CHAPTER - I

WOMEN IN PROFESSION

Introduction: Large and complex organisations in modern societies are generally managed by professionals. In India, although women play a major role in the labour force, they are largely underrepresented in professional organisations. This is because of the social cultural basis of gender differences, the socialization pattern and the patriarchal ideology.

Behaviors associated with the exercise of power, the structure of interpersonal relationships and culture in professional organisations differ from what women learn as a result of their primary socialization. These differences demand that women undergo a two stage socialization process, first to their ascribed and then to their achieved status, that is, professional status. This two stage process consists of different processes for women's access to labour force and their entry into professional organisations. Many women nowadays aspire to become professionals. Aspiring alone is not sufficient. Having a middle class social and economic background facilitates their entry into professional training. Besides, at the personal level it also requires role restructuring and confrontation with the incompatible
normative system. A kind of socialization which differs from the general pattern of socialization of women in India. The role restructuring is necessary for professional women but it also gives rise to a couple of serious problems. The most important being conflict between the role requirement and the set of existing norms, values, expectations and obligations of the society in general. Since the norms and values form a connection between role and system, and because the norms and values always emerge after the system has been in operation for a while, it is obvious that there is always a lag between the two. If there are changes in the systems and the roles, one needs to have corresponding changes in the norms and values too, to connect the roles with each other and also to the system to which they belong. For the new working women in India at present, value crises have developed since the modern women have to wait until the links develop to connect new role with the modified new system. This has often confronted her with incompatible situations where she is not able to decide between her role conflict.

A perusal of literature on the position of women right from primitive to modern societies reveals that, in those societies where any section of population is in a servile position, the position of women is correspondingly low with regard to the male sex and especially at the married stage.
Survey of Literature in the area of women's studies suggests that there is a dearth of information on women in profession in India. Information regarding women in profession is largely derived from journalistic write-ups which only touches the fringe of the problem. Some studies and articles published in this regard are by Sangeeta, Manohar (1972), Vohra, Meera (1969) who have studied women lawyers and have gained information on their career graphs and problems of survival in the "man's world". Kalhan, Promilla (1970), Vishwanath, Prema (1978) have studied women teachers and have pointed out that teaching jobs suit married women ideally because of the nature of the job and the timings. Das, Anusuya (1969), Pandya, S.K. (1969) have focused their attention on women doctors, throwing light on the specialization they opt for, reasons and the kind of problems they face because of their sex.

Gupta M (1979) has studied job satisfaction among women workers and has found that need attainment and need aspiration for the four occupational groups - teachers, doctors, nurses and clerks are low. About 66% of women had job satisfaction, 25% of them were undecided and the rest were not satisfied. According to Mednick M.T. et al. (1975) the entry of women in the labour market on the whole depends on the family situation and the age of the last child.
Women in Law and Administration have been studied by Everett, Jana (1984) which is a comparative study of women lawyers and administrators regarding the position and privileges enjoyed by them in general. Women in Medicine is studied by Lebra, Joyce (1984) who points out that women doctors employed in the rural areas face problems of inadequate living facilities and security. The conflicting demand of career and family make many women doctors discontinue their service.

Thus, few studies regarding women professionals have been conducted, they focus on one or two aspects of their lives but no single comprehensive study regarding them has yet been done in India.

In any society economic and social changes often bring changes in economic roles of sexes which in turn bring change in family and social life affecting the whole society. The effect of economic development on women differ according to the nature and stage of development of the society. While studying women in society it is important to assess such factors as, i.) the way in which boys and girls are valued by the family and society, ii.) the control which women are able to exercise over their own lives, those of others and also to the extent to which their lives are controlled by others,
iii.) the decision making power of women in various roles they play, namely, mother, daughter, daughter in law, wife widow, servant etc., is necessary to understand the relative status of women within a society. This is of vital importance because decisions made within the household on such matters as the organisation of work, the allocation of income, arrangement of marriages shape the lives of individuals, both men and women.

In consideration to decision making, the Value system of the society is very important. We need to know not only who is making decisions but also the criteria by which they are made. As in the case of the Indian "matriarch" who might exercise a great power within the family, especially if she is a widow, but she would usually act in accordance with the concepts of patriarchal ideology when it comes to the world outside.

In traditional societies which follow the economic system characterized by a sharp division of labour between sexes, women's primary responsibilities get restricted to child care, the preparation of food and the general household tasks. Women of the upper and middle classes in traditional India work outside the home very little or not at all. Even in those regions where they do so, their work tends to be of a secondary nature. Women in general live in a state of economic dependence on man. For a long time in India
unorthodox ideas, rarely emerged in the main stream of traditional thought, the assumption of female inferiority, implicit in the whole social and political system, went unchallenged. It was only after the political independence of the country that initiation of emancipation of women took place. Although, women are still a long way from economic equality with men, at least in terms of law a fundamental change has taken place in so far as women now have complete legal equality with men. In the economic sphere they can earn and receive money as individuals and as the last resort, support themselves in order to preserve their independence.

This study "Women in Profession" is conducted on the basis of my observation and interaction with working women, especially professional women and the realization of the fact that they are passing through strenuous period of adjustment between work at home and profession. In order to get to the root of the problem it seemed necessary to study women in their social relations at work and to discover the processes whereby their social relations have changed over time. It was also thought important to understand how women were serving and challenging men's domination in culture, ideology of the family, defining woman's primary role as the home maker and the ideology of femininity.

This study is also interested in knowing how a woman placed
in highly specialized careers reconciles the differing beliefs, standards, values and perceptions of her two roles—namely,—working woman as well as a housewife?—How—is a woman viewing expansion in her set of roles? what problems are encountered by her at the work place as well as at hose? what are the ways in which forces of tradition and modernity are being reconciled? How is she managing her time? How well is she faring as a professional? How is she striking a balance between the two worlds which are highly demanding and compromising. An understanding of the kinds of problems faced by them is intended.

The Indian woman, especially the professional woman, who is standing at the cross roads of social evolution, faced with contradictory values, perceptions and expectations needs to be understood as an emerging social reality. As we shall discuss in detail the attributes of a professional it would become clear that the ideological basis of a professional and that of traditional women are contradictory. Chief differences between the two are as follows:-

i) A professional occupies a definite status, autonomy, power and authority and she achieves a status which is open to all members of the society, whereas, the status of a traditional women is ascribed, and she is subordinated to the power and authority of men.
ii) The power and authority a traditional woman enjoys among the members of her own sex changes with change in her role - status, from wife, mother, daughter in law to mother in law, grand mother in law etc. Power and authority relation change with the progression in status. The disparity in status between the daughter in law and mother in law is culturally given, daughters in law are subordinate to mothers in law. Role in the house is culturally defined and adherence to traditionally set pattern is appreciated, whereas, members of professional group are at par with each other and no obvious discrimination is encouraged.

iii) In the professional culture innovation is encouraged and there is a general interest in the scholarly advancement through competition within the profession in direct contrast to the traditional interest in the retention or adherence to the already set cultural norms and disturbance of traditional role and status is not appreciated. There is no disparity in status on grounds of sex whereas in society at large sex discrimination is felt.

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Traditional maintenance of Law and order was the business of the council of elders and with regard to the household to the elder females of the house. Tackling of medical problems of minor dimensions were the concern of the vaid and priest. With advancement in technology and modernization we find
today that law and medicine have shifted outside the traditional domain to the professional institutions.

This study is conducted to know what is happening to women who are entering professions dominated by men and how they are coming out of the dominance - subordinate relationships prevalent at home. Women are entering professions as a minority group legally and in terms of innate mental faculties equal to men. Yet as a minority they suffer certain inherent discrimination. How far has there been a redefinition of power equations between men and women and the other individuals in the family and the work place? When a modern woman is employed to satisfy her individual aspirations she might not be impelled by traditional notions of sacrifice and duty at home. The employed women has an expanded set of roles that make it impossible for her to adequately fulfill traditional duties. Given the unevenness of change, various role players face inconsistent or conflicting expectations from others, and experience strain. Knowledge of such strains and contradictions in a given society provides clues about the possibility of change. It will help us understand whether the acceptance of modern and progressive ideologies are resulting in linear form of social and cultural change or are they resulting in the traditionalizing of apparently 'modern', innovations.
Women in India

In India male sex is considered superior and a birth of a son considered auspicious leading to sex differentiation in the socialization process. The girl in India from time immemorial is brought up under the assumption that goal of her life is to marry and settle in family life. Marriage is best for future security, subsistence and livelihood. It is the duty of a woman to shoulder the responsibility of bearing and rearing children. Woman in rural India is also expected to contribute her labour in the fields as agricultural laborer. However, her contribution of work at home and outside is never valued in economic terms.

The status, role and position of Women in India has varied during different periods in history. It has ranged from considerable authority and freedom to one of equally considerable subservience. From historical records, the Rig Veda (1500 - 900 B.C) and the other religious Shastras (ie, holy texts) we come to know that during the vedic period (2500 B.C. - 1500 B.C) and the upanishad period, (1500 B.C.-500 B.C.) which together form the ancient period, women enjoyed considerable freedom and liberty. The wife and husband were considered as equal halves of one substance and were equal in every respect. Women in this period were free to participate in education and politics on equal terms.
was the custom of dowry which led to the girls being considered economic liabilities. Only by giving birth to a son did a women redeem herself in the patriarchal system (Joyce Lebra, et al., 1984). The appearance of Buddhism in the sixth century B.C. acted as temporary check on the decline in the status of women. The Buddhist reacted against the caste system and the sacrificial rituals of Brahminism (Hinduism). Women were admitted to the Buddhist orders. The order (Sangha) offered women an alternative to subjugation to husbands and to the patriarchy. The Jain religion, also offered women this alternative to the traditional wife/mother role.

The Buddhist influence however, did not last long, Brahmins gradually reasserted their authority. The Gupta period was a renaissance of the Hindu culture, the great Hindu epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were revived and appeared in written form, incorporating both popular lore and vedic ideas, evolved prior to the Gupta period. In these epics we encounter two feminine archetypes which have influenced all later generations of Indian women. They demonstrated to the Indian women the value of mute submission and bearing oppression of man without protest (Joyce Lebra et al., 1984).

Following the epic literature, the code of Manu (religious scholar) in the early Christian era, prescribed
three dependencies for women — first on father while young, then on husband in adulthood and lastly on son in the old age. Manu laid down unfavorable laws for women restricting their personal freedom and liberty. He confined them to a life of domestic drudgery and oppression. According to him women in order to be cared and respected by the men of the house should inculcate qualities of self denial subordination and unquestionable acceptance of familial authority.

In the overall context of man woman relationship, man was culturally ascribed to occupy powerful and dominant positions. In socio religious and economic spheres and in matters of reward and opportunity man was supreme. Scripturally and culturally the woman was denied any growth of intellectual, ethical or emotional faculties thus establishing a base for a patriarchal society. Harm's ascription of inferior status to woman and his social codes and sanctions left their permanent mark on the future status and role of woman in India. Domestic seclusion of women and subordination was further perpetuated by various foreign invasions of the country.

Arab invasions beginning in 712 A.D. introduced Islam to India. By the thirteenth century. North India was under the rule of the Delhi Sultans. Hindu and Muslim attitudes towards women were complementary, thus reinforcing the restrictive aspects of upper class female status. This reinforced many
social evils, such as seclusion of women, system of purdah (totally covering the body and face), child marriages and the performance of sati (burning of widow on the funeral pyre of the husband). Lack of education and social exposure led to further deterioration of woman's status. (Khanna and Verghese 1938).

By eighteenth century onwards changes started taking place in the Indian society. Various social reform movements and politico-economic developments started changing the attitudes and behaviors of people with regard to woman. Numerous educational institutions were started by missionaries for both boys and girls injecting western values and ideologies among them. This in turn led to the development of a sub-culture of westernization leading to a new kind of behavioral mode breaking the traditional culture, customs and expectations. Western education brought a sense of rationality, secularism, individuality, freedom and liberty making educated sections among India aware of their suppression and oppression. This led to the struggle for freedom encouraging not only men but also women to depart from cultural tradition of mute submission.

The momentum of change with regard to the position of women started taking place only after the independence of the country. Political freedom of the country led to the
formation of the new constitution. For improving the position of women various acts enshrining legal rights were legislated;—chief among them were the Special—Marriage Act, 1954, Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; Hindu Succession Act, 1956; Dowry Prohibition Act, 1971; Article XIV, XV, XVI, of the constitution of India imparted equality to men and Women before the law. (Artical XIV) prohibited discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article XVI granted equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Thus legally there emerged a new socio—legal pattern initiating change in the status and role of women.

The establishment of educational institutions with the government providing free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls has brought a change in attitudes towards girls education. The general awareness of the value of female education began to be recognized in the Indian middle classes. However, even till today the general education is preferred for women to professional education. Since, there is a widely accepted belief that women's place is at home and even the educated women is no exception in this regard. Increasingly however, we do find larger number of women taking to professional education leading to professional careers. We have selected to study women in profession because already we have numerous studies on women
in general - their status and role, employment and exploitation of women in the unorganized sector etc.

Women and Work: basic issues

Traditional societies:— In the traditional societies it was not considered appropriate for women to work outside the home for wages. This normative value must be taken into consideration when assessing the participation of women in the work force. The wage rates for women of India are especially low even when they perform the same kind of work as men. In the traditional village in India, among some castes, women played more active productive roles. They made distinctive contributions to cultivation, crafts, menial services and to the marketing of agricultural products and handicrafts. Among hill tribes and scheduled castes of India the production and marketing of handicrafts are still a female province. In most parts of the country there is a taboo on women ploughing, but throughout all the regions of India they take part in other aspects of agricultural production such as weeding, transplanting, winnowing and harvesting.

In Indian sociological tradition social mobility is dealt with almost exclusively in terms of inter-generational caste mobility. Social class is usually measured with fathers occupation along with son's education and Job employment.
Gender and caste were primary determinants of occupational mobility. There is a critical difference in the socialization pattern of men and women. As already noted, women in India from time immemorial are socialized to occupy a family role, an ascribed status (Linton, 1936, Spitz and Waite 1980). Men on the other hand learn both economic and family roles or achieved as well as ascribed statuses. Despite recent advances in education and outlook, woman's place is still thought of be at home. Woman's social status is more contingent on whom they marry then on what they achieve. Their role as wives and mothers are given top priority. Their roles are not only time consuming but often leave very little time for achievement in other fields. If a woman is employed elsewhere other than her home then she has to pass through painful periods of stress and extra burden of work in order to fulfill her dual roles.

A perusal of the literature related with the problem revealed that there is no uniformity in the extent to which woman like to participate in gainful activity. Several explanations have been given as to why some women want to work outside their homes. Firstly, it is taken for granted that man is the natural bread winner and women usually work only to augment the family income. Secondly, higher "female labour-force-participation-rate", has been observed in low income groups. Thus it is not surprising to note that
Such factors have given rise to the tendency to explain the cause of women's employment in terms of the economic necessity of the family.

Some authors say that married women's participation in "gainful" activities is related to their family life cycle. Married women with large families or those who have young children to take care of, enter the labour market less often. On the whole, it seems, that family situation and age of the last child have little bearing on women's decision to opt for the paid work or withdraw from it (Mednick, M T et al, 1975). The most important and largest segment of employed women is found in the unorganized sector which employs 94% of women workers. This sector includes landless agricultural labourers, workers in traditional village and cottage industries, migrants to the cities in domestic service, day labourers, street vendors etc.

Research Design

This study 'Women in Profession', is designed to assess the social position, problems and prospects of women doctors and women lawyers. Research in this area is divided into three parts. In the first part, data on the factors responsible for the entry of women in their respective professions, their socio-economic background with regard to age, religion, type of residence, marital status, educational qualifications, choice of life partners have been collected. This was thought
necessary because the background of the respondents to a large extent determine accessibility to professional training and the likelihood of success. What section of population is engaged in the service professions was thought important to understand the problem of the study.

The second part of the study has concentrated on the professional culture i.e., the culture of the court/hospitals in terms of time management, working hours, collegial relations, problems with patients/clients, facilities available, promotion and discrimination on grounds of sex, occupational mobility, career aspiration, professional productivity, the professional infrastructure, the organizational set up and the problems of interaction with the system and the strategies of overcoming them. Attention is given to the individual's definition of the situation with reference to the conditions of work, their perceptions regarding their role in profession and the autonomy enjoyed by them, the problems and inhibitions of the respondents affecting their performance and professional position. An analysis is made of the respondents role commitment, focus is made on their pre-entry motivation, present consistency, i.e., level of professional efficiency and ability to meet challenges at work place.

The third part of the study has concentrated on the domestic
culture of the women doctors and lawyers. Efforts have been
made to study the home atmosphere in order to know how
conducive it is for persuasion of professional careers. Focus
is made on the problems faced by them and the management of
the dual roles. Attention has also been given to study the
conjugal relations, parental relations, sibling relations,
kinship relations and social adjustment with the broader
society. How the multiple roles played by only a small
section of women employed in intellectual organisations
effecting their over all personality and adjustment.

Coverages— To study women doctors Gandhi Hospital in the city
of Hyderabad was selected. This hospital was selected because
the maximum number of lady doctors are employed here.
Initially this hospital was established in the year 1851,
A.D. to take care of maternity and general cases, but
gradually it improved and various specialities were included.
A huge building was constructed and on 20th December 1917 it
was named "King Edward-VII Memorial Hospital", with a bed
strength of ninety five.

In the year 1958 it became teaching hospital and was named
as "Gandhi Hospital". This hospital started growing in all
fields of specialities and from 400 bed strength in 1960,
it has increased to 1012 bed strength. At present the hospital has forty four departments; the average percentage of bed occupancy is 76%, total number of patients admitted are 46,422 and the total number of outpatients are 819042 with the daily average of 3244 outpatients. The average duration of stay in the hospital by patients are 6 days. The total budget alloted to the hospital is Rs.19,48000,00 and the budget incurred is Rs.35,22,540,00 In this hospital ninety two doctors are employed out of which twenty eight are lady doctors. (Hospital Record, Gandhi Hospital, 1993).

To study lady Lawyers:- In Hyderabad city where the study is conducted there is an High Court at the apex. According to the Constitution the hierarchy of subordinate courts in the metropolitan cities like Hyderabad are the Metropolitan Session Court, Assistant Session Court and Metropolitan Magistrate. These courts are concerned with the criminal cases. The Metropolitan Session Court could not be selected for data collection because very few lady Lawyers are practicing here. There is a separate court for trying civil cases called the City Civil Court, Chief Judge Small Cases Division, Additional Judge Small Cases Division and Rent Controllers. All these are established in one huge building at Purani Haveli, in the old city area of Hyderabad city.
Data Collection :- About forty case studies, twenty each of doctors and lawyers were collected. More number of case-studies could not be collected because the maximum number of lady doctors employed in the selected hospital were twenty eight. About three doctors were on leave and four doctors were posted to the medical college which is located at the different area in the city.

In the case of lawyers we have also collected twenty case studies in order to maintain the uniformity. Besides, in order to retain interest in the study twenty was thought to be an ideal member and it was also found to be sufficiently representative.

The court at Purani Haveli, in the old city area of Hyderabad city was selected for research purpose because maximum number of lady Lawyers practice here. About seventy to eighty lady Lawyers were regular visitors and among them twenty to twenty five of them stayed for long hours in the court. These lawyers were regular visitors to the lady's room at noon time or whenever they were free. We choose to select these lady Lawyers because of the following reasons:-

1) They were well distributed in age and experience. 2) were regular to the court. 3) were willing to give time
for the study. The other lady lawyers who practiced in these courts could not be selected because they stayed in the court for very little time and did not want to be disturbed at their home or office. They refused to give time for the present study. They were also not sure in which court they will be the next day. Sometimes their cases were represented by the other office members.

Methodology :- Case study method was used to collect data because it emphasizes the total situation or combination of factors, the description of the process or consequences of events in which behavior occurs. This method enables the study of individual behavior in the total setting and the analysis and comparison of cases. This study makes possible a careful observation of a person's situation or institution and also know the relationship of various factors. It enables an in-depth understanding of the social unit under study in all its aspects. In the case study method a unit is the representative of a type and it is studied as a type rather than as an individual unit. This assumption involves that if the units are the same and there is no difference in studying one particular unit, as a result of study of one unit we can apply its results to other units.

Case study method help us gain knowledge about the
peculiarities and characteristics of individuals and group, the various factors that influence and determine the behavior of an individual. By this method it is possible to classify the individuals into different strata or groups on the basis of their Characteristics.

This method enables the scope of analysis to be both quantitative and qualitative. Lazarsfeld, P.F. (1970), sort to Unite the two methods by clarifying the unique functions of each and their potential support for one another leading to proper systematization. It enables valid generalizations and hence this method was thought to be ideal for the present study. The limitations of the Case Study Methods given below were less as compared to the advantages of this method, hence this method was selected for the present study.

Limitations and difficulties of Case Study Method:- Case Study Method has certain limitations and difficulties. These limitations and difficulties are:-

1) Difficulties in collection of history or data about the history of the case - This method is based on the history or historical data about the case under study. This task in itself is very difficult one because respondents may have tendency to conceal information regarding a personal
life. If the investigator tries to do anything in this regard he is likely to lose co-operation.

People generally do not have clear memory about different aspects or events belonging to different aspects of their life. The record that is secured on the basis of memory is likely to be independable.

People generally suffer from prejudices and baises and because of this reason they may give incorrect information.

The investigator may have particular Knowledge regarding his study. Once the answers that is being given by the respondents is not to his expectations he may not readily accept it. This may lead to biased recording of the data.

Through this method it is not possible to cover a large area for study. It is limited to a particular unit for detailed and deep study of that unit. It is not possible to collect information beyond that particular unit which is the subject of the study. It means that the area of the study is limited. As compared to the area of study their is involvement of heavy expenditure in terms of time, money and energy.

**Results:** The case studies collected for the purpose of
this study are presented in the appendix. The general discussion and results, section wise are presented focusing on the three aspects of the study and general impression of the study is also made to have a clear picture in the concluding Chapter.

**Arrangement of the Chapters in the Thesis:**

**Chapter II - Discussion and Definition of the Concepts**

The present study could not be proceeded without the use of the following concepts which were discussed and explained in detail—Profession, Patriarchy, Exploitation and oppression, family, the concept of role and social role.

**Chapter III:- Theoretical Orientations.**

The present study falls under two fields—Sociology of professions and sociology of women. An understanding of both these fields were required hence attention is paid to explain what these two areas of study are.

An attempt is also made to study women from different human cultures because knowledge of women of different societies help guide us the position of our women and
know what stage of development we have reached which is important for the present study. A complete exercise is made on gaining theoretical understanding of woman from different perspectives—Anthropological literature, sociological literature, the feminist literature and the women's liberation movement.

**Chapter IV — Medicine and Law in India.**

In this chapter both medical and legal system in India and the Courts/Hospitals in Hyderabad are described to gain an understanding of the system in which the Lawyers/Doctors work.

**Chapter V — Discussion and Findings of the Study — Women Doctors.** in this chapter tables are presented in terms of simple Averages/Percentages where ever it was thought necessary for clear discussion and understanding with regard to women doctors.

**Chapter VI - Discussion and Findings of the Study - Women Lawyers.** In this chapter tables are presented in terms of simple Average/Percentages where ever it was thought necessary for clear discussion and understanding with regard to women lawyers.
Chapter-VII Conclusion

Appendix - The case studies of the doctors and lawyers is presented. In order to keep the identity of the respondents confidential, the original names have been changed.