

URRUTIA ELEJALDE FOUNDATION

VIII WINTER WORKSHOP ON ECONOMICS & PHILOSOPHY



— *Ethics, Justice and Gender*

Madrid, 11-12 September 2008

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

(In alphabetical order)

<http://www.urrutiaejalde.org/WinterWorkshop/2008.html>

Minding the Policy Gap: Feminist Perspectives on Domestic Labor Migration in Europe

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In the past few years, European heads of state have taken an increasingly tough tone in their public pronouncements on immigration, using “immigration reform”—meaning, anti-immigrant policies and border-closing strategies—as a key part of election campaigns. This harsh rhetoric has apparently found an echo in public opinion. But rhetorical calls for tighter borders make little sense, and have little effect, when laws are not enforced and administrative policies are not adjusted to reflect the new realities of employers’ demand for labor. The gap between immigration law, government policy and outcomes is perhaps most pronounced with regard to domestic workers, most of whom are women. Female migrants have little access to formal sector jobs, and therefore take on informal sector jobs, typically derived from traditionally delineated gender roles: what Bridget Anderson calls the “three C’s” – cooking, cleaning, and caring. Tacit acceptance of the inflow of undocumented workers perpetuates the invisibility of immigrants with regard to labor policy; it denies immigrants important safety and security protections granted other workers. But it also perpetuates (and is perpetuated by) the invisibility of women in the receiving countries as professionals and full participants in the labor force, and sustains (and is sustained by) the social silence about what Arlie Hochschild has called “the stalled revolution in the family.” Feminist analysis is crucial, we believe, because it can help us better understand the demand or “pull factors” within the receiving countries, and work realistically toward a fairer solution for all. .

This paper is a collaboration between a traditionally-trained economist and a women’s studies program director with a background in literary studies and (more recently) philosophy. Our analysis of the gendered structure of work looks at both economic and ideological factors, and at the inextricable synergies between those two sorts of factors, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. When we started this project, we expected to find striking differences in immigration policy gaps or outcomes based on different government actions or socio-economic contexts, for instance we expected to find larger policy gaps for countries (Ireland, Italy, Spain, Portugal) that had recently shifted from sending to receiving immigrants. Instead, analysis of labor force participation data and migration demographics showed a similar pattern across Europe, leading us to focus on what all countries had in common: Domestic work is different from other sorts of labor because it occurs within the so-called “private sphere” of the family, which is both an economic and an ideological formation; and thus it participates in the complexities, contradictions, and mystifications about gender and power which feminist theory has long identified there.

We argue also that an “intersectionalities” analysis, which sees gender relations as crucially structured by differentials of race, nation, and ethnicity, is needed to understand the roots of the current situation. Domestic work (whether paid or unpaid) has long been socially defined as “women’s work”; that paid domestic work is increasingly defined by national and racial distance and difference between employer and employee is no accident. The demand which drives (and is driven by) the policy gap is not simply for workers who are willing to accept low wages and poor conditions, who just happen to be immigrants because of economic differences between receiving and sending countries (though that does help explain why such workers are available and willing to move). Rather, the demand

is specifically, and crucially, for foreign women to do these sorts of work, and it arises within a web of economic and ideological factors.

What is needed, then, is attention to domestic labor markets in both senses of the word “domestic”—attention to housework, childminding, and other related forms of care that occur within the private sphere and are mainly associated with, and done by, women; but also attention to domestic, as opposed to foreign or international, labor markets, and to the changing gender structure of the citizen workforce. Official government policy toward immigration can have little relation to labor market outcomes unless and until it addresses issues of production and consumption facing the non-immigrant workforce and, in particular, until and unless attention is paid to the gendered nature of women’s work in both official and unofficial sectors. But who will do this crucial interdisciplinary work? Much of the feminist inquiry into domestic work is qualitative and ethnographic in methodology; meanwhile, policy-makers and statisticians gather economic and demographic data in ways that continues to make women’s labor force participation difficult to analyse, or even to see. Our conclusion argues for the importance of increasing economic literacy among those who do feminist theory and feminist scholarship, but also the importance of injecting feminist questions into the gathering of economic data: without this step, policy will be based on false confidence in flawed analysis, and the result will be neither sound nor just.

Corporate Social Responsibility & Gender Equity: A Mainstreaming Perspective

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Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognizing their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources. Based on this, this paper seeks to review the potential incorporation of gender equity issues within the emerging field of CSR from a mainstreaming perspective. It argues that: the principles of gender equity constitute compelling moral claims; prevailing models of business and corporate culture are unjust because they are structurally and systemically biased to create advantages for men and disadvantages for women; and businesses and corporations are moral agents with the duty to adopt gender equity as a priority of CSR. In contrast, we investigate the potential of CSR as a vehicle for encouraging gender equity in business.

More specifically, the paper's objective is to introduce in the first part the gender mainstreaming approach and to consider its potential relationship with CSR. The second part investigates the extent to which gender equity in the workplace has been mainstreamed in CSR, and also checks whether gender equity issues are a higher priority of corporations’ agendas. We argue that this has been limited, despite some rare successful initiatives, because it has generally been considered in CSR without a "mainstreaming" approach. We examine this limitation with reference to social auditing as a main related CSR mechanism. This research is a self-reflective inquiry and conclusions are basically made by reviewing the findings of more than forty social compliance audits personally performed during the last five years in many developing countries on behalf of many American and European corporations. The paper concludes with some suggestions of initiatives which might be developed to incorporate a gendered dimension into a more comprehensive notion of CSR.

Meantime, the implications of research findings and suggestions for future investigation in this field are presented.

Gendered Analysis of Public Employment Guarantee Program: Special Reference to National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in India

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The paper analyzes the factors contributing to the access of various direct and indirect benefits accruing to women participants from the public wage employment program in rural India. Recently, the Government of India enacted a wage-employment program-National Rural Employment Guarantee Act whereby anyone who is willing to provide manual unskilled labor will be offered wage employment for 100 days. This enactment by the Indian Parliament in the fifty-sixth year of the Republic of India may be considered as a step towards the realization of right to work - one of the constitutional obligations in the “Directive Principles of State Policy” of the Indian Constitution. Specifically, article 41 of the Indian Constitution makes provision of this right to the citizens of the country articulating,

“Right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases: The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want”. (Article 41; Indian Constitution)

The Act received the assent of the President on 5th September, 2005 and may be stated as follows:

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005

An Act to provide for the enhancement of the livelihood security of the households in rural areas of the country by providing at least one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

The Act came into force in 200 selected districts out of total 600 districts on February 2006. It will be gradually extended to the rest of the districts under Central Government’s notification and within the next five years the whole country will be covered.

Priority is given to women in the allocation of work. Gender equality is one of the core elements of this poverty reduction plan which stipulates that at least one third of the labor force should be women with equal wages for both men and women. Various gender related objectives such as provision of hygienic work environments, safe drinking water, and child-care facilities at the work-site, distance of work-place not exceeding two miles from home, health care and nutrition are emphasized.

The Act is indeed a significant breakthrough in the long history of various anti poverty and wage employment programs undertaken by India since Independence. This is the first legislation that compels the state to provide a social safety net for the poorest of the poor. A judicially enforceable obligation on the state is placed that gives durable legal entitlements and some bargaining power to the rural poor. They are no longer left at the whims of government bureaucrats

With a population of 1.07 billion, the world's second most populous country India hosts some 125 million women who live in abject poverty. Even though Indian constitution grants equal rights to men and women, persisting strong patriarchal traditions make gender disparities quite apparent from infancy. Daughters are often breast fed less frequently and for shorter duration. Everyday, women consume fewer calories than men. Women engaged in agricultural farming have to spend long hours under the hot sun but are invariably paid less than their male counterparts. Women's participation in the labor force with no wage discrimination and direct control of resources and assets created can substantially enhance her health, child welfare and socioeconomic status. This employment policy if properly implemented can certainly bring momentous changes in the lives of women. Past experiences of wage employment programs in India suggest several challenges ahead including active participation of women in proper selection and planning for social and economic infrastructure, promoting gender equity in the ownership of the assets created, easy and meaningful access of these assets for women leading employment generation for women in the long run.

A pilot study, based on grounded theory approach, was conducted in West Bengal (eastern regional state of the country) to make a gendered evaluation of the program. Standard statistical data collections with a priori hypotheses more often than not fail to capture women's perceptions of work values, associated problems, relevant issues and her interests. The research methodology adopted here incorporate crucial elements of grounded theory that enables one to broaden the range of research and move beyond the traditional social and economic indicators of performance. Contextualizing and (re) defining socio-economic well-being of women the study develops concepts and categories of indicators based on women's own perceptions of work, values related in participating in the program, her experiences of economic and social change, her evaluation of existing social protection strategies and safety nets. The iterative process of grounded theory applied to data collection resulted in identifying possible linkages, emergent theoretical issues and themes and eventually forming hypotheses with significant policy implications. The employment scheme undoubtedly has a positive impact on gender equity and power equation within the household. Substantial enhancement in health, child welfare, socio economic status has been observed with women's participation in the labor force and her direct control of resources and assets created. Local communities play a crucial role in the successful implementation of this policy. Members of Women's Self Help Groups are enthusiastically seeking employment in the scheme and thereby strengthen their own communities. Women perceived changes in their identity towards working collectively in the program to influence the planning process involving asset creation and initiate changes at the village level. Such active participation in the democratic process significantly contributes towards empowerment, capability improvement and transformation of centuries old oppressive social institutions.

An alternative model of development must focus on the enhancement of living standards of rural India where majority of the population resides. The only viable alternative that this country should strive for is a decentralized employment intensive program of rural industrialization via participatory democracy at the local level. Precisely this employment program is discussed in a global economic context against the backdrop of an intriguing mix of diverse political, cultural and social specificities of the country, its institutional characteristics and structural inequalities rooted in caste, gender and religious discrimination responsible for its persistent levels of unemployment, poverty and mass destitution.

The Role of Credit in Women's Empowerment: The Case of Women's Cooperatives in Iran

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In the 1990s, credit policy had been promoted as the single most important mechanism in poverty alleviation and job creation, especially for women. The lack of access to informal and formal credit by many entrepreneurs has been identified by numerous studies as a major constraint. Many experts believed that access to credit empowers women as women participants in credit programs are more conscious of their rights, better able to resolve conflicts, and have more control over decision making at the household and community levels. However, some researchers expressed concerns that microfinance is not the answer to all the problems of poverty in developing countries. A significant part of women, who may have access to finance, may not have control over the loans contracted. Many women borrowers pass on all or most of their loans to male family members under circumstances that give them little control over the use of this capital. The case of Iran confirms this view point.

Credit schemes have formed an essential part of the programs for accelerating production and employment in all economic sectors in Iran. By increasing the number and proportion of unemployed women, Iranian government implemented supportive measures to persuade unemployed women to establish new cooperatives. Yet, a glance at its 10 years performance reveals that women's cooperatives were not successful in creating sustainable jobs. Our field study revealed that many registered cooperatives never start any significant economic activity, despite of receiving loans. Credit facility is not a panacea. The provision of loan is only one instrument among others that will help small entrepreneurs to grow and develop.

Globalization and the Effects of Conceptual Boundaries Between Western Political Philosophy and Economics: The Case of Care for Children of Working Mothers

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This paper analyzes the historical and cultural genealogy of the presumed boundaries between ethics and economics, using public or community supported care for children of working mothers (or parents) as a case that illuminates some problems and questions for thinking about gender justice that arise, at least in part, because of these disciplinary boundaries. The analysis makes use of some feminist and postcolonial political philosophy, and compares the two approaches. Care for children of working mothers is an issue that has been important in the West since the inception of “second wave” feminism and the concurrent entry of the majority of women in the richer countries into the labour force. However, it has only relatively recently been recognized as a development issue, in response to two things: a near-global trend of womens’ massive entry into the paid work force, and the effects of neo-liberal economic policy that has especially impacted women through the cutting, or never creating, public programs of care for younger children, health care, elder care, and even elementary education, care demands that have remained with, or reverted to, women because of gender role expectations.

It is argued that dominant modern political philosophies and neoclassical economics have a common philosophical root in methodological individualism, and that it is this common root that may ultimately explain whatever “masculine” or “European” cultural particularities there are in these theories. This shared historical and philosophical context helps explain the durability of certain presuppositions about the nature of “the human individual” in the face of political and other critics (including some economists) and helps explain the basis of the disciplinary separation itself.

It appears that neo-liberal approaches to politics and economics are particularly dependent on the strict maintenance of the separation of economics and ethics, and have done much to retrieve and retrench the separation, along with their own view of “human individuals”. These ideas may be Western by genealogy, but as we know they have been zealously pressed on non-western peoples around the world, making these comparative critiques relevant to questions of global justice. I argue that the case of care for children of working parents especially helps illustrate some problems and limitations in this retrenchment, not least by showing especially clearly some of the negative practical impact of these approaches. As Ferber and Nelson express it in the Introduction to their 2003 ten-year update of their important 1993 volume *Beyond Economic Man*: “Many want to counter the worldwide takeover by neoclassical economics not only of economics departments, but also of governments and international organizations”.

Any feminist theory that claims to be relevant to all women must show how it might address the deep differences of culture, status, and wealth among women globally. This is addressed in two ways: One is the comparison of feminist critique with postcolonial critique. The other way is to take up the task set out by a recent paper from the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. The UN paper acknowledges that the normative underpinnings of gender analysis of care have been quite highly developed in feminist theory that takes the developed capitalist economies as its point of reference, so one important task is to see how well these analyses connect with economic and political analyses of care in developing countries.

In theoretical terms, I attempt to put pressure on, or draw out, the meanings of the terms “the individual” and the “interests” of “individuals”, considering neo-classical economics and its partner neo-liberal politics. By situating these meanings in historical context, and putting them together with the global issue of care for young children, I suggest that they become incoherent and further that their more obvious implications create a kind of moral *reductio ad absurdum*. This dilemma concerning women and small children suggests that “pure” economics separated from ethics cannot offer much for this global issue because some very fundamental moral issues are inextricably involved in it.

Gender Justice and Democracy's Constructive Function

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In his acceptance speech for the democratic nomination on August 29, 2008, Barack Obama said that it's not that he believes “that John McCain doesn't care what's going on in the lives of Americans; I just believe that he doesn't know.” I believe that with this distinction, Obama identifies a problem that generally marks conflicts about justice but that tends to be overlooked in much theorizing about justice: people disagree about what justice

requires not just because they hold different values, they disagree also because they have different viewpoints about what the problems are that affect them and what the best means are to solve these problems. I also believe that taking both dimensions into account is particularly important for a conception of gender justice.

In my talk, I shall argue that taking both dimensions into account points to a political conception of justice that builds on a non-instrumentalist account of the value of deliberative democracy. I shall first speak to the general idea of a political conception of justice, and then give two arguments for why deliberative democratic procedures matter for gender justice. The first shows that respect of (reasonable) value pluralism entails a demand for inclusive, fair procedures which enable individual agents to act together. The second relates to what Amartya Sen has called democracy's constructive function: deliberative democratic procedures are necessary to enable people to learn from each other about the problems that affect them. I shall end with a brief discussion of some objections to such a political conception of gender justice.

Can the traditional gender division of labour be justified?

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It has been argued that the traditional gender division of labour is deeply unjust and to the disadvantage of women. Yet while for most feminists this claim seems almost 'obviously' true, many non-feminist philosophers and economists remain unconvinced.

This paper wants to scrutinise a number of important justifications for the traditional gender division of labour. I will show that while some of them may, perhaps, succeed as explanations, none of them succeeds as a justification. Yet even if my rebuttal of these existing accounts is correct, it does not follow that no justification is possible. I offer a set of conditions that need to be met for the gender division of labour to be just, and conclude that circumstances where these conditions are met are extremely rare.

Gendered-impact Assessment of Trade: A Human Development and Capability Approach

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Introduction:

For the last decade or so, feminist economics has contributed a great deal to the gendered impacts of trade liberalization on employment, wages and time-use (e.g., see various studies in Çağatay, Elson, and Grown (eds.)1995; Grown, Elson and Çağatay (eds.) 2000; Strassmann, Diana (ed.) 2000). At the same time, a number of studies have attempted to expand the measurement of inequality, empowerment and poverty from a human development and capability approach (e.g., UNDP 1995; OPHDI 2007; Ranis et al. 2005; Nussbaum 2003). This paper explores ways to assess gendered-impacts of trade reforms beyond employment, wages and time-use by including proposed indicators and methodologies used in measurement of multidimensional poverty, human development

and capability. This paper is benefitted from UNDP RCC's on-going work on Human Development Impact Assessment (HDIA) of Trade.

Conceptual Framework:

There are several impact assessment tools of trade reforms developed by international organizations and research institutions. Examples are Poverty and Social Impact Analysis (PSIA) by World Bank and Trade Liberalization and Poverty by Centre for Economic Policy Research. However, existing tools focus mainly on market outcomes – e.g., gains or losses in gross domestic product (GDP).

Unlike GDP which focuses only the quantity of economic growth, the human development concept is broad and open-ended in order to capture the quality of growth and its impact on improving the overall human welfare. Human development is recognized in terms of expansion of human choices and capabilities. (National) Income is one of the means for expanding human choices but other components of human development – such as health, education and freedom – need to be measured against different yardstick from a human perspective. The human development analysis also looks at not only whether people are the beneficiaries of trade/economic growth but also whether they were the agents of development in society whether economic, political, social or cultural. Gender analysis so far confirms that women and men experience trade liberalization differently; therefore, one needs to look at gendered-human development impacts of trade.

Human Development and Capability Indicators –Implications for gender analysis:

The paper explores various indicators identified for assessing multidimensional poverty, human development and capabilities and aims at the connection between trade and such indicators as well as impact channels (e.g., price effects, employment effects). At early stage of industrialization, export growth often led to a feminization of employment as women, who earn low wages relative to men, were drawn into the labour-intensive sectors like ready-made garments (RMGs). In the case of Bangladesh, for example, RMG export sectors created millions of jobs for women, who had little opportunity to find a paid job elsewhere due to gender discrimination in the labor market. An expansion in exports in this industry was expected to increase more hours for women to spend in market activities and less hours in domestic reproductive work relative to men (Fontana and Wood 2000). In many cases, increased income allowed women more bargaining power at household (e.g., Kabeer and Mahmud 2004).

In terms of human development and capability, however, it is difficult to conclude whether women, relative to men, benefited more from this export growth. In many export-oriented industries workers' participation in trade union activities is restricted; female intensive industries not exceptional. That is, women might have gained a bargaining power at home after joining in the labour market but they have little negotiation power for higher wages or better working conditions. Moreover, while workers earn more income by taking over-time as the demand for export orders increase, many women workers feel unsafe working late night due to increased harassment at workplace and on the way from the factory to home (e.g., Ahmed et al. 2005). Workers often conduct manual labour in assembly lines repetitively, thus their job provides no creative moments during working hours.

OPHDI (2007) suggests the various indicators for five categories – employment, empowerment, safety and security, ability to go about without shame, and psychological and subjective wellbeing – in order to measure multidimensional (human) poverty. Nussbaum (2003)'s list suggests 'sense, imagination and thought,' 'affiliation,' 'play,' and

‘control over one’s environment’ as well as ‘health’ and ‘bodily integrity’ as key elements of human capabilities. Ranis et al. (2005) also indicates various categories for measurement of human development. Examples are; mental well-being, empowerment, social relations, community well-being, work conditions, and freedom from economic fluctuations, in addition to basic components of human development index such as health. HDIA of trade proposed to incorporate these various indicators into the analysis, from a gender perspective.

Proposed Methodology and Expected Outcome:

In terms of the trade policy change or reform to be assessed, these would encompass the range of policy change or trade reforms that have been necessitated unilaterally or by negotiations at multilateral, regional or bilateral levels. Impact assessments can be specific to a certain agreement or a specific change in the rules of international trade (e.g., impacts of the trade-related intellectual property rights on the public health) or to the changes in a specific sector (e.g., an elimination of the quota system in RMG industry).

HDIA of trade reforms can be measured at macro and micro levels, depends on a country’s needs, interests and the data availability. When the impact assessment examines a relatively mid- and long term outcome, the analysis at macro levels can be done when the relevant (secondary) data are available. In sectoral analysis, primary data among current and former (retrenched) workers by sex can be collected (e.g., SAWTEE and AAN 2007). The data can be assessed by using quantitative methods (e.g., Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model, structural equation model) or in qualitative manner (see SAWTEE and AAN 2007), depends on the data availability.

HDIA of trade is not intended to examine impacts across the countries; rather it is designed to suggest trade, industrial, social policies to mitigate negatives costs from trade and promote equitable distribution of benefits of trade. By expanding the indicators for measurement to the fields of multidimensional poverty, human development and capability, HDIA of trade from a gender perspective will be able to provide more comprehensive policies towards a gender-just world.

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Towards an ethical argument for the pursuit of international labor standards

August 2008

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Synopsis

This paper examines the moral underpinnings of arguments in the labor standards debate of the late 1990s-early 2000s with the view toward identifying the ethical basis for pursuing the objective of improving working conditions in export sectors of developing countries.¹ Largely gender-blind, the debate centers on the *desirability*, *feasibility*, and *effectiveness* of using trade policy to improve labor rights around the world, specifically on making countries' trade rights conditional on their making improvements in working conditions. The moral *premises* of arguments or moral *consequences* of the policy choices are mostly implicit in this debate. Opponents of global enforcement of labor standards set up an employment vs. labor standards trade off that trivializes concerns about working conditions. This paper argues that in order to overcome this trade off both a robust ethical argument for global enforcement needs to be constructed and explicitly coupled with an economic argument.

¹ Labor standards refer to rules, norms, rights, processes, and outcomes associated with working conditions. The conventions of the International Labour Office (ILO), 188 of them as of early 2008, come the closest to representing the benchmarks of strong labor standards toward which countries could strive. The ILO's 1998 *Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* is an important step in delineating the basic labor market norms to be upheld universally, regardless of level of economic development or ratification status. This declaration identifies four workplace rights, enshrined in eight ILO conventions, as the 'core' labour standards: freedom from forced labor, abolition of child labor, nondiscrimination, freedom of association and collective bargaining rights.

An Overview of Issues

Poor labor standards in developing countries have received increasing attention since the early 1980s when global commodity and capital flows expanded, national regulatory systems were dismantled or weakened, and international treaties and institutions that safeguard unfettered trade relations were ratified. These developments have made it difficult to address weak labor standards in developing countries and to defend labor standards in industrialized countries. Many have argued that the ILO's moral suasion approach is ineffective under conditions of increasing global integration. These concerns have led to calls for stronger enforcement of labor standards by incorporating them in the rules governing international trade, for example via a "social clause" at the WTO, specifically making the rights to trade conditional on improvement in labor standards, hereafter referred to as "linkage."

The calls for linkage have been met by vociferous opposition by an unlikely alliance of proponents of free trade, developing country governments, supporters of poverty elimination and decent work in developing economies, and feminist critics who claim the irrelevance of ILO's core labor standards for the majority of women workers. As a result, as of 2008, a multilateral enforceable mechanism for ensuring progress toward stronger labor standards globally has not yet emerged. Instead, responses to demands for stronger enforcement of labor standards have taken three forms: incorporation of labor standards conditionality into bilateral and regional trade agreements; proliferation of nongovernmental labor regulation initiatives to negotiate and monitor compliance with voluntary codes of conduct of companies; and the ILO's decent work agenda which seeks a broader set of rights than the core. These means are weak and

limited in scope, and thus likely to be ineffective in bringing about improvements in labor standards. In the meantime, the concerns underlying the push for linkage remain valid: working conditions in production for export where women predominate continue to be poor, and intensified competition among developing countries in the early 2000s has increased the downward pressure on labor standards in these countries.

The economic arguments in the labor standards debate echo those in the longstanding debate on the benefits and shortcomings of the market system: Proponents of linkage argue that labor standards are inputs to development, promote high-wage and more stable growth, and enable well-functioning markets (Marshall 1994; Palley 2004). Proponents predict that, given the increased possibilities for firms to substitute foreign for domestic labor in production, there will be downward pressure on labor standards globally as firms compete on the basis of wages and labor costs. The opponents of linkage hail from diverse perspectives in economics but are united on the undesirability of any linkage based on its ineffective, even counterproductive, nature. In this view, labor standards are a cost factor and outputs (luxury goods) of development. Imposition of minimum international labor standards on poor countries will undermine their comparative advantage in producing goods that utilize their relatively abundant and low-cost labor and stifle their growth prospects (Bhagwati 2004; Flanagan 2006; Singh and Zammit 2003; Kabeer 2004). Given the international mobility of capital, higher costs associated with improved working conditions in export production are likely to trigger corporate flight, result in loss of formal jobs and movement of work toward informal units, away from sight and reach of enforcement.

The moral *premises* of arguments in the debate involve arguments about the worth of persons and what is permissible in the treatment of individuals. The arguments in favor of linkage implicitly rest upon arguments on the centrality of labor for human beings, for example, exploitation and capabilities arguments, while those against linkage are generally based on libertarian premises.

Exploitation and capabilities arguments share the premise that work is a distinguishing characteristic of human beings, and that coercive contractual work arrangements, and, more generally, situations in which dignity and rights of workers are violated are exploitative, unjust, and define an unjust society (as examples see Elster 1983; John Paul II [1981] (2007); Chen 1995; Sen 1999; Nussbaum, 2003). According to the Capabilities approach, right to gainful employment is a fundamental entitlement of human beings, which also helps expand capabilities such as life, bodily health, bodily integrity, which are part of social justice. In order to promote individual capabilities, however, conditions of employment must be just, not be exploitative, and provide the ability to exercise practical reason. As such, improvement in working conditions is constitutive of as well as a means for a just society. Very few proponents of linkage explicitly focus on the *moral consequences* of unfettered international trade. Rodrik (1996) argues that the process through which comparative advantage comes about raises questions of distributive justice, fairness, and legitimacy. According to these moral arguments, weak labor standards are intrinsically wrong and must be remedied by social arrangements, which makes linkage one means for promoting a just society.

The opposition to linkage is largely premised on libertarian notions of the right of individuals and, by extension, countries to pursue any goals that they see fit or to uphold

a moral code of their own. Opponents reject the very notion of universal labor standards and advance an argument for global diversity of labor standards (relativism) and self-determination (choice). By characterizing industrial country workers' concern about job losses to developing countries with poor labor standards as "egotistical and self-serving" or "protectionist considerations" opponents also imply that workers' anxiety about making a living is devoid of any legitimacy or moral basis.

Opponents of linkage are more explicit and united about the moral *consequences* of linkage: Successful implementation of a linkage scheme will lead to loss of employment for poor workers in developing countries, and degradation of labor conditions as jobs move to less visible, informal, non-traded sectors. Opponents thus set up a trade off between jobs and poor working conditions, and favor jobs over any scheme that could improve working conditions. Other variants of this trade-off argument tip the scales further against linkage: jobs in the export sector are argued to promote greater personal freedom for women workers (Kabeer 2004) and offer daughters of these workers the chance to escape poverty (Sachs 2005). Since these trade-off arguments posit that, however unjust, work under sweatshop conditions promotes capabilities of life, bodily health, autonomy of women, they are in conflict with the capabilities arguments that only just conditions of work are conducive to promoting human capabilities. An ethical argument for global enforcement of labor standards that builds on the capabilities approach has to resolve these conflicts as well as engaging with opponents' arguments.

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Toward Gender Justice: Confronting Stratification and Unequal Power

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August 2008

Paper prepared for presentation at the *Ethics, Justice, and Gender* Conference, Urrutia Elejalde Foundation VII Winter Workshop on Economics and Philosophy, Madrid 11-12, 2008.

Abstract

This paper advances a theory of gender justice, defined as equality of outcomes in three domains: *capabilities*, *livelihoods*, and *empowerment/agency*. A pivotal requirement is that women and men must be equally distributed along axes of well-being, with their respective distributions possessing equal means and dispersions. An understanding of gender stratification lies behind this proposal, whereby males benefit materially from a system of gender-divided work and responsibilities. This hierarchical system, buttressed by gender ideology, norms, and stereotypes, is disturbed as we approach gender equality in outcomes, especially of livelihoods. The latter induces greater female bargaining power, which, coupled with the effect of social role incongruity on norms and stereotypes, serves to leverage change. Macroeconomic policy can support the shift to greater economic power for women by creating the conditions for class equality that is compatible with sustained economic growth.

JEL Codes: A14, B54, C7, D3, D6, E6.

Key Words: gender, distribution, justice, stratification, equality, structuralist macroeconomics, hierarchy, rent-seeking.

Toward Gender Justice: Confronting Stratification and Unequal Power

I. Introduction

In his book *Cosmopolitanism*, Kwame Anthony Appiah presciently poses a question for our times: “What do we owe strangers by virtue of our shared humanity?” (2006: xxi) That query echoes two major themes of justice concerns in the new millennium. The first regards the social implications of globalization and the greater engagement with strangers—members of groups we distinguish as distinctively different from our own. The second concern is more deeply embedded in Appiah’s question—what is a just distribution of resources? Appiah asks us to consider the values and morals that govern relations, including the sharing of material resources, between “them” and “us.” More than ever, we need to come to grips with that question, as cultures interact, overlap, and sometimes collide.

What of gender as a demarcation between “them” and “us”? What is owed to the opposite gender by virtue of our shared humanity? That is a ponderous question, given that “we” and “they” live in such close proximity. Unlike nations, ethnic or religious groups that can maintain spatial dispersion, males and females by and large share the hearth, and by implication, the production and reproduction of children.

Analyses that began some 100 years ago, but have gained traction in the late 20th century, underscore that despite the close proximity in which we live, a persistent and pervasive inequality exists and accordingly shapes life possibilities. Are gender inequalities unjust—and if so, which ones? What are the chief impediments to gender justice? And what kinds of actions and policies would be necessary for us to achieve gender justice? This paper makes an effort to outline the contours of a theory of gender justice, placing gender equality in material resources at center stage. It then assesses the constraints on gender justice, focusing on systemic gender stratification that results in males’ disproportionate control over material resources. The role of gender and stereotypes in buttressing a gender ideology that justifies inequality is evaluated. Finally, policies that address these constraints are discussed.

II. Gender Justice as Equality of Outcomes

Concurrent with the emergent self-rule of former colonies, democratization and human rights discourse began to influence our evaluation of fairness and justice in the mid-1940s. A growing global consensus, reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed in 1948, is based on the moral argument that human rights belong equally to all people by virtue of our humanity. The Declaration extends the notion of justice from formal rights related to freedom of person to economic rights. Formal rights, it has been noted, have no meaning if people do not possess the material basis to access those rights. As a result, the 20th century witnessed the extension of rights discourse to include a universal right to an education, a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of self and of family, and economic security.

The fundamental contribution of the Declaration to the rights discourse is that it has undermined appeals to biological determinism as a justification for social and economic exclusion, and discrimination. But still the parameters of justice remain vague. Although the document implicitly sets a minimum threshold of material well-being, it does not delineate a framework for determining justice in distribution.

A more recent foundation for a theory of gender justice emerged in the form of the capabilities approach. Sen (1999) argues that the goal of governments should be to expand the real (that is materially feasible) freedom to choose the kind of life one has reason to value. Capabilities are the means required to achieve this freedom. The emphasis on *real* freedoms underscores the resource and material costs of the achievement of a fully developed set of capabilities, as compared to a mere legalistic approach, which instead accentuates procedural freedoms (such as, for example, the right to vote or the right to property).

There are clear, persistent, though varying gender differences in capabilities globally. Robeyns (2007) insightfully notes that the system of gender inequality acts as a “conversion factor,” discounting the extent to which women can convert income and other resources into capabilities. That system is undergirded by a gender ideology that justifies the unequal state of gender relations, socially and materially. It is supported, monitored, and enforced in large part by gender stereotypes and norms, embedded in a variety of institutions, including marriage laws, property laws, labor markets, and

religious and cultural institutions. The material and cultural spheres operate in tandem, each influencing the other to produce and reproduce systemic gender inequality. The hitch is that this system thus inhibits the possibilities for females to enjoy the same capabilities as males.

Gender justice, it might be argued, requires that adequate resources flow to both genders¹ in such measure as to ensure that each has the means to acquire the necessary capabilities. It requires not only explicit decisions about how to distribute resources, but also attention to the social/psychological realm which shapes people's opportunity sets, both internally and externally.

An important question any theory of gender justice must answer is: Which capabilities matter for gender justice? And second, are we interested in meeting a minimum set of capabilities as a condition of gender justice, or, does gender justice require equality of capabilities? As to the first question, there is no single agreed upon answer. Although Amartya Sen has eschewed delineation of a specific set of capabilities, Nussbaum (2003) and Robeyns (2003) have offered some guidance on what might be included. The list goes beyond income to include education, but also good health and long life, leisure, mobility, respect, and bodily integrity.

With regard to the second question, the capabilities approach in practice simply defines the space in which to evaluate differences in well-being, but does not outline the parameters within which gender differences can still be considered equitable or fair. That requires a further elaboration of a theory of gender justice.

Robeyns (2007) offers a judiciously parsimonious theory of gender justice. Justice would require equality of relevant capability sets, equality in constraints on choice, and finally, equality of pay-offs to capability sets. "Men and women should have the same opportunities to valuable doings and beings," according to Robeyns (2007: 65), but she exhorts that justice shouldn't require that genders equally populate the same avenues to achieve those goals. Men and women have the right to be different, as gender groups, in

¹ The parlance of "two genders" is being eroded, given the acknowledgement that there are multiple gender identities. In that sense, such a reference in this paper is inaccurate. Lacking, however, as I do, the language to elaborate a broader set of genders than simply male and female, and given that social structures are largely based on the existence of only two, I leave that linguistic issue for resolution in the future.

other words. Whatever work is undertaken, however, pay-offs or rewards should not be influenced by gender.

I call this the *opportunity equality approach*. A prominent place is awarded to ensuring equality in the preconditions for provisioning, which might include education and health. To this list, we could add access to key resources in livelihood generation (e.g., access to credit, land, jobs), and fairness in economic rewards (e.g., equal pay for equal work) premised on procedural equality. The *opportunity equality* framework does not, however, require equality of income or material rewards generated from one's livelihood. This would appear to stem from Robeyns' desire to elucidate a theory of justice whereby the genders may indeed differ in their predilection to engage in different—and perhaps gender-specific—types of work; as a result, control over resources may differ, and this is acceptable so long as, for the same tasks, women's economic rewards equal those of men, and their access to necessary resources to generate an livelihood (e.g., the right to own land) are similar.

This meritocratic approach, founded on the fairness in rewards to intelligence and effort, could be justified if three conditions hold. The first is that biogenetically, intelligence is equally distributed between the genders; second, we assume that there no plausible basis to believe that on average women and men exert differential amounts of effort over the life cycle; and third, we would need to further argue that women and men as genders on average might prefer different activities. This framework for gender justice is exemplified in the World Bank's (2001) policy report *Engendering Development* where the emphasis is on equality of opportunities, but not outcomes.

I would like to argue for a different theory of gender justice, one I term the *livelihoods equality approach*. This approach has a macrostructural frame, based on the argument that livelihood inequality buttresses other forms of gender inequality—such as education, health, life, bodily integrity, and dignity. For this reason, livelihood equality is a pivotal change target in order to transform a comprehensive stratified gender system into one that is gender equitable. In short, equity—equality of opportunities—thus requires material equality.

The *livelihood equality* approach emerges from research that has developed organically in a variety of empirical assessments of trends in gendered well-being, based

on a desire to delineate a comprehensive set of measures in addition to capabilities.² Key components of well-being required to ensure that women's equal probability of leading a life they would choose to value can be grouped into three domains: *capabilities*, *livelihoods* (a shortened phrase for access to and control over resources and opportunities), and *empowerment/agency*.³

Before elaborating the motivation for arguing that gender equality in outcomes, i.e., livelihoods, is a necessary component of a theory of gender justice, let's give some descriptive substance to each of these domains. The *capabilities* domain encompasses fundamental human abilities or functionings necessary to lead a good life.⁴ These include education and measures of health, including life, and are pre-conditions for self-expression and self-realization.⁵ The second domain, *livelihoods* or, access to and control over resources and opportunities, refers to the ability to use capabilities to generate a livelihood to support oneself and one's family. The relevant indicators of gender equality in this domain will differ by the structure of production in economies. For example, in where there are well-developed labor markets, three representative measures are: wage rates, employment, and annual income. Livelihood equality in agricultural economies with widespread subsistence production may be better reflected by measures of land ownership, access to credit, time spent in labor activities, and caloric intake.⁶ Wealth and assets would be a useful measure that cuts across economies at different stages of development.

² For examples of applications of this approach, see Dijkstra (2002), Grown, Gupta, and Khan (2003), and Seguino (2002, 2007c).

³ This framework has been influenced by the work of the Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality (UN Millennium Project 2005), with lead authors Caren Grown, Geeta Rao Gupta, and Aslihan Kes. An earlier and slightly different version of this framework owes to the work of Grown, Gupta and Khan (2003).

⁴ For accuracy, it should be noted that according to Robeyns (2003, 2007), functionings line up with what the empiricists identify as "capabilities" while the *access to resources and opportunities* domain bears some resemblance to Robeyns' description of capabilities.

⁵ The UN Millennium Task Force (2005) identified *security* as a separate domain, with the argument that that is bodily integrity and freedom from violence are a prerequisite for women and men to use their accumulated capabilities to live the life they would have reason to value. Various indicators, such as the prevalence of intimate partner violence, rape, female trafficking, or sexual harassment, can measure security. While there may be some value in placing security in a separate domain, it is conceptually linked to *capabilities* and therefore I fold it into the first domain in the framework developed in this paper.

⁶ Government spending social safety nets in the form of transfer payments and on infrastructure that influence the time that women and men have to spend in income generating activities may be relevant proxy measures, though these have not been used in empirical studies due to data deficiencies.

Third, the *empowerment/agency* domain measures gender differences in “voice,” the ability of each group to shape decision-making in the productive sphere (e.g., the workplace) and in the political process.⁷ The concept of empowerment, while intuitively appealing, is still operationally underdeveloped. It can be understood, however, as the ability of both individuals and groups to which they belong to shape their environment. Thus gender equality in this domain would imply that women are equally *agentic* as men. The term *agentic* comes from social cognition theory and implies that individuals and groups are both producers and well as products of their social systems—that agents both react to social norms but can in turn shape norms, and the gender system. Women’s share of professional and managerial positions, and of leadership positions in cooperatives, businesses, and governing bodies are indicators in this domain.

The empirical impetus to measure trends in well-being has shaped researchers’ approach to defining gender equality. As a result, the three domains that measure gender equality are both narrower and broader than Sen’s and Nussbaum’s capabilities approach—narrower, in the sense that the list of capabilities is shorter and tends to be more easily quantifiable than in the original capabilities approach, and broader in that gender equality is seen as necessary in a greater set of arenas. The emphasis has been on defining a critical but limited set of well-being measures in each domain, with the understanding that these may serve as proxies for less quantifiable measures.

Gender justice, using the *livelihoods approach*, would require that societies create the conditions under which women’s well-being in each of these domains is equal to that of men. Empirically, that implies a goal of equal distributions of the measures of well-being, with similar variance, median and means.⁸ Figure 1 provides an example of distributions of say, the monetary value of owned assets, for women and men that are

⁷ For an extensive evaluation of statistics and methods to evaluate gender equality in each of these domains, see Grown (2007).

⁸ A well-developed theory of gender justice (and justice of any kind) would usefully also make the case for some thresholds for the median, mean, and variance of these distributions. I do not attempt that here, as such criteria should be based on empirical and dynamic analyses of the effects of minima of well-being indicators and dispersions on within group and intergroup measures of well-being. Does, for example, an income or wealth dispersion that is too wide promote status differences that lead to intergroup conflict, a struggle over resources and hierarchy? Can inequality—both within and between groups—in other words, lead to declines in well-being for one or another group? If so, sustainable gender justice would require not only equality in all three domains but also some minimum level of mean and median well-being for both genders and some minimum dispersion of well-being.

similar in dispersion but unequal in medians and means. The goal of gender justice would be to ensure that the two distributions are superimposed, the one on the other. Such a result would imply that the probability that a female's asset ownership value falls into the lower half of the distribution would be equal to a male's. Equal probabilities in all identified domains of well-being thus would be defined as gender justice.

Figure 1 about here.

It should be clear that this approach emphasizes the goal intergroup equality, and not necessarily individual equality.⁹ By inference, if there is within-group inequality, it should be no greater in the subordinate group (women, in this case) than in the dominant group. More precisely, the dispersion of the subordinate group's distribution of well-being measures should be no greater than the dominant group's. Figure 2 summarizes the livelihoods equality approach to gender justice, and contrasts it to the opportunity equality approach..

Figure 2 about here.

That gender justice requires equality in the first domain, *capabilities*, is no longer controversial. Capabilities are seen to be a pre-condition for living a good life. There appears to be a broad consensus that all have an equal right to these, and that a basic premise of fairness is that we start from a place of equal initial conditions. Any systematic intergroup difference in outcomes alerts us to inequality of initial conditions (Roemer 1998; Phillips 2004). Requiring equality in the last two domains, however, demands some justification.

Intergroup inequality in the *livelihoods* domain would imply that a subordinate group has a lower probability of generating an adequate livelihood than the dominant group. Critics of the goal of equality of outcomes in *livelihoods* have appealed to biological determinism, or more recently, to a claim of cultural deficits (or simply differences), as a justification for intergroup inequality in material outcomes. The former—biological determinism—has been assiduously eroded in recent decades as a plausible justification for systematic and intergenerational inequality.

The second, culture, still has currency in debates over the source of intergroup inequality. It is, as William Darity, Jr (2005) notes, a more polite trope for justifying

⁹ The latter would be a special case of the former.

inequality of outcomes. Politeness aside, that cultural differences could justifiably lead to intergroup inequality implies that one group—the subaltern group—collectively and systematically makes choices that leave it worse off materially than the dominant group. If each group had the same choice set—that is, if the choice sets available to men and women were not appreciably different—there might be some currency in this argument. But choice sets do differ as a result of constraints imposed by capabilities and resource inequality. They also vary due to gendered norms and stereotypes that shape individual behavior and treatment of dominant and subordinate group members.

Precisely because gendered social roles are embedded, cultivated, and reproduced from an early age, it would be difficult to argue that women and men make livelihood decisions from a similar choice set. Further, even if it could be shown that women and men freely and systemically make different choices in the area of livelihoods, why should this lead to inequality of outcomes in the form of income, wealth, and property? It would be difficult to argue convincingly that on average one group—women—consciously and freely chooses less remunerative livelihoods, especially given women’s responsibility for the care of children. Further, why should women’s economic activities on average attract a lower valuation in the market than men’s, for example, if their capabilities are equal?

I argue therefore that a prerequisite for gender justice is equality in livelihoods, defined as all of those areas that equalize women’s and men’s access to and control over material resources, to include not only jobs but access to credit and land ownership. Whatever path women on average choose to provision for themselves and their families, gender justice requires that that effort yield the same outcome in terms of access to and control over material resources as the average male effort.

The claim that gender equality is a proper measure of gender justice in the empowerment/agency domain should be less problematic. As Phillips (2004) notes, that notion of justice is already embedded in our view of fair political representation with a variety of countries establishing quotas for female representation on voting lists and in government, including Uganda, India (in local bodies), and Italy. In France, too, *parité* legislation requires voting lists to include equal numbers of women and men. Member countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) very recently signed a protocol that, among other goals, calls for at least 50% representation of women in

political and decision-making bodies in SADC countries by 2015.¹⁰ The enactment of quotas is a reflection that policymakers have put the barrier of structural constraints to equitable gender representation on equal footing with overtly discriminatory practices (Phillips 2004). The recognition then that structural constraints impede equality in empowerment and agency should alert us to the role they also play in other domains.

This leads to two important questions. What is the nature of those structural constraints? Are they related to the degree of inequality in the *livelihoods* domain, and if so, does inequality here in fact influence the degree of inequality in the *capabilities* and *empowerment/agency* domains? The response to the first question is complex, and is rooted in the view of gender inequalities in all domains as embedded in a system of stratification. The following two sections explore in greater detail the nature of that system. In anticipation of a fuller discussion of stratification in the next section, we can acclaim here that the latter question's response is, yes, livelihood inequality in fact does influence the degree of inequality in other domains, and is the motivation for arguing for equality of outcomes in livelihoods, not just opportunity.

This link is supported by empirical research exploring the determinants of distribution of resources and labor within households. Power matters. In particular, relative power, as measured by outside options—income, wealth, and property such as dowry—influence intrahousehold negotiations over the distribution of income and other resources that influence children's well-being. Women's better livelihood options affords them more choice in leaving damaging relationships; in negotiating a more fair distribution of unpaid labor within the household, in caring for children; and in controlling their fertility. Equality in livelihoods also contributes to gender equality in empowerment and agency (Iversen and Rosenbluth 2008).

The next section moves beyond the household to an exploration of intergroup inequality dynamics as influenced by a system of gender stratification. Gender hierarchies and differential control over material resources, it is argued, provide the motivation for the dominant group to reproduce conditions of inequality in the *capabilities* and *empowerment/agency* domains.

¹⁰ SADC members are comprised of: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

III. Gender Stratification

What is the nature of the structural constraints on gender equality? Gender inequality can be traced to social stratification—that is, hierarchical social and economic relations—based on accentuated differences between women and men that in turn shape a gender division of labor. The gender division of labor favors men’s access to and control over resources, allowing them to control wives’ labor at the household level. Women, burdened with non-remunerative reproductive labor, are constrained from engaging in resource-generating activities outside the household. Status and power hierarchies derive from males’ superior control over material resources. That control and the resulting power differential provide the motivation for males to continue this hierarchal system based on gender differentiation.

At the macro-level, male power permits elites to shape ideology, norms, and stereotypes as well as formal social institutions, in such a way that defines male activities and traits as superior and more valuable than women’s. Chafetz (1989: 139) argues that “to the extent that women choose to comply with gender norms, accept gender ideologies and stereotypes, and acquiesces to male definition of situations, men need not employ their power – micro or macro—to maintain the status quo.” In sum, gender stratification is comprised of intentional processes (though perhaps deeply embedded in institutions so as to appear “natural”) that ensure male dominance in all aspects of social life—in cultural, legal, political, religious, and economic institutions.

The degree of gender stratification varies inversely with the extent to which the labor is gender segregated, and as a result, with the level of women’s economic power and the control over the material resources this stratification generates (Blumberg 1984; Chafetz 1989). Huber (1990) succinctly summarizes this principle: producers in the family economy have more power than consumers. Greater economic power—that is, control over production—in turn, allows women to control their sexuality and fertility and affords increased power at the macro-level in key institutions.

These precepts, derived from sociological and anthropological search, presciently anticipate the more recent intrahousehold bargaining literature in economics. The earlier work differs, however, in emphasizing features of stratification that also operate outside the household, based on a framework that links the micro- and macro-levels. Blumberg

(1984) advances the hypothesis that the more power women have at macro-levels of social organization (in the workplace, in the larger economy, and in political spheres), the greater their ability to control a proportionate share of their output at the household level. Their bargaining power at the household level, then is “discounted” in proportion to women’s relative status at the macro level (1984: 49). The greater the degree of gender inequality at the macro level (e.g., the greater women’s concentration in low-wage insecure jobs or lack of jobs as compared to men), the less bargaining power *all* women have within the household, though to differing degrees.

This is equivalent to saying that the state of the macroeconomy influences women’s bargaining power at the household level, since it affects women’s outside options. For example, the overall demand for labor coupled with the types of jobs women can get or the goods they produce (associated with the degree to which work is gender differentiated) have a positive effect on women’s status within households.

These observations suggest the foundations of a theory of change in gender stratification. Improvements in women’s relative well-being require a diminution of the gender division of labor, permitting women greater access to and control over material resources. Sustained shifts in this direction can contribute to shifts in gender ideology, norms, and stereotypes, which will change to conform to new gender economic roles. Social theorists also link trends in the degree of gender stratification to ecology and technology, which combine to shape the structure of production [hunting/gathering, herding, plow agriculture, and industrialization] (Boserup 1970; Friedl 1975; Huber and Spitze 1988; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2005). In the framework developed by Iversen and Rosenbluth (2005), the more mobile are male economic assets (physical strength) relative to female economic assets (caring labor), the greater male power in intra-family bargaining, with a consequent effect on norms. Because male brawn is more portable in agricultural societies as compared to hunting/gathering or industrial societies and women’s skills are more “firm” or to be precise, “family specific,” females are in a weaker bargaining position.

Blumberg (1984) notes, however, that the critical factor is not only the stage of development, but also the degree to which women are engaged in productive activities as compared to men. She gives the example of Southeast Asian rice societies as gender

egalitarian, where everybody works. This stands in contrast to other agrarian societies where women are more disadvantaged in access to and control over resources (Blumberg 2004). Nor is women's mere participation in production sufficient. They must be as likely to be employed in high wage, high status jobs as men, or, in the words of Blumberg, women's work must be of "strategic indispensability"(1984: 52).¹¹

The system of gender stratification is overdetermined—there are multiple causal relationships at play, any combination of which may be enough to generate inequality. Further, these causal effects operate in multiple directions, mutually reinforcing each other, and thus making it difficult to identify the initial cause and therefore policy target. Most stratification theorists, however, identify female relative economic power as the pivotal change target that will trigger change in other realms of inequality, including the in cultural realm, of patriarchal gender ideology, norms, and stereotypes and, as a result, formal institutions such as property and laws.¹²

To summarize, gender inequality in all domains, and most pertinently in the *livelihood* domain, flows from a system of gender stratification, with members of the hegemonic (male) group¹³ intentionally acting to develop and sustain processes that generate social hierarchy, status differences, and by consequence, inequality in income and wealth. The dark horse then that lurks in the background of discussions of gender justice is the exercise of male power over rewards and punishments, in an effort to maintain control of a disproportionate share of material resources.¹⁴

¹¹ Blumberg (1984) offers a description of the meaning of "strategically indispensable," one that varies by structure of production. In wage-labor economies, higher wage jobs with a small gender earnings gap would be considered more strategically indispensable than say, women's temporary employment in a low wage service sector job .

¹² It should be noted that trends are not necessarily linear or smooth. During times of transition, repression against females is likely to emerge in proportion to the extent males perceive the shift as a zero-sum game (Blumberg 1984; Chaetz 1989). That said, change is possible. Seguino (2007b), using data from the World Values Survey that reflects global trends in norms and stereotypes finds evidence to support this hypothesis. That research shows that increases in female share of paid employment is linked to declines in gender unequal norms and stereotypes.

¹³ Hegemony in this sense refers to power derived from the intersection of class, ethnicity, and gender of the socially and economically dominant group.

¹⁴ A disproportionate share of output means a share that is greater than the corresponding effort that was required for production, with the implication that women's share of output is significantly less than would be warranted by their contribution.

Power inequalities imply that men as a group are able to extract compliance from subordinates. The tools of extraction include the material dependence of the subordinate group on the dominant group, a set of gender definitions (ideology, norms and stereotypes) to regulate everyday behavior, thus reducing monitoring and enforcement costs, and overt forms of power, including violence and assault of female bodily integrity for infractions that threaten the status quo (Chafetz 1989). Increases in women's ability to participate in economic production and to control the distribution of their production then can enhance their status and reduce physical, political, and ideological oppression.

It is useful to note the similarity between gender and racial stratification theories. Oliver Cox's (1948) *Caste, Class, and Race* provides an illuminating account of rigidly structured societal inequality along the lines of caste, which map onto class, status, and power divisions. Hierarchy is embedded in the structure of class relations, buttressed by accompanying social norms that provide the rules of social behavior, serving to reduce enforcement costs. As in the gender system, William Darity, Jr (2005) argues that there are thus material benefits from racial inequality that redound to the dominant groups, who therefore have an incentive to reproduce conditions of inequality. Inequality is likely to persist, according to Darity, if the privileged group also dominates the political system. "Tastes for discrimination" then are materially motivated. There is as yet little research that explores the intersection and relationship between gender and racial stratification within the same societies; this remains a fertile area for inquiry (Seguino 2006).

That intergroup inequality could be intentionally structured to extract rents is alien to much of the economics literature. The next section explores this topic, identifying some recent feminist research that provides the foundations for a more fully developed theory of economic stratification.

IV. Economists on Stratification: Rent-Seeking and Collective Action, Efficiency, or Just a Mistake?

Economists, with few exceptions, have yet to adopt the language of stratification, or explored its relationship to ideology, norms, stereotypes, and status differences in relation

to intergroup inequality.¹⁵ Economists' consideration of role of hierarchy has been limited in scope and largely focuses on institutional behavior rather than ascriptively different groups. In the influential work of Coase (1937) and Becker (1981), hierarchy is seen as an efficient and thus socially beneficial form of organization, serving to fix the coordination problem inherent in complex organizations and social structures. There is little reference to status implications.

Neoclassical institutionalists have challenged the claim that institutions are always beneficial, arguing that rent-seeking behavior can contribute to inefficiencies. Individuals and groups expend resources to maintain advantage, regardless of costs to wider society, in order to extract unearned compensation. Neoclassical accounts, however, fail to embody the sense in which “economic actors exercise power or collective action to create and maintain social norms and rules that are personally advantageous but socially costly (Braunstein 2008:3).”

More recently, feminist economists have attributed the perpetuation of gender inequality and patriarchy to the rents it generates for men who have an incentive to maintain structures underpinning their privileged economic position (Purkayasta 1999; Braunstein 2008). Patriarchal dominance is a collective action problem, according to Braunstein (2008), with men as a group exercising power to maintain their superior positions and control over resources. As in other cases, collective action necessitates mechanisms to maintain group cohesion. Braunstein links the solution to this free-rider problem to the formation of gender identity, built and internalized through repeated social interactions. Internalized norms of masculinity and social sanctions raise the costs of defection. The construction of gender identities in turn produces a set of institutions that support the interests of the hegemonic male group – males of the dominant ethnic group in the capitalist class (Braunstein 2008).¹⁶

¹⁵ An important exception, referenced in the previous section, is Darity (2005), who calls on economists to contribute to a new subfield of stratification economics, to explore intergroup inequality based on economic motivations for constructing and reproducing hierarchy between ascriptively different groups.

¹⁶ Patriarchal systems, Braunstein (2008) notes, are not permanent, and instead change to accommodate the newer material requirements of the hegemonic group. As capitalism changes, for example, we can expect some loosening of gender norms and stereotypes to accommodate the system's demand for new forms of labor, such as in the case of “Rosie the Riveter” during World War II.

More than male compliance is needed, though. Females also need to be convinced to submit to this unequal system in order to lower monitoring and extraction costs. Economists' analysis of the patriarchal system could usefully extend to the realm of gender social definitions and formal institutions that "normalize" unequal allocations of resources and labor. These, I would argue, are the mechanisms by which gender identities are formed and maintained. They thus merit closer attention in order to understand how the role of the gender distribution of resources can affect them and are discussed in greater detail in the next section.

But first, it is useful to consider whether in fact rent-seeking by patriarchs is as economically costly as it is assumed to be in other domains of the economy. Economists have the possibility of making an important contribution to this aspect of gender stratification theory: a analysis of the relationship between gender inequality and the performance of the macroeconomy. Braunstein (2008) argues that gender inequality is socially costly in the long run. It dampens women's bargaining power in the household, with consequent negative effects on care and resource investments in children, and ultimately, long-run productivity growth (Folbre 1994). A number of empirical studies, largely neoclassical in theoretical underpinnings, provide evidence that gender inequality in education in fact has a negative impact on long-run growth (Hill and King 1995; Klasen 2002; Knowles, Lorgelly, and Owen 2002).

We must, however, question whether in fact gender inequality is dysfunctional in every context—that is, inimical to growth. Structuralist macroeconomic models find that gender wage inequality can be a stimulus to short- and medium-run growth under some conditions (Seguino 2000; Blecker and Seguino 2002). Higher female wages that narrow the gender gap can reduce aggregate demand via a negative effect on profits investment, and exports. Male employment and output can fall as a consequence, suggesting a motivation for males to resist gender-equitable policies in the short-run, even if they are costly to men, too, in the longer-run.

A further problem is that short-run disturbances in demand make it difficult to achieve long-run potential. Aggregate demand shocks can knock a county off its "normal" long-run growth path, belying the view from traditional growth theorists that

output is “trend stationary” in the face of demand-side shocks (Dutt and Ros 2007).¹⁷ Thus, even if in the long-run, gender equality could produce positive supply-side effects on the quality of the labor force, in the short-run this might induce shocks that drive economies off their long run paths. In economies of different structures, however, it is possible that both the short- and long-run effects of gender inequality are negative.¹⁸

It is an empirical questions as to whether the short-run costs of gender inequality dominate long-run costs. If the long-run costs dominate, we are left with the question as to why men support a patriarchal system that is socially inefficient and holds potentially negative ramifications for men themselves. A plausible answer response is that dominant groups are inclined to exercise power for short-run gain, discounting heavily longer run effects of inequality, especially if redistribution would impose short-run costs on the dominant group.

V. Gender and Social Psychology: Ideology, Norms, and Stereotypes

Common to both racial and gender systems are a set of social definitions (ideology/cultural beliefs, norms, and stereotypes) that justify a given distribution of resources and social hierarchy, thus serving to organize and coordinate social interactions. Gender ideology refers to people’s ideal concept of how to live in the world, and reflects a set of hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender (Ridgeway and Correll (2004). As such, it is normative, justifying the existing social order and the differential roles and rights for women and men.

Hegemonic males, through their control of elite positions in important institutions, shape gender ideology, sanctionin the unequal distribution of resources and the resulting social hierarchy. That rationalization may be based on religion, biology/psychology, or cultural explanations. But gender ideology is not without competition. It exists side by side with other meta-belief systems, including those regarding human rights, democracy, and class equality. What then explains the persistence of gender ideology in the face of conflicting belief sets?

¹⁷ Hysterisis effects in labor markets, increasing returns, and balance of payments constraints explain the failure to return to trend growth after a demand-side shock.

¹⁸ There is some reason to believe, for example, that in agricultural economies, gender inequality inhibits growth even in the short-run (Seguino 2007).

Ridgeway and Correll (2004) maintain that hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender are the background of everyday social interactions. We engage in these interactions, believing that others hold these views as well. The frequency of social interactions is an important mechanism by which gender inequality is reproduced. As a result, gender beliefs and hierarchy are resilient and reproduced even in new formations—e.g., new industries, occupations—because these have not yet established institutional rules and organizational procedures.

Social norms and stereotypes provide the means of embedding gender ideology in social interactions and individual behavior, serving as a vehicle for the exercise of power. Gender stereotypes describe the manner in which men and women presumably differ, usually in ways that justify the gender division of labor. Norms provide a check on behaviors, congruent with stereotypes. Gender norms are the rules and expectations that contribute to gender differentiated behavior. Those who transgress norms face punishment—stigmatization, shunning, and other responses to social deviance. The intensity of the response raises the cost of deviating from gendered behavioral norms.

Gender social definitions in turn shape the formation of formal institutions that provide the visible formal “rules of the game.” Family institutions, property rights, and organized religion all are examples of formal institutions in which are embedded gender social definitions. Together, these influence the formation of gender identity. This psychological/social sphere exists alongside the material structure of gender relations, embedded in the macroeconomy, and influenced by the gender division of labor, the structure of production, external relations and the macro policy environment. Combining the social/psychological domain (or cultural sphere, for short) with the economic, we obtain a schema of the system that supports and reproduces gender relations (Figure 3).

Figure 3 about here.

At the level of the household, the gender division of labor influences women’s access to and control over resources. Men’s superior control over resources gives them greater bargaining power to control women’s labor, and reproductive functions. The macroeconomy shapes the opportunities for women to engage in remunerative work, and the greater the demand for female labor, the more likely women’s status and well-being is to improve absolutely and relative to men. Thus, the functioning of the macroeconomy,

and the policies that shape the growth process, with concomitant effects on the structure of production, macroeconomic stability, and the demand for labor can be construed an important change target to promote gender equality. Traditional gender roles—with men the breadwinners and women the caretakers—ensure the persistence of gender inequality over time as these roles solidify into norms and stereotypes, buttressed by a gender ideology. Those in turn shape the formation of institutions that embed gender hierarchy. Note the two-way causal links between the economy (micro and macro) and the cultural sphere.

Here, we have provided a more detailed schema for understanding micro-level relations and entry points for change in those relations. Gender social definitions and their impact on formal institutions, which together shape gender identity, suggest it is not necessary to resort to a notion of collective action to understand how males maintain social and economic dominance. Men and women can appear to act consensually to maintain and reproduce a system of hierarchy. Agents thus appear to coordinate their actions in a way that respects a social hierarchy with status and resources differences.

Economists have tended to spend less time thinking about norms and stereotypes, as well as overarching ideologies. There are exceptions, Marx being an important one. Institutionalist economics partially fills this lacuna, linking sociology and economics, although its incorporation of social psychology is limited. In that literature, formal institutions are a key level of analysis, with ideology, norms, and stereotypes—considered to be more intransigent to change and beyond the scope of analysis. Indeed, cultural beliefs, norms, and stereotypes are described as informal constraints embedded in social interactions, but deemed inertial (taking from 100 to 1000 years to shift, Williamson [2005], estimates). Formal institutions, by contrast, are described as those in which redress is possible for violation of the rules, publicly enforced by legitimated powers. For this reason, they are seen as more amenable to change and are therefore target variables for inducing shifts towards gender equality.

Some economists have challenged this view, identifying the ability of norms (dubbed “informal institutions”) to thwart efforts at gender equitable change and development (Morrisson and Jütting 2005; de Soysa and Jutting 2007; Sen 2007). Morrisson and Jutting (2005) have constructed a new data set that measures social

institutions related to gender. It should be noted that their framework differs from that advanced here; it blends formal institutions and social norms.¹⁹ They find evidence that these institutions constrain women's access to *capabilities* (education), *livelihoods* and *empowerment/agency* (female share of employment and of technical and professional positions). This important research underscores the important independent effect of social institutions on our efforts to achieve genders justice in the *capability* and *livelihood* domains. In this work, too, a pessimistic sense emerges that social institutions are slow-moving variables, though not immovable. Jütting and Morrisson (2005) argue that in governments can induce change, but that it might require compensating men in order to reduce their resistance, implicitly acknowledging men's material benefits flowing from a system of gender hierarchy.

Are there other methods for altering gender inequitable norms and stereotypes and leveraging change in all three domains of gender well-being? In an effort to answer that question, the next section explores the sociological and psychology literature on the changeability of norms and stereotypes.

VI. A Framework for Promoting Gender Justice: Changing Gender Social Definitions, Institutions, and Identity

Even if we remove the external limitations on gender equality in formal institutions—by enacting anti-discrimination legislation, for example, equalizing investments in health and education, outlawing sex selective abortion or polygamy, for example—internalized ideology, gender inequitable norms and stereotype produce internal and external conflict. Achievement of gender equality and thus gender justice requires that we address the constraint posed by gender social definitions.

Take, for instance, the resistance women face as they move into typically male occupations from the male workers in those jobs effort (Bergmann (1996). Men appear to fear that as an occupation becomes feminized, its wages and status will decline, and not irrationally so. But women too resist change. Gender role differentiation is embedded in norms and stereotypes that produce real social costs, if violated. Badgett and Folbre

¹⁹ Social institution variables include the right to inherit, freedom of movement and dressing, right to ownership and access to property, genital mutilation, polygamy, and authority over children.

(1999) report on the results of an experiment to test respondents' reactions to men and women in gender atypical occupations. Responses to women (and men) received lower ratings of attractiveness than those perceived to be employed in gender typical occupations. This suggests that marriage markets may influence job choices of women as well as men in the labor market. We can find many other cases in which women adhere to and enforce gender inequitable norms and institutions, for fear of the costs of violating these strictures on behavior.

Although equalization of economic power between women and men is a precondition for equality and thus gender justice, how this is done matters. Because gender equality also requires change in gender social definitions, well-designed strategies and conditions are required to produce change in the social/psychological realm.

Recent sociological research on stereotypes provides some insight on what might be required in order to shift ideology, norms, and stereotypes in a gender-equitable direction. Influenced by Gordon Allport's (1954) seminal work, *On the Nature of Prejudice*, sociologists view stereotypes as a normal human propensity to categorize and summarize information. Categories guide our daily activities and judgments. Allport notes that stereotypes do not need to be accurate to be widely held; indeed, the mind has a facile way of responding to information that does fit into previously constructed categories—e.g., a woman truck driver, a black supervisor. The mind reports this an exception, rather than incorporating this and reformulating categories. Humans tend to hold preconceptions and do not adjust them in the face of conflicting evidence.

Allport was particularly concerned with stereotyping that resulted in *prejudice*—or negative stereotypical beliefs—a condition he described as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization”(1954: 9). The burden of prejudice rests on the fact that it results in a disadvantage not merited by the individual in question. Allport was especially concerned with the problem of negative racial/ethnic stereotypes. He proposed as a solution, the creation of conditions for structured contact on equal footing, sanctioned and supported by some institutional authority. An example might be a project to increase women's access to jobs from which they had previously been excluded, supported by anti-discrimination legislation and leadership in the hiring institution, with women working in the same job classification in equal proportion to men

Allport's important work, though influential, faced some major challenges. One is the argument that prejudice is a *group*, not individual process. Blumer (1958), for example, contended that race prejudice is a sense of group position, resulting in the development of a group identity expressed through the individual. "Feelings," according to Blumer, develop as part of a collective process, where groups of "we" and "they" are delineated. Blumer identifies four types of feelings in the dominant racial group: 1) a feeling of superiority and corresponding prejudices about the qualities inherent in the subordinate group; 2) a feeling that the subordinate group is intrinsically different, e.g., biologically, culturally; 3) a feeling of proprietary claim to privileges and advantages in certain areas; and 4) fear and suspicion that the subordinate group harbors claims to the privileges of the dominant group. Blumer's framework is not entirely consistent with that laid out in Figure 3, insofar as it does not differentiate between ideology, norms, and negative stereotypes. Nevertheless, it is a useful summary of the context in which racial hierarchies are formed, and is analogous to gender hierarchical prejudices.

Eagly and Diekman (2005) identify a major difference with regard to gender and racial stereotypes. Antipathy is not necessarily a component of prejudice to attitudes towards females. Indeed, women, though a subordinate group, are often viewed more favorably than men. More importantly, Eagly and Diekman (2005) argue that the faulty generalizations that become aggregated into negative stereotypes are not as inflexible as often assumed. A great deal of research supports the view that ideology/culture and norms are also malleable (Diekman, Goodfriend, and Goodwin 2004; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Diekman, Eagly, Mladinic, and Ferreira 2005; Kroska and Elman 2006).

Eagly and Diekman (2005) link changes in stereotypes to shifts in social roles both within the family and in the workplace. They use social role theory to explain the shifts in gender stereotypes in recent years, noting that:

"the role behavior of group members shapes their stereotype because perceivers assume correspondence between people's behavior in their everyday social roles and their inner dispositions....Applied to men and women, this theory posits that perceivers should think that sex differences are eroding because of increasing similarity in the social roles of women and men. Moreover, the stereotypes for women should be more dynamic than that of men, because much greater change has taken place in the roles of women than in those of men"(2005: 104-05).

Humans suffer internal conflict, “cognitive dissonance,” when the beliefs they hold differ from their material conditions.

Policy prescriptions that take this into consideration could act as a fulcrum to induce change in stereotypes, and eventually norms and ideology. There is some evidence of such effects. Structural economic change and economic crisis lead to changes in work opportunities for women and men. Naila Kabeer (2000) provides analysis of such a shift in her research on women garment workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Long years of economic crisis and the shift to an export-oriented growth strategy that sought cheap female labor led to a rift between families’ economic needs and gender norms that constrained women’s mobility and contact with men. Norms and stereotypes were forced to give way to accommodate the changed macroeconomic shifts. Similarly, structural adjustment policies in Central America contributed to falling male wages in male-dominated sectors and an expansion of service sector jobs (e.g., tourism) that employed primarily females. This structural shift ran up against gender ideologies in the region.

In such circumstances, gender conflict can emerge (Chant 2000), but what are the prospects for adaptation? Addressing this question, Kroska and Elman (2006) investigate whether married women and men in the United States change their gender ideology (classified as traditional or egalitarian) to conform to work and family activities and gender divisions of labor. Using data from two waves of the National Survey of Families and Households, 1988-89 and 1992-93, they find that individuals whose background, work, and family life are inconsistent with their gender ideology shift their gender ideology in a direction that is more compatible with their background, work, and family life. Egalitarians with traditional life patterns at wave 1 were found to be more traditional in their gender ideology at wave 2, and traditionalists with egalitarian life patterns at wave 1 were more egalitarian at wave 2. This suggests that sustained social role change is likely to dynamically shift gender stereotypes.

Research on political representation has generated results consistent with social role theory. Using data from Indian villages with quotas for female village leaders, Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande, and Topalova (2008) evaluate the effect of exposure to female leaders on gender stereotypes. They find that exposure weakens stereotypes about gender roles in public and family life. Relevant to social role theory,

villagers rate their women leaders as less effective when exposed to them for their first term in office, but the gender gap in evaluation disappears the second time women hold office.

VII. Implications for Public and Macroeconomic Policy

Feminist economists have made a major contribution to understanding how gender relations influence and are influenced by macroeconomic outcomes. Efforts to develop policies that will reduce and eventually eliminate gender inequalities in *capabilities*, *livelihoods*, and *empowerment/agency* require a further expansion of our sights to the realm of gender ideology, norms and stereotypes, and institutions.

Getting governments and individuals to agree to gender equality in capabilities appears to be an easier sell in a world of human rights discourse. We can agree to some extent on *minima* of investments that create equality of opportunity. But if gender justice also requires equality in livelihoods, as I argue it does, how do we shift the distribution of control over material resources, in the face of resistance by the dominant group?

At least two possibilities have been identified. We can compensate the dominant group for their loss of patriarchal rents, though it is not clear how this is done without reaffirming the justness of gender hierarchies (Jütting and Morrisson 2007; Braunstein 2008). A second strategy is to build and expand an alternative cultural belief system that is incongruous with male dominance through the promotion of a collective norm of justice (Braunstein 2008). Expansion of a collective justice ideology that includes a commitment to gender justice, defined as equality in *capabilities*, *livelihoods*, and *empowerment/agency*, may produce cognitive dissonance, especially for the short-run beneficiaries of gender inequality.

A third strategy is to develop a macroeconomic program to promote gender equality in all domains. Such a program, cognizant of the constraints and possibilities imposed by norms and stereotypes, would expand women's access to jobs, and create the conditions for women to occupy technologically sophisticated positions. To do this in a way that lessens resistance would require that policies be implemented in the context of an expanding economic pie, so that women gain absolutely and relatively, while men at least are absolutely not worse off. This approach is not new, and characterizes the very

successful New Economic Policy (NEP) adopted in Malaysia in the 1960s to improve the status of native Malays in a society in which Chinese Malaysians dominated elite positions. The success of the NEP was due in significant measure to the rapid expansion of the Malaysian economy during this period of transition, lessening the cost to elites whose material well-being grew in absolute terms.

These concerns make apparent the important role of macroeconomic policy in promoting gender equality. What would a gender-equitable macroeconomic policy framework look like? First, macroeconomic policies would need to ensure full employment.²⁰ This would require a different type of central bank—one concerned with employment as a primary goal that worked with the government to address supply-side inflation drivers. Agricultural and industrial policies would be required to facilitate structural change, moving the economy to the production of higher-value added goods and services. This would support the transformation of the economy from one that is hierarchical with a wide wage and thus status gap between low-paid and high-paid jobs to a more egalitarian wage, income, and wealth structure. Public policies that socialize the care burden, reducing conflict between men and women over labor allocation, help.

Macroeconomic policies that make class equity compatible with growth feasible and that limit macroeconomic instability would play a central role. The more equal the economy-wide distribution of resources and incomes, the lower the cost of gender equality. These policies would address constraints of the “sand” of ideology, norms and stereotypes in the wheels of gender-equitable change. They provide an environment to put women into well-paid work without, however, forcing men down the job ladder. Norms and stereotypes don’t change overnight. Sustained macroeconomic growth and stability is required to give these changes time to take root.

A cautionary note is offered, by way of the example of South Korea. That country embarked on a path of rapid growth and structural change in the 1960s. Now a major producer and exporter of high-tech goods, South Korea’s per capita GDP has risen to a level that makes it the envy of developing countries. Women’s paid labor was at the

²⁰ Inflation concerns have dominated in central banks in the last two decades, constraining the ability of governments to promote employment growth. Some countries have been more successful than others at achieving close to full employment with low inflation, and in the case of Sweden, an important institutional mechanism in achieving this goal is tripartite bargaining over wages between business, government, and workers. Worker owned enterprise structures might also facilitate this goal.

center of this growth strategy. In large numbers, young women were segregated into labor-intensive export sector jobs due to the stimulus their lower wages provided to export demand. But 40 years later, despite a dramatic increase in women's educational attainment²¹ and sustained strong demand for their labor, the ratio of female to male wages has risen only marginally from 48% to 55%.²² More worrying is that the ratio of females to males in the population, a marker of women's status, has declined in recent years. As Figure 4 shows, clearly, employing women is not enough. Ensuring conditions for women to access high status jobs in equal proportion to men is a requirement for progress. This did not occur in South Korea, and with globalization, continued job segregation and constraints on countries to use industrial policies move up the industrial ladder, the goal of gender justice is challenging.

Figure 4 about here.

VIII. Conclusion

Gender justice requires not only equality of opportunity. It requires equality of outcomes, and especially, gender equality of livelihoods in the sense of access to and control over material resources. Women's relative economic power is the most important predictor of their overall relative inequality in a wide variety of "life options," according to Blumberg (1984: 74). Economic equality can give women more bargaining power to negotiate for role and resource shifts at the level of the household, triggering change in gender unequal ideology, norms and stereotypes towards beliefs that are more egalitarian.

What types of policies will promote greater economic power for women? Affirmative action policies can make it possible for women to enter traditional male occupations, and social welfare policies that allow men to take up the care burden are necessary to induce greater shifts in social roles. To lessen the cost in the form of patriarchal rents, these changes are likely to be more successful in the context of an economy in which employment is expanding, and in which the state is willing to adopt

²¹ The ratio of female to male educational attainment rose from 52% to 85% from 1960 to 2000 (Barro and Lee 2000).

²² These data are for the manufacturing sector, representative of wages ratios in other sections, and are from the International Labour Organisation's LABORSTA, www.ilo.org, accessed August 31, 2008.

policies to smooth aggregate demand to prevent macroeconomic instability, and economic insecurity. Macroeconomic policy can thus play a facilitating role, stimulating sustained demand for labor, and creating the conditions whereby equality and growth are not at odds.

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Figure 1. Female and Male Well-Being Distributions

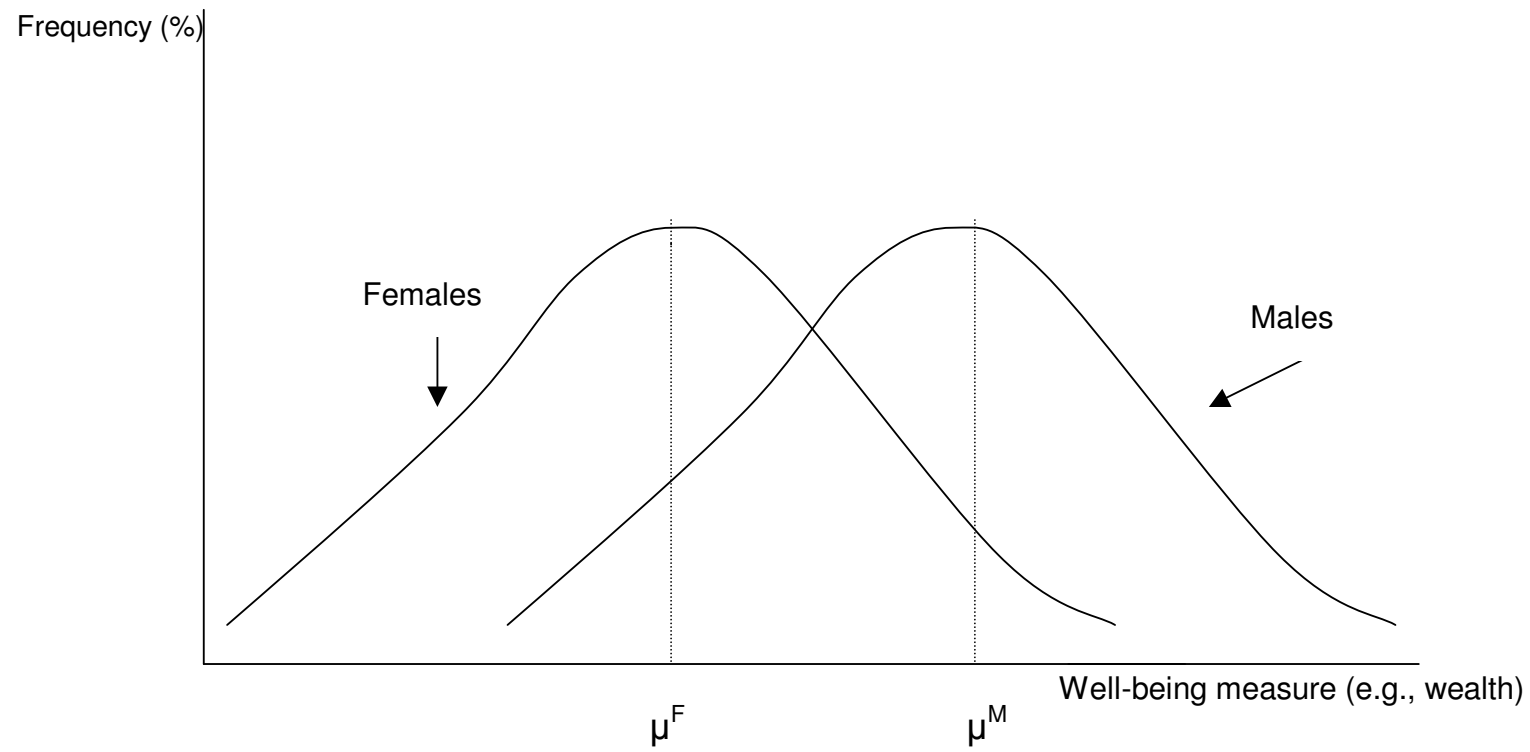


Figure 2. Two frameworks for assessing gender justice

Opportunity Equality Approach

Domain: Capabilities

Examples of capabilities:

1. education
2. health
3. long life
4. leisure
5. Mobility
6. Respect
7. Bodily integrity

Justice Criteria

- Equality of capabilities.
- Non-discrimination in access to resources;
- Equality of pay-offs.

Livelihood Equality Approach

*Domains: Capabilities
Livelihoods
Empowerment/Agency*

Examples of capabilities:

1. education
2. health
3. long life

Examples of livelihoods:

1. wages
2. access to land, credit
3. employment

Examples of Empowerment/Agency

1. professional and managerial positions
2. Political representation

Justice Criteria

- Equality of capabilities.
- Equal average incomes and wages.
- Equal dispersion of livelihoods, e.g., wages, incomes, wealth.
- Duncan Index equals 0 across occupations and industries.
- Proportionate representation in professional/managerial positions and political office.

Figure 3. Gender Stratification in the Economic and Cultural Spheres

CULTURAL SPHERE

ECONOMIC SPHERE

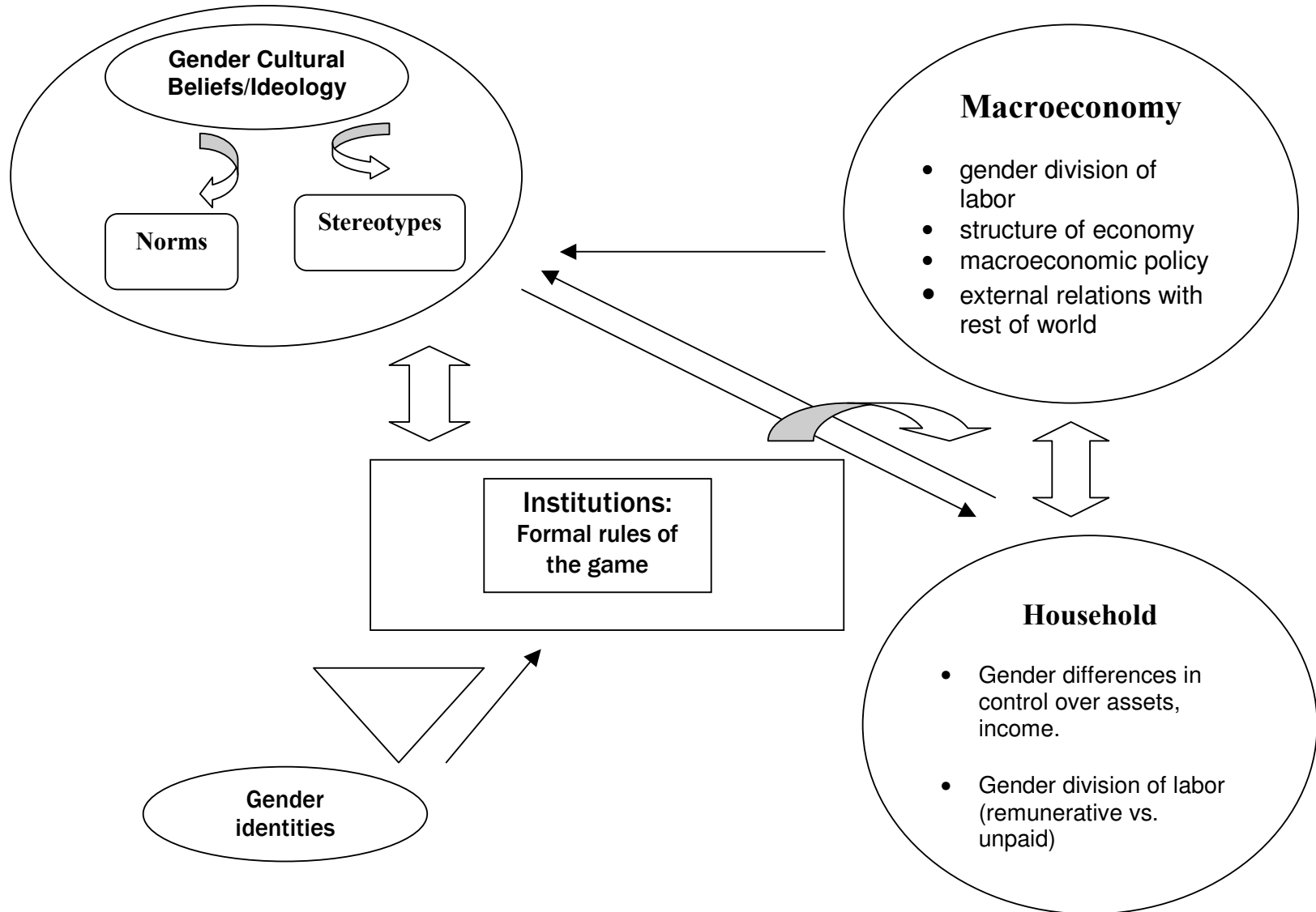


Figure 4. South Korea: Female Share of Total Employment and F/M Population Ratio, 1975-2004

