They are frequently underpaid in comparison to their male co-workers. Many migrant women working in small industries, particularly textiles and apparel, operate from home and get orders from brokers and suppliers. They are compensated on a piece-rate basis with minimal payment based on their output and have no formal job links. They are deemed self-employed; thus, they are entirely outside the scope of labour laws, despite their employment being subsistence in nature and potentially vulnerable. In these highly vulnerable migrant patterns, abuse, injuries, prostitution, and captivity are too

common. A coworker and contractor's sexual harassment, as well as a lack of protection, are typical occurrences. Furthermore, because their work is related to their employers, getting justice becomes more challenging in the event of abuse. Many do not seek legal help due to the risk of job loss. Another significant barrier to migrant labourers' access to justice is caste and gender discrimination. While law enforcement agencies are the last access, they have yet to become friendlier to migrants, often from lower castes or women who are afraid to contact the police because of previous mistreatment incidents (ILO, 2020).

Along with the migration, the issue of Trafficking and violation of human rights need to be noted as they are interconnected. Most trafficking victims are women, and kids abducted or trapped by networks offering jobs and better life opportunities. The *ITPA Act* in India deals with trafficking; the state supports and rescues the victims. The act in the present form is an amendment version of the UN convention for Trafficking India ratified the convention in 1950 and passed legislation to take steps against trafficking in 1958 (Vijay, 2014). The Indian constitution, Articles 21 and 23, deals with human rights and identifies trafficking as human rights violence. ITPA, and JJ Act, are laws formulated to deal with trafficking. The definition of trafficking distinguishes it from migration, as it is not consensual and shows the exploitative character of the action. It not only exploits sexually but perpetuates exploitation mentally and physically, including domestic labour, industrial labour, and organ trade. The demand for domestic labour inside and outside the country shows a boom in trafficking women and kids to forced labour.

The Indian Government report on human trafficking indicating the purpose shows that most trafficking cases are reported under sexual exploitation and forced labour. Of the 3962 trafficking cases, 1466 cases are reported under the trafficking for sexual exploitation and 1452 for forced labour. Maharashtra states 541 human trafficking for sexual exploitation, and Andrapradesh comes in second with 200. Odisha and Jharkhand are the states with the highest number of trafficking for forced labour, with 653 and 193, respectively. Most of them were forcefully sent to domestic labour with low income due to the family's financial condition. Children and kids remain in domestic labour, primarily subject to physical and mental exploitation. The victims who stay inside the home without a proper security and basic needs live as invisible victims of globalisation and liberalisation policies' economic and social changes.

Figure: 4.3 Purpose of Human Trafficking 2020

S. No.	States/UTs	Forced Labour	Sexual Exploitation for Prostitution	Other forms of sexual exploitation	Domestic Servitude	Forced marriage	Petty Crimes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
STATES:							
1	Andhra Pradesh	8	200	0	8	0	0
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	9	1	0
3	Assam	26	0	0	36	18	0
4	Bihar	23	77	0	1	1	0
5	Chhattisgarh	63	0	0	4	4	6
6	Goa	0	30	0	0	0	0
7	Gujarat	42	8	0	0	2	0
8	Haryana	0	9	0	0	7	0
9	Himachal Pradesh	2	0	0	0	0	0
10	Jharkhand	193	0	0	73	12	0
11	Karnataka	13	11	0	0	0	0
12	Kerala	10	9	0	0	46	0
13	Madhya Pradesh	4	36	0	8	40	0
14	Maharashtra	0	541	0	0	4	3
15	Manipur	7	0	0	0	0	0
16	Meghalaya	0	1	0	0	0	0
17	Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Odisha	653	9	0	2	6	1
20	Punjab	16	16	0	0	1	0
21	Rajasthan	127	4	0	683	4	0
22	Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	Tamil Nadu	19	2	0	0	0	0
24	Telangana	31	363	0	7	0	0
25	Tripura	0	1	0	0	0	0
26	Uttar Pradesh	5	130	0	6	21	1
27	Uttarakhand	0	5	0	1	1	0
28	West Bengal	5	7	0	1	16	0
	TOTAL STATE(S)	**1247**	**1459**	**0**	**839**	**184**	**11**
UNION TERRITORIES:							
29	A & N Islands	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	DNH and Daman & Diu	0	2	0	0	0	0
32	Delhi UT	205	5	0	7	2	0
33	Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	0	0	1	0
34	Ladakh	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	Puducherry	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL UT(S)	**205**	**7**	**0**	**7**	**3**	**0**
	TOTAL (ALL INDIA)	**1452**	**1466**	**0**	**846**	**187**	**11**

(Source: Government of India, 2021)

The most crucial aspect of trafficking is the recuperation of the victim. Women who are subject to exploitation end up in sex marketing groups. Prostitution faces the most challenging phase after rescuing them from such a situation. The women and kids trapped in such situations are their families' sole income sources. Once they get into such circumstances, it is not easy to rehabilitate into society and get a job or space. They are compelled to stay where they were as it is difficult to change society's attitude toward women. The commodification of the female body keeps the victim out of society and treats them as shameful for society's and family's wellbeing. Women and children became vital in the internationally connected trafficking network in India. The vast network, including women, made it easy to sell and transport women across and out of the country. Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil

Nadu are considered the states with the increased supply of women in forced prostitution and sex marketing. Delhi emerged as the hot spot for the supply and distribution of women as a commodity, mainly bringing women from North-eastern states into a forced marriage and offering jobs (Dogra and Singh, 2013). Women and girls from minority populations or lower socioeconomic categories are often more exposed to human trafficking due to their low social position. Political and economic crisis zones are another factor driving up trafficking.

The limitation of state government and expansion of the influential role of multinational corporations resulted in several human rights violations and similar consequences for the people. Because of globalisation, non-state solid actors have emerged who may abuse human rights in ways that were not anticipated during the establishment of modern fundamental social justice movements. When international corporations, the World Bank, and the IMF set national welfare policies, public decisions and democratic involvement are harmed. Economic and health risks are posed by uncontrolled market forces, particularly when structural adjustment programmes diminish public spending on health and education. Foreign firms' concentrations of power and money exacerbate unemployment, poverty, and marginalisation of vulnerable people. One example is the farmers' movement in Singur (West Bengal) against the leftist government. The government used undue force to reclaim the field from the peasants and stop the movement. The multi-national business plundered the whole water supplies of Palachimada, Kerala, and the locals lacked drinking water for many years. When confronted with the matter, governmental institutions and the judiciary cited the agreement's legal obligations rather than considering it a breach of human rights. The Andolan Bachov movement, led by Medha Patekar, protested the vast devastation of the Narmada river basin and the building of the dam, but the movement had no success (Viswanathan, 2008).

4.8 Socio-Cultural Impact and Experience of Women

Globalization results in a radical change in Indian society. Implications for Indian culture and tradition are a necessary change that took place after globalization. Many changes in Indian culture have taken place. The changes occurred mainly in people's modes of consumption, dress, food, and transport. Significant changes in Society took place along with the development of socio-economic-political development. Such

changes helped interlink caste, religious groups, and culture (Singh, 2000:30). Indian movies play a significant role in spreading and nurturing culture in India and worldwide. One reason for this could be the increasing number of Non-Resident Indians.

The impact of globalization on Indian society and culture affects women in many ways. Social life in India has been considerably affected by cultural globalization. The impact of globalization on women is both negative and positive. On one side, it opens new ways and opportunities for women to participate in the workforce and helps in finding jobs. Globalization has opened a new door for women to go out of the traditional views about women and explore more. As a result, conventional blind faiths and restricted minds have been abandoned, and people are becoming increasingly conscious of their interest rights and existence, as well as legal measures to protect their status. The early period of globalization came out with trade liberalization policies that opened up the chances for placing the manufacturing industries in developing countries aiming for the cheaply available labour force. This result in the extensive participation of female employers in the manufacturing sector (World Bank, 2012). The changing nature of the commercial sector helped in a way to give more chances for women to participate in the labour force, but at the same time, the feminization of employment could only see in the export manufacturing sector. The agriculture sector was subjected to change as the demand for the traditional crops declined and non-traditional export value products such as horticulture, meat, and processed foods increased. There are also women kept out of the significant export commercial sector on the traditional norm as the notion of women are not fit for the business. Women got entry into the job opportunities where they were not welcomed. The traditional role of being only mother and wife start to change. The most important part is her economic independence with great opportunities. Self-earning made her freer and more prospects to take part.

In order to achieve social and economic development, the Indian government has come forward with developmental programs, especially for women in the country. In response to the economic sector's globalisation process, the initiatives included a policy to tackle employment and social issues. Some of them are the Support to

Training and Employment Programme for Women[89] (STEP), A Centrally Sponsored Scheme initiated in 1986-87 that aims to improve the skills of disadvantaged and economically disadvantaged women and offer long-term employment by mobilising them into sustainable group projects, developing marketing links, providing technical support, and providing loans. Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG), on a trial basis, the plan is being deployed in 200 districts throughout the state. The programme aims to provide vocational training to girls over 16 to help them gain economic independence. The Kishori Shakti Yojana[90] (KSY), another central government initiative, functioned in the rest of the districts. Central Social Welfare Board[91] (CSWB). Rashtriya Mahila Kosh – (National Credit Fund for Women), The Rashtriya Mahila Kosh (National Credit Fund for Women) was established in 1993 with a budget of Rs. 31 crores in response to the socio-economic barriers that impoverished women encounter in obtaining micro-credit from the existing banking system in India, particularly for the people in small and unorganised sectors (Mallikarjuna, 2013:2). Eventually, under the demand of the more enlightened and liberal parts of society, fundamental or precautionary legislation was adopted to assure improved working conditions for workers at the workshop level. Following this, the ameliorative and cooperative legislation was enacted in response to the workers' long battle (Pandey, 2010).)

The labour participation rate for women increased with liberalization and globalization. The participation of women in labour is determined by factors of education, health, and social and cultural situation. Modernization caused the change in gender roles and gave access to women in public places; even though it changed only some sections, it brought changes somewhat to the traditional gender roles and allowed women to enter the workplace outside the home. The need for female workers allowed women to move from the traditional agriculture sector to the new manufacturing sector. The new images of freedom for women enable younger generations to construct a dissent narrative of new women free from traditional patriarchal gender ideas and challenge the existing gender notion in family and society (Walby, 2000). The opening up of the economy for liberalization and

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[89] The STEP Program seeks to provide women the abilities and skills necessary for employment as well as the self-employment and entrepreneurship.
[90] The Kishori Shakti Yojana (KSY) programme aims to give adolescent girls the tools they need to be self-sufficient. It is seen as a comprehensive programme for the growth of adolescent girls.
[91] The Central Social Welfare Board is India's leading social welfare organisation. developed in 1953

privatization brought new job opportunities. Women always had difficulty preferring a job for their talent and choice. She has to choose those specific jobs reserved for women, like teaching and nursing. Other skilled and professional jobs are believed to be only performed by men. Privatization brought multinational companies, and they often select candidates based on qualification rather than gender because of the existing competition in the field. It opened up the job opportunities for women equal to men in many skilled and semiskilled sectors.

Globalization enabled the availability of technological household products in the local markets that changed the lifestyle of working-class women. Those women who got the opportunity to work outside the home had no choice but to leave the household chores. Globalization made it possible for allowing them to buy and use modern technological household machines, which were not available in Indian markets. Products like pressure cookers, washing machines, a mixer grinder, and other kitchen appliances made their life easier to cope with the working time and household chores (Parida, 2011). It also changed the relationship status and power dynamics inside the family. Women had no power in the decision-making inside the family, and in relationships, the economic independence made them powerful to take part in decision-making. Married women regularly have no voice in childbearing and issues related to marriage. Economic independence gave them courage and voice to decide on their choice to leave the violent and toxic marriage relationship and demand divorce. According to the latest family court data, divorce cases in 2019 reached 3122, an increase of 174 cases from 2018 (Choudhari, 2021). The girls who had no choice in marriage decisions changed with the modernity of education, and more girls and women into jobs and powerful positions made it possible for them to decide when and whom to marry.

The joint family system remained a cornerstone of India's family system. Many reasons identify the changes in the Indian family system. Globalization is one of the reasons that put a considerable shift in the structure of the family system in India. The nuclear family system becomes comfortable because the industrial economy allows the ambitious young generation to live on their wish (Sharma, 2007). Globalization changes mainly in Indian culture altered the marriage system and family relations. Nowadays, people prefer to marry or select their partners; sometimes, it ends in divorce. The opposing view on the increased divorce rate points it out as causes of the

adaption of the western lifestyle, professionally ambition, the effect of information technology, freedom in choosing partners and adapting to the new lifestyle and increase in technology result lack of commitment in marriage and family system (Samantroy, 2012). The impact of globalization on the Indian family and marriage system is directly connected to women. Changing Indian family system from joint to nuclear family is very influential as women's role in the Indian family is highly important. Changing into a nuclear family system gives women chances to work outside the home, as she needs to give financial family support. Changing trends in the Indian family to allow women to work outside is one of the causes of the change in the nuclear family system. Another change in the gender roles is essential to mention as the responsibility of women to take care of children, housework, and all other 'feminine works' traditionally believed to be performed by the women in the home became no more responsibility of only women. People's attitude changed to accept women working outside, and homemaker husbands started to accept. Although such men are subject to continues, mocking people and society as 'men without masculinity' or calling them 'women' is expected. Men cooking or taking care of children is not treated as 'normal'; that is against men's 'natural role'. Same as in the case of women, those who are working outside the home face several problems. Women working outside or independent are more likely to be subject to shaming or character assassination. The positive changes slowly resulted in changing gender roles. Changes in family relationships and gender roles inside the home could make a difference in the country's patriarchal system.

Globalization has had a positive impact on the education system of India. The traditional educational system was replaced with modern education with more job opportunities. There was a tremendous increase in the literacy level in an educational institutions in the country. The integration with the global world made it possible to bring modern education to society. Modernity in the educational sector became more developed with the introduction of foreign aid and international organisations' intervention to improve education quality. During India's independence, there were about 19 universities and 591 colleges with a total enrolment of 0.2 million students. The number has increased dramatically, with 261 universities, 8,361 institutions, and over 8.5 million students (Aggarwal & Kumar, 2020:3). While globalisation has offered new chances for fostering educational progress and advancement, this growth

should concentrate on the public service ideals needed for achieving educational reforms. The development of the higher education system relies heavily on the corporate fund's engagement and the level to which higher education structural interventions favour this field.

The manufacturing companies with new technology needed educated females in work. The advent of globalization has considerably affected social life in India. Though globalization has made deep inroads into the various sector of life, its impact on women cannot be denied. The process of globalization has made the nations and communities increasingly interdependent and flexible to the changing currents. The effect of globalization on women has been remarkable. It has allowed becoming a large section with the opportunity of self-learning helps to uproot the traditional way of keeping women economically dependent and vulnerable. The growth of technology has provided the space for getting time to work accordingly, along with the housework she has to perform (Samantroy &Upadhyay, 2012:145).

Participation in the global economy and inviting foreign direct investment brought competition between the nations. The competition demands an investment-friendly market in terms of labour, tariff, and resources. Multinational companies also improve workers' situation by providing the labour laws abide by international organizations. Countries are compelled to accept the laws passed through legal international organizations and collaboration with the outer world. The flow of ideas to the public, mainly through immigration and tourism, increases public awareness. Such information passes through the people in the interconnected world, making people in other parts aware of their rights. Social incorporation also increases the chances of promoting the activities of NGO groups. Most NGOs receive funds from developed countries and international organizations to keep up with the activities that primarily influence the government and media. The activities of these NGOs and funded organizations primarily concentrate on protecting people's rights and providing assistance for the betterment of people, mainly in developing countries.

Globalization made it possible for India to ratify many international treaties and protect people's rights. A positive aspect of social globalization is the protection of rights, including labour rights, human rights, gender equality, and strengthening democracy. The exchange of ideas and national-level conversations enhance the

chances of protecting the rights and improving people's condition. Local problems are rapidly spread further into increasingly turbulent workings of the more comprehensive world economic and social order at a rate that erodes much of the benefits earned by local, sectional, or issue-based action in the new global setting. The impact of more significant crises is felt promptly and keenly at all levels, especially since most existing governmental protective mechanisms are being dismantled as part of the globalisation drive. In such a circumstance, it is critical to combine the various strands of organizations and activities into a more significant populist movement to counter the degradation of the Indian state's pro-government regulatory powers. When 'economic reforms' brought in the Indian government's open acceptance of the capitalist globalisation agenda in the early 1990s, the women 's organizations responded with broad resistance centred mainly on the state's disengagement from the public service. Ninety women's associations signed a manifesto created for the Global March 2000 in March 2000, at the suggestion of six national-level feminist organizations and the CWDS. *United Voices against Capitalism, Unemployment, and Crime in India* was the first comprehensive study of the negative consequences of IMF and World Bank-mandated Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) and globalisation on Indian women (Moffatt et al.,2011).

A new culture of consumer community developed in the developing countries with the flow of foreign goods and ideas. Society adapted to the foreign culture faster, where tradition played an essential role in socialization. Socialization plays a significant role in developing and circulating gender roles. In many aspects, the integration of culture made it possible for women to fight against gender inequality. As mentioned, the market economy system attracted multinational companies, which increased the chances for women to participate in the labour force and achieve economic independence.

Along with the foreign investment, the western culture paved the way for a consumer society in India; people started to validate the goods and entertaining products. In the initial period, society disliked consumerism as it flourished individualism, which contradicts agricultural society that emphasises groups. The beginning of the 20th century witnessed the development of consumerism as a decline in production and the dominance of western products in the market became clearer. Various materials and services are consumed, from fundamental requirements to luxury items and technical

advancements. Specific facts influence people's consumption choices, and material values started to determine the relationship among people. It had a broad impact on the culture of Indian society.

The existing gender order in society and family is gender-segregated both in employment and at home, making women experience violence and dominance. Women belong to the marginalized section and are subject to double oppression due to the economic and social conditions and the patriarchal structure in private and public spaces. Several women work part-time because their husbands do not contribute enough to the family's subsistence. Men's propensity to smoke and drink causes them to squander sufficient funds for home expenditures after using funds set aside for personal needs. Men may use these devices to unwind after hard labour. Consumption of alcohol and cigarettes is linked to intimate partner violence against women and children and marital disagreements. The opening of society and the flow of awareness about domestic violence made it possible for women to react and find the solution to escape from such marital relationships through legal help and economic independency (Bacchus, 2005).

At the same time, the creation of a new consumer society destroyed the local culture and local market. The influence of foreign companies and products altered the needs and priorities of people, leading to a decline in local goods' markets. Technological innovations replaced many local products with foreign products, making life easier and more luxurious. Foreign companies dominate the market for single products at a lower price. Local products and industries cannot compete with the international products and markets. It not only resulted in unemployment and the destruction of local products but also strengthened the new consumer society. In a way, the new foreign market delivers the newest and most modern technology and products all over the country. It made a situation where everyone gets the latest technology fastest. Conventional and community knowledge and folklore have earned commercial worth on par with patentable ideas based on advanced research and innovation. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), conventional healers or herbal remedies belonging to underdeveloped countries address the health requirements of Eighty per cent of the world population. Simultaneously, it gained economic potential and popularity in major advanced economies. In a way, it gives developed countries wealth through these traditional medicines; at the same time, the lack of financial and

material support among the nations makes it difficult for developing countries to develop these sectors and gain profit. The Ayurveda medicines and yoga centres have customers globally. Various forms of genomic resources, which have traditionally been employed for pharmaceutical, aesthetic, medical, or agrochemical purposes, are adopted by many countries under various names, with or without registered copyrights. Similarly, there are aspects of folklore, and art forms that have been taken, commercialized and utilized without previous declaration of informed agreement and without any payment of compensation to the people who invented, owned, and kept this information. In producing and conserving traditional knowledge, women play a significant role. Women could gain much if governmental actions were made to implement laws protecting, culture is protected and promoted via "engendering" commerce for growth. Gender, ecology, cultural diversity, commerce, and prosperity would help all gain from patent protection, especially for the protection of traditional knowledge (UNCTAD, 2002:83).

A remarkable change in the dressing style of women has taken place. It was marked by a shift from traditional outfits to modern dressing styles. The middle classes are increasingly using designer dresses marketed by multinationals. The use of cosmetics and beauty products has reached all people. The vocation of beauticians, beauty parlours, and health clubs all have grown. The changes are more remarkable in the lifestyles of youth and adolescents. The new beauty products and textiles market gave women more job opportunities (Singh, 2000:55).

On the other side, globalization redefined the idea of femininity. The view of 'perfect women' has been injected into the society of burgeoning consumers—investment in cosmetic products and the introduction of new beauty concepts reinforced gender roles and gender stereotypes more strongly. The overflow of such products and advertisements to the market created a sense of 'beauty' and 'good women.' the word beauty always comes along with the image of women. Those images are given by certain conditions and ideas that fit into the conventional concept of beauty (Gazilov 2012). Women's bodies are becoming commodities from pornography, sex tourism, and sexual slavery to advertising and beauty schemes. Many international interests have promoted 'Sex-tourism' to boost foreign exchange (Parida, 2011: 7). Advertisement establishes an idea of perfect women and then naturalises the concept of perfect women's qualities as necessary. The explosion of the beauty market started

in the Indian market in 1990 with the winning Miss World title from the country. The culture of a beauty contest started in every college, university, and club with the sponsorship of international cosmetic products. The advertisements introducing beauty products often instigate the concept of traditional women as good women. (Ritty, 2005). The matrimonial advertisements also follow the concept of traditional women as apt for family and suitable for the best and happy life. It often projects the image of girls following traditional outfits and qualities as fit and needed.

Even though globalization opened up a wide range of possibilities for women to explore, it has an immense impact on marginalizing them and strengthening the existing patriarchal hierarchal order. The liberalization policies changed the society and economy of the country; still, the result was not the same for all sections of the people. The growth in economic and other sectors was not uniform for all sections of people and a few sections of the women's community. Women from the lower caste, class and other marginalized sections are kept out of the developmental process. They become more vulnerable and exposed to higher exploitation due to the changes in other socio and economic sectors. Moreover, the developmental process did not help reduce the existing hierarchal structure in society, and inside the family and other social institutions, it led to women's lives being exploited more than before.

4.9 Conclusion

Globalization has had an immense effect on Russian and Indian societies through the far-reaching effect of the globalization process reflected in both societies' socio-economic sectors. Globalization made it possible for both societies to come in contact with international ideas and new aspects of gender and identify the challenges to the patriarchal system that sustains universally. As the definition of globalization rightly says, its feature of making a global society and applying the process in a heterogeneous society resulted in different impacts on different sections of society.

Globalization brought changes in the economic sector that indirectly caused changes in society. Both Russia and India dealt with various issues introducing the unavoidable globalisation process in a globalized world structure. Policies and programs adopted by each government to compact with the globalization process have a significant impact on gender equality and shaken the patriarchal system. in other

words, the existing order of society changed in many ways that affected women negatively and positively.

Globalization's effect on Russia and India is different. It says that no country can escape globalization due to its complex nature. It became necessary for all countries to enter the world market due to the fast-developed globalization process. Russia was in a recovery phase from its repercussion of disintegration. It made the country necessary to integrate with the world market. The most important effect of globalization in Russia is related to gender equality in developing feminist activities. The activists in the country got the opportunity to get in touch with other activists and international organizations.

Trafficking finds as to be the most critical impact of globalization in Russia and challenges gender equality. The state adopted policies to adjust the world market for economic and political reasons. The opposing sides of globalization remained in the society without adequate support from the state. Russia became the hotspot for trafficking due to its geographical location. Criminal groups trap most women in sex trafficking groups in exchange for job offers or marriage. Young women in the society attracted to the outdoor life dreaming of a new start or better marriage partners outside Russia often end up in trafficking groups. Even after identifying it as a severe threat to women, the government takes minor protective measures. The state's inactiveness in gender issues makes it difficult to challenge trafficking or other threats.

NGOs emerged during the transaction period and actively supported victims of trafficking. An active civil society group is the outcome of globalization that paved the way for introducing ideas like democratization and gender equality. Reducing corruption in the state administrative system is necessary to achieve social equality.

Indian society has gone through many developments socially and economically. Gender notion has become an important topic in achieving gender equality, and eradicating structural discrimination is still far ahead. The patriarchal system has become a substantial and indeed part of modern society. Globalization made it possible to reach out the possibilities to revive the society still the patriarchal notes remain intact as strong as it finding new ways and relations with the system.

Economic development achieved does not reflect in the development of an equal society. Social inequality exists in Indian society in that the resources are not distributed equally. Inequality in the distribution of resources results in social inequality that denies women the opportunity and access to resources. Even though economic development brought changes, the social institutions hold the influential positions that deny the women to exercise their rights.

The opening of a new market system gave women chances to enter the labour force. It makes them self-sufficient, but the labour-intensive exploitation is a threat to gender equality. Globalization has both positive and adverse effects on women. Removing gender segregation in work is only possible through the robust laws applied to multinational companies. The state often makes favourable conditions to attract foreign investment that increase the gender inequalities in the labour market. Social development made women aware of their rights and access to resources. The geographical and social differences made it difficult for the equal distribution of development. Not all sections of women enjoy the result of social and economic development. At the same time, the negative impacts like trafficking and migration affect all sections of society. Lack of awareness makes the women victims of trafficking subject to exploitation. Many victims of violence are subject to exploitation and the lack of proper support from society to come forward for justice makes them silent.

Chapter 5

PATRIARCHY AND ITS CHALLENGES IN RUSSIA AND INDIA

5.1 Introduction

In order to challenge patriarchy, it is inevitable to identify the roots and the agencies that perpetuate the patriarchal system. Challenging patriarchy is only possible with the identification of how it sustains. As it endangers gender equality, promoting gender equality is the way to threaten and challenge the patriarchy. While addressing the challenges, it is necessary to address the future and identify what patriarchy is and how it works in each society. Patriarchy has not received much attention as a tool to understand and study the manifold subjugation of women in the academic realm until the 1980s. It lacks the account for studying the heterogeneous section of the society. Later, feminist activism renewed the concept and defined it in a way that discussed the oppression and violence against women and how men maintain the hierarchal order in public and private spaces (Hill & Alen, 2021).*Cynthia Enloe* exposes the sustainable nature of patriarchy as its intrinsic future. It produces gender inequality and maintains the gender unequal system through misogyny. That makes the system of patriarchy a background of specific values and interactions. It goes through changes, can be modernised, or modified, and is incredibly adaptive. The sustainable nature makes it easy to present and persist through modernization and adaptation. The values and ideas of patriarchy seem attached to the understanding of human nature and society. The most sparked beliefs or values of patriarchy are the emphasis on rationalism, priority on tradition and cultural values and the most important one put forth the commitment to family. Patriarchy formulates the behavioural qualities that men as protectors of women and women as intrinsically naive and sacrifice themselves for mothering. Women who show brave nature are often called manly. Aspatriarchy works on hierarchy and domination, it needs obedience and coercion to update the validity of its values through replication of some relationship that appears pleasant and necessary (Enloe, 2017).

Evolutionary analysis of patriarchy consists of conclusions from feminists such as Lerner and Mackinnon stating that patriarchy's core is sexual coercion and control of sexuality. It points to six aspects that are inclined on the progress of gender inequality in society. It includes the development of grouping among males andreducing the same among females. The hierarchy of man enabled them to control the resources. Female strategies to perpetuate control of men over women strengthen the hierarchy and, finally, the control over ideology through language.

Patriarchy is a system promoting and nourishing the core value of control and domination in almost every human area of existence but to understand the system and analyse its parts is not enough, just like a game of monopoly is difficult to explain by just one of its elements say the Dice even if it is the most important element; thus it is wrong to equate patriarchy with men alone (Khurana, 2018:3).

As the gender and patriarchy identified as a system evolved and organized the way to participate, the male and female both continue to accept the features and resistance identified as complex as everyone depends upon it. The evolutionary analysis of patriarchy as a system opposes the man as the only responsible factor for oppression and inequality. The evolution of patriarchy in the west resembles the language described by Sender. Male superiority is a myth constructed long ago and accepted by both females and males that everyone has to accept male superiority. The myth's long hold and intellectual formulation make it challenging to eradicate. Restructuring the values and beliefs is the best way to remove the myth of superiority as our social organization supports and helps sustain the superiority with the strong values. The conditions for the system's existence made women inferior and men superior, and the myth continues to survive with all these conditions and support. The language served as the base for these systems, as it is not natural but the discovery of human beings (Spender, 1980) (www.marxists.org). The relationship of man and woman is displayed as a power politics and race, class, caste and sexes as sub group in it (Millett, 1968).

The superiority and domination of one gender over others are identified as the specific feature of patriarchal society. As the system of patriarchy survives in a hierarchal society, it serves as the primary reason for the advancement and progress of another gender in private and public spaces. The fundamental patriarchal values depend on or emphasise the biological difference between men and women, often used as a reason to oppress women and treat them as subordinates. Such hierarchal order and imbalances of opportunity, rights, and freedom are enforced through the agencies of family, religion, and other social institutions that rely upon and carry the hierarchal order. Such social institutions are the most potent and influential component of society, so even after achieving economic independence is treated as the primary tool of oppression of women, the subjugation continues.

5.2 Patriarchy in India and Russia

In a society with social norms and values, emphasis on male domination is always defined as patriarchal. It defines the roles and stratification in society based on sexual differences and always advantage men and disadvantage women in many ways, including the roles and activities. Cultural norms and social institutions reinforce gender roles and activities. The traditional gender roles always put women in charge of domestic work, including care and household chores. The classified qualities of a courageous, independent and powerful make men authoritative and superior to the position and ability to take care of work outside the home and other powerful societal positions.

Marriage's cultural, religious, and societal features have all had a part in determining and shaping the Indian woman's identity and function. Even though the Indian idea of marriage provides both the woman and a man sufficient chance to pursue their responsibilities to the household, family, and society, it is continued seen that religious culture in patriarchal customs inherently provides the man significantly larger power or authority as the breadwinner, with the woman being the home's foundation. The idea of "pativrata" means "honest wife" dominates the marriage and family in society. The concept relates to the qualities of a woman as loyal, emotional, and dedicated, making her devote her life to family, husband and children. It makes women surrender entirely to their husbands and family. The concept of dedication makes a woman dependent on the man in the family, who protects her with his 'native quality' and makes him a protector. This concept of man as protector and woman as dependent on man structured the position of woman as inferior to man, constructing a hierarchal, patriarchal system (Thomas, 1996). Caste and sexual preference of labour, economic class, physical region, and religion or ethnicity of a particular group/tribe all played a part in defining Indian women's position in the household, public, and broader community. The prescribed masculine and feminine qualities of man and woman make them fit their assigned role. The masculinity of the Indian man originates from ancient times in religion (Khurana, 2018). In Aryan culture, women had far more rigorous command regarding sexual identity, reproduction, and employment. In Dravidian society, women had to deal with less extreme patriarchy. The masculine and feminine qualities and roles always served as the base in every religious text and history of the country. The Hindu religious text Manusmriti deals

with the prescribed roles and duties of man and woman, and the rituals of each religious section are formulated around the roles assigned to man and woman. Thus, it formulated and evolved into a traditional norm in later society (Khajuria & Patel, 2016).

The essay on 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa' by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown define patriarchal society as

> A society may be called patriarchal when descent is patrilineal (i.e. the children belong to the group of the father), marriage is patrilocal (i.e. the wife removes to the local group of the husband), inheritance (of property) and succession (to rank) are in the male line, and the family is patripotestal (i.e. the authority over the members of the family is in the hands of the father or his relatives) (Radcliffe-Brown, 1924: 8).

The definition sets the relationship pattern, authority, and control over property and dependence, which features many societies, including Indian society and culture. The patriarchal society's dominance and culture depend on the social institutions, historical roots and development of the culture and society. The economic and political factors of today's world system determine the degree of impact of patriarchal culture on gender equality. In a patriarchal society, the family is a core element in formulating and distributing power and gender roles. The division of power and gender roles are applied in the family and reinforced in the family system. Cultural traditions related to females' freedom and sexuality regulation, such as child marriage, Sati, and purdah, are commonly selected as indicative of communal status.

Male in Indian traditions, is not just the core of the family but a strong and dominant part of societal structure. Man has always had the entitlement to supervise females and the freedom to use resources according to his preferences. Men, in comparison to women, have had more freedom to use resources as they see fit. History demonstrates that the character of Indian civilization has always been hostile to females' equal opportunity. The conventional Indian male attitude does not allow women to have the same status as men; hence, they resist or "ignore" legal rulings. For example, the 22nd of September 1951 is remembered as necessary for women's rights since it was the date the government introduced the *Hindu Code Bill*. The measure mentions removing all restrictions on Hindu women, such as Sati, child marriage, and widow isolation. However, child marriage and widow isolation continue to be practised, and the dowry

system, banned in 1961, still holds a powerful position in India's marriage culture (Tupe, 2014). The cultural values evolved through religious texts, traditional norms approved the power of man inside the family to rule over females, and all other members under his authority include the younger man in the family. Religious institutions play a vital role in Indian society; Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, Sikhism, and Christianity have all had an impact on the position of Indian women.

Women's oppression, the foundation of patriarchal culture in modern society, frequently hinders women's attempts to find a balance between job and household duties. Put another way, patriarchy enforces masculine and feminine behavioural ideals in society, strengthening male-female social hierarchies. The power dynamics in public and private spaces always intensify the subjugation of women in everyday life. The family structure allows the elderly male to rule over other members, including males and females. The pattern continues and is transferred to the next generation. Men in the family were allowed to make decisions about their lives and careers. At the same time, women are not allowed to participate in decision-making in family, career, and life. The family set up in Indian society has always been discriminatory and exploited women's unpaid work in the house. The customary laws and state regulations also dominate the working pattern of women, and market policies usually deny women's right to employment opportunities and often discriminate against them in choosing job options, payment and nature of work they can retain. The increased violence in Indian society often displays the nature of gender inequality in the society that patriarchal culture encourages or perpetuates the violent culture, including domestic violence, dowry deaths, honour killings, and acid attacks. In the family, the patriarchal setting allows or gives women power or protection from violence based on the number of sons they have or the amount of dowry they bring. The role of state and religion is imperative as the gender-biased rules and customary laws are hardly challenged, or the supporting rules and regulations challenging patriarchy for the gender balance system are not practically imposed. The laws enacted for gender equality in society are not practically implemented.

There are many government plans and programs, international treaties and programs for women's empowerment. The government enacted laws and special programs emphasising women's empowerment. However, Indian women fall behind in the

empowerment process. The Global Gender Gap Report 2021[92] assesses the performance in each sector, including education, health, political participation, and economic participation, and the opportunity to report the gender gap in each country worldwide. India stands at 140 out of 156 countries, far behind South Asian countries, including Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and other African countries, including Kenya and Ethiopia (World Economic Forum, 2021). It shows that India's gender gap remains wide even after adopting the policies and passing the powerful legislation. World Bank describes empowerment as the growth of freedom in choice and achievement. That expands somebody's power and dominance over resource and life-altering decisions (Acharya et al. 2012). The patriarchal nature of society denies the growth of women in the entire sphere even after the development in all sectors and the increase in the social and economic development of the country. The hold on traditional values that emphasise gender roles and hierarchal systems hinder the growth or empowerment of women in every sphere.

Through socialisation, gender prejudice in wide varieties is encouraged and started with the family, educational institutions, and religion. Starting to play with dolls, assisting female family members in cooking, and doing domestic chores are all perceived as feminine activities, and boys who engage in them are classified as 'unmanly' not only by elderly men but also by peers. The male youngster is taught not to display typical human emotions such as fear or sadness, which are considered the qualities or mannerisms of a female. Men's upbringing trains individuals for a realm of organizational leadership marked by ambition, aggressiveness, threat, and a lengthy, consistent devotion to the job. At the same time, women are encouraged to get married at a certain age and trained to manage household chores and take care of children and older adults with compassion and devotion to the family members sacrificing their careers and own life the role of females identified and nurtured as a sacrificing mother and devoted wife. A woman's economy and society are connected through the marital relationship and family. Likewise, a woman who works outside the home for income has also been undervalued and disrespected. Working as a free household worker for her family is more respectable in society than working as a

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[92] Every year, the Global Economic Forum publishes this booklet. The Global Gender Gap Index measures the progression of gender-based gaps over time across four important dimensions (economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment). It also keeps track of how much progress has been made in bridging these gaps (For more details see: https://www3. weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf).

professional or employed outside the home (Sivakumar & Manimekalai, 2021). The violence inside the home is also considered a part of family life, and the qualities of men as aggressive and women as loving and caring made the notion of violence a natural and innate character of family life. It highlights the sacrificing quality of women, recognized by society and often identified as the 'good women' or 'ideal women'. Family and motherhood are identified as the core or 'natural duty of women that denies the entry of women into other socially constructed male authorities of economic and political space.

In Russia, the family, religion, and state policies are significant supporters of patriarchy. The family system firmly stands on the hierarchal structure and discriminatory rules. As a result, explaining the unbalanced gender relationships is challenging. Entities in society are so heavily based on gender concepts that they have been overwhelmingly male-dominated. With their habitual varied beliefs and action, not just men but also women are complicit in the increasing prevalence of gendered beliefs in their social activities. Despite the progressive rules and laws in the constitution that provide equal opportunities for men and women, the Russian family still holds the traditional gender roles. The term gender still has a negative attitude among people, both men and women. The feminist ideologies are rarely getting support from the public. The prime duty of women is still considered the duty as a mother and wife. Motherhood is celebrated chiefly as outstanding quality and duty of women than any other role. The government often takes steps to make motherhood important. The state policies to make motherhood primary are visible from the state's policy in giving financial support for the pregnant woman and maternal policy. Putin's administration brought many other policies supporting women in the country. The much more visible gender-related policy of the Putin era is "maternity capital," which was established in 2006 and gave women a fixed amount to be utilised for school, home, or pension when they have a second child. Along with the financial support, maternity care, child subsidies, maternity holidays, home healthcare, and childcare are getting more attention (Johnson, 2016). On one side, the policies are relevant as they support pregnant women and working mothers, whereas the policy came as part of tackling the demographic issue and increasing the country's birth rate, not as a measurement to eliminate the discriminatory practices. It is visible from the provision that the same policy removes the abortion procedure from the state's health

care policy. The policies seem gender-neutral or protect the rights and emphasise women's growth. Nevertheless, the policy in Russia does not question the existing ideas about the family, marriage as the society's basic reproductive unit, with women as the central part of family responsibilities and child care.

State policy often highlights the gender roles that not only lower women's rights in private space. The presentation of gender and feminist ideas as danger to Russian society and culture makes society less aware about practices of gender inequality and follow it. Putin's manliness was initially exploited to convey the impression that he could restore Russia as a powerful state worldwide. The government often portrays youth organisations' activities, projecting male-dominated ideologies as state-friendly groups and the opposition as against the culture and the state. Feminism is projected as the cause of many social issues and western funded activities to destroy the country and its tradition (Orlova, 2018).

The feminist ideas and continued protest, involvement of international organizations, and greater access to the information and ideas made it possible to promote the idea of equality in society. However, it is difficult because the idea of gender equality is not extended to the micro-units of society. Inequality and discriminatory norms inside the family and society at a more significant level do not get adequate importance for achieving gender equality in a society with strong traditional norms and values: the family unit and the existing discriminatory rules are still considered part of tradition necessary to preserve.

While assessing the gender gap index in the 2021 report by World Economic Forum, Russia stands at 81, below many former Soviet Union countries, including Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Georgia. Women's political participation in the country showed a better improvement in the number of women in executive and legislative posts. President Putin's cabin with Dmitry Medvedev from 2008 to 2012 consisted of 3 women. Later also, the presence of women was seen in Russia's parliament. However, the male authorities always handle the powerful positions or policies related to rights and freedoms with the traditional views. The presidential term of Putin since 2012 can be term as, despite explicit opposition to quick and political sexism, the share of women has climbed. The gender in the Russian election was viewed as an increase in the number of women but with the traditionalist and loyalists to the

authoritarian system, not to the democratic system. Women, on the other hand, do not enter politics with the social support that comes with being a man, with just an effective manner to fit the definition for becoming the idealized political figure, or even with the prospect of good social life with all individuals that control privileged networks (Johnson, 2016).

A concept emerged in a Marxist socialist ideology called "bourgeois feminism[93]". It is derived from the class theory that identifies capitalism as the oppressor of working-class women; the women's questions in the country related to the period of the Soviet regime. The Communist ideology and Soviet leaders hold the idea of capitalism as the exploiting factor and oppressor. In his book The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Engels proclaims the replication of capitalism inside the family as the dominant man as the oppressor and the wife as the victim representing the working class (Boxer, 2007). The history of the Soviet period plays a massive role in formulating the idea of gender in society. The Communist regime that envisaged equality and proposed an egalitarian society never discussed gender equality. Women received or welcomed highly into the labour market; women there in the labour market remained to undertake domestic work and child care on their own, with limited finances for either job, in the dearth of any government knowledge formation about altering gender norms to reduce inequalities in the private domain. From meals to electrical appliances, the state spends even less, slowly in developing and delivering the food products, time and work saving household products that may have relieved women's numerous obligations as employees, mothers, and domestic workers. Abortion was the most common method of population regulation, and the deplorable healthcare women experienced during the procedures reflected both the government's negligence and conventional societal stigma. Perceptions of males as strong rulers with better competencies and the exclusive entitlement to comfort were not confronted. Women were thought to be intrinsically caregivers, and if they demonstrated dominance or aggressiveness, they endured becoming labelled weird. It continued in the later period, and in the contemporary period, the control over

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[93] The term "bourgeois feminism" supports women's equality within the current social structure. In reality, bourgeois feminism is a reformist viewpoint as opposed to a revolutionary one. Due to the seeming naivety of the bourgeois feminist perspective, the term "bourgeois feminism" has also come to be used disparagingly and indiscriminately in discussions. As a result, feminists who don't seem to be taking the same position or who appear to be radical or socialist feminists are occasionally referred to as bourgeois feminists (for more details see: https://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/socialresearch/feminism.htm).

women's reproductive rights and other family planning policies state takes an interest not to deal with the women's problems but aiming the state-building. The Putin administration has rebranded patriarchy as traditionally and financially masculine, blending chauvinist rhetoric with tender male authority. Women have been objectified as prizes and subordinate to males in the post-Soviet society, which has overtaken a system that intrinsically disregarded women, neglecting their various capacities and requirements (Holmgren, 2013).

The feminism in Russian context has a negative connotation. The negative attitude towards the idea of gender is visible from the statement of Orthodox Church head *Maxim Kaskun* regarding the draft law of *federal law No. 284965-3,* bringing gender equality into society's economic and political sphere. While opposing the law, the priest stated

> Today's appearance of feminism no longer looks like a struggle for the rights of women and looks like man-hating, sometimes turning into outright hooliganism, sacrilege and outrageous; the Orthodox Church will never approve of such acts since they contradict the Christian worldview (Skorniakova et al., 2020).

The other groups, including the nationalists and patriot groups, also deliver the criticism against the law stating it is against the church, family and children. The law was criticised mainly for the idea of gender and viewed as harmful. The term gender is identified as against the tradition and culture of the society. The only group supporting the law were the women's organizations; they wrote an open letter collecting signatures from the citizens finding the law necessary to eliminate the discriminatory policies and customs in the society.

There are many challenges put forward by the constitution, social movements, judicial acts, and civil society to combat patriarchy. The judicial acts and judgments related to many cases and the court's interference in many social issues made significant judgments and formed meaningful laws to protect women's rights and ensure equality. The next part deals with the women's movements in Russia and India and other challenges to the patriarchal system.

5.3 Women's Movement: Origin and Features

Women's movements all over the world emerged as a response to the inequalities in society. The early stages of the women's movement focused on human rights violations; in some countries, it emerged as the fight against the authoritarian government or colonial powers. Women's movements worldwide have been contained with the democratic and human rights movements' aim of fundamental equality for humans. Women's movements involve feminist and non-feminist actors, mainly attentive to women and gender issues. Feminism's goal is to recognize and eradicate oppression and aggression against women through theoretical dedication and government policy (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015). *Hunburtine Auclert* coined the word Feminism in her *journal La Citoyenne as La Feminitè* in the late 1880s, in which she attempted to challenge male dominance and assert women's rights in parallel to the freedom offered by the French revolution. Feminism comes from the Latin word *femina,* which means "women's problems" (Ghorfati & Medini, 2015). Theorists on feminism classify women's progress into two types: the women's equality movement and the women's liberation movement. The women's equality movement aims to abolish the manipulative characteristics of feudal patriarchy and end the gender-based stratification system.

Women are forced to remain at the lowest rung of the social ladder, but the women's liberation movement advocates absolute freedom for the women and seems like an expression of extreme feminism, otherwise known as "radical feminism[94]" (Vicky Randall, 1987). One of the greatest and most progressive revolutions of the 20th century was perhaps changing women's social and legal status. At the begging of the 20th century, women did not even have the right to vote, and women had to struggle to get property share in a world dominated by men. One of the most critical struggles was the women's liberation movement, which began in the west in 1848, referred to as the first wave of feminism. The achievement of the campaign was mainly in western societies. The second feminism originated from the active participation of women in the civil rights movements' of the 1960s and the growth of a new urge for

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[94] Radical feminists believe that men are mostly to blame for the oppression of women. The main type of oppression is sexual oppression. Patriarchal power and culture are manifestations of this. Radical feminism views historical conflict as a struggle between the sexes rather than a struggle between social classes. They contend that society's gender, biological family, and sex roles-based hierarchy has to be completely reorganised (Lewis, J Jone, 2020, URL: https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-radical-feminism-3528997).

liberation from suppression. The main issue focused on in the movement included equal pay and equal rights and the campaign of violence against women. It is even talked about how women are channelled into traditional roles of mother and wife, and what also plays an essential role in the channelization of women into well-known characters are the expectation of others and the images of empty sex objects (Jerath, 2008:96-97). These movements are also embedded with achieving human rights and equality for all people.

All the movements intended to achieve equality for women connect with the idea of human rights, equality, and the betterment of the whole society, as it is only possible through the emancipation of women. The first wave of feminism in the United States was primarily connected with other social movements in the United States, such as the end of slavery and alcoholism, and engaged primarily with working-class women. Black women civil rights activists, including *Maria Stewart* (1803–1879), *Sojourner Truth* (1797–1883), and *Frances E. W. Harper* (1825–1911), who fought for women's rights, also were the part of movements. Although women of colour persisted in taking part and activists such as *Ida B. Wells* (1862–1931) and *Mary Church Terrell* (1868–1954) worked to demonstrate how the intersection of racism and misogyny served as the primary means of white male superiority, the first wave of feminism was dominated by women from the white middle class educated section. A fraction of first-wave feminism argued for women's inherent moral dominance; it developed to the assertion that men and women should be valued, with women receiving equality of opportunities and places as men and recognition for their efforts and abilities. This idea is known as "equal-opportunities feminism" or "equity feminism," It is found in the idea of an absence and needs to characterise sex and gender differences. A Marxist Socialist feminist emerged during the first wave of feminism, mainly in the Soviet Union and other parts of the United States and Europe, initiated by *Rosa Luxemburg* in Germany*, Alexandra Kollontai* in Russia, and *Emma Goldman* in the United States. Its fundamental conviction is justice and equal chances for men and women, although the group prioritized based on working-class women and their participation in class conflict and revolutionary movements. They laid the ground for second-wave feminism, battling for women's rights to abortion, divorce, and non-legislative partnerships socially and in their personal lives, including against inequality (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006).

Second-wave feminists were associated with radicalism, and some of them are associated with the socialist ideas; some of the feminist activities that emerged during the period were against the colonial rule, like against the British in India, and some students protested in Anti-Vietnam, Lesbian-Gay movements, and Black power movements. Intellectual feminists and activists fought to make household labour visible and theorise the connection between the capitalist system and patriarchy, then shifted their attention to caregiving while critiquing liberal notions of democracy and citizenship along with traditional gender concepts. Feminism's pluralism as mobilisation was advantageous and disadvantageous since disparities in status and race, practice, and objectives could sometimes rise to intense disagreements and internal divisions. Instead, the fundamental opposing force was men or capitalism, racism or colonialism; there were evident divisions in the struggle and developing empirical frameworks. Such a necessity to recognise women's disparities simultaneously propelled the concept of divergent viewpoints. As a result, "identity politics" emerged from the multiplicity of feminism. Feminist intellectuals such as *Juliet Mitchell* in *The Subjection of Women* (1970) and *Shulamith Firestone* in *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970) asserted that patriarchy is ingrained in the capitalist culture and that sexual distinction is more fundamental than class and race. They further emphasized that, because of their fundamental cultural bond to the family and procreation, women form their strata and economy, centred on voluntary household activity and maternity. *Sisterhood is Powerful*, edited by *Robin Morgan* in 1970, was the initial second-wave document. *Kate Millett*'s book *Sexual Politics* (1969), in which she argued for sexual rights, was also influential. Other radical activists such as *Adrienne Ric* and African American lesbian writer *Audre Lorde* wrote poems, lectures, and literature to draw a connection between heterosexuality and female subjugation. In the US, Black feminists expressed their views through organisations like Black Women Organized for Action (BWOA) and the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO); these functioned to draw gender and race into the popular consciousness. Although addressing poverty issues, wellbeing, and livelihood, just like *Valerie Smith* describes in *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings* (1998). In addition, black feminism evolved to split among several perspectives and ideologies. Women of colour and third-world women, such as *Trinh T. Minh-ha*, began to refer to themselves as "inappropriate outsiders" and "others". *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, by Gayatri Spivak,

published in 1987, feminism in Europe was condemned for arguing carelessly on the issue of women in the Third World (Cova, 2012) (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006) (Molyneux et al. 2021).

The period of third-wave feminism settled with three peculiar points: the relevance of policy-related movements, the support for women's movements and activism from the global South, and the women's study as a subject being consolidated. In many regions worldwide, the third wave corresponded with steady yet very modest integration of feminist activists and feminist views into the political sphere. The sway of the Global South was visible in the first and second waves of feminism, but from 1985, the supremacy of the West was challenged by the South in outlining the outline of the women's movement. In the 1970s and 1980s, a greater understanding of the necessity to better address women's rights in legislation and governance grew. This concentration is probably a significant aspect of the third wave, reproduced in parts of the South as feminists managed to enter politics nationally and internationally, although it was not acknowledged. Third-wave feminism is linked to globalization's repercussions and the complicated restructuring of power, which challenge feminist ideology and policy. The concept of "transversal politics[95]" is an intriguing and crucial innovation to third-wave feminist philosophy (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006). The concept was pioneered by Nira Yuval-Davis, the writer of *Gender and Nation* (1997), founded on the possibilities of cross-national, racial, and religious discourse amongst women. The organizations developed explicitly through the second wave bounded on Europe and the US ideologies. Multinational organizations like Women's International Network (WIN), International Feminist Network, and International Women's Information and Communication Service (WICS) developed based on women's rights to their bodies and equality. The organizations developed were influenced by upper-class elite women mainly from developed countries and financed by North and US. The UN conferences were identified as the place of the dominance of cultural supremacy. In 1976, the conference held at Wellesley College became a

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[95] The idea that difference and equality may coexist is crucial in transversal politics. This means that while it is acknowledged that distinctions matter (as indicated in the previous paragraph), it is also acknowledged that ideas of diversity should complement ideas of equality rather than displace them. The intellectual and political distinction between positioning, identity, and values is the foundation of transversal politics. Even those who identify with the same group or category can be positioned significantly differently in reference to a wide range of social distinctions (e.g. class, gender, ability, sexuality, stage in the life cycle etc). People with comparable positioning and/or identities can simultaneously hold quite disparate social and political views (Yuval-Davis, Nira, 1999).

debate session for South and North activist as Southern feminist activists put forward their concerns, criticized the dominance of presentation of women's issues in a singular point rather than identifying the differences in ideology, and need to address the differences in the working of the organization. This criticism led to the formation of a third-world activist from the Caribbean, Latin America, and South Asia group, which was known as Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) in 1948. The violence against women became the most critical issue addressed as the violence increased with the changes in political and economic changes all over the world by the end of the 1990s. Women activists' activism against gender-based violence has been a concern since the 1970s. The feminist gathering in Latin America and Carreian in Bogota in 1981 organised a Day to Resist Violence Against Women, which prompted yearly remembrance around Latin America and subsequently to the global effort of sixteen days of protest opposing sexual harassment and assault (Tripp, 2006)

The feminist activism for rights and equality set some changes in the world. The political and economic changes brought a new area of concern or deepened the discrimination. Gender inequities and social injustice, in general, were increased by market reforms, privatization, and cutbacks in individual liberties, creating a hindering condition for socialist goals to be realised. Increased unemployment levels in many nations suggested that labour markets were biased toward women, that wage discrepancies between men and women continued, and that young people's employment options were restricted. The influence of the changes was further diminished by a lack of political or cultural transformation. Although some legislation aided in the advancement of meaningful change in essential aspects such as marriage law, property ownership, and democratic representation, by the 2000s, there was pervasive dissatisfaction with the dearth of effective government reactions, which widened the disparity between both perceptions and achievements. Improvements to the legislative framework were frequently made, but they were never implemented in the court system or converted into rational policy efforts. Simultaneously more women were winning elections in parliament and executive offices worldwide due to the rapid growth of the quota system from the early 1990s, increasing hopes among women, and more focus on gender mainstreaming initiatives. The reappearance in 2000 recognized a new wave, In the UK and Western Europe, the early late twentieth

century was already regarded as an exciting and crucial moment for feminist action, with noticeable growth in the prominence, appeal, and prevalence of a spectrum of independent feminist practises (Molyneux et al. 2021). More entrenched organizations like Southall Black Sisters, Women's AID, and the Women's Resource Centre continued to do crucial work throughout this fourth wave of feminism (Day & Wray, 2008). Kaplan says, "the fourth wave will be distinguished by bringing second and third wave feminists together to confront a new and devastating reality that involves us all, if not equally, then at least at once; this new reality ideally cuts across racial, ethnic and national divides" (Kaplan, 2003). One of the highlights of fourth-wave feminism was its online version, highlighting the online as an increasingly crucial space for young women to participate in activism. It developed the "Call-out culture[96]" that made the violence and oppression exposed easily and fast. The *Hollaback[97]* initiative, which helps individuals worldwide to describe their experiences with abuse on a worldwide channel, is a sample of the online feminist mobilisation instrument there in the new wave. On the other side, it became a significant disadvantage as the lack of access to the internet excluded women from marginalised communities and those who lack technological knowledge (Parry & Johnson, 2018). Attwood calls another fourth-wave style of inter-sectionality the disordering and ambiguity of gender classifications. Judith Butler, a poststructuralist feminist thinker, argued that gender is socially produced and performed rather than genetically established. It was a significant step toward combating patriarchal domination based on male-female differences. In addition, that stressed the innate nature of women as loyal, kind, compassionate and not aggressive like men. The defined gender roles accompany these characteristics of women. The compassionate and sacrificing nature makes them less competitive, aggressive, and deserving of fitting in the higher positions of job and influential positions in government that are meant to be handled by men who fit to rule (Wray & Day, 2018).

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[96] It serves as an instrument for the oppressed and their allies to draw attention to injustice and the need for change. Numerous social justice movements, like the civil rights and Standing Rock campaigns, are grounded in the practise of directly tackling inequity (Matei, 2019).

[9797] The global campaign Hollaback! aims to put a stop to harassment in public places. Women are encouraged to contribute accounts (and images) of their encounters with street harassment on the organization's website, as well as images of the men who harassed them. Hollaback! is powered by a network of grassroots activists who collaborate to analyse harassment, spark public discourse, and create plans for ensuring equal access to public spaces (For more details see: https://www.comminit.com/content/hollaback).

The terms feminist and women's movements denote the same ideology of equality. The origin of feminism clearly showed the importance of emancipation and the relation of women's fight for rights with the legal and social changes. The role and importance of women are not adequately recognised and valued in society. They are often treated as inferior and subjected to violence due to the patriarchal order that rooters the discriminatory space of women in society and family.

The United Nations has held four international conferences on women to discuss women's advancement and remove constraints. The following are the conferences; Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995. The United Nations' four worldwide conventions on women were a significant impetus for policy activity and international feminist connection for several activists in non-Western countries. The first conference held in Mexico City was an important one in history because of the importance of the first international conference solely for discussing women's issues. Two documents were adopted from the conference proceedings: the world plan of action, which has specific targets for nations to implement for women's improvement, and Mexico City's declaration on women's equality and their involvement in progress and peace (Molyneux et al., 2021). It also led to the establishment of the international research and training institute for the advancement of women to track improvements and continuing issues, and the UN development for the fund for women to provide funding for development programs. The plan established minimum targets to be attained within the next five years to secure women's equal access to the mechanism of achieving equality and eliminating discrimination. In order to fulfil these goals, the conference identified the following as the necessities- education, employment, family planning, health, and nutrition for women. The second conference on women in Denmark aimed to assess the progress of the plans and actions of the first conference. The second conference stressed the ownership of women on property and inheritance of child custody. The second conference became prominent in the history of women's conferences as the adoption and ratification of CEDAW[98] by the participant countries. One hundred forty-five states were part of the second conference. The third conference in Nairobi became the

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[98] A global bill of rights for women is frequently used to describe the UN General Assembly's 1979 adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and lays out a plan for national action to abolish it. It consists of a prologue and 30 articles. (For more details see: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.html).

first time in the UN conference to discuss lesbian rights and the violence against women. The conference mandate was to establish concrete measures to overcome obstacles to achieving the decade's goals. Participants included 1900 delegates from 157 member states; they adopted the Nairobi forward looking for the strategies for achieving gender equality at the national level and promoting women's participation in peace and development efforts.

The Nairobi conference was influential in feminist activism as the tension between the global South and North reached a point where the North had acknowledged the significance of global concern for women's issues, and the South became more concentrated on the idea of gender. The conference was starting point in the shifting of feminist activism from the global North to the South, with a high percentage of activists from the Southern part (Tripp, 2006). The Beijing conference (1995) critiqued neoliberal policies and women's issues worldwide. Many other conferences and UN conferences emphasised women's issues and gender justice. Remarkably in 1992 Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (UNCED), Human Rights Conference in 1993, International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), World Summit for Social Development (Cova, 2012) (Valentine, 2013). These conferences helped associate the women's issues into a broader framework, identifying women's issues into environmental issues and human rights, and women's groups adopted it globally. Thus, the Human Rights Conference in 1993 identified violence against women as a human rights issue and considered traditional harmful practices a violation of human rights. In addition, it mentioned that organized rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy violate the human rights principle(Valentine, 2013). Women of many ages were active in all of these occasions, but they also involved new actors who were unique in some respects from others who engaged on the periphery of tenuously connected organisations and non-hierarchical movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They encompassed feminist NGO officials, scholars and experts, and local activists from around the world who worked hard to build the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA)[99], a strategic

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[99] The Platform for Action envisions a world in which every woman and girl can exercise her rights, choices, and freedoms, including the freedom to live without fear of violence, to attend school, to take part in decision-making, and to be paid equally for equally hard work (for more details see: https://beijing20.unwomen.org/en/about).

act frame developed by CEDAW, via frequently passionate discourse and debate (Molyneux et al. 2021).

The present women's movements have their origin in first-wave and second-wave feminism, which emphasised women's right to vote, equity, and freedom. Women's movements rose to prominence on a global scale in the early twentieth century. Working women were organised in many activities worldwide, including France, Germany, and Russia, while movements in Asian countries were linked with independence. The movements in different areas encounter challenges, mainly the state system, political culture, and Party system. Regions with authoritarian governments use measures to counter such movements. Nevertheless, in democratic countries, such movements got platforms to organize, function and mobilize. There is one significant challenge all over the countries; sustain the order irrespective of political structure and state system that is the patriarchal system. The movements demand acknowledgement of women's contributions by giving economic and political representation. Movements for democratization opened up the space and freedom for women. Nevertheless, that space does not provide an equivalent position for women in society after democratization. Democratization proposes legal proceedings for promoting women's rights and offer the opportunity to participate in economic, political, and other domain, but it does not always secure the way for a gender-equal society. Political parties with high patriarchal backgrounds in a democratic country do not provide gender equality. It is explicit that the democratization process alone cannot bring gender equality; it has to have a system that denies patriarchal ideologies in every society (Fall, 2001).

The role of religion is essential to review while assessing gender equality. The rise of Women's movements to protect women living under the religious laws that deny equality at all levels was seen during the 1990s. Anti-fundamentalist groups and feminist groups against Muslim personal laws were formed mainly. Iranian Feminist Mahnaz Afkhami and American feminist Robin Morgan created The Sisterhood Are Global Institute, a network devoted to protecting Muslim women's human rights; working on the network was mainly through workshops, conferences, and publications. In 1984 an action committee was formed under eminent scholars from nine countries; Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Mauritius, and Tanzania. The committee WLUML has emerged as a 'response to applying Muslim

Laws in India, Abu Dhabi, and Algeria. The leaders of the Muslim Communities were against the religious family laws that affected the status of women where Muslim family laws were applied and practised. Networking worldwide for the betterment of Muslim women was the principal target of the committee. They participated in the UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna in 1993 and the Population and Development Conference in 1994. Participating in the UN conferences helped it contact other feminist groups and expand its work. WLP other women groups formed in 2000 by Mehnaz Afkhami. It also aimed to protect women's rights and promote equality (Valentine, 2013).

Women's movements and feminist response to the war and the role of peace building are enormous. WILPF was an initiative of women activists from Europe and Latin America against World War first; notable women groups were involved in peace building and human rights protection. WILPF, Women Strike for Peace, The Women of Greenham Common, and Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo are women groups working in peacekeeping (Valentine, 2013). Women groups addressed economic distress and political instability, with the emergence of globalization as a dangerous threat to women's human rights. Globalization resulted in stimulating women groups and networking of the feminist groups. In 2000, the UN Security Council proclaimed that gender equality is essential for peace building and advised governments to include women representatives in the negotiations and settlements of peace building. For instance, there were several protests and demonstrations against the invasion of Iraq across the world. Women around the globe protested and carried out events in the USA and India. Feminist groups and magazines criticized the Bush administration, including feminist group MADRE[100], in the UN meeting addressing peacekeeping needs. Code pink[101], National Organization for Women[102], Women in

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[100] An international fund for feminism and women's rights is called MADRE. They collaborate with local women's organisations dealing with conflict and disasters all across the world. (For more details see: https://www.madre.org/).
[101] CODEPINK is a women-led grassroots organization working to end U.S. wars and militarism, support peace and human rights initiatives, and redirect our tax dollars into healthcare, education, green jobs and other life-affirming programs (For more details see: https://www.codepink.org/).
[102] The National Organization for Women is the biggest group of American feminism's grassroots campaigners. In all 50 states and the District of Columbia, NOW has thousands of chapters and hundreds of thousands of members and activists (For more details see: https://now.org/).

Black[103], and Nobel Women's Initiative[104] were women groups that acted strongly against Iraq's invasion.

Women groups and movements work mainly through research, conferences, lobbying, and assignment with policymakers. Participating and connecting with the UN and its departments are some of the most affecting ways for these women groups to engage internationally; it gives regional women groups' the opportunity to work with other prominent activists and exchange ideas. Gender equality and women's issues become a solid reason to act and coordinate within these groups. The emergence of social movements in a country depends on several factors, including the economic condition of the system, political scenario, and outsider factor-like international influence. The economic situation may encourage or weaken the emergence of social movements. The unemployment situation has been a reason for the upraise of the women's movement in Russian society. At the same time, poor economic conditions suppress women's activism, making it difficult to raise funds and survive.

5.4 Civil Society: Definition and Relevance

There are different theories dealing with the definition and nature of civil society. The origin and definition of civil society make the relevance of civil society in today's social and political order. How civil society becomes critical in protecting or preserving gender equality is linked to the definition and nature of civil society. There are different theories and definitions of the origin and development of civil society. The classical political theories about the formation of civil society present the different nature of civil societies. In his theory of the Origin of the State, Aristotle gives the idea of the origin of the state in connection with the formation of human association as the cornerstone. Social contract theorists (Thomas Hobbes, Georg Hegel, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau) put forward the distinct theory about the state and civil society as three different stages in that state are considered different from civil

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[103] A global network of women known as Women in Black is dedicated to promoting justice and peace and is vehemently opposed to injustice, war, militarism, and other forms of violence.. Combating US governments' militaristic policies is a key area of concern (For more details see: https://womeninblack.org/).
[104] The Nobel Women's Initiative aims to increase the influence and visibility of women working for peace, justice, and equality around the world by leveraging the prestige of the Nobel Peace Prize and the five courageous women who have won it Rigoberta Mench Tum, Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, Tawakkol Karman, and Leymah Gbowee. (for more details see: https://nobelwomensinitiative.org/).

society (*societascivis*) and the state of nature (*societasnaturalis*) prior to the formation of the state (Khadiagala, 2015).

The top definition of civil society is of De Tocqueville 19th century French theorist; he defined civil society as the social association that derives voluntarily without any political affiliation that contributes to strengthening democracy. World Bank defines the civil society groups as "the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations" (Kleibl & Munck, 2016). The importance and need of civil society are visible from the definition as it formed as non-profit and non-governmental organizations that influence the public, making it necessary in the society

Civil society was paralleled with the state in the classical usage; the modern concept of civil society evolved during the late eighteenth century during the Scottish[105] and Continental Renaissance. From Thomas Paine to Georg Hegel, some political philosophers established civil society as a realm distinct from yet similar to the state, where members organize according to their individual needs and goals. As political scientists focused on industrialisation's political and social ramifications, the word went out of use in the mid-nineteenth century. After World War II, the phrase was reintroduced by Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci, who described civil society as a unique core of autonomous political action and a binding domain of resistance to dictatorship. From politicians to political theorists, civic society had become a catchphrase in the 1990s. In formerly totalitarian nations across the globe, the worldwide movement towards democratization created scope for civil society. Widespread dissatisfaction with exhausted dominant parties order for a reaction in civil society as a platform for social reconstruction in the United States and European Countries. Economic liberalization and other neoliberal policies, especially in developing nations, gave civil society the ability to walk in when governments retreated. In addition, the internet boom gave people additional techniques for

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[105]The Scottish Literary Renaissance (act. c. 1920–1945) was a self-aware cultural movement having roots in the late nineteenth century that was strongest between the conclusion of the first and the end of the second world wars. The Scottish creative arts had experienced a remarkable renaissance during the interwar period, most notably in the paintings of the Scottish visual artists Francis Cadell, Samuel Peploe, Leslie Hunter, and J. D. Fergusson, who all drew inspiration from Europe, particularly French post-impressionism, in their work (Watson, 2008).

connecting and strengthening themselves. The atmosphere of the post-Cold War era was dominated by civil society (Carothers & Barndt, 2000).

In the 1990s, the prevalent conceptions of a welfare state and a national strategic plan were discarded in support of a vision of the economy once again benevolent and self-sufficient when it came to facilitating growth. From the 1990s forth, contemporary civil society has been theoretically shortened and overtly subjugated to the interests of multinational regimes and organisations. In this situation, it would not be an autonomous domain of societal activities. However, it is constantly at risk of being subjugated to an exogenous ideology and a liberal style of government, in which accord is anticipated, and the dispute is judged to be out of the sphere of normal society. With the democratisation wave that swept the Developing World throughout the 1990s, a distinctive mode of the concept of "civil society" rose to prominence in political discussion and popular movement research. The quality of civil society depends upon the aim, values, and formation structure. Van Dyck introduces different types of civil society based on the motives and goals. The first group of civil society is 1) Civil society organisations (CSOs), including non-governmental organisations, religious organisations, and cultural organisations with a structured objective and usually legal organizations and groupings. 2) Virtual groups and initiatives, such as Facebook and online groups that can be "coordinated" yet lack personal, legislative, or fiscal frameworks. 3) Virtual or physical protest activities of group action formed virtually or physically. 4) Workers are represented through labour unions and labour groups. 5) For social and ecological results, non-profit organizations use creative and business-oriented initiatives. These social groups intended to work on a specific goal to achieve. Nowadays, online platforms and social groups emerged as major or new types of civil groups. Nevertheless, due to various circumstances, notably growing public scepticism and mistrust about civil society's significance and validity, civil society's efficiency in delivering effective improvement has been questioned. Governments have also introduced legal and executive rules that limit civil society activities, which is a widespread but unsettling tendency. Due to a massive disparity between the organisations and administration officials on one side and between one's presumed recipients or components on the other, civil society organisations face scrutiny regarding their significance, authenticity, and transparency from government agencies and their principal recipients. Another significant problem faced by the civil

society groups in the contemporary period is that they have failed to sustain links with the communities they address. In the hardest of times, a large number of organisations are unable to fulfil their objectives. Even if the resources are intended for projects and strategies, which do not correspond with their fundamental goal, some organisations have resorted to making money (Van Dyck, 2017).

Civil society has progressed dramatically on a worldwide scale. Digitalization, global politics and the marketplace have opened doors and demands that have formed vast numbers of civil society organizations across the globe, incredible new real and virtual frameworks for public representation, and increased participation in effective worldwide governance. The Handbook of International Organizations claims that many non-governmental groups worldwide were said to have risen from 6,000 in 1990 to more than 10,000 in 2000. In 2006, there were fewer than 50,000 people, but currently, there are more than 65,000. Individuals, groups, and organisations make up today's civil society, a diversified and ever-widening environment. Information systems have allowed new agents to enter arenas of authority, control, and affiliation, resulting in a considerable increase in online civil society movement and establishing interconnections crossing territorial, cultural, and structural barriers. These systems connect a larger population to get together and resolve systemic issues collaboratively. The interaction and ideals of civil society actors have begun to shift due to connected people. Since 2010, there has been a resurgence of public voice and activism in many modes worldwide, such as the protest in the Russian federation called "*For Fair Elections*" (World Economic Forum, 2013).

In 2014, *ZeidRa'ad Al Hussein*, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, expressed grave worry about the state of civil society worldwide. The changing nature and increased restrictions of civil society resulted in the shrinking space of civil society worldwide. Concerns over civil society's 'shrinking' or 'limiting' boundaries have been expressed in UN remarks, official announcements, and assessments from CSOs, research institutes, and news networks. Funding of CSOs identified as the prime reason behind the shrinking space, and it relates to the state's control over CSOs groups. Citing the sovereignty and security reasons, countries restrict foreign funds and the activities of civil groups. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe issued a law in 2004 that stated that international assistance for CSOs should be prohibited, quoting the interference of foreign funding in domestic matters. The

continuous 'fight against terrorism is another move that had far-reaching consequences for civil society worldwide. Under certain states, anti-terrorist ideology is often used to denigrate and limit civil society organisations; some of them, constraints on human rights and individual freedom have also been portrayed as an unexpected but essential consequence of ensuring national safety. In order to reduce the activities, Many authorities are limiting or restricting fundraising, for example, by requiring permission from the government, imposing a limitation, barring money from specific sources or for particular types of activity, and requiring foreign funds to be channelled via public banks, or outright restricting international aid. Governments frequently use an issue previously embraced by CSOs to legitimize financial limits and monitoring specifications: the need for openness. Adding to monetary restrictions, several authorities are imposing burdensome regulations on CSOs, like the requirement to submit all scheduled events with the government ahead of time. Since there are no adequately specified rights-based rules under this sector, crippling CSOs with cumbersome legal procedures is a technique that is tough to dispute. Civil society activists across many countries suffer not only procedural barriers, administrative roadblocks, intimidation, and social stigma but also the unpretentious threat of incarceration, repatriation, abuse, or assassination (Kreienkamp, 2017)

Civil society groups play a vital role in protecting human and women's rights and work for many other social issues. CSOs play a critical role in advancing gender equality and women's rights across many regions of the world by displaying, assisting, and protecting disadvantaged women; maintaining gender equality and women's rights matters on governments' priorities; constantly battling for women's rights at the policy level; and carrying authorities and other decision-makers accountable for their gender-related responsibilities. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) flourished through transnational and multinational cooperation in the 1980s and 1990s. Sponsors avoiding state institutions CSOs were frequently seen as a potential substitute for CSOs. They were chosen as an alternative to state organisations because they have been thought to be quite productive in delivering services and likely competent to connect with the poor and marginalised people. The 1995 Beijing Women's Conference emphasised the importance of women's rights and encouraged donors to enhance their support for CSOs' gender work.

Furthermore, Gender Units or many larger organisations have Gender Focal Points, and internal and external finances funded gender concerns. Sponsors' rising dissatisfaction with the slow pace of poverty alleviation in the late 1990s created the impression that donor-run and CSO-run projects missed the reach, competence, and collaboration to make a substantial effect. Regional CSOs are frequently required to obtain financial support from their authorities or donors, primarily accessible with their different roles as strategic activists and regulatory agencies. Gender activists in the aid agencies emphasise the changing assistance system's consequences for gender parity, women's rights, and empowerment. The UN Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality and the OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality met in Nairobi in January 2006 to consider potential funding options and their link to gender equity achievement (UK, 2008).

Women-led groups, in particular, play a critical influence in furthering gender equality and achieving the UN's Sustainable Development Goals[106] (SDGs). It makes the state responsible for enacting laws and regulations and enforcing and implementing their obligations. They react to the concerns of the most vulnerable communities, including women and girls, who are frequently left out of official programmes and services. The UN Women's Fund for Gender Equality assists women-led civil society organisations (WCSOs) in achieving economic and social emancipation. It redirects donated funds to more significant projects headed by women, supporting their concepts and capacities while benefiting many. Women's civil society groups (CSOs) face several obstacles, including reduced democratic structures, growing authoritarian and conservative pressures, restricted finance, and increasing worldwide inequalities (UN,2020).

5.4.1 Civil Society in Russia

In Russia, the phrase "civil society" is frequently used to refer to civic organisations and movements formed after and during Soviet Union's disintegration in the early 1990s. The phrase is often used interchangeably with NGOs, recognised as non-governmental, non-profit, or social groups.

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[106] The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), sometimes referred to as the Global Goals, were enacted by the United Nations in 2015 as a global call to action to eradicate poverty, safeguard the environment, and guarantee that by the year 2030, peace and prosperity will be experienced by everyone (For more details see: https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals).

It is essential to look for the system of government that exists in a country to check how and what kind of civil society functions in the country. The concept of the importance of a powerful government, which is sometimes associated with authoritarian control, is firmly established.

Russian government and rules make it difficult for civil society organizations to grow and function independently. The nature of the government is essential in assessing the functions of civil society groups. Democracy is the best form for the better performance of civil society groups. In other words, civil society groups make the government work better and for the necessities of people, so the civil society groups and state stay and influence each other. Democratization refers to the process of making the state a democracy. History, economy, media, and civil society influence the democratisation process. The modern world witnessed a steady growth in civil group activities using online. A healthy civil society is considered to be necessary for democratization. The evolution of the current system of government is crucial in assessing the civil society groups in the country.

The mid of 1970s came up with several regime changes where authoritarian regimes replaced and became democratic (Evans, 2011). The concept of democracy in the Soviet Union emerged during the period of Gorbachev with the introduction of reformation policies 'Glasnost and perestroika'. He introduced multi-candidate elections in the country. His policy reforms brought changes in the countries under the rigid rule of the communist government. His policy of openness brought freedom of speech, expression, and free media. The democratization process in his period made it easy for activists, journalists, and many organizations to work and speak about their ideologies. It increased the development of the academic discipline of 'gender' in society (Golenkova, 1998). With the dissolution of a single-party government, the new era in Russia opened to a new political and economic system. The country has gone through a new political system with an open market. Popularly elected president Yeltsin became president in 1991 and witnessed more political changes. The dispute over the parliamentary democratic government and presidential form of government between Yeltsin, communists and other members ended with the military attack on parliament and the arrest of opponents. This dispute led to the election of Yeltsin as the new president with a new constitution in 1993 (Gill, 2012).

Yeltsin introduced the transformation of the state-owned economy into a free market known as 'Shock therapy[107]', which allowed a free marketing system (Ferdinand, 2007). His reform policies were unsuccessful as he was not ready to accommodate the political changes toward building a democracy. He could not earn support from the people because the derailed economy and the political incompetence created a defeatist attitude among civil society. The country was going through all kinds of unrest, including the rebellion in Chechnya[108] (Ferdinand, 2007). Later it leads to the issues of decline in GDP and unemployment. The term of Yeltsin's presidency pointed high in crimes and corruption. His economic reformation could not reach practically, especially in privatising state-owned enterprises. Most officials under him exploited the position and used it for their gain (Evans, 2011). Society was on the verge of a new group of criminals, mainly from the labour camps of Soviet times and some linked to ethnic groups. Changes in the political sphere also implied society. Society was at the risk of persistent poverty and an increased gap between the rich and poor. Putin's term as a president in Russia started in 2000. The first two terms of his presidency showed the elements of the democratization process with a multiparty election; later on, it changed to authoritarian nature. The image creation of Putin among the citizens through media cannot only view the part of the political win but as the overall gender idea of the country. The image of Putin as a hero, protector, and masculine represents the gender idea of society. The most viral picture of him in Judo attire, riding a horse, rustling, and hunting shows his popularity among the Russians; it also indicates the masculine ideal of the society that projects men as more substantial enough to protect the country and the women (Fish, 2017). Putin's presidency primarily reflected the authoritarian nature of government with the features of leaning toward state capitalism. The nature of democracy is mostly reread as 'managing democracy' (Ferdinand, 2007) (Zhuplev, 2008).

In Russian society, corruption has already become pervasive. A corrupted and severely restricted nation is the biggest impediment to the growth of civil society, as it degrades not just itself but the ordinary people. The Russian administration and

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[107] The IMF defined shock therapy as three drastic, contractionary structural adjustment programmes, including privatisation, financial stabilisation, and liberalisation (For more details see: https://geohistory.today/russia-shock-therapy/).

[108] The Russian Federation and Chechnya, a tiny breakaway republic along its southern border, engaged in a battle that seemed out of place to westerners during the 1990s. (For more details see: https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/chechen-russian-conflict).

specific local civil society players have had a tumultuous connection for a long time. Putin set up some initiatives like National Public Chamber in 2004 to develop the space and activities of civil groups in society. The law defines the Chamber act as "accumulating and summarising public proposals that will be directed to the president, so-called civic initiatives" (Semenova, 2006). In 2006, the Russian government adopted *Law No.18-FZ[109], which* received worldwide criticism for controlling human rights activities. Freedom House noted it as an authoritarian power used by the state over the NGOs working for human rights, mainly supported by foreign funds. The government introduced law *No.131-FZ* to increase the participation of the citizen in the regional government bodies; at the same time, the practicality of the rules and growing corruption made it difficult for the full participation of people in the process (Buxton & Konovalova, 2012). The adoption in 2012 of a new rule mandating Russian non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that receive financing from foreign countries and are suspected of participating in internal matters directed to register as foreign groups have sparked considerable debate. The law the Putin government introduced was the resistance of foreign agencies from interfering in domestic affairs (Kreienkamp, 2017).

The direction for activities of foreign-funded NGOs to not deal with political activities became complicated as the law prescribed political activities in a broad concept. Political work could also include transmitting data to the United Nations (UN), evaluating Russia's conformity with various conventions, publishing social attitudes statistics, and hosting panel discussions on public policy. Minimum 108 organisations were undergone regulatory actions by June 2016, with penalties ranging from 100,000 to 500,000 rubles imposed for refusing to identify officially. Many groups, which have exhausted their multilateral financial alternatives, have few internal sources: private enterprise investment, rigorous government funds, or raising funds. The private sector continues to be a source of support for civil society organisations, especially those devoted to human rights. The Mikhail Prokhorov Foundation and the Vladimir Potanin Charity Foundation are two examples of enterprises that have established non-profit foundations. Often these private entities

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[109] Act No. 18-FZ of 10 January 2006 amended several legal acts of the Russian Federation (Text No. 282). Amends acts concerning nongovernmental organizations: inter alia, the Act on public associations, the Act on non-profit organizations and the Civil Code (For more details see: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/ natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=73036&p_classification=02).

do not like to jeopardise their relationships with government officials by financing potentially controversial projects or organizations labelled as outsiders. Multiple obstacles prohibit autonomous civil society organisations from receiving public funding. To begin with, the procedure is complicated. Government assistance also exposes individual organisations to considerable uncertainty, as presidential awards come with stringent disclosure rules that strengthen state operations control (Brechenmacher, 2017).

In Russia, civil society is transforming; public mobilisation opportunities depend on social interaction, which is unique to the Russian setting. In Russia, civic and self-government organizations are split and do not yet fully cooperate. It resulted in increased chances of Putin controlling society. The state's restrictions on funding and specific rules made it difficult for some groups to survive by following government regulations and the government interest. Some organizations fail to keep the government policy due to the ideology they support or carry out. Russian law enforcement agencies have deliberately prosecuted activists, dissidents, and regular civilians using this expanding net of strict regulations. They send out the message that any group or individual could be in danger, which deters greater civic engagement (Brechenmacher, 2017).

Likewise, many CSOs have abandoned particular initiatives or refocused their overall structure to sectors regarded as least 'political' and controversial, like healthcare, in response to severe official constraints. Even if they are not explicitly focusing on fundamental rights or democratization, these organizations must be able to influence progress in such fields, even though it is expected to be minor and gradual. The civil society groups or NGOs deal with the women's issues or gender aspects receive foreign funds, and the new laws and regulations to curtail the freedom primarily affect such groups that, resulting in the decline in the NGOs that deal with women's issues or some of them had to either withdraw support from western donors or change their goals. Due to the subject, they discuss and protest civil society activists who often encounter attacks from the government and 'patriotic groups' (Kreienkamp, 2017). Following a widely publicised hearing in 2014, eight familiar Russians detained

during the 2012 Bolotnaya protests[110] were charged with a crime and imprisoned for two and a half to 4 years in jail. The accused appeared to be chosen randomly from more than 500 people who were arrested for a short time during the demonstrations. As a result, the prosecution delivered a clear signal that anybody who participates in an unauthorised demonstration could face the consequences. Valentina Cherevatenko, the head of the Women of the Don human rights and peacekeeping organisation, may be the first person charged with "intentionally violating" the 2012 foreign interference statute in 2016. Cherevatenko was charged with obstructing the rules by failing to identify her organisation as a foreign entity and establishing an alternative organization. By consistently making a boundary separating foreign-funded organisations and those that deliver "socially helpful" activities, the Russian administration has publicly endorsed keep dividing strategies (Brechenmacher, 2017).

However, the rise in the number of women-based NGOs in the country is a positive sign regarding the progress of civil groups that address women's issues. It is an indication that Russian women are increasingly active in the social sphere, and they regard them as significant players in politics, philanthropy, social problem-solving, and generally as independent people with various preferences. Women's non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Russia focus on various concerns and challenges, ranging from the charitable organisation, passions, and career aspirations to family violence, cross-border slavery of women, and gender biases in public. Women's organisations are far better interconnected, especially in Russia's significant towns, and have successfully created campaigns unifying numerous NGOs on problems including crimes against women and the objective of expanding women's representation in politics. Another aspect where women's organisations are slowly strengthening is their interactions with public officials. Women's NGOs are slowly finding more partners in the political sphere, and they are starting to affect government policymaking, particularly beyond big cities. Outside the big cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, NGOs are more likely to reach operations, particularly in regions like Izhevsk and Novgorod, where provincial and local administrations are more hospitable to NGOs. The first ongoing severe shortcoming of Russian women's NGOs is that organizations are largely disconnected from the significant number of

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[110] It happened on 6 May 2012, in Moscow. A turning point for both Russia's opposition movement and the government's stance on street protests was the Bolotnaya protests, which gathered against what demonstrators, claimed was an unreliable electoral process (The Moscow Times, 09 Dec. 2021).

Russian residents and unable to exert any impact on society. Most Russians also do not understand what women's organisations are, and when they do, people generally have critical perceptions about organizations. Most women's NGOs, free of state control, focus on scholarly themes and tasks involving a handful of individuals, such as gender perspective of new legislation or organizing activities for limited recurrent teams of NGO activists. A shortage of resources to explain to the general public regarding themselves through the advertisements, repeated dependence on foreign contributors instead of national sponsors to endure monetarily, and an overall scepticism that the general populace would not acknowledge their thoughts all exacerbate the issue of inadequate coordination with the society. The restrictions and problems faced by NGOs mainly working in human rights, environment and such groups working on social issues. However, because of Russians' ongoing antagonism to feminist values, the challenge of alienation from the mainstream is especially problematic among women's NGOs. The NGOs working for the victims of violence and some crisis groups work hard to collaborate with other groups and society, mainly with state authorities (Stundstorm, 2002). The challenges faced by women's issue-based NGOs and other civil groups make it visible how difficult it is to make a difference or bring change in an authoritarian state and a society where people are highly influenced by religion and traditional values.

5.4.2 Civil Society in India

The development of civil society organizations in India can observe as an outcome of bourgeois society. The origin of the civil society groups can understand as an opposition to the colonial rule and the result of increased modern education and the influence of liberal ideas that oppose the traditional attitude and practices. Neeraj Chandhoke identified seven categories of civil society organizations (CSOs) in India that emerged and worked towards different goals. The organizations and groups worked towards the betterment of social groups and against the social practices that discriminate against women and for social emancipation. The first among them is the social and religious movements that emerged during the nineteenth century against the Hindu community's social hierarchy and social practices and for women's empowerment through education and widow remarriage. The second group is organizations that followed the Gandhian principals who worked mainly for the poor and marginalized communities. Third categories emerged in industrial cities like

Mumbai in response to labour rights. Anti-oppression movements, especially the anti-caste protest group, such as the Self Respect Movement of Tamil Nadu, aimed to destabilise the solid hierarchical structure and create the dignity of the "lower castes" as fourth groups. Fifth, a group of elite English-speaking Indians like the Bombay presidency Association organised several groups to lobby the colonial administration to expand English education and job possibilities to the skilled urban middle class. Sixth, the Congress party-led the freedom struggle and formed various allied groups, including women and youth groups. Seven cultural and social groups are dedicated to establishing a Hindu society (Chandhoke, 2007).

As the leading figures of the independence movement took control of government authority post-freedom, civil society groups largely withdrew from cooperating with the administration. After independence, the central government introduced the Central Social Welfare Board, the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service. These activities were primarily aimed at involving and increasing everyone's engagement in social wellbeing and development programmes. In the 1980s, a handful of civil societies emphasised the importance of involving citizens in developing national five-year plans. Although this planning phase broadened significantly in the 1990s, it was primarily to commerce, industry, business associations, and outside global forces like the World Bank. The Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP)[111] effectively led a movement for planning at the state and local levels. As a result, the State Planning Board decided to decentralise the planning procedures in Kerala. However, on a considerably lesser scale, the 'Kerala model' had become a source of motivation for civil society organisations (Singh, 2014).

The CSOs are usually organised as public charity foundations, a society, or a non-profit organizations. A public charity trust can be formed and governed by three or more members. A trust like this could be founded for various reasons, such as famine assistance, schooling, medical care, recreational opportunities, or other goals of more significant public benefit. A society is a non-profit group of seven people who get together for a cultural, technological, or philanthropic cause. The Central Societies

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[111] Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishad is a forward-thinking organisation in the Indian state of Kerala. It was intended to be a movement for popular science. It was founded in 1962 by a group of 40 science writers and educators who were interested in science from a social perspective. Its membership has increased to about 50,000 people over the past 40 years, distributed among more than 1,300 units across Kerala (for more details see: https://kssp.in/).

Registration Act of 1860 forms the foundation for most state statutes. The disparities in state rules might also have ramifications for non-profits. A society established in Maharashtra or Gujarat, for example, is not obliged to update its license regularly. On the other hand, societies formed in the northeastern states are requested to update their certification yearly. A non-profit organisation formed for one or even more purposes. Any profits or other money must be used to further the organization's goals, and profits must not be paid to representatives. It can be formed as a private or public company. A private business is made up of two or more individuals who act as executives on the executive council by nature (Dadrawala, 2019).

Following the foundation of the Panchayati Raj[112] in India in 1958, most peasants and associated co-operative societies arose, boosting civil society networks. Climate changes, starvation, and military intervention in the 1960s fuelled even more activities in the state. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, various CSOs, notably NGOs, increased in fields such as reducing poverty, growth and expansion, education opportunities, poor mobilization, civil rights protections, and so on, and they were acknowledged as crucial stakeholders in modernization. With the introduction of globalisation in the 1990s, the importance of NGOs grew. As international agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF provided funding to developing countries, NGOs' quantity and importance grew. At the turn of the twenty-first century, India's civil society took a huge step forward with the passage of the *Right to Information Act (RTI)* of 2005. It was a significant piece of law that sprang through civil society's desire for accountability and openness. Human rights activists, especially in contested areas, saw the need for an RTI to evaluate violations of human rights, unauthorised detainment, and violence; environmental groups, who had been inspired by the achievement of a previous plea to the Supreme Court demanding clarity on climate change; and specialists such as news reporters, legal professionals, scholars, and very few pensioned and serving civil servants were among the close partners in the RTI movement. Civil society act as a basis of a big open democratic government, and NGOs constitute a vital part of that civil society. Civil society and NGOs appear to be compatible. NGOs are a type of organisation with a high level of social status, and

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[112] Panchayati Raj is a kind of local government where each community is in charge of its own affairs. The Amendment Act of 1992 has a provision that transfers authority and responsibility for creating plans for social justice and economic growth to the panchayat (For more details see: https://minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/default/files/Government%20Mechanism.pdf).

they have an edge in obtaining agreements and consulting work for several people and organizations, they present potential for social enterprises. NGO operations cover a wide range of topics (Baviskar, 2001).

Two trends are visible regarding the nature and working pattern of NGOs in India. On one side, there was the situation of Joint Forest Management[113] (JFM), where a meeting of NGOs led by the Society for the Promotion of Wastelands Development worked to transform state law concerning JFM across many areas to make them extra inclusive and participatory, particularly in terms of women's issues. However, on the other side, there is also the incident of an animal husbandry NGO in Andhra Pradesh, which persistently misused funding many times, while its international funders' Delhi headquarters keep ignored out of fear of a bad reputation. The successful NGO activities are there and often replicate the model and fail to find the result. The Gujarat-based SEWA[114] (Self-Employed Women's Association) was encouraged to establish a network in other states. Another well-known example is Amul's at Anand cooperative dairy. From 1970 until 1995, the European Union and the World Bank-supported Operation Flood, a massive project to recreate the Anand pattern across the country (Baviskar, 2001). The civil society initiative that compelled the government to meet Gandhian activist Anna Hazare's proposal for stricter anti-corruption law has been considered an emerging factor in Indian democracy. People of all backgrounds supported the peaceful protest organised by Hazare. Medha Patkar, Arvind Kejriwal, and retired IPS officer Kiran Bedi are social activists who have thrown strong solidarity (Baviskar, 2001) (Singh, 2012).

The laws governing CSOs are unclear. In addition, there is a distinction between state and federal legislation at times. Because 'charitable organization' is governed by state and under concurrent list rather than central authority in India, legal options abound, with certain regions enforcing a slew of rules while the others have nothing. These factors lead to India's absence of non-profit governance consistency and standards.

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[113] Joint Forest Management (JFM) is an alliance between state forest agencies and local communities in India for the management of forests. The Government of India proposed the JFM guidelines in 1990 and the Indian National Forest Policy in 1988, both of which contained the JFM's guiding principles. The JFM approach's fundamental premise is that local communities and the state government should work together to safeguard forest resources from fire, unauthorised grazing, and timber harvesting in exchange for non-timber forest products (Patra, 2015)

[114] With nearly 1.5 million (2018) impoverished, independent female workers from 18 Indian states who operate in the informal sector as members, SEWA is the largest Central Trade Union ever registered (For more details see: https://www.sewa.org/about-us/).

Modifications to the Finance Acts of 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2015 have had an impact on all CSOs that fall within the definition of the progress of any such item of general populace value, restricting the allowed range of business growth that a non-profit organisation may engage in without giving up its capital status. NITI Aayog, previously identified as the Planning Commission of India, recognizes 74,617 organisations on its 'NGO Darpan' (NGO Mirror) platform. Every group that gets funding from the government must enrol on this portal and earn a Personalised Identification Number. Even NGOs getting donations out of the country have to enrol here on the website. According to a directive released by the Ministry of Home Affairs on the 15th of January 2019, this condition was lifted. CSOs in India are prohibited from participating in political campaigns or engaging in various support programs connected to policymaking. Therefore, they are not expressly forbidden from contacting lawmakers, other public servants, or the mainstream press and pushing their people to do it. There must be no grounds for a CSO or an organisation created for a "charity" to be denied the license. The requirements for registering at the state and local levels differ from one state to the next. In Delhi or Karnataka, a foundation can be formed in a few days. In Maharashtra or Gujarat, though, the procedure can take many months. In India, a not-for-profit corporation can be formed in as little as 6 to 8 weeks. Nevertheless, Indian courts have ruled that an entity or trust whose primary goal is politics cannot be deemed founded for a charity objective (Dadrawala, 2019).

India does have thriving civil society movements, including a powerful women's movement. To some extent, meaningful reforms combined with efforts to implement best practices in equality for women have produced an enabling atmosphere. Since the ideology of social division and groups with rigidly defined limits dominates Indian society, the manner of group activities adheres more to this basic shape than the European liberal autonomous social movement heritage. We might add gender inequity and patriarchy to the pervasive orthodoxies in civil society. Women's mobilizations are divided into four categories based on the structure of participatory activities and political power. These include political party-affiliated associations and organisations. Women's self-help groups, protest participation, and social activism is examples of independent women's organisation's movements and operations in the infrastructure sector. With women's relatively low involvement inside the core of civil

society, less political engagement occurs, which has negative consequences. As a result, they have little impact on policymaking. The politically neutral aspect of the women's movement's civil society involvement, as well as poor linkages with those other civil society organisations, has pushed women's organisations to the outskirts of society. Engagement in other popular movements, like peasant and worker movements and cultural nationalism, demonstrate that women's engagement has political worth. Women's organisation is successfully used to deliver higher results, and yet there is no expansion of women's organizations in civil society because the trend created by their involvement in social movements did not go well, and no action was taken to maintain the funds engendered by their involvement. Feminist groups contributed significantly during the vigorous stage of social movements, but there is still no continuation in the women's collective action and operations after the movement ended. Women's organizations have addressed challenges of the domestic sphere in order to activate opinions and influence social practices and conventions. They helped expose the difficulties inside the marital relationship and family in the public sphere via laws and awareness-raising. Among the most vocal initiatives of feminist organizations has been the anti-dowry movement. During the campaign for anti-rape legislation, the network of women's organisations and the concentration of their activities were more visible. In feminist movements, disparities were addressed as an interpretive framework, and there is a firm view that women's movements must overcome class and religious affiliations. Feminist politics, in the meantime, failed to meet the concerns of women from religious minority and Dalit communities. Only when there were cases of higher castes crimes towards women from lower caste groups did subaltern castes become a concern. Dalit feminism is a counter-narrative to feminist movements that ignore Dalit women's oppression in social, economic, and political interactions (Vijayalakshmi, 2006).

The intense complicity of some states in the marginalisation of women, such as legitimising laws that discriminate on succession, land rights, and work opportunities, or struggling to meet gender-neutral policy in the provision of support, has sparked a massive surge in women's non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Women's organisations and the authorities have a complicated connection. States have been known to take advantage of the public authority of women's non-governmental organisations (NGOs) while ignoring the subject of associate's accords. Women's

participation in important state negotiation forums has been known to help achieve critical regulatory structures for gender equity. The Indian government, recognizing the approach in which non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were also capable of accelerating social integration and frequently appropriately reacted to people's requirements than the authorities, started to introduce independent organizations in health and education. It was envisioned that independent institutions would integrate the budgetary and organizational assets of a state or national government agency with the more excellent responsiveness of an NGO. Both Mahila Samakhya and DPEP[115], founded in 1988 and 1994, are independent societies. They are not financially or operationally separate from the government, but they do have the capability to function with complete independence from central authority at the state, district, and sub-district levels, increasing local inventiveness, adaptation, and durability (Unterhalter & Dutt, 2001).

In 1980, widespread anti-rape activities culminated in forming and growing independent women's organisations in several Indian towns. Because 'violence against women was the most remarkable and topmost concern at the time, these organisations, such as Forum Against Oppression of Women (Mumbai), Saheli (Delhi), Stree Shakti Sangatana (Hyderabad), and Vimochana (Bangalore), were successful in gaining immense media attention in print and audio-visual media.

Some NGOs are working for the growth and empowerment of marginalized women. Some of them are started early and still working for the women to support them in achieving social and economic growth; here are examples of some groups organized and working for women in different parts of the country.1) Gram Vikas Trust: Gram Vikas Trust (GVT) focuses on children's protection, literacy, cleanliness and wellness, long-term income, and promoting gender equality. GVT has also been reaching out to people from minority groups who are victims of oppression in complicated political and social environments since 2001. 2) Gramin Vikas Evam Chetna Sansthan: This women's NGO's mission is to promote and improve poor and isolated groups, support women, encourage artisans via trade, and produce income.

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[115] In an effort to revive the primary education system and forward the goal of primary education universalization, the centrally-sponsored District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) was introduced in 1994. In order to improve learning outcomes, increase retention, and eliminate inequalities between social groups, DPEP takes a comprehensive strategy (For more details see: https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/dpep/district-primary-education-programme-dpepexplained/66680).

In 1998, the Gramin Vikas Evam Chetan Sansthan (GVCS) was established in Barmer, Rajasthan. It is dedicated to promoting women crafters by promoting handicrafts as a natural source of economic freedom for them. 3) Aarti for Girls: Aarti for Girls has been on a quiet struggle against inequality against women and children in Andhra Pradesh's Kadapa area since 1992. This women's NGO has experienced significant growth in an area rampant with poverty and injustice. 4) Milan Foundation: Milaan Foundation proposes a society wherein every girl gets access to the information, resources, and social culture she wants to promote her aspirations and reach her maximum capabilities. As a women's and girls' non-profit, the organisation emphasizes the capacity of girls to be activists, promoting multigenerational and structural change, particularly in socially and economically disadvantaged communities, to make them more equal spaces of equal opportunity. 5) Shri Kalyan Women Welfare Society: Kalyan Women Welfare Society, founded in 1996, is a non-profit organisation dedicated to elevating women in Rajasthan's most perilous terrain areas, where there has been a severe scarcity of water and social inequality. The organization provides education, skills enhancement, and job opportunities (Hafeez, 2022).

These are some civil society groups that work for women across the county. Most of the emphasis on girls' and women's education and skill development belongs to marginalized communities. The activities and women's rights achievements are described in the following sections.

5.5 Women's Movements in India

David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow define social movements as "collective challenges to existing arrangements of power and distribution by people with common purposes and solidarity, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (Beckwith, 2005). The economic policies have a considerable impact on the social realm. Achieving economic development became the state's goal by introducing several policies and programs that challenged equality in terms of gender and economic and political equality. Women's movements challenge the policies that affect people total, and the women's movement goes unnoticed as the issue they raise gets attention, not from the women's perspective. They handle social, political, economic, environmental, and developmental issues. The women's movements in

India and feminist activities are divided into different sections. The first phase starts before the independence period from 1850-to 1915 with the social reform movements. The second phase, from 1915 to 1947 until independence, involved women in the freedom struggle; the third phase, from independence to the current period.

5.5.1 The emergence of India's Women's Movement

Women's movements in India started with the reformist movement during the colonial period. Women's issues and concerns were taken up by the nationalist movement and continued to serve as a women's movement. The women's movements in India had peculiar as they mainly focused on the social upliftment of women. Male progressive activists, motivated by European liberal democratic principles and with the permission of British authorities, began the struggle against female abortion, widow burning, separation of women from public life, and sexual slavery in the nineteenth century. They also held public events to celebrate widows' second marriages. Many countries focused on political equality in India; the movements started with social emancipation as women were denied equality with the existing backwardness of social and cultural unequal treatment of women. The movements started even before the country's independence, where they focused on societal discrimination and oppression of women as the result of male dominance and foreign rule. The alliance of women's movements with the freedom struggle was intended to identify the foreign rule and patriarchal system as equally responsible for the inferior position and inequality they experienced. The emergence of the feminist movement depended on the male-dominant nationalist movement (Sinha, 2000).

The first wave of feminism in India was marked by the demand for eradicating the evil practices of child marriage, voting rights, and female infanticide. The women from the higher caste and class who benefited from the English education and privileged position in their families identified as the pioneers of Indian women's movements. The elite class absorbed the western ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity during this time with the access to modern education and engagement with the Outside. This foreign ideology was carried to the issue of women's rights, resulting in a social transformation drive. The renaissance did not fundamentally change culture's patriarchal framework or gender relations. Only such areas that the British officials pointed out as indicators of deterioration in Indian social structure

were chosen for change. Even the women's establishments and groups that grew up during this time lacked a distinct vision, instead of basing them on what the males had been preaching. This is logically given that the spouses and siblings of the reformist were the ones who championed the formation of all these groups. Women's organisations unquestionably approved the revolutionaries' agenda and purpose. In a sense, even though women spoke for themselves, they spoke exclusively in the discourse of males, which was determined by male constraints. It cannot be ignored that the social renaissance contributed to removing stereotypes about female rights and offered democratic, open areas for women. The renaissance gave women a liberal area in all other domains by examining different concerns that society had traditionally forced on them, crippling them. Pandita Rama Bai's Sharda Sadan (1892) in Poona, Shri Mahipatramrupramanathashram in Ahmedabad (1892), Shri Zorastrian Mandal in Bombay (1903), maternity and child welfare league in Baroda (1914), and Bhagini Samaj in Poona (1916) were all founded with the specific aim of boosting plenty of women and expelling numerous different societal issues (Pande, 2018).

The organized women's movement started in 1904 by setting up The Indian Women's Conference to discover the social issues and for the emancipation of women. The women's Indian Association was formed in 1917 and linked with the suffragist movement in Britain. The National Council of Women in India started in 1925 as a branch of the International Council of Women. The All India Women Council of 1927 started to discuss the importance of female education. However, they realised that female education could be attained only by addressing the issue of other social discrimination such as child marriage and other religious and social cultures that stood as a threat to women's liberation and identified the need for the country's liberation from foreign rule as a way for the better days. The women's question was identified with the national interest for the country's liberation. It became notable that the role of women in the freedom movement. Women's enlistment for the right to self-rule became the most incredible move. Women's joining into the Indian National Congress Committee speeds up Civil Disobedience. The mass participation of women in organizing a strike in factories, boycotting foreign goods and organizing protests and rallies, and active participation in disobedient movements made the fight for independence more vigorous and got memorable space in the freedom struggle against the brutality by the British police against the female activist described in

Bengal Congress Committee report. Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) provided training classes and coaching for women in different sectors. Anjuman Trust, another religious-based women's group, was dedicated to the purpose of women's skills and experience development to enable them to work from home. They had to operate inside the purdah's framework. During the 1930s, a large group of women engaged the nonviolent resistance activity. Thousands more others, in addition to Sarojini Naidu and Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay, willingly joined in the fight for independence. In 1931, the Public protest Board, in partnership with the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, began promoting domestic companies, particularly khadi spinning and weaving. The Civil Disobedience movement began in Punjab in 1930, with a march of 5,000 women-led by Lado Rani Zutshi and Parvati, marching through Lahore. Durga Bai Deshmukh rallied the women of Madras to continue on the congress's agenda (Pandey, 2018).

More importantly, pioneering Indian women activists saw women's political participation as expanding with existing responsibilities. They also built an idea that emphasised women's capabilities by expanding their domains, not altering them. It is no wonder that perhaps the women's movement ran against opposition in the Hindu Code's intimate realms of marriage and succession. Equal opportunity in politics and the workplace has never been a concern, but men seemed hesitant to break existing entitlements in the private realm, which typifies the subordinate status of a woman. Despite receiving widespread public support and achieving specific legislative improvements, the women's movement has been powerless to establish freedom in the home (Thomas, 1996).

5.5.2 Women's Movement after Independence

Various cultural norms made it difficult for women to lead a better life. After the independence period, it identifies the need for economic support for women and political representation for achieving the general emancipation of women and the country. In an agrarian economy, women's role in countries' economic activities is exceedingly important but never acknowledged. Hence, women in India continuously struggle to get fundamental rights despite several laws and positive discrimination to protect and promote women's rights and freedom. The several reports stating the need and forms of women's discrimination in society reflect the phases of the women's

movement in India. The period of the second wave of the feminist movement was crucial in India as the country went through significant political changes.

Professional middle-class women have been prominent participants in many protest movements of students, young labourers, farmers, tribal communities, Lower castes, and human rights during the second wave of feminism, which began in the mid-1970s. They opposed liberal male collectivism and upper-class women's 'generous' and 'humanitarian' social activity, taking over the women's movements. The changes in the feminist movements' at the international level impacted the national level. The primary concern for feminist activists during the second wave of feminism was mainly the issue of control over resources and health issues. Women remain unhealthy and malnourished and live in a stressed atmosphere. Inside the home, older women and adults experience dietary imbalance, with girls and women eating only less amount after the family. The custom of women eating at last and not with other members was common in the Indian culture among all religious and regional sets; it was regarded as the rule of the family system to follow. Another area of feminist interest was the reproductive right, as the women had no control over fertility and reproduction; the husband or the family members took decisions on such matters. Education for girls was another concern for many girls deprived of educational rights for various reasons, including growing son preference, caste barriers, and child marriage (Patel & Khajuria, 2016).

The radicalism of India's political space in the late 1960s was the breeding ground for the new women's freedom movement. The revolutionary perception of the youngsters, poor farmers, agricultural labourers, literate Dalit and indigenous men and women, and the factory working classes emerged in the development of many particular concerned organisations that handled the local people's goals and desires. The women's movement in India after the Independence period had linked with the part agitation of poor peasants. The Marxist steered women movement began in the 1970s, initially in Maharashtra. The joining of Communists into the Congress Socialist party resulted in the working of the All India Women Congress (AIWC) to another level taking the issues of lower-class women, famine, and fighting for the fundamental rights of the people that were not considered earlier by the upper class and British pro associates. The women's question was not addressed adequately in the post-independence period. The women's issue was identified as a worker's issue and

not centred on women's social and economic problems. The women's issue came out forefront with the issue raised during the famine year of 1970 -1973. The rural working people, peasants, fought for the relief program for food and work; women workers led agitations and strikes under the left party. The government granted the demand for the right to work and equal pay under the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS). The women's issue of equal pay intensified during the agitation, and the actions for women's issue originated in cities; the first such call was the United Women's Anti-price-rise Committee in 1972 and other such committees under the left parties, the Trade Union Joint Action Committee and the Sangarsha Samiti during the year of 1973 and 1974. The agitations spread over the country mainly focused on rural peasants and lower caste women. The oppressed people's mass protests had chosen radical approaches, driven by various political philosophies (Sugunakararaju, 2012).

In Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and Punjab, the state communist parties experienced a huge strategic dilemma regarding the Naxalbari uprising[116]. In 1974, the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat protested over corruption, price rises, and poverty in the name of Sampoorna Kranti; the protest was imitated in Bihar with the guidance of Jayaprakash Narayan. The campaign opposing illegal deforestation began in the Himalayan valleys under the initiative of Gandhian support activists. To safeguard the forests from the hatchet of contracting companies' women devised an ingenious solution. When their opponents launched violent attempts to eliminate trees down, this movement was called the Chipco movement. The Chipco movement and the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) were identified as the environmental movements in India with the enormous contribution of women activists (Patel & Khajuria, 2016) (Sugunakararaju, 2012).

The independent Marxist journal *Magowa* published the problems of middle-class women and the role and fight of tribal women in the mass movement against price, famine and extraordinary effort to crash alcoholism. The formation of *Mahila Samta*

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[116]The Naxalbari peasant rebellion of 1967 gave rise to a new imagination that had a profound influence on literature, art, and culture throughout all of India. The Naxalbari-inspired groups' imaginative imagination and the sky of their ambitions are much more expansive than their geopolitical reach. The long and glorious history of the nation's peasant and labouring people's struggles was, in the eyes of the Naxalbari movement's leaders, the primary inspiration behind the aspiration of an Indian revolution (For more details see: http://cpiml.org/feature/the-cultural-aspect-of-the-naxalbari-uprising/).

Sainik Dal formed by the Buddhist students was an initiative of educated Dalit students to show the revolutionary feminist position. The activism became a mass protest and the beginning of a mass movement at the state level before something was not done at the national level with a mass conference titled United Women's Liberation Struggle Conference held in Poona. The conference was attended by all the women organizations of the working class, peasants, textile workers, urban women organizations, students, homemakers, and factory workers. The conference addressed the issue of women bringing the fundamental issues of all sections of women. The issues discussed in the conference covered Dalit women, women's freedom to participate in the labour force, the fight against alcoholism, dowry problems, and violence against women (Omvedt, 1975). The Stree Mukti Sanghatana in Bombay and the Progressive Organization of Women in Hyderabad were founded in 1974, and identical women's organisations were founded in Delhi, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Bombay, Ahmadabad, Patna, and Madras throughout 1977 and 1979.

The report of 1947 on "Women's Role in Planned Economy", the second on the "Status of Women" in the year 1974, and the third came in the year 1988 titled ", The National perspective plan for Women". All of these reports find the status of women in the country and the need to identify the structure that denies equality in society and within women. The 'Committee on Status of Women in India' (CSWI) from 1971-to 74 came out with a report on the marginalization of women in Indian society and economy and the lack of access to land, property, and education (Sankaran & Madhav, 2011). It founds the importance of political rights, access to school, and legal equality to better women's upliftment and how denial of rights affects a more extensive section of marginalized Indian women. The committee's findings stimulate the women's movements to raise the concerning issues and fight for the rights and advancement of women in India. The report came out in the middle of the political unrest in the country. The period was marked by a tremendous amount of socio-political and economic problems, and women came forward for the society, not only for the specific women issues. The country witnessed mass protests and struggles for society with the greater participation of the more extensive women section. Primarily, activists focused on matters affecting women, such as domestic violence, dowry killings, assault and mocking. Writing about harassment in the workplace gave them the courage to fight against the specific atrocities against them and for the economic

and political revival. The second-wave feminism and the emerged civil right and student movements that surrounded all over the world triggered Indian society. The publication of the report on the Status of women in India by the ICSSR committee as part of the UN declaration of 1975 also steered a profound women's atmosphere. The political events such as lifting the emergency led to the formation of civil rights movements and democratic activities in society. Women's collectives sprang up all over the country to oppose rising dowry killings and rape cases with the writings of like-minded educated women. Middle-class, educated women who had access to the resources and were disappointed with the left party activism mainly headed the women's organizations and movements during the period, and they initiated a new perspective on handling the women's issues. They urged the need to format women's groups explicitly to deal the women's issues. The western women's activities inspired their activism, and they called out the need to view politicizing the problems women faced in their personal lives. Various political parties also formed women's wings to address women's issues at the political level. The political parties linked with the communist ideologies formed women's groups based on the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin, supporting and finding capitalism and class structure as the cause of oppression and inequality. Some women organizations that oppose the development process mobilize women from slums and backward sections to fight against inequality and for fundamental rights (Mehrotra, 20002).

The Women's movement has also picked up the issues of Dalit, such as marginalised women's rights, rising conservatism, and women's inclusion in the mainstream press. From the mid-1980s to the late-1990s, women's organisations focused on offering assistance to low–income women to encourage them to reap the benefits of legal rights. The previous organisations aimed for improvement; the new members aimed to acknowledge and achieve constitutional protections (Pandey, 2018).

The sixth five-year plan came up with a chapter for the women that were specially enacted for the need for the government to take the opinion of the National Women Group to deal with the women issue and make any plan for women's empowerment. Initiatives of the 'National Literacy Mission' for the literacy campaign in 1991 have positively affected the women's movement in many parts of the country. The women's movement in India highlighted several significant trends and issues for change and society. They participated in other movements that challenged the

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government's environmental issues, human rights, agriculture, and development programs. The motion also emphasizes that all fundamental institutions, religious, ethical, and cultural, oppose gender equality, as they practice identity politics by birth (Dubey, 1995). Three crucial women organizations were fighting for social transformation. The Women's movement was led by the All India Women's organization, Women's Indian Association (WIA), and CWI (Sinha, 2000). The organizations of women, born during the women's movement of the nationalist struggle, became increasingly fragmented. They weakened- ideologically and politically in the post-independent period, leaving the field free to the accelerated process of economic modernization, which marginalized the majority of women and co-opted the minority through the increased strength of the class, caste, community, and cultural politics. Despite its fragmented, highly decentralized organizational model and regional and ideological diversities, the Indian women's movement's independence has emerged as one of the significant forces for democracy, human rights, and social progress within the country and the sub-continent (Agnihotri & Mazumdar, 1995).

The feminist debates and discussions find the consumer society system that emerged because of globalization as another area or new kind of exploitation of women—the growth of marketing and commercial products industries, which combined to redefine the Indian woman. In 1997, a beauty contest was organized in Bangalore to protest against the objectification of women and the new consumer society. The pageant demonstrates the different titles "Miss Disease, Miss Starvation, Miss Poverty, Miss Malnourished, and Miss Dowry Victim" that focus on the issues faced by women (Chaudhuri, 2012).

The women's movements against the SAP policies emerged during 2000. The draft of a document called "women speak" responded to the SAP and globalization effect on women. Many women organizations, including CWDS and other feminist groups, were signatories to the draft for the Global March 2000. The struggle of the women's movement on various issues was not adequately put forward or did not give much stress on it. Women groups put effort into resisting government policies. The Tamil Nadu matches industry, Maharashtra Beedi Company, Anganwadi promoters, Cashew labours, teachers, fish market workers such many organized and unorganized sectors women workers organized under the women groups and fight back for their freedom

and rights. Women's movements also led to the struggle against privatization. With the introduction of liberal economic policies, natural resources were privatized. An example of protest against the coca-cola company for taking away the water resources of the areas where thousands of families depend on the drinking water. The protest got international acknowledgement for her protest against a multinational company.

5.6 Caste and Women's Movement in India

The colonization in India brought changes in women's education, especially in the elite class. Due to the caste hierarchy in the society, the lower section of women remained uneducated and out of the beneficiary list of the positive side of colonization. A large part of the women's movement and upliftment of women was carried out by the educated elite section of women (Channa & Mitra, 2004). The women's movement, mainly led by upper-caste elite women, was westernized and never addressed the issues of other sections of the group they represent. The idea of representing them as the modernized elite group became the motto of the struggle instead of addressing the exact problem of gender inequality and oppression. Colonization brought some reconstruction in the existing biased customs like a ban on sati, education for females, and other superstitious customs of human sacrifice of infants and girls. At the same time, it was not essential to eradicate the patriarchal tradition of the country. The reforms touched only a particular section of the women, like upper caste elites. The motive behind such reforms was not to handle patriarchy or gender inequality; it widens the gap between upper caste elite and lower caste women.

The feminist movement and Western feminism could not eradicate the inequalities in Indian society as the peculiar feature of caste in the country. Western feminism that emphasises gender and oppression of women never recognises the caste-based inequalities and hierarchical system of the Indian society that put lower caste women in a double discrimination situation. It has already been discussed in the different waves of feminism and how it failed to recognize the other side of the global South. The criticism over the feminist theories of waves mainly addresses that feminism should be understood as a treaty to acknowledge the global understanding rather than merely pointing to women's empowerment through political policies. The negligence of addressing the diverse discriminatory practices of caste and other diversity of

oppression is visible while the international community addresses and produces uniform laws for women's equality and freedom. It further makes it necessary to develop locally developed methodologies to acknowledge oppression and inequality. It led to the emergence of the idea of "Brahmanical Patriarchy" in Indian feminist strata identifying the caste and gender inequalities experienced by lower caste women. Ambedkar becomes relevant in the Indian context by bringing the women's emancipation idea to the Indian context and social reality. The social reforms that emerged in the Indian context did not successfully explore the caste-based discrimination reinforced through the traditional customs and religious hierarchy.

Dalit feminism addressed the caste difference that emerged in the 1980s in India's mainstream feminism (Senanayake & Trigunayat, 2020). The caste hierarchies in India oppress not only women from the lower caste but also, the lower caste men. As the Indian caste system holds its superior position in society, it is imperative to study inequalities and oppression from the caste angle (Sharma, 2000). Education for Dalits was the first step in eradicating the inequalities. Jotiba Phule, the founder of Maharashtra's non-Brahmin movement, established schools for Shudras, ati-shudras. Early Dalit leaders like Gopal Baba Valangkar and Shivram Janba Kamble inspired Dalits to pursue higher education. People's Education Society, founded by Ambedkar, was established with the idea of education as a means to eradicate inequality (Sen, 2019).

The mechanism of caste and class shapes the construction of Brahmanical patriarchy and gender segregation, the three aspects of the social hierarchy in India that took a long process to evolve into a compound arrangement (Chakravarti, 1993). The creation of the National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW) and the All India Dalit Women's Forum (ADWF) are two examples of self-governing and distinct affirmations of Dalit women's identities in the 1990s. The Maharashtra Dalit Mahila Sanghatana was established in 1995 at the state level. It is vital to keep the caste oppression visible and separate as the homogenization of women's issues at the national level and the necessity to take the caste element in oppression as the degree and intensity Dalit women face is much more severe in the double oppression of caste and gender. The suppression of Dalit voices is identified in the Shetkari Sanghatana in Maharashtra and Rayat Sangha in Karnataka. The minimum wage issues of the Dalit farmers got into the contradiction of elite groups who represent the movements. The

poverty of the Dalit women does not get an appropriate voice and solution in the movement. The contradiction of ideological representations was not only visible in the quest for fundamental rights but also the violence against women. This cognition was reflected in the meeting of NFDW and the Maharashtra Dalit Women's Conference in 1995(Guru, 1995).In 1997, a Dalit Christian organization was formed called The Christi Mahila Sangharsh Sanghatana. The Dalit organization advanced in fighting against the Brahminical hegemony; it also voiced other issues, including reservation for the OBC community in legislation and opposed the globalization policies of privatization under Bahujan Mahila Aghadi and Shetmajur Shetkari Shramik Aghadiin Maharashtra. Three distinct contending and combining perspectives have developed from Maharashtra's Dalit women's activities and politics. The Bahujan Mahila Mahasangh (BMM) is a Dalit-Bahujan group that criticises the Vedic Brahmanical custom and aspires to resurrect the Bahujan tradition of the 'adimaya'. It attempts to integrate legislative force struggles with cultural revolutions in strengthening and expanding the Bahujan community (Rege, 2018). Dalits in Maharashtra founded the Dalit Panther Movement in the early 1970s, modelled after the Black Panthers of the United States (Sugunakararaju, 2012). Later, the Ambedkarite and Dalit Panthers merged to develop a distinct form of Marathi literature. It includes some notable Dalit women writers, such as Urmila Pawar, Kumud Pawade, and Baby Kamble (all from Maharashtra), Cynthia Stephen and Ruth Manorama (both from Karnataka), and Bama and Meena Kandaswamy (both from Tamil Nadu) have grown in national and worldwide prominence (Patel, Khajuria, 2016). Baby Kamble's life story *Jeena Amucha* portrays the community's situation and women's struggle. Urmila Pawar has written *Aidan* describing the encounters with Mumbai's urban feminist movement (Sen, 2019). Political participation is identified as a need to address the lower caste women's issues with the motive of increasing the women's participation

Apart from the caste-based violence and inequality, Dalit women experience gender inequality within the family and public space. The economic and political participation of Dalit women has always been marginal, making them less visible in the cultural space also. The caste that makes them sidelined in society and the gender makes it difficult for them to enter the mainstream and assert their right. Dalit women experience specific violence and discrimination in their work and public places at

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many stages of their life. The practices of making Dalits forced to consume excrement, naked public parades, nasty verbal insults, and threats of rape are Dalit women in the society explicitly experience these assaults and violence. Workplace discrimination is enormous, both physical and verbal abuse that denies the fundamental rights of equal rights of opportunity.

5.7 Legal Provisions and Gender Equality in India

Several judicial rulings had positive and negative effects on the status of women in India. Indian constitution has given certain positive discriminative rights for women to empower and protect their rights. The fundamental spirit of the Indian constitution for the society is found to be the fundamental elements of the constitution, including the citizen's fundamental rights. 1) Article 14, which comes under the fundamental rights of the Indian constitution, gives equal opportunities and rights for men and women in political, economic, and social spheres. 2) Article 15(1) prohibits discrimination based on caste, place of birth, sex and race. 3) Article 15 (3) enables the state to make special provisions supporting women. 4) Article 16 provides equal opportunity for all citizens in appointment to any public offices. 5) Article 39 (a) the state's policies should ensure that all people, men and women, have equal access to means of subsistence. 6) Article 39 (d) deals with the remuneration for work, which gives everyone the right to equal pay for equal work. 7) In Article 42, the state must provide provisions for a reasonable and humane work environment and maternity leave (Lakshmikanth, 2017). Those articles include Article 226, which empowers high courts to file writs to safeguard men's and women's human rights. Article 300 (A) provides constitutional coverage for private property rights, Article 325 allows men and women to register to vote, and Article 326 provides voting to Parliament and Assembly based on Principles of Universal Suffrage. Apart from these constitutional rights and regulations, several acts and laws have been passed by the Indian government from time to time to protect women from any discrimination and to provide the best environment for the empowerment of the women community to ensure gender equality. The most important legislation concerning divorce, the age for marriage and dowry are (i) the *Child Marriage Restraint Ac*t, 1929, as modified in 1978, and (ii) *The special Marriage Act* relating to the age at marriage, freedom, parent's permission, polygamy and dropping marriage (iii) *Hindu Marriage Act 1955* as modified in 1986 (iv) *Anti-Dowry Act of 1961*, (v*) Hindu Adoption and*

*maintenance Act*1956, (vi) *Immoral Traffic Act,1956*(vii)*Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971*, (viii) Amendment to Criminal Law (ix)*Prevention Act* (x) *Factory Act of 1984*, (xi) *Equal Remuneration Act of 1984* (Das, 2003).

The religious laws always acted as a significant obstacle, violated fundamental rights, and discriminated against women. When assisting women with issues such as wedding, divorce, maintenance, alimony, property ownership, custody of kids, and custody rights, activists observed that prevailing personal laws and the majority of traditions discriminated against women. The Mitakshara rules stripped Hindu females of their claims to their parents' property. Christian women would not secure a divorce only on their husband's infidelity; it would have to be accompanied by brutality, torture, and sexual abuse. Christian spouses, on the other side, might easily claim their wives to be adulterers and separate them. The sharia enslaved Muslim women by enforcing purdah, legalising polygamous marriages, unilaterally deciding divorce by a man from his wife/wives, and denying divorced Muslim women of alimony rights. These personal rules were based on the premise that women are not equivalent to men. The patriarchal worldview is in charge of them. These personal rules sustain patrilineage dual rules of human sexuality for men and women and consider women as reliant on men, regardless of their religious affiliations. As a result, all personal rules governing marriage, property, and parenthood are discriminatory towards women. The Hindu personal laws were subjected to the codification listed in the legislation into four different codes "*Hindu Marriage Act, The Hindu Succession Act, The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act*" (add citation). The personal laws or social norms that prevailed among the upper caste were primarily included in this legislation. The debate about personal laws has always been a topic of women's movements and feminist debates in India.

The personal laws found the ground for discrimination against women from different communities. In order to change the situation, the proposal of the Uniform Civil Code emerged. The All India Women's Conference expressed the need for a unified civil code including all religious sects 1937. Until the late 1980s, more outstanding segments of the women's movement maintained to amplify this call. However, in the 1990s, there was much reconsidering. There have been changes in personal law and norms several times. Following ongoing activities inside the religion, feminists altered

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divorce legislation for Indian Christians resulting in the passage of the *Indian Divorce (Amendment) Act of 2001*. The more significant investigation of the heterosexist family at the centre of personal laws changed significantly during the 1990s. Even as early as the 1990s, the Forum against the Oppression of Women had expanded the definition of "family" to encompass lesbian relationships and heterosexual partners staying jointly without getting married in their wish (Menon, 2014).

Throughout the last years of economic planning, there has also been a gradual growth in project disbursements to fulfil the requirements of women and children. The First Five Year Plan's expenditure of Rs.4 crores had grown to Rs.7 810.42 crores in Ninth Five Year Plan and Rs.13,780 crores in the Tenth Five Year Plan. In the subsequent Five Year Plan, there was a transition from a welfare-oriented strategy in the First Five Year Plan to the transformation and emancipation of women. The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) implemented social safety net programs through all the volunteer sectors. Women's initiatives are administered via Community Development Blocks of the National Extension Service Programs. Since the Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61), attempts have been made to form Mahila Mandals groups at the local level in order to guarantee that development initiatives are implemented more effectively. Female schooling was given the utmost attention in the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and other periodic plans (1961-74) (Gaikar, 2015)

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) took a comprehensive method with a multi-focus on female health, literacy, and work. The transformation projects for women were extended under the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) to enhance their social and economic status and bring them further to the forefront of public growth. Many projects like the implementation of a National Nutrition Policy following the Constitutional obligations to maintain a proper dietary requirement for the individuals, the release of the Mahila Samridhi Yojana to encourage financial tasks for women and the Indira Mahila Yojana primarily for generating acknowledgement and empowering women via self-help groups. Women and economically and socially marginalised people like Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes and Minority groups are empowered as actors of socio-cultural transformation. The ninth five-year plan also supports and grows women's interactive structures such as Panchayati Raj institutions, enterprises, and self-help initiatives. The Tenth Five-Year Plan was established to guarantee that women have adequate

direct exposure to knowledge, facilities, and opportunities and to promote equality initiatives. It addressed the importance of gender budgeting. Special initiatives for women's emancipation and equality were planned in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. The Ministry of Women and Child Development use gender budgeting and promotes gender equality in parallel. Incorporation of gender studies into the academic space was the goal of the twelfth Five Year Plan (Pandey, 2018). Women were integrated into the developmental programs. More than treated as beneficiaries of welfare programs, women were started to take as the contributors to development programs.

The political participation of women was meagre in India. Even though the women's presence in independence movements and other agitation rose considerably, later on, the number of women in electoral politics remained low due to the culture of seeing women are incapable of ruling and politics as meant for men. In order to ensure the participation of women in the political field government came up with the quota system in India. The 73rd and 74thAmendments Act of 1992 brought a 33 per cent of quota system for women in the local administration (Heredia, 2012).

Another area where legal provisions changed society is the violation against women. The contrary decision in the Mathura rape case caused widespread protest and criticism all over the country, and the government-appointed a 'law commission' to review rape law. The commission amended the 'Indian rape law, and the 'custodial rape' was introduced. Mathura rape was important in the women's struggle in Indian society. In 1972, a teenage tribal girl was gang-raped by cops in a police officer in Maharashtra's Chandrapur district. Many women organizations and groups were formed, followed by the controversial judgment in the case. Lotika Sarkar, a founding member of the CWDS studies, developed the first feminist group in India named "Forum against Rape" and later changed the name to "Forum against Oppression of Women." *Saheli*wasone of the feminist groups formed during that period in Delhi. The case's verdict invoked the emergence of many women's discourses and groups to discuss women's issues and the exploitation of women in society. The case was an example of how Indian society perceives sex and the taboo of pre-marital sex (continue in today) Indian society.

The ruling of the 'Shah Bano' trial resulted in the endorsement of the right of Muslim women to maintenance under section 125 of the criminal procedure (Roy, 2001). The

case was a milestone regarding the rights of Muslim women's marriage life. The petitioner filed the case for legal support for her rights to financial support from her husband after divorce. The development in the case after the verdict for alimony shows the power of religion in deciding women's lives and maintains the society's patriarchal order. The verdict questioned the personal law of the particular community and religious text denying the demand for alimony after divorce. The political and religious nexus nullified the verdict by bringing the Act of Muslim women (Protection on rights of Divorce) for granting financial support for women after divorce until 90days. The new act restraining for maintenance for divorced women was challenged in 2001, citing it as unconstitutional, and came with the clause of alimony to be provided until women remarry (Sankaran & Madhav, 2011). The case could be seen as a base of how women dominated the communities. Women's economic freedom and fundamental property rights are seen as threatening to the communities siting the right economic freedom as a threat to tradition.

The judgment in the Vishaka case was a milestone in forming the code of conduct for 'Preventing Sexual Harassment in the workplace in 1997. The petition filed by Vishaka and other women groups resulted in the crucial development in the development of rights of Indian women, well known as the '*Vishaka Guidelines.*' The guideline directs to provide basic guidelines of sexual harassment in the workplace and provisions to deal with it; marked as a significant triumph in the history of women groups in India. The directive was the only direction for the employers about the detailed definition and guidelines to deal with the vilest situation of sexual harassment at the workplace. The 'Sexual Harassment Act' "The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act" only came into effect in 2013, after 16years (Sankaran & Madhav, 2011).

In India, labour law comprises a comprehensive collection of laws passed at various times to fulfil a specific goal, plus various court rulings on essential subjects such as work. In 1922, the government passed the Fourth Factories Act, which tried to restrict factory work schedules in keeping the physical strength and worker's convenience standards. The Workman's Compensation Act of 1923, on the other hand, went beyond the ordinary concerns of salary and compensation to solve the challenges of compensating injured employees in accidents. The Payment of Wages Act of 1936 and the Minimum Act of 1965 are two critical wage-related laws in the state. These

statutes were passed to handle difficulties relating to specific areas of salaries and adjacent matters (Pandey, 2010). Another judicial activism to encounter gender inequality in work is related to the case of Muhammad v. Union of India and Air India v Nargesh Mirza which smashed the discriminatory service law. That prevents married and pregnant women from the right to employment and the derogatory law of getting government approval for the female worker before entering into jobs (Bhardwaj, 2015).

Most women workers belong to the unorganized sector, working without a proper security and not receiving any support from the organization or employer. The government of India came up with a law in 2008 providing security and safety for those working in the unorganized sector. The law regarding the security from sexual harassment at the workplace both in the unorganized and organized sectors. The law specifically defines the nature of sexual exploitation. The law states that no woman shall be subject to any sexual abuse taking the nature of such abuses. The law defines such acts as "sexually determined behaviour, physical contact, advances, sexually coloured remarks, showing pornography, sexual demand, request for sexual favour, or any other unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature whether verbal, textual, physical, graphic or electronic or by any other actions"(UN, 2013). It is a positive remark about eliminating gender inequality in work. Much of the gender equity laws established to safeguard women from violence and discrimination, as well as abuse and anger, are at times excellent, but those charged with executing it, whether in the authorities or courts, hinder this. The data on atrocities towards women is on the rise: dowry killings, bride burnings, female foeticide, even infanticide, rape, and sexual harassment are all on the rise. Furthermore, the high number of convictions for these crimes makes the legislation absurd. Patriarchy dominates and hinders achieving gender equality.

Government effort to assure the rights of migrated women workers, the anti-trafficking law protects women working outside and inside the country. The ministry of home affairs and the help of the UN developed policies to protect women from trafficking, and the country has deployed many Non-Governmental organizations to identify the victims and provide the proper protection and safety to come back to everyday life. The introduction of the program 'Ujjawala' in 2007 was part of such activity to protect and rehabilitate the trafficking victims. Trafficking based on the

recruitment of women in the name of the job becomes an extensive network in-country government came up with special laws to avoid the situation. The agencies recruiting workers should be registered in the prescribed time and format in the labour department. The women's commission has access to information from agencies to eradicate the possibility of trafficking in the field. The major landmark in protecting women in the unorganized service sector is the development of bilateral agreements with the migrated countries. India has signed an agreement with the Middle East countries, the most critical receiver of migrated labours. The agreement provides safety and proper security for the migrated workers in the host countries. Bilateral agreement for the betterment of migrant workers is an essential step toward the safety of migrant women workers. Like many women, workers migrate internationally in the service sector. India holds the first position in the category of sending migrators, and the increasing risk of security problems in the sector makes it essential for the state to ensure the eradication of exploitation.

5.8 Women's Movements in Russia

The history of Russia dramatically influences the introduction of feminist ideologies and the women's movement in Russia. The country's historical circumstances influence the women's questions and the functioning of the women's movement in society. The women's movements in Russia are very complicated. When the revolution took place in 1917, women's equality in all spheres was put on historically. Leninist Marxist ideology of state aimed to form an egalitarian society with equal sources (Kondakov, 2012). The Russian academic world and the Russian community have reacted strongly against the liberal development philosophy in recent years. That response has expressed itself in appeals for conservative principles and a rejection of gender as an idea, which is seen as letting individuals select their sexuality. Feminism was often seen as a prelude for poor mothers and broader societal harm and was even blamed for social evils (Muravyeva & Novikova, 2014).

5.8.1 Feminism and Women's Movements in the Soviet Period

The contemporary women's movements and fewer acceptances of gender ideas have roots in historical cultural and political settings. The history of women's movements is essential in identifying the women's movements in contemporary Russia. Two significant elements shaped the nature and substance of Russian women's writings

after the 1917 revolutionary movements. The first was related to the broader political context and the constraints that the new political system imposed on the growth of the women's movement. Any attempt to form an independent, open women's movement was unfeasible after that. The dramatic shifts in the Russian philosophical community were also crucial to the growth of Russian women's literary works. Nation, colour, gender, ethnicity, and other variables of individual or group self-concept were disregarded, while Communist ideology and dialectic materialism were recognised as the sole valid approaches to producing knowledge. Despite the fact that Russian women's literature endured the socio-political changes and generated a considerable lot of scholarly works (Muravyeva & Novikova, 2014).

The feminist ideology of Soviet time depends on the experience of society, which differentiate it from the western idea of feminism. It has two ideas supporting Russian feminism that argues gender differences as necessary, putting it in a religious background, saying femininity based on love and sacrifice is essential for social justice (Kondakov, 2012). Marxist feminism identified equality by adding women to the working class, abolishing the patriarchal family unit, and communalizing the household chores (Chatterjee, 1999). The early feminist ideas circulated among the aristocrat women reached the working-class women who wanted to get attention from the Socialist men who kept ignoring their demands. It began with the formation of an all-women Union of women workers. "League for Women's Equal Rights" of the period served as the most influential women's organization working for Russian women's economic and social rights. Russian women were granted civil rights after the revolution (Hardwick, 2014). Property law changes were made to give women equal rights on the land. Women whose roles as family caretakers and kids were more stressed, allowances and special maternity laws were introduced. Allowing them to participate in the workforce as part of social production does not reflect women's equality in the family relationship (Jerath, 2008: 97). The formation of Komsomol in the 1920s; was a communist league headed by young activists formed under the party to ensure youngsters' participation in political and social activities. The household responsibilities made it difficult for young, energetic girls to make time for club activities and the parents' restrictions. The parents tend to train and give the young girls expertise in household chores and family affairs, and they want them to be perfect wives to fulfil the traditional gender role (Gorsuch, 1996).

The formation of Zhenotdel, a women's department of the communist party, formed by Alexandra Kollontai, a Bolshevik activity, has directed women to participate in the new political and social system. Zhenotdel was effective in helping Russian women to take part in political socialization, organizing women and allowing them to participate in social production women made possible through the creation of collective childcare and eating establishments. Later, in Stalin's period, he converted Zhenotdel into a national organization. Later, Stalin closed the work of the women's department to declare the goal achieved. Stalin declared as women become equal and free (Valerie, 1999).

Moreover, the women's department abolition could react to the patriarchal state that feared women's collective would counter the patriarchal system and nation. During the period of Khrushchev, the revival of women's organizations results in the formation of Zhensovety. Unlike earlier Zhenotdel, the new women's organization encouraged women to t take part in political affairs and mobilized women economically all over the country. The working of the new department also followed the earlier traditional way of putting women to participate economically and socially without getting relief from their housework (Llic, 2009). The Soviet Women Committee (SWC) solely represents the party's goals rather than working for women and gender rights (Valerie, 1999, p. 18). We can see the replacement of SWC by URW (Union of Russia's Women) after the disintegration of the USSR. Unlike SWC, the new committee was not under the control of the state.

Then in 1941, other women organizations called the "Anti-Fascist committee of Soviet Women" worked for peace and supported foreign women against aggression and democratic and social progress. The committees formed under the direction of party and state remain in the criticisms of party ideology, which sometimes lacks coordination as local party committees aim to fulfil women's participation in trade unions. The committees' functioning did not succeed in protecting or working for gender equality in general and protecting women's rights against violation in particular. The women's commissions formed in 1976 worked at the local and national levels to look after maternal, childcare, and women's living conditions. It worked mainly to protect women in the labour force and other labour issues. It described it as the committee was working on the 'women issues'; it includes family matters such as child care, schooling, and maternity. It does not mention other issues women face in

private and public spaces. The term women's issues was considered only as taking care of family and related to work. The domestication of women was released during the Soviet period by giving a chance in the participating labour force and the necessary condition to protect motherhood (Chatterjee, 1999).

During the renaissance period, committees renewed into the 'All-Union Conference of Women', which contributed to organizing meetings and female congresses throughout the country. It also paved the way for the formation of independent women's organizations. In 1988 an organization called *Tvorchestvo* (Creativity) was formed by a group of women intending to bring women together from the creative field. The group's creator, Tatiana Riabikina, envisioned creating a centre for the women's movement. However, when the country experienced economic stagnation and women became the worst affected group by the decline in the economic sector, they came up with the idea of training women in craft making and sales of handmade products to provide support. She wanted to create a space for women to come together to share their experiences and ideas (Valerie, 1999).

In the late socialist period, 'gender' and other terms and concepts of western feminism made sense to a small group of Russian women. The highly educated academic women spearheaded efforts to form a women's movement and played a crucial role in laying the foundation and bringing gender into Russian society. The stirrings of what is known as the second wave of Russian feminism began in the late 80s. It was associated with the dissidents that resulted from the '*Krushchev thaw*[117].' During this period, some feminist journalists and writers began to write their own lives that contradicted the official representation of Russian womanhood. The feminist *Samizdat* publication was the journal *Al' manakh: Zhenshinam o Zhenshchinakh, Zhenshchina I Rossiia* edited by Tatyana Mamonova, circulated in a dissident circle in Leningrad in 1979. It deals with discrimination against women in politics, abortion, the terrible situation in maternity hospitals and women's prisons, and forcefulness against women, questions that were not discussed or came out officially in the USSR. As the independent women's organizations survived only for a short period in Russia,

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[117] The term "Khrushchev Thaw" or "Khrushchev Thaw" refers to the Soviet era between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, when Nikita Khrushchev served as Party Chairman and relaxed repression and censorship in the Soviet Union. The name is Khrushchovskaya Ottepel or just Ottepel in Russian (рувска оттеел). The Thaw, a 1954 novel by Ilya Ehrenburg, inspired the term's creation (For more details see: https://www.newworlde ncyclopedia.org/entry/Khrushchev_Thaw).

like other forms of rebellious writing, this work was suppressed, and the publishing manager was confined and then later expatriated to the west. Only a few scholars engaged in women's matters gained access to feminist literature, which was not accessible to ordinary people. English language editions of feminist text could be found in *spetskhrany*, closed archives of the main library (Hemment, 2007). The circulation of such writings and the idea of gender and related issues sprang only among the elite groups, and, notably, they failed to reach the ground level of society, making it more difficult to stimulate a gender consciousness among the women in Russia.

Party control over women's group activities was visible throughout the 1930s—the meaning of women's freedom was defined in terms of state interest. The early period of party attitude towards women, especially immediately after the revolution, could be seen as different from the 1930s until the death of Stalin liberation of women has shown only as the participation of women in the labour force along with men. Involvement in social production gave women economic independence and self-development, but Soviet women actively engaged in production without adequate representation in family relationships and decision-making.

Proper organized women activism in Russia has a long history of struggle and tradition. It originated during the 19th century and started assisting and helping the deprived sections and single-mother families of society. Many of the organizations are supported financially and ideologically by modern western organizations. The ideology of the west of individual freedom, law, liberal ideas of liberty, and rights was not adaptable to Russia's society. The influence of the western ideology of gender and financial support helped form many independent women's organizations all over the country for the rights and protection of women. It also helped Russian activists get in touch with international activists and participate in international conferences. One of the first achievements of assistance from the western side was the formation of gender institutions and gender discourses throughout the country, which was absent before. The emergence of feminist ideologies in the Soviet period was with the publication of The Almanac first feminist publication started by Tatiana Mamonova; the government arrested her and banned the publication (Rudakova et al., 1999).

Women councils were set up after 1958 under Nikita Krushchev as part of his attempt to mobilize the Soviet people around issues concerning their lives. Educational programs have appeared within the movement, which provide knowledge about organizational management (Olga, 1997). Unlike that period, the women's organization had no voice or power until Gorbachev introduced his policies in the 1980s. His policy gave voice to women's organizations to work legally and with the freedom to express their views than before. There was only one women's organization in the country when Gorbachev took power. The Soviet Women's Committee was under the control of the state, functioning under the watchful eye of the communist party apparatchiks. The Gorbachev era marked a swing in the progress of other informal organizations, political groups, environmental groups, and civil activities that continued to bounce over Yeltsin's presidency. Over these years, the only state-controlled women's organization has been swapped by multiple independent and foreign-aided women groups and NGOs. In 1994 over 300 women's organizations registered officially under the ministry of justice (Valerie, 1999:19). Official registration allows them to open a bank account and make transactions and other organizational activities, including publishing their information. The first-ever feminist group registered under the Ministry of Justice was SAFO, which later changed its title to FALTA. The feminist group inspired other small groups to register and work under the new law. It also had been a part of the first women's conference in the country. In 1991, the first women's conference was organized in the city of Dubna, a city on the outskirt of Moscow, without controlling the party and the state. The conference slogan "Democracy minus women is no democracy" sounds relevant, pointing to the need to identify the socio-economic situation of women in society (Hemment, 2007). Even though the city officials interrupted the conference by cancelling the permission for conducting it, it continued to successfully end up the conference with the help of higher officials. The second conference was held in 1992. The conference formed the platform for feminist activities and other organizers to connect and share their ideas and views.

5.8.2 Women's Movements in Contemporary Russia

Many state and international workshops and symposiums dedicated place and time to numerous perspectives of Russian females' past events in the mid-1990s, against a backdrop of keen public discussion, renowned collective action, party politics

creation, and symbols of the rise of feminism. Many Russian academics are actively working to understand and explain the theories and approaches of women's and feminist theory, and they are discussing them as both a subject and a debate. Writings published during the period include a wide variety of themes. They provide fresh insights into women's stories and their role in societal development (Muravyeva & Novikova, 2014).

Between 1991 and 1995, an organization registered in the capital with the influence of a national conference took place1991. Other independent organizations also came out inspired by the two conferences. Independent Women's Forum (IWF) and Women's League worked independently of the state and were new for their radical ideologies. Another development of this period was forming an association called US-NIS in 1994. That was a Western-funded organization linking the Women's League and IWF activists. The period marked a boost in the formation of independent women organizations, especially the nature of women groups changed from petite friends groups to fully organized groups with branches working in other parts of the country. It was quite a successful period in the history of Russia's women's movement in a system where such organization and the working of such groups were illegal and primarily regulated and controlled by state authorities. Most organizations were centred on the country's capital city and spread their branches into the outskirts (Valerie, 1999: 21).

The nature of women's organizations needs to check to find the reality of why women's organizations are not very popular in society. Most of the organizations are run and handled by the women who were either part of the SWC, friends group or social circle through the workplace. The absence of a civil society group made it difficult to expand the core groups in the women's movement. Another reason for the lack of support for the women's movement and other feminist organizations is the absence of an active civil society. The dearth of civil society groups in the soviet system continues in society. The absence of a responsible civil society restricted the establishment and growth of women's activism and other social movements. The participation of foreign agencies and most organisations must be financially backed up by foreign agencies rather than the state by the activities of women organizations and NGOs working to protect women's rights. The presence of foreign agencies in

developing women's organizations in the country sometimes becomes positive and sometimes creates a negative impact (Racioppi et al., 1995).

The working of women groups was not uniformly spread all over the country, and the operating mode of such groups kept working in a particular direction. Most women groups lack critique on the existing gender relations and are followed by scepticism on feminist ideas. The working model of most women groups was unconsciously followed by the critique of the economic and political reforms deviating from gender. During the 1990s, the nature of most women's organizations was like dealing with employment issues as the period showed a decline in the economic status of women. Ivanovo's Centre for the Social Support of Women and Families and Moscow's Centre for the Social Support of Women are some groups that address the issue of labour issues among women (Valerie, 1999:26). They provided training programs and other support for self-support for women. Other groups deal with the mother's problems, especially single mothers and mothers who have more than one child to protect. Single mothers were the most vulnerable group hit severely during the economic decline. Organizations like the International Association of Russian Women-Mothers and the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers worked for financial support for mothers and children. Some of the other groups known for supporting women are SANTA (support for the women in law enforcement), Women with a University Education (RAUW); the Association of Women Journalists, Association of Women Directors, MOLLI, the Moscow Organization of Lesbian Literature and Art (Zdravomyslova & Zdravomyslova, 2002).

Development in the women's crisis centres, especially for the rape and domestic violence victims, is another vital area for women groups in the society. Organizations like Sisters Rape Crisis Centre, the Moscow Crisis Centre for Women, Club Harmony, and Feminist Club are some groups working for the counselling and shelter centres for women in the city (Valerie, 1999:27). The first Women Crisis centre emerged out of contact with western feminist groups. ANNA's crisis centre was formed in 1993 with local feminist groups under Valentina USpenskaya and British American Julie Hemment. The emergence of crisis centres with the help of foreign aid boosted the time, but eventually, the funding problem and other issues made it impossible to continue the working of such groups. Fortunately, ANNA successfully continued the network through eminent activists and co-workers. Same time

government also set up crisis centres for women; sometimes, the non-governmental groups changed to governmental and vice versa. The nature of the women's movement and NGOs in Russia differentiate inactivity, as NGOs are less likely to actively engage in the political sphere or mobilize women against the government's oppressive policy. Instead, it deals with specific issue-based centres. Such groups have to work in terms of government policies as the authoritarian nature of the system would not allow them to take part in political mobilization (ANNA, 2015).

The emergence of women's movements in Russian society was during the political change in the country, as social movements in any society occur where political or economic changes occur. Women's movement in Russia faced hardship due to the nature of the society and other internal factors, including political and economic effects. The movement emerged in a society where women's rights were rarely practised or given importance. The political changes resulting in transferring the power from an authoritarian power gave legal support for such movement, unlike in the past. Zensovet is a women's council working in the Voronezh region with only 150,000 activists. It connects most of the regional and village councils. The mode of functioning of the organization is firmly like the soviet period women's council, following tradition strictly. "*ZhensovetyMoskvy*" is a regional organization formed in 2010 and has branches all over the capital and in the universities such as Moscow State University. It also closely connects with the state and works for the women's councils in charity, family, childcare, health care, and social work (Valerie, 1999:44).

The women's movements in Russia have two fractions 'formal social organizations and informal social organizations. Women's changes in contemporary Russia with their peculiar features of declared motives, organizational structures, ideology, political orientation, the social base can see as different. Women's organizations in society and most NGOs working for the upliftment of women; do not have a specific podium. They often express their views and ideology through interviews, election campaigns, pamphlets, and interviews. The insufficient number of women in power weakened the women's movement in the country. Political participation of women remains low in Russian society all over time. The resources helping promote political participation were not equal among men and women—moreover, the idea of women fitting into the family more than politics (Papkova, 2005).

Russia's women's rights and protest for their freedom came into the limelight when Russia's new feminist group called Pussy Riots (PR) came out with the demonstration in the country by entering the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in the capital and performing dance and singing and latter it called as their punk prayer for freedom (Haskins, 2015). They performed a song inside the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow on 21 February 2012 titled "drive to Putin away" that urged the Russian women to reform their feminist ideas (Kovalyshyna, 2015). The underground activist group Voina had been the emerging force for Pussy Riot activists. Voina started activism in 2007 and acquired media attention to display paintings connected with sexual acts in St. Petersburg. Pussy riots started activism in public places, including the metro, red square, and other essential places. The group members, Ekaterina Samutsevich, Maria Alekhina, and Nadezhda Tolokkonikkova, were arrested immediately and produced. The trial of the three young educated women captured global attention. Supreme Court charged the protected teenage girls with the charge of hooliganism stirred by religious detestation (Rourke & Wiget, 2016).

Human Rights groups like Amnesty International, Musicians, Actors several celebrities came out to speak for them. Popstar Madonna expressed her support to the PR group in her program in Moscow (Haskins, 2015). Later on, in Moscow, the court freed Yekaterina Samutsevich and the other two upheld a two-year sentence (Zychowicz, 2012). The jailed protesters were released just before the two months for their sentences to end; this act releasing of the protesters was viewed as the part of making the image of Putin internationally as the country hosted the Winter Olympics of the year 2014. The Pussy riots received much recognition and support worldwide, especially among Western and northern activists, human rights supporters, and scholars. The academic background of the activists as writers, theologians and biblical scholars gave them more welcome among the western scholars. The Pussy riots show the state authoritarianism evident after introducing the new bill prohibiting any action against the religious institution. A group of youngsters and educated women carried out the protest; their protest was meaningful, as they were not giving slogans, not breaking or burning anything, and not destroying public properties. They protested against the government, and social inequalities resulted from the frustrated young women in society. The public's adverse reaction to protest shows the rejection of feminist ideas. Many of them viewed it as anti-religious activities rather than a protest

against the violation of women's rights or the suppressive policies of the government (Turbine, 2015). The state-sponsored Russian media described the protesters as financially supported activists for fame and money. They criticized the group members for taking the personal lives of two of them as divorced and living separately from their families, described as sinful mothers as they have put their kids and family behind.

Pussy Riots was not only fighting for women's rights and freedom; their fight was against the unholy relationship between religion, state, and the traditional patriarchal system, which is disparagingly held by Russia's rigid political system. The venue they selected for the protest makes the nature of their fight against the unholy relationship between the state authority and the church. State's response to their protest shows the authoritarian nature of the current regime and the nature of state and religion coexist and suppress the voice of dissidents (Tsyrendorzhieva & Bagaeva,2016). Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, as a member of the protest group Voina, was part of an action in the zoological museum in Moscow. Protesting against the presidential elections in 2008, almost a dozen participants were photographed and filmed having sex in the museum. Sexuality was used here to link with the policy of President Dmitri Medvedev, focusing on the birth rate and reproduction. While Pussy Riot, as a group, did not perform this action, it is interesting to note that one future Pussy Riot member was central in its performance. It is also intriguing that Pussy Riot has cultivated a much more androgynous image, as they have known much more for bright colours and balaclavas than for being excessively feminized or sexualized (Channell, 2014).

St. Petersburg Centre for Gender Issues is a non-governmental research organization and an activist group that emerged in 1992. The goal of the centre is to study gender inequality in society. It organizes seminars, classes, exhibitions, and cultural performances and works to uplift women in society. The feminist group *Femen* fought against the anti-gender idea of Orthodox and sexism in society. Inna Shevchenko founded the group, an activist based in Paris. Later, she was exiled to Paris following the death warning and other security issues. The group's motto was to act against the patriarchal hierarchy and its outcome of violence against women (Kovalyshyna, 2015). *Femen* has also organized the same protest method before the incident of Pussy Riot in 2008 before the Duma election, in the same venue, but it did not get much attention internationally or inside the country (Rutland, 2014).

Lilia Shevtsova (2007) had noticed that the re-election of Putin's government in 2011 would make the "era of street protest" (Zychowicz, 2012). One of the PR members has pointed out the need to form a feminist group during Putin's run for candidacy, stating,

> We realized this country needs a militant, punk-feminist street band that will rip through Moscow's streets and squares, mobilize public energy against the evil crooks of the Putin's junta and enrich the Russian cultural and political opposition with themes that are important to us: gender and LGBT rights, problems of masculine conformity, absence of a daring political message on the musical and art scenes, and the domination of males in all areas of public discourse (Zychowicz, 2012).

The place PR groups selected to protest for their freedom fight was necessary because of being the main cathedral and specifically visiting a place of Putin and other governmental officers. In his interview, Patriarch Kill, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, mentioned Putin as "God's miracle, greatly aided by the country's leadership" (Haskins, 2015). PR group members used the Church as the platform for their protest to show their response to the unholy bond between the Church and Putin's dictatorial regime. PR groups were critical of the Church's traditional gender politics with the strong support of Putin's government.

The sexuality of young women in Russia is much different from the Soviet period. Soviet women had no sexual liberalization. Access to abortion, contraceptives and other medical services denied women's right to sexual freedom. Family planning is minimized as abortions. Unlike the Soviet women, contemporary women get space and freedom to discuss sexuality. In medical centres, the use of contraceptives has become more available. In the new Russia, there is not much space to discuss women's issues and the flourishing of the women's movement. The religiously rigid society negatively affected adopting the sexuality and construction of a gender model. The transition period of Russia shows the emergence of activities of new women groups, NGOs, and independent women groups. However, the patrilineal bureaucratic system and government later oppress the movements and dissident voices. In Russia, the movement lacks support from society, as it is not in the country's tradition to support and participate in NGOs. Poor economic support for NGOs, mainly for women groups, results in the debauched condition of women groups and their activities. The presidential term Putin from 2000 to 2008, then as prime minister from

2008 to 2012, then again in the post of the president; all these years, the deteriorating measures taken to suppress the feminist groups' actions show the policy of his government regarding women rights and gender equality (Elison & Aino, 2013). Most of the time, the government used the power to reduce the activities of the women NGOs as they worked more in this sphere. The civil society activities against the authoritarian government become more difficult as the support from media and other platforms for such activities are not in favour. When women groups act against the government policies, they must keep the traditional gender models less politicised to continue as an organization.

Recapturing the traditional values essentially cut down gender equality in the public and private spheres. Not every section of the people is satisfied with the government's austerity measures, but curtailing such rights does not oppose large protests and movements. The form of withdrawing from public affairs and dealing with the state became the form of protest they were acquainted with from the soviet period. Suppressing feminist voices in society was easy for the government officials, as the protest had not reached out to the metropolitan cities and the feminist activist circle. Women's average life in Russia was the least concerned or heard of such dissident voices. The importance of human rights violations or protecting women's rights was not a topic for Russian women to discuss or think about. Protecting human rights is essential and can ensure more women are in government positions. The women's movement is not that successful in Russia; mostly, it takes Part in NGOs or academia, so the potential of the movement shrunk into the academic field (Muravyeva, 2018). Voice for supporting gender equality was not popular or frequent in new Russia as the experience from the past and absence of a strong movement for fighting against the patriarchy and authoritarian rules. It can be connected with the working of the old party-controlled women's organizations. The women's issues were handled by the party's women's wing, controlled and directed by the state authorities. The party's women's wing aimed to coordinate women workers despite dealing with women's problems. The state-controlled power structure continues oppressing women. It is continued in the contemporary period that the state-controlled patrilineal system oppresses women.

Obedience became the motto for the women's group to survive in a totalitarian state. New national and class order strengthens the traditional patriarchal order of gender in

society. Women's movements are weak in Russia, especially organisations that carry different ideologies of what Russians hold traditionally about gender and women's rights. The women's party in Russian politics received 8percentage of the vote in its first political entry into the parliament. However, it happened to be less in those decades, and eventually, they lost the percentage and never gained any in the election. The attitude towards gender politics in Russian society is traditionally not supported by women in the mainstream and as leaders (Zakirova, 2014).

5.9 Legal Provisions and Gender Equality in Russia

As the constitution works as the protector of the rights of a citizen in Russia, some laws provide security and protect women's rights. During the period of Gorbachev, the need for women to sit back at home to perform the home chores became the government's priority. Thus, the women were allowed to work out of the home except for some professions identified as not secure. The new Russian labour code added some more professions to the dangerous professions for women. The law indicates that unless the employer provides the proper security conditioned by the state, it does not participate in such professions. Another constitutional right to provide a viable working condition for women is to deal with the maternity leave and the employer's duty to provide the pregnant woman with better working conditions suitable for her health and cannot remove her from work siting health issues or performance in given tasks. The labour code of Russia was revised with newly framed laws that give women flexible working conditions. It was part of dealing with the demography issue of the country by bringing women into the 'natural' role of wives and mothers on maternity leaves. Soviet women were granted childcare support and a low cost of schooling, unlike in democratic Russia. Social services provided in the Soviet period were not competitive with Putin's Russia. The handling of the economic crisis is connected chiefly with curtailing gender equality (Muravyeva, 2018).

Women's rights in society are always subjugated to the state and other social institutions that hold power. The laws governing family laws and other laws never addressed women's issues. The laws enacted in the early period of Soviet society and the new Russian authorities always emphasised state formation. The demographic issue is considered the most vital in the state, and the laws and regulations permanently curtail women's rights. The current laws deal with the rights and laws of

women linked with the history of all those laws. Abortion laws are one among the women's rights that goes through many changes in the Soviet period and later. From the perspective of the background of abortion during and after communism, the structure and roots of Russian attitudes regarding abortion will be best defined. Soviet Russia was the first nation to decriminalise abortion for abort in the early period of pregnancy. The legalization made it free of cost in the clinics and increased the abortion rate. Later during the Stalin period in 1936, he banned and criminalized the abortion right, which resulted in the spread of illegal abortion techniques and clinics in the country. Later on, in 1955 ban was lifted by the Stalin regime; it witnessed a high rate of abortions in the country; by the 1960s, the number of abortions reached a peak of about 5.5 million. Abortion figures were often more prominent in places dominated by ethnic Russians and traditional Orthodox Christians than in Muslim areas. The problems faced by women related to abortion are not only about the legality of the abortion but also the procedure for abortion. The poor facilities and high rate of abortion resulted in making it difficult for women (Karpov & Kääriäinen, 2006).

The changing social and economic scenario had a massive impact on gender relations as changes in the social, economic, and political spheres significantly affect gender ideologies. Any change in the political domain impacts women's lives as policies and laws directly connect with family, religion, and other social institutions. During the presidency of Yeltsin, the government was the priority over family and people. Protecting the interest of the government is prioritised over the family. It gave an equal opportunity for both men and women in the labour market.

Along with giving opportunities for women to participate in the labour force, it also gave space to grow a gendered division of work that was invisible and stronger. It was part of communist ideology to emancipate women. Along with the social and economic change, religion emerged, which was impossible in the communist era. The church became significant with more space; it reintegrated into society and personal life, lost in the past communist regime. The emergence of the right-wing nationalist group, the emphasis on identifying Russians, was used by the new regime to fortify its power over society and gather support (Gill, 2012).

The shift in the political system was not easy; it resulted in a high economic depression, eventually affecting women's life as it interconnected with gender. During the transition period, the most challenging task was the demographic issue that the government stressed the policies to overcome, resulting in the worst situation for women in Russia. Putin's National Priority Project is a plan to bring gender equality, including the work field that aims to run until 2020. The plan covers maternity benefits and financial support to tackle demographic issues (Vikki & Kathleen, 2012). The policy mostly looks after the demographic issues that stress the maternity problems giving stress to women's motherhood.

In response to the 23rd session of the UN special session, the Russian Federation noted the government's actions on implementing gender equality. In 2001, a Federal law called *"On Political Parties"* was passed, allowing women and men to participate in politics on an equal footing. The Russian Federation's Government passed the *'Guideline for Action on the Labor Market for 2003-2005'* in 2003, which included specific steps to increase women's labour economic possibilities and increase female competence and career. The Russian Federation's government has created National Action Plans for women's progress and the extension of women's participation in social structure. First Scheme was developed from 1997 to 2000, and the next Plan from 2001 to 2005. As part of ratifying the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women[118], the Russian Federation had to take steps to eradicate inequalities and assure equality in society. After lengthy discussions and criticism internationally, the Russian Federation adopted the *National Strategy of Actions for Women for 2017 – 2022*. It indicates the policy is "based on the fact that women's rights are an integral part of general human rights. Creating conditions for the full and equal participation of women in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of society is a priority for the state policy of the Russian Federation" (Skorniakova et al., 2020). The policy indicates the importance of protecting women's rights and providing gender equality for the development and growth of society. Though the policy was adopted for the growth of equality in society, the term gender

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[118] A global bill of rights for women is frequently used to describe the UN General Assembly's 1979 adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and lays out a plan for national action to abolish it. It consists of a prologue and 30 articles (For more details see: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/).

was not mentioned in the policy. It is also visible in the past time in the history while adopting laws.

The State Duma received a drafted federal *law No. 284965-3* in 2003, *"On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms of Men and Women, and Equality Of opportunity for Their Implementation"*. On the other hand, the Russian authorities came to a prejudgement and put the law on hold. Nonetheless, it marked the initial move in Russian policy and public perception to bring the notion of "gender." Another law dealing with women's working rights in the country was to eliminate the inequalities and discrimination in payment, promotion and selection in the labour field. Elena Mizulina, deputy of the State Duma representing the Fair Russia party, submitted the draft in 2012. The proposed law identified the need to balance the work and household duties, considering it the major obstacle in reducing the participation of women in the labour market. The discrimination in the political field was identified, and the need for gender balance is proposed by adopting a gender quota system. These draft laws were intended to bring equality and remove discrimination in society. The primary opponents of the drafted law were conservative groups, nationalists and Orthodox. The view toward gender and its hostile attitude makes it alienated from society and complex to pass the law (Holmagren, 2013).

The human rights Ombudsman in Russia acts as the fourth branch of government. The formation of the Ombudsman committee for human rights was started initially during the period of transformation. However, during this turbulence phase, a tiny group of human rights campaigners and democratic reformers took advantage of the opportunity to urge governmental transformation. A recommendation to create a human rights commission under the supervision of the Supreme Soviet was presented at the First Congress of People's Deputies in May 1990. A small committee with 12 parliamentary deputies and seven staff formed under Sergei Kovalev member of the Supreme Soviet. The committee drafted the law to create a Russian Human Right Ombudsman. First, it performed broad oversight of government departments to ensure that all entities and employees' actions were legal. Second, it is in charge of overseeing law enforcement systems. The twin function of governmental supervisor and civil rights guardian is manifestly incompatible. UNDP found the commission's necessity and offered technical and financial assistance. The presidential term of Putin witnessed a mass change in the Criminal Procedural Code and Civil Code with the

modernization of the Russian legal system. The renovation started with allocating funds to the maintenance of courtrooms, and the computerization of the court system enabled citizens to use the website for court decisions. The cases against the state in the human rights ombudsman rise from 1990 to 2000 with a considerable difference of 4994 to 60,000 cases. The allegations from the human rights ombudsman's office continued to indicate major systemic issues. The bulk of messages, telephone calls, and discussions from 2005 to 2008 involve state abuses of various rights, although civil and social rights are the most prevalent. The following primary area of tension is the breach of social rights between 2005 and 2008. Between 2005 and 2008, human freedoms were classified into two parts: 47.9% were related to the right to housing and the right to a stable environment, and 42.5 per cent were related to offences of retirement benefits and social advantage, and other socially disadvantaged people in most need of assistance, such as service personnel and household members. Grievances about children and women had climbed to 14.5 per cent and mainly concerned parental rights (Gilligan, 2010).

The state as a protector of human rights always had been contradictory in Russia's state system. Primarily after Putin's presidency, the state uses its leaders and ideas to defend society's masculinity and patriarchal nature. The anti-gay laws of 2013 describe same-sex and non-reproductive relationships as against the tradition of Russia and are subject to a fine for such relationships. They were terming feminism against the culture and tradition always identified as the root cause of women's family relationship problems. The government often projects masculine and feminine qualities and defends the increasing rape due to provoking women's attitudes. The worldwide controversy involving the women of Pussy Riot, who performed a "punk prayer" in Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, and their subsequent prosecution and hefty imprisonments exemplifies the authorities' harsh opposition to anyone who challenged Russia's principled view of women and gender ideology. The government identified it as not feminine and against the culture (Orlova, 2018).

Domestic violence against women is regarded as a private affair that should be treated as such rather than as destructive conduct against women. Preserving women's rights and maintaining equality between the sexes within the home and society are both threatened by violence. Domestic violence was moved under the section of a private prosecution by a modification to the Russian Federation's Penal Code in 2003,

characterizing it as an individual's right between two people. Putin decriminalised various forms of domestic violence in 2017 (Fish, 2017).

5.10 Conclusion

Feminism in Russia is not very popular; women in Russia tend to stay away from the tag of feminism. Feminist activities in Russia mainly focus on theoretical works than social and political activism. The future of the women's movement is not much positive in a quasi-democratic country. The campaign and protests to identify gender issues and patriarchal hierarchy is essential for making equality possible.

The democratization process envisioned bringing women into the mainstream of society. Nevertheless, it does not address gender problems or challenge the male hierarchy in Russia. It allows strengthening of the existing patriarchal hierarchy of male order society. State policies seem gender-neutral and support women, but in a real sense, they never address women's issues. More than the welfare of the people, state formation serves as the basis of welfare policies. Gender equality had never been the priority of states and authorities while formatting and implementing the rules and regulations. Even the policies, which often violate women's rights, continued to be supported by religious groups and conservative groups in the name of patriotism and tradition, which has a stronghold in government and society.

When we analyse the working of women's organizations in contemporary Russia, it is visible that those organizations, which follow the traditional working, a pattern of women's organizations, work as a part of the state and carry out the programs and policies of the state. The organizations formally support the state policies and traditional definition of gender, and women could only survive or run successfully. The mounting state power in the country makes it difficult to form and function as independent organizations to work for the rights and discourse of gender. It is vital that the women's organization has to work closely with the state and promote the traditional working pattern of women inside the family and in public. Such groups are getting more attention in society and are more effective in socialization. It can be connected with the working of the old party-controlled women's organizations. The women's issues were handled by the party's women's wing, controlled and directed by the state authorities.

Obedience became the motto for the women's group to survive in a totalitarian state. New national and class order strengthens the traditional patriarchal order of gender in society. Women's movements are weak in Russia, especially organisations that carry different ideologies of what Russians hold traditionally about gender and women's rights. The women's party in Russian politics received eight per cent of the vote in its first political entry into the parliament. However, it happened to be less in those decades, and eventually, they lost the percentage and never gained any in the election. The attitude towards gender politics in Russian society is traditionally not supported by women in the mainstream and as leaders (Zakirova, 2014).

The emergence of women's movements in India was strong and reached out to a larger context. In terms of the fixed point of the movements, the struggle toward a gender-equal society is still far away. Women sounds could not reach out there where they intended to stand for. The challenges it faces against expanding and reaching the aim have always been the hierarchal, patriarchal society. The core idea of gender equality could not achieve without achieving a socio-political-economic equal society. The economic upgrade of society will result in an egalitarian society where everyone gets used to natural resources. In India, the caste system is another barrier for women's movements to overcome structural biases. Each issue they address has not yet led to the goal of a gender-equal society. However, it addresses all other state oppression and other power structures.

The women's movements, legal protection, and active civil society could help achieve equality with the help of destroying the existing power structure. Modernization does not reduce the existing gender inequality or hierarchal system; on the contrary, it adds challenges to the women in the country. There are many legal provisions for eradicating the gender inequality practices, such as sati, early marriages, and the dowry system. Effective implementation of these laws is the effective way to achieve equality. The evil practices like Sati and child marriage are reduced in the society, whereas the dowry system continues and the development of a consumer society made it impossible to remove the dowry culture from society.

Holding into the cultural and traditional practices is a significant challenge in achieving gender equality. The social institution of family and marriage follows a set of rules and social norms that strengthens the patriarchy and gender inequality. The

country's social divisions resulted in a divide in the women's movements and feminist activities. Bringing all sections into a single frame is difficult to the existing social disparity; it often makes it difficult to challenge the patriarchal system that holds on to these social divisions.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

The chapter discusses the research findings and critical aspects of the research topic. The present study, "Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Contemporary Russia and India", analyses how patriarchy works and sustains in Russian and Indian society. It has covered how patriarchal societies deal with the question of gender and what are the factors that cause gender inequality in contemporary Russia and India. It is crucial for assessing the gender questions in both societies as both countries underwent different socio and political changes. Both Russia and India have a history of substantial bilateral friendship. The Soviet Union has been a strong supporter and ally of India before its independence, and Russia continues to be a strong partner after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Both Russia and India went through political and economic changes that immensely affected each country's formulation of gender ideas. The rule of the Tsar and the Soviet political system influenced the creation of the idea of gender in contemporary Russia. The country's history is vital in creating the existing gender ideology and patriarchal system. Religion has been a significant entity of the country that greatly influenced contemporary gender ideas. Similarly, the long tradition of religious, caste and cultural settings of India and the history of colonial rule resulted in the gender order of the country today. The new political changes in both countries make it essential to look at the future trajectory of gender inequality as they share a common feature in terms of political changes.

The study initiates with the following specific questions 1) how does patriarchy operate at micro and macro levels in society? 2) How does patriarchy unfold in Russian and Indian societies? 3) What has been the Indian and Russian states' policy response to social and institutionalized manifestations of patriarchy in the respective countries? 4) How has patriarchy unfolded in the era of globalization?

The first chapter provided a comprehensive structural analysis of the study's two key themes, patriarchy and gender inequality. When assessing patriarchy as a system to determine the gender equality of the countries, the influence of social institutions is visible as the core factor determining women's space in society. Patriarchy is a regulative system; the socialization process involves the social institutions that uphold the hierarchal order. Although it exists universally, each society has embedded it in different ways. Gender inequality comes with the patriarchal system, which strongly

follows the hierarchal order. In every form of government (Democratic, Socialist, Capitalist, Authoritarian dictatorship), patriarchy exists everywhere and only varies in degrees. The gender equality index is calculated based on political empowerment, education, economic participation, opportunity and health. The advantages of women in each category show the gender equality index, and the higher disparity between men and women is the higher loss of human development. Achieving a gender-equal society is a universal agenda promoting equality in every sphere. With the increased interrelation among the states, every country must identify the need to promote and protect gender equality. While considering equality, it is essential to provide and preserve women's rights and the empowerment of women.

The second chapter examined the patriarchy in Russia and the role of state policies and religion. The role of religion in the country is essential in identifying the status of the patriarchal system in the country, as religion plays a vital role in society and in formulating state policies. The women in the Soviet period and the state policy relating to women question clearly show the relation of pre-existing gender ideas and the influence of state policy and religion in the country. The Soviet period showed a positive sign of participation of women in the economic and social sphere; at the same time, the question of equality and gender norms was never challenged in the state policy. The idea of gender equality never got importance while formulating policies. After the disintegration, women were the most affected by social, economic and political changes.

The third chapter addressed the patriarchal system in India and how it affects the country's gender equality. Social institutions of family and religion were identified as the major factors supporting patriarchy in Indian society. Family and religion have specific rules and regulations that create gender norms to follow in society. The social norms created through religion are reinforced in the family with a well-structured hierarchal order. The tradition and custom of privilege enjoyed by men were never challenged in the country, and they were reinforced through the ideas of preserving tradition and culture. The religious structure of the country itself is formed based on inequality and hierarchal order. Even after adopting the constitution and meaningful laws to provide equality, the caste system's religious structure sustains and encourages patriarchal practices in the country.

The fourth chapter examined the globalization process in Russia and India and its impact on the patriarchal system. The globalization process entered visibly in Russia quite late. Even though the relationship with the global countries was visible, the economic and social integration of the country into the more comprehensive global order started later. Connection with the global countries and economic transition allowed the people to be exposed to other social systems and cultures. The feminist movements and women's activities emerged or actively participated in society due to the contact and assistance of other countries and international organizations. The integration into the world system ratified international treaties to ensure gender equality. The Indian experience with globalization has both positive and negative sides regarding gender equality. The increased economic opportunities for women enabled them to achieve economic independence that anticipated social development. Nevertheless, economic development did not contribute to equality in society. The integration with the world allowed women activists to explore ideas, and international organizations supported their work.

The fifth chapter addressed the challenges to the patriarchal system in Russia and India. The activities of civil society groups in Russia and India are a significant challenge to the patriarchal system. The civil society groups in Russia struggled to fight against patriarchy as the significant component of the patriarchal system in the country is state policies and religion. The state controls activities of civil society in Russia, especially women's organizations, which are identified as threats to the country's culture and tradition mainly because of the foreign support of the groups. Those groups, which receive state funds, have to work according to the state policies or follow the state regulations that make it difficult to act. Social movements in the country struggle to survive due to the authoritative nature of the state. The country's legal policies dealing with welfare primarily concentrate on the demographic issues rather than identifying women's real issues. In India, women's movements started with the freedom struggle and identified and fought against human rights and environmental issues. The legal system provides a considerable ground for fighting against patriarchy—the lack of effective implementation of these laws is the primary hurdle in achieving gender equality.

The study's data and conclusions substantially validate the hypothesis proposed at the study's commencement. Restoring the traditional family system is the target of current

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state policy that strengthens the country's patriarchal system in Russia. Religion plays a vital role in restoring and protecting society's traditional hierarchal order. That is visible from society's attitude towards the feminist ideology and gender policies. Women are considered reproductive structure in the family, giving less importance to their role as individuals. Even though the percentages of women in the education system and political parties have increased, it does not reflect in the country's gender equity. Religion, caste system, traditions, and customary rules are the major supporters of the patriarchal system in Indian society. It works through the hierarchal order that makes men superior to women, creates and reinforces gender roles, and helps sustain patriarchy.

The first and significant finding of the study is that social, economic and political changes directly affect gender equality in society and social institutions play a significant role in circulating the gender norms. A society with high religious and hierarchal order is hardly held with gender equality as the religious customs and norms indirectly put gender equality at risk. Most societal traditions and cultures are associated with religious practices that are less important to equality between men and women. The political and economic changes in Russian and Indian society, directly and indirectly, influence the gender equality of both societies. Both Russia and India have undergone a political transformation that each country experiences differently through the different government systems.

Russia has a long history of Tsarist rule and the revolutionary overthrow of the monarchy and a single-party system; despite the eventual transition from a socialist-communist country to a rigid federal republican form of government, Russia is struggling to achieve gender equality with its priority for the state than its people. The social structure of the society is highly enriched with the religious norms, making it even more delicate for the way toward a gender-equal society.

The demographic issue was the most challenging for Soviet rule and contemporary Russia. The state policies to tackle the issue directly hinder gender equality. Soviet women were allowed participation in labour as part of the state policy of building a socialist country. Their women enjoyed equal rights in terms of education and economic opportunity. After the disintegration of the Soviet state, women were the first to leave the job sector due to economic and political imbalance. It takes away

their right to work and lead a decent life. Women had a hard time finding work and earning money, which made them economically dependent on men, and it caused the significant threat of violence. The Russian leaders aimed to build a state and regain power with strict policies giving less importance to women's rights by calling them to return to homes and assigning them to take care of family and children. It creates a perception that a woman should deliver her duty as a mother and good wife for the betterment of the family so that the state could achieve better in terms of development and growth. We could say Soviet women were allowed to participate in labour as part of state-building; they were provided with the state-sponsored services that made it easy for them. Simultaneously, Soviet women were given the right to an education that men and women were highly qualified in the educational sphere. Women's political participation was better in the Soviet period than in the current period. Women get fewer chances to reach higher positions in political fields in both Soviet and current periods. Though religion lost its powerful position in Soviet time, it did not allow women to drop from the hierarchal structure of the family. The influence of gender socialization is so rigid in society that it does not simply allow women to enter into a powerful position in the family or political field, two spaces where men have the utmost power.

The Orthodox Church's role and state policy to return women home are crucial in strengthening patriarchy in Russia and decaying gender equality. The church has regained its powerful position in the society it lost during the Soviet period. The new Russia took the hand of the religious group to succeed in its policies. Religion is a powerful influencer as it helps political leaders quickly reach out to the public. The nexus of the Orthodox Church and state restored the most decisive role of religion in society and helped pave the way for solid patriarchal values.

India holds a long history of colonial rule and afterwards directed on the path of democracy with a written constitution from which a democratic, egalitarian Republic receives its strength and legitimacy. The multiparty political system with an active civil society makes the country more democratic. The country's secular nature serves as an essential future of its democracy, although the current developments in the religious structure of the country make it difficult for a democratic future. The most devastating result of religion in India is the Caste system. The very nature of the Caste system makes the condition most challenging as the system has a long history of

oppression of a significant section of people; it also serves as a significant threat to gender equality. Religion and caste greatly influence economic and political power distribution, a significant threat to India's democratic future. The country's caste and system determine the distribution of resources and the accumulation of power. Therefore, it is essential to eradicate the caste from society since it serves as the root cause of inequality in India. Amplified religious influence in the political arena of the society is a threat to the equality and democracy of the country. A system holding on to patriarchal values gives fewer chances for a democratic country. Equal participation of all sections of people makes the democratic system more sustainable and transparent.

Second, the shrinking places for women in Russia and India must be seen as a threat to gender equality in both societies. The high rate of violence against women in each society shows the difficulty in developing a socially equal society. The healthy evolution and development of a society hinge on the participation of every section of the people. The government must ensure the implementation of democratic values to build an egalitarian society. Social equality is achieved through the equal distribution of economic resources. Thus, women's economic independence is a way forward to gender equality. Women's economic dependency is primarily connected to domestic violence; in Russia and India, domestic violence is undoubtedly increasing. It also comes through socialization that validates the idea of male superiority through specific gender roles. Normalization of gender-based violence is a significant challenge to achieving gender equality and a vital point of patriarchal society. In Russia, domestic violence and gender-based violence are not successfully handled by the state; the revision of laws resulting in decriminalizing significant parts of domestic violence shows the state's attitude towards gender issues. In India, the laws dealing with domestic and gender-based violence are relatively strict and visible, and the constitution ensures equality through its significant articles. However, the lack of adequate implementation of these laws results in increased violence.

Domestic violence in Russia is considered a private matter between the spouses, making the act of violence less important in state policy matters. The absence of adequate laws against domestic violence creates chances for the increase and repetition of the act of violence. The recent amendment in domestic law further increased the chances of a high rate of crimes. While in India, the existing laws

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against domestic violence are strong, the crime has increased over the years due to accepting it as a regular or usual family occurrence. Mostly it goes without much importance; women often accepted it as part of married life. Very few come or fight against it with the support of the law, and most of them are subject to the social stigma of 'not capable of taking care of family'. Another major factor contributing to gender-based violence in both countries is the strong influence of religion and other social institutions, including the family and marriage system. Both countries' family and marriage systems follow traditional customs and rules, prioritizing men in every sphere. Such gender roles result in formulating specific roles and norms that pass to next-generation, continues, and helps to sustain patriarchy.

Normalizing the act of violence is part of the patriarchal system. Social norms and gender roles assigned not only duties for women and men to follow but specific rules that reduce the act of violence into typical experiences. In Russian society, complexity in reporting domestic violence compels women to accept the violence, whereas, in India, the social norms make domestic violence normal.

The idea of gender roles comes from the very nature of a family where the head of the family always needs to be the older man. The Russian family system is highly influential as it holds on the traditional view of women as caregivers and men as sources of finance. Gender role definition is based on the family structure, where women are assigned to perform their primary role as wife and mother that she needs to sacrifice all others for the sake of family and children. While dealing with the demographic issues, state policies (with men at the top of policy formulation) does not address the women's issues. Rather than stressing gender discussion, it deals with the demographic issue so that women have to sacrifice their careers and work for the state's progress by being good wives and mothers. It only succeeded in adding gender segregation to the existing gender order in Russia.

Indian family structure changed as the increasing economic hardships encouraged women to work outside the home. The shift in the attitude toward working women in the family is a positive sign, but it cannot wholly change the gender roles. Still, women are not allowed or do not get the opportunity wherever they believe they can perform well. Instead, established gender roles allow women to work in specific jobs that are considered acceptable and ideal, based on concepts like physical safety and

women's supposedly lower capabilities. At the same time, working women in a family are not exempted from performing their prime duties assigned to them as it is women who have to perform home chores; men are not supposed to be the caretakers of children and older adults at home. It is still shameful or unacceptable for men to do housework and care for the house. It is still followed in the family structure that the more women get time with family, the fewer mental and physical problems they face.

The most crucial difference between the Russian and Indian family structures is women's freedom in choosing a career and life partner. Even though the Russian family follows traditional family norms, women have the right to decide their life and career according to their personal choice, unlike the Indian family structure. Women in Indian families have to choose career and life partners according to the family decision and other factors, most importantly religion, and caste

Both Russian and Indian family structure is as strong as it serves as the base for the patriarchal system where men and women have to perform and follow a set of gender roles that are hard to change with time and awareness. More or less, in both societies, women themselves accept the gender roles and take it as a safe and better way to lead a happy life than suffering, going against the traditional gender roles. Girls and boys are taught to perform specific gender roles by the family that continues to serve the base, followed by educational institutions and other social institutions, and remain in society.

Religion in Russia and India is vital in creating gender roles and preserving them. Both societies follow the religious customs and rules as vital; the state support for the religious institutions has become more visible, and even though both governments hold a secular position, they intensely follow religious institutions. Religion follows specific rules, and through regulations in the contemporary period, both state and religion play an essential role in strengthening patriarchal values through the card of nationalism and patriotism. Defending traditional values and culture, religion and states propose rules and regulations to follow, giving way to stick not only traditional values but also the patriarchal values in society.

The Orthodox Church in Russian society has a vast influential base among the people. The state uses religion to remain in power, as it is the base to influence people. In India, religious issues have been a political tool in the colonial period and continued

after the country's independence. The nexus between state and religion increased and remains more intense than ever. Separation of religion from politics has become difficult as both coexist in Russia and India. State policies get adequate support from religious groups and vice versa. Understanding the need to form a gender-equal society is necessary for the upliftment of women in both countries. More programs and policies that support women and men to enjoy equal rights and power in society are needed.

Third, in Russia and India, the participation of women in political activities remains low. It is notable for taking the point of solid and great women leaders in both countries in the past. Despite having several strong women leaders, it did not help the women to make a considerable part in the political arena. Political participation ensures the power-sharing of males and females, which helps eradicate gender inequality in law-making and addresses women's problems. Male superiority in political powerhouses makes gender issues less relevant as they hold on to the power as an instinct. It reflects in the law-making procedure as men are at the top of decision-making and use the power to make laws that support the hierarchal order of society to continue the gender-insensitive system.

Women's political participation in India increased because the number of women entering the political sector increased, and the actual turnout of women in voting and other political activities like campaigning and election activities increased. However, in the case of power-sharing, hardly a few make it to the top echelons in the male-dominated field of politics. The system of gender disparity keeps women out of power-sharing and at the lower level. Defining the gender role of women as not meant to rule but to be ruled by men works in the political field, and women mainly accepted it was giving preference to men as rulers. Accepting men as rulers by women is part of the socialization process that is strictly followed in the family, and educational institutions that demarcate gender roles fit each category. The caste system in India is another aspect where the question of power who rules whom. The hierarchal structure of caste reflects in the society, too, allowing upper-caste men to rule the rest of the section of upper-caste women and both lower caste men and women, keeping them lower in the strata. These upper-caste women benefit from being in the upper caste as they receive better treatment than lower-caste women. Lower caste women experience the triple burden of economic, caste and gender inequality in each stage of life. Even

after several centuries of effort, the existing laws have failed in eradicating the country's caste system; India's sad reality is that both the caste system and patriarchy remain entrenched and influential in society at the expense of equality.

In Russia, gender hardly gets any attention from the state, and the concept of gender equality is rarely considered during the policy formulation. The question of gender equality hardly comes into the discussion. Taking note of the powerful position of state and religion in a country like Russia, the authoritarian government controls academia and civil society. It becomes more difficult to achieve gender equality and remove the patriarchal rules where the institutions of patriarchy are strong. The voice for equality is considered a dissident voice suppressed in both societies. The mass movements in both societies were suppressed using state power and the token of religion, tradition and nationalism.

Fourth, Globalization brought changes that affect Russia and India in all spheres. It brought a well-connected world close enough to influence each country internally. It helps when the women activists are connected with the outer world and bring attention to the world that positively changes women's lives. At the same time, the technologically connected world discovered more ways to exploit women, as they are vulnerable and easy prey of the neoliberal world. Trafficking is a rapidly growing threat for women; a well-connected world makes women easy prey for domestic and international trafficking. Modernization brought changes in society by bringing cultural changes with the influence of rapid global culture and new challenges. The economic and social spheres changed positively and negatively regarding gender equality. The positive result of modernization and globalization is the interconnected world. It helped people in each country develop contact with other cultures and adopt positive changes. Economic integration made it possible for women to explore work opportunities. The role of international organizations like the UN is essential in achieving gender equality. It made it possible for women in Russia and India to achieve economic and social advancement through the interference of international organizations.

At the same time, modernization creates a complicated social system with new challenges for gender equality. Technological advancements created new threats for women, and issues like trafficking and cybercrimes paved the way for new gender-

based violence. Using advanced technology to counter the new challenges is the remedy to fight the newly emerged threats to gender equality. Creating awareness and creating a gender-sensitive society is inevitable. Gender equality includes compound facades that could not solely attain through assuring economic freedom for women. Taking account of the familial structure and power play, property and economic freedom plays a vital role in gender equality. At the same time, the transformation in the gender order of society is inevitable.

Fifth, the constitution of Russia and India provides equal treatment for citizens without discrimination based on sex or religion and assures equal treatment for all citizens. In actual practice, equality remains hard to achieve through constitutional means. The laws protecting the rights and providing equality remain on paper. The country's moving towards capitalism is a sign of unequal distribution of resources. It could further result in low gender equality as capitalism is identified as a significant threat to equality in society. Sexual violence results from gender discrimination in both Russian and Indian society. Gender violence is an endemic character in all countries where the patriarchal structure allows it universally. Indian patriarchy makes the hierarchal structure more potent with the caste, and in Russia, the class system of the powerful oppresses the powerless. It adds to society's nature that the increasingly powerful nature of the state that maintains and polishes the laws and interests of a male-dominant structure makes it inevitable to ensure women in powerful positions achieve equality.

Women accept inequality and violence unconsciously, simply following the tradition. They face cultural and organizational barriers to achieving gender equality. The socio-cultural stereotypes create gender roles to follow practice and reinforce feminine and masculine ideas. Strong laws deal with the atrocities against women and carry out equality in society; since the adoption of the constitution to provide equality and laws to protect the rights still, gender inequality persists. Failure to identify the root cause of inequality is considered the most critical reason for sustained gender inequality. The patriarchal nature of society is universal; each country's culture and social institutions make the way to flourish further. Change is possible only with the change in the root that helps to keep patriarchy intact in society.

As patriarchy perpetuates through social institutions, the revival of traditional social institutions is necessary through legal and social means. Russia lacks relevant laws tackling gender-based violence and government-supported programs to reduce gender inequality. Modernization is not only the remedy for removing the existing gender unequal norms and culture, and gender equality were visible in the pre-modern tribal societies, so the awareness of a gender-sensitive society is inevitable. Adequate policy to promote gender equality and tackle gender-based violence in both countries is necessary.

Gender equality should be seen as a development element as the engrossment of women in economic and social development is inevitable. The history of Russia is an example of how women helped the country with economic development during the Second World War. India's freedom struggle witnessed a new turn with the participation of women in the struggle for freedom. Accepting women as powerful and equal to men is only possible with a change in the existing gender order. Holding onto the traditional hierarchal structure makes the country return to the perennial condition of chaos. The future generation with a sense of need to lead a gender-equal society is much needed for Russia and India. Gender equality violations should be treated with national importance rather than connecting it with religious and cultural destruction.

During the research, the researcher encountered some drawbacks. The most significant obstacles identified were primarily due to the topic's vastness. Another significant limitation was the limited knowledge of the Russian language. The topic was a broad area to cover all the elements of the patriarchy and gender equality in Russia and India, two countries with a wide range of geographical, cultural, ethnic and social diversity, making it a broad area to study.

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