Chapter IV
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Preliminaries

The central focus of the empirical study is to analyze how the principle of 'patriarchy' operates in hidden as well as open forms within the managerial profession in the organizational context. The concept of 'patriarchy' explains the position of women in society and various aspects of gender inequality (Colgan and Ledwith, 1996). It determines characteristics associated with women and men, the assumptions made about the division of labor (private as well as public), the relationship between them, and how they are represented, communicated, transmitted and maintained. "It also includes sexual and social relations based on sexuality and relations of power and control based on gender" (Itzin and Newman. 1995:1.2). Therefore the concept of 'patriarchy' is deployed in order to understand various forms of gender inequality women face in the organizational and professional life on one hand, and in the familial structure on the other. It analyzes how the prevailing patriarchal organization structure lead to discrimination based on gender, job segregation and lack of political or collective consciousness.
PART- I

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

Socio-economic background of the respondents like their age, family background, education levels, aspects of marriage and child-care and domestic work, is very much essential to study women managers. It thus situates them in their personal sociological background and helps to analyze their employment in the 'public' sphere. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of the respondents as managers and as women.

AGE AND MANAGEMENT STRATA

As stated in the Introduction, the sampling technique employed in the survey of women managers has been 'purposive sampling'. Actually, it was discovered during the survey that the sample indeed reflected the empirical reality of women managers in the profession. Thus in corporate Hyderabad, a major proportion of women in management are evidently in the age group of 26-35 (as shown in the Fig. 1). Secondly, they are mostly noticed in the junior to middle level management strata, whereas, their presence decreases up the ladder. At the same time, the age level shows an increase.

It can be seen from the Fig 1 that, in the sample, 55% women are in the age group of 26-35, 13% women are in the age group 36-40, 12% of women in the age group 41-45, 10% women in the age group 46-50, 3% in 51-55 and 2% in 55 and above, age group. The respondents' identity has been protected by use of pseudonyms. For the same reason, the companies from which the sample was drawn have not been named in the text. However, an attempt has been made to give representation to companies involved in most types of businesses. Thus the sample includes respondents from manufacturing, information technology, non-
banking finance companies, hotels and hospitality, corporate hospitals, media, etc.

Figure 1 : Age of Women Managers

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Ninety two percent of the sample comprise the upper castes, and among them. Brahmins tend to dominate. Again, this reflects the prevailing socio-cultural reality. Interestingly however, among women, (who are the focus of the study), a major proportion in the sample are non-Brahmins. On the other hand, among men. Brahmins are larger in number. It is not proposed presently to enquire into the sociological significance of this phenomenon. Apart from Brahmins, the upper castes include, from south India, the categories of Kamma, Reddy, Kapu, etc. as well as a fair number of upper caste denominations from other parts of the country. In fact, from the peculiar circumstances of their growth, the professional classes in India continued to comprise those who also ranked high in the hierarchy of caste (Misfara, 1961) This highlights the omni-presence of castes in Indian society, the corporate management profession being of no exception.
Secondly, a bulk of women and men managers in the sample hail from the families that are nuclear in structure and composition; a nuclear family usually is considered to be composed of parents and their children only.

Educational Level of Family Member?

Most of the women managers in the sample are the first generation women to go for work in the public sphere. Coming to the parental generation of women managers, 70% of the women executives' mothers had lower education and in a few cases they were illiterates; whereas 69% of women managers' fathers' were professionals. Around 80% of the married women managers' husbands were professionals and amongst them, 20% of women managers were better qualified than their spouses. Women managers tend to hail from families with high educational and professional qualifications of their fathers and husbands.

Schooling of the Executives

Most of the women in the sample hail from urban background with a majority of them having had their schooling in metropolitan cities (60%) whereas men hail from urban (45%) as well as rural background (55%).

Eighty one percent of women managers had English as their medium of instruction, having studied in Christian missionary schools (55%X public schools (10%) and Kendriya Vidyalayas (15%). Whereas 55% of men happened to have their schooling in regional languages in Government and municipal schools. This trend shows that men with non-urban background and non-English medium background can also make it in the managerial position, whereas in case of women, they should have better schooling, education and exposure to the professional culture, to make it to the same level.
WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

Marriage is usually understood as one of the most important phases in woman's life that brings a total change in her way of life. 'Marriage is the root cause for all the subjugation' according to Socialist feminists. Though this is not always obvious, man's domination and woman's subordination to a man in the name of compromises and adjustments, in the marital relation is but a universal phenomenon.

Among the respondents, around 78% of the women managers expressed that they had freedom to choose the job or place of work before marriage. It is a matter of luck if things fall in place according to their wish after the marriage.

Ms. Manjula, a middle level executive, has aptly summarized employers' attitude: "employers have insecurity against employing women executives in key positions for various reasons. Unmarried women might get married and leave the job at any point of time based on husband's and in-laws demands. Married women might go for maternity leave and child care and might not give attention to the profession. Elderly women do not have the aptitude and vigor to work in the ever progressing organisational set up. These kind of doubts and insecurities are never-ending and arise exclusively with regard to women. How else should we show our competency and alter these male centered attitudes"?

Women not only have to professionally excel to fight for equality, but they have also to deal with these kind of patriarchal attitudes. In fact, this is precisely what all the struggle is about.

MARRIAGE

Out of the 60 women managers covered to the study, larger percentage is of married women (63%), 2% are widowed and 5% are divorced or separated. 30% of women managers are unmarried, as can be seen in the Fig.2. It is found that unmarried women managers are in the 21-35 years category.
In the sample, around 60% of 42 married women managers who got married were above 26 years of age at the time of their marriage. Only 33% of the married women were below 25 years of age. The delay in marriage for women compared to general age of marriage in the wider society occurs because of their busy schedule. Ms Manjula, a middle level executive in finance sector mentioned that "I did not have time to think about marriage because of the preoccupation in my career. Now that I am slightly settled in career, I got married two years ago, at the age of thirty two".

![Figure 2: Women and Marital States](image)

A special mention about marriage (and the age of marriage) has been made because women's profession is very much linked with their marital status. Because of the importance given to the career, a longer time period is needed for the initial career settlement. This results in the age of marriage getting extended compared to other women in wider society. This indicates that women take their careers seriously.

**Type of Marriage**

The choke of spouse also indicates women's place in the society. It is interesting to note that those who are supposed to take important decisions regarding profit and loss of the firm, labor problems and recruitment, sales and
marketing, finance etc. usually put the major decision of marriage into the hands of either family members or relatives.

In the case of 68% respondents, marriages were arranged either by family members or relatives. Ms. Madhuri, junior executive in a Multi National Corporation, says that "I saw my husband only at the time of marriage. I spoke to him a couple of times over telephone. I had seen his photograph and sent a few E-mails. My parents took the decision for me". Ms. Sudha, a middle level manager in the service sector, who is on the verge of getting married, said that, "Though my parents chose the boy, I had the opportunity of meeting him. Only after my consent my parents have fixed this marriage, agreeing to all the demands of the bridegroom's parents. Dowry and other things are common these days. One should think very practically otherwise we cannot live". This indicates that profession and personal life have been compartmentalized. A positive trend is seen in the 32% of the women in the sample, who have contracted a marriage of their own choice.

Influence of Profession on Marriage

Managerial profession has relatively negative effect on women managers' marital prospects. Nine percent of women managers expressed that it has an adverse effect whereas 36% expressed that though the effect is not so serious, it is still there Mehta's (1976) study holds that men and other elder members of the family in India were gradually realizing that an employed woman was actually an asset to a middle-class family, and was not an embarrassing factor it all, provided she took up such a job and maintained a lifestyle that did not hamper the general decorum of the family in any way.

A junior executive in marketing who is unmarried found her marriage which was agreed to, cancelled because of her being in the marketing field. Her prospective father-in-law exclaimed, "Oh! That lady! She is always on the streets". He apparently knew nothing about her job or marketing profession
This kind of a negative attitude restrains women's progress in the managerial field though sometimes they take it as a challenge.

The situation is slightly different for men. Most of the men in the sample expressed that their career in managerial profession had a positive effect on their marriage. None of them found it constraining. Mr. Ramesh, an executive in Human Resources Development from a reputed computer firm makes a general observation that, "as soon as bride's parents come across a guy who has taken up management as his profession, they say that 'we have got a very good match. He is a manager in so and so firm'". This kind of an attitude illustrates and reaffirms that management is a masculine profession, a man is a perfect fit for a manager. For the same reason, that management is a masculine profession, women won't have much choice to select their marriage partner because, the society at large feels that management is man's forte and the fact that women are managers acts adversely on their marital prospects.

DOMESTIC WORK

Domestic work, is being undertaken exclusively by women managers in many a cases. Though women have entered the professional world, it has not led to any change in the work patterns at home. To perform household work and child care has become customary on part of the women managers, and their spouses do little to reduce it. A majority of household tasks have been the prime responsibility of women managers (50%) or performed by the women managers with the assistance of hired help (23%) or being done by some other family members or relatives (17%). Not a single instance has been noticed in women's responses of domestic responsibility being take up by the husbands.

A majority (80%) of women managers devote approximately 35 hours a week for the domestic work and those with children spent 40-45 hours a week. Only a few (4%) expressed that their husbands too shared the domestic work. More than 90% of men managers expressed that they might have hardly spent more
than 5 hours a week for the household chores. They helped in the tasks that are less "demeaning" for them as males.

None of the men married to women managers carried out any of the domestic chores of cleaning and washing. Over a third of the husbands as well as men managers did shopping for their family needs, less than 10% of men helped in cooking occasionally, and taking care of children (in teaching, taking them out, etc.) when they were free. Around 20% of the men managers told that they extended their help in domestic chores during the period of emergency say health problems, if the situation demanded.

The data shows that the sexual division of labor in the domestic sphere has not changed with women's participation in professions. In fact, it is leading to double exploitation in case of women.

CHILD CARE

Child bearing and rearing is a difficult task for women who have full time managerial jobs as most of the responsibilities are expected to be taken care of by women alone. Most of the employers discourage maternity leave. Ms Sudha, a middle level executive holds that "Our top management did not like me to take six months off. Sometimes we have to lose our jobs, their explanation for that being the emergency of the particular placement to run the organization".

After the birth of a child (some of the middle and senior level managers who have become mothers at one point of time expressed that), the women managers had to shorten their leave and come back to work to reduce the inconvenience and meet the demands of the profession as well as the portion. The insensitivity of the patriarchal attitudes is amply expressed when one of the top level male manager expressed, "why do women need fixed months off for the maternity leave when the whole process does not take more than twenty days".
Ms. Kalpana, a junior executive says that "women who are around 28 years of age, and without children are generally not taken seriously for the important assignments which requires a fairly long and committed time frame. Employers hold that she might go for kids and might not concentrate on the job. This is a very serious kind of discrimination". The job of bio-social reproduction is being treated as a burden on the organization.

Number of children

Women's participation in the labor market depends on the number and age of their children throughout their working lives. Keeping their career in view, they are settling for one or two children. Among the forty two married women managers, 45% of women managers have gone for single child and 31% of them have two children. Only 14% of women have three and more than three children. This trend can be observed in the Fig.3. When asked about the cause for the limited number of children, Ms. Margaret, a middle level executive expressed, "Where is the time? With all difficulty we could find time for one and two is impossible given my career in mind".

Figure 3: Number of Children
A woman manager with children below 5 years of age spends around 40-45 hrs. a week for the domestic and child rearing work. A majority of women managers (55%) did most of the child-care. A majority of men expressed that the major responsibility of child care belonged to their wives. Around half of women managers' husbands in the sample had never washed or bathed their children, changed a nappy, got up at night to attend to a child or helped their young children in studies. Sometimes women managers have taken their parents/in-laws' help or some of them could employ servants or some distant relatives to help for the child care. Only in case of a meager 6% of women managers, their husbands helped in the child care.

Figure 4: Result of child-birth

Among the 38 women managers having children, 8% had to go in for voluntary unemployment leaving the labor force for several years following child birth. Around 8% of the women managers had to restrict their career choke; and around 16% of than had to loose their seniority.

Among the married women managers, only 23% of the women managers expressed that their husbands encouraged their career in ill aspects. Around 46% expressed that though their husbands were not against their working, they did not help in any kind of domestic work it is very difficult for women to
combine the dual labour of public and domestic sphere. Some of them (18%) felt that their husbands consider children as more important than career, whereas others (13%) thought that their husbands would be happy if they were housewives and looked after the family, instead of both of them working and coming home tired. This can be seen in the following fig.5.

**Figure 5 : Husbands View on Women's Career**

Though women are in full-time managerial profession, still they are largely responsible for the child care and domestic work, these being considered value less in exchange terms. Though the child bearing and child rearing is for the perpetuation of the future society, this very biological process relegated women to the secondary status in the society as well as consider them as 'secondary wage earner' in the economic market, men always being 'the primary wage earners'. Therefore it is evident that as women executives reach the organizations with additional family responsibilities, they find that they are required to fit into the structure which is dominated by men. This structure is predominantly made by and for men, which in other words, is i major characteristic of patriarchy.

In summary, the fact that there is an organic linkage between the 'private' and the 'public' spheres in women's lives has been sufficiently highlighted in the theoretical discussion in the preceding chapters. In both these spheres,
patriarchy can be considered to operate in varying degrees influencing and affecting women's decisions and choices pertaining to marriage, work, income, career and growth and other allied issues. This is not the case with men however. Therefore a woman's role in public sphere is conditioned a great deal by her personal background.

Mackintosh (1984) expresses that the subordination of women through unequal division of labor in the market sphere is ultimately derivative of subordination within the marriage based household (since the ideological roots are here). This does not imply that one entirely depends on the other.

It is pertinent, therefore to precede the empirical study of women (managers) in the public sphere (corporate management) with an adequate consideration of their private sphere. The present part of the chapter has been devoted for this purpose. Thus, the factors considered here pertain to social, economic, demographic and cultural characteristics making up the personal world of the respondents both women and men. These include age and family background, educational levels of the family and respondents, family-as-such, marriage, professional choice & marriage, child rearing and child care and so on. These details, on analysis, largely confirm the conclusions offered by previous studies. The personal background of women managers, structurally forces them to a situation of disadvantage in their pursuit in the public sphere. This is not the case with men however.

It is with these initial structural disadvantages that women managers practice their profession in corporate organizations, the disadvantages due to gender How gender is operational in the organizational context is a subject of enquiry of Part II.
PART-II
GENDER AND ORGANISATIONAL DYNAMICS

Women's entry into the managerial employment is due to a combination of factors of market demand and personal situation. The demand for women managers have to be understood in the larger context of the demand for management personnel. The latter are required to run the complex corporate organizations of today which need both general and special functional skills in all the areas of management.

The growing number of women in the management profession globally can also be attributed to the fact that larger numbers of women have access to higher education, are aware of their rights and capacities, and have the attitude to win a positive mental attitude.

JOB STRUCTURE AND RECRUITMENT

Jobs staffed by women are placed and positioned in the organization, in a 'gendered' manner. This can be seen in the recruitment patterns, fixation of pay and perks, etc., which are discussed here in detail.

Division of labour by sex results in occupational segregation in the organizations. Job segregation is an extension of sexual division in the household into the labour market. The managerial labour market is no exception to this feature.

Occupational segregation of sex results from the interaction of well-entrenched and complex set of institutions that perpetuate the inferior position of women in the labour market. The complex institutions such as family, law, economy, culture tend to reinforce and support occupational segregation (Reagan and Blaxall, Op, Cit). This is obvious by women managers' choice for management. Only 30% of women expressed that they wanted to have
management profession as their career whereas a majority of 70% expressed that medicine, civil services, teaching, journalism, research and other professions or occupations were their first choice but not management. They explained that they 'decided to pursue a career in management in the later part of their education when many of the other options were closed'. In the case of men, more than 77% expressed that they wanted to have 'management as profession at any cost as it gives a sense of pride'. This happens because of the myth that women do not fit into the demanding male oriented management profession which is full of uncertainties. Moreover, there are not many women managers to look up to in this profession.

When interviewed, Mr. Srinivasan, one of the middle level management professional from I.I.M. says, "the reason for women not opting for management profession is not clearly evident but may be they have imagined that manager is a man but not a woman. But to be very frank, women in industrial relations or marketing have to deal with raw men, either labour or heavy clients who do not have a sense of respect for women. They do not treat women as equally professional but only as sex objects. Many a women do not like to take the risk and stand on their own feet".

The contemporary corporate bureaucracies are large and multi-departmental, employing big number of managerial staff. In this scenario, one should understand how and why women get recruited to managerial jobs which were once the sole preserve of men. If we look into the glamour of jobs in the total scenario, it has all the ideological trappings of a respectable, white-collar job structure, which any middle class person could only dream about.

Many women managers (58%) have expressed that they have been denied a job because of their gender. Women are often assigned to work in Human Resource Development, functions of recruitment, training etc. but they were not chosen for the industrial relations function. Employers, colleagues and subordinates would not like women to manage industrial relations. Ms. Sudha, a middle
level executive was remembering her experience of one of the interviews that "One of the interviewers expressed the doubt that 'What can a lady Industrial Relations manager do here? She cannot handle the labour. Better think about her later for some other work'".

'Femininity' and 'beauty' are all being expected of women in some of the branches of managerial jobs like marketing. Many of the employers would like to use women as a commodity in the market. Employers encourage the exposure of their femininity in the managerial operations, in mannerisms and dressing. 'If you negate it, you won't be given placement' says one of the employee managers. Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says that "Though I am a distinction student in marketing management, the interviewers said, "we arc not in need of you. One should be good looking if not beautiful to be qualified for marketing jobs". She continued, "one of the interviewers has tried to show paternalistic feeling and gone to the extent of advising me that "this is my advice, better do not apply for the marketing or sales jobs".

Many firms do not make it clear in the advertisement about eligibility of women's applicability. But even after written test and interviews, they deny the placement saying that 'we do not need women". Ms. Sumitha, a junior level manager described about one of her initial experiences in the job interview that, "We had a written test for the recruitment of management trainees in Bombay. A few of us were selected and asked to attend the interview. In the interview we were denied jobs because we were women. Unmarried girls were denied a job because they will be getting married and leaving the job and married women were denied because they will be leaving the job one day or the other. This is what was expressed by one of the panel members. They look upon women as handicapped persons".

This denial of women into the management profession appears to be a bias of men to control women. Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says that "I don't think women are in any way any less competent to compete with men in managerial
profession, but what is lacking is that the confidence towards women candidates by the selectors. The selectors who are definitely men, are negatively biased against women's capacity to perform their duties in an efficient way".

The selectors or the recruiters do not have any criteria for the selection of the candidates. "If the candidate is a woman of a child bearing age the first thing that comes to their mind is the maternity leave. There should be some sense and some pattern in the kind of recruitment", holds Mamtha, a junior level executive. Ms Prabha, a senior manager says, "There are many organisations which consider that women are incapable especially in the fields of manufacturing, finance and other allied managerial services. On the other hand, there are a few organisations which prefer only women managers. What is the major criteria for the selectors? Why not the government do something to prescribe certain rules and regulations for the selection criteria for the recruitment of the candidates instead of leaving it to the total discretion of the corporate houses. I feel the government should intervene to help women managers in this regard".

Ms. Sajala, a middle level manager in one of the top financial organisations in the city, says that "Many organisations will not like to take women executives of equal capability as much as men. They think that the moment women enter into office, there will be so many complications. But they do not want to make it obvious in the advertisements. If an average man and an intelligent woman compete for the same position or job, the interviewers prefer to take an average man compared to a knowledgeable woman. I have experienced it several times".

Ms. Suhasini, a senior executive says that "One should agree that women are a rare breed in managerial jobs in 70's, and 80's. But in 90's, women are eager to take challenging jobs in management. Women compete with men at colleges and come out with flying colours. But when it comes to employment, I feel that
the cream of the jobs still go to men. Most women managers are still limited to desk type jobs. Women are given jobs which have previously been refused by men or where there is no competition from men”.

There is a clear discrimination in the recruitment patterns of the private sector industries, either service or production, on account of gender. In this patterning of the recruitment system, the recruiters mostly are men and show their domination and superiority, to have things in their control, in which women are subordinate. The problem is with how women are valued and who has the right to assign value to people. It is not that women are always absolutely excluded from power or prestige in patriarchy — the problem is with the framework itself, and the framework is determined by men.

**JOB CATEGORY**

Women's managerial jobs were largely the extensions of traditional clerical occupations. Even after professional training as managers, around 29% of women and only 3% of men in the sample were in the routine desk type of jobs like front office staff, customer relations executive etc., Twenty eight percent of women and 26% of men were in Personnel Management sphere. 5% of women were in production or manufacturing sector, 25% were in marketing / sales / advertising / market research and 10% of women were in management services / corporate planning and only 3% of women were in finance and management services. This clearly shows a pattern of segregation within the management profession, with their presence being marginal in "male-dominated" sectors of manufacturing, corporate planning; and finance having only 18% of woman managers (in all these three areas taken together). There we 49% of men in these three areas as shown in the Figure 6.
It was observed earlier that women were being deployed in jobs which were mere extensions of their traditional clerical jobs. It was noticed during field work that horizontal segregation occurs in the following manner, managers, male and female may belong to the same grade in the same functional area. Their jobs however, would be designated differently. For example, in the industrial relations and personnel management area, the male manager more often performed duties pertaining to industrial relations. This includes undoubtedly tough task of bargaining with the trade unions (if any), handling serious industrial disputes etc. On the other hand, women managers tend to be assigned 'soft' tasks relating to employee welfare.

What is not in dispute is the job that the male manager does. However, women are presumed to be incompetent at discharging the same jobs, no matter how incompetent male managers may be. In other words, it is considered a nun's job. This kind of segregation not only denies access for women into challenging areas; it also denies them equal remuneration even though not being in the same grade or category as their male counterparts. This is because the male industrial relations manager may get additional pay and allowances for discharging difficult tasks, whereas, it would be held that women managers do not perform similar tasks.
involving travel assignments, which the family members disliked and at times they themselves would not like it because it was very tedious for them. Thus, the situation is paradoxical for women professionals. They face either monotonous, non-demanding jobs or challenging and strenuous jobs, both of which put them at a gendered disadvantage.

**POSITION IN THE ORGANIZATION**

Job segregation does not end there. It has various facets. In the private sector it appears that policies for recruitment of women in the managerial levels are by and large arbitrary. Thus while some organizations have clearly kept women out, others have taken them into more service and staff-oriented functions rather than main-line activities even though they are MBAs and trained for any function.

**Figure 7: Position in the Organization**

![Bar chart showing position in the organization](image)

If we look into the position women and men managers occupy in the organizations, it is quite unequal. Around 48% of women who are equally qualified as men are in junior level positions, whereas only 17% of men are occupying the junior positions, as can be seen in the Fig. 7. Many a women have been stagnant in the junior level in spite of equal number of years of
experience along with men. If we look into the middle level positions, there is not much gap of percentage between women and men as 35% of women and 40% of men occupy this level in the organization. The composition of women and men above middle level position reveals the presence of only 17% women and 43% men in senior and top positions. This obviously shows that women have been denied senior or top positions on the basis of their gender, despite qualifications and availability. The under-representation of women in the senior positions and an obvious categorization of women into subordinate positions is one of the many manifestations of patriarchy in the form of organizational inequality and discrimination.

Women managers do qualitatively different kind of jobs in the name of management. They are assigned different types of tasks from those of men. Women managers, in this context, are doing secretarial work or some managerial occupation (50%) where they need not have to make any kind of important decisions on behalf of the organization. They perform routine kind of jobs either in marketing or human resources, or any branch for that manner. An example: Ms. Maurlene Benedict, an executive, is in charge of five kinds of tasks in her position. She is a distinction student, in Economics from Delhi University and did her MBA from a premier management institute. She has settled in Hyderabad and is working in one of the corporate houses for the past eight years. She is in charge of client introduction programme, explaining to the clients the benefits of being an investor with their organization. She attends to the external and internal phones, and is in charge of fax and photocopy. She also does data entry and other computing work.

The above respondent has not been allotted any position of power, has nothing to do with decision making and performs jobs which are not at all related to any of the training that she underwent at the management school. After days of hard work from 9.00 AM - 6.00 P-M., six days a week, she gets a monthly salary of Rs. 6,500/- and perks. This discrimination is nothing but a professionalized
and skilled extension (with the implementation of new technology) of woman's traditional labour.

Market operations done by employers segregate women and men into different kinds of designations. Women managers are assigned designations, which are specially coined for them, and are exclusive. Ms. Samatha holds that "When I joined first from Tata Institute of Social Sciences into this firm, I was not given any designation or charge of anything for six months. I did not know why they had recruited me. I did not have any work other than filing the documents. Later, after time and again persuading them, they gave me a designation like 'employee relations officer' and the details of the charge were not given. This designation was specially created for me. Two men who joined along with me were made team leaders and promoted within an year's time, while I am just groping in the dark".

Thus female job ghettos in the managerial sector are created through horizontal and vertical segregation, which is one of the mechanisms through which capitalist and patriarchal structures operate together, as Savage and Witz (op Cit. 1992) rightly say. The exclusion of women managers from organizational positions has more to do with their exclusion from the resources of power, whilst their inclusion in the corporate hierarchy has more to do with their subordination within the relational aspects of male dominance and female subordination. In formal organisations, 'co-ordination' is enforced by the higher authority upon their subordinates for the kind of work to be done. Men are hierarchically in the positions of power and influence. They control information and access to information, the decision-making processes and the decisions that are made.

The above data shows that women managers are generally assigned desk-type, junior level jobs where technical skills are needed, but not given the formalized authority. In the process they are supposed to co-ordinate the job as a matter of enforcement from the higher authority.
SALARY

Job segregation and discrimination is very much obvious in the disparity of the salaries given to the women managers, compared to men.

As observed earlier, women manager's jobs are often given different job descriptions and designations (for the jobs of equivalent nature and similar kind which men managers perform), so that the lower pay for women can be justified. Around 7% of women and 0% of the men had a salary below Rs. 2000, 20% of women and 13% of men belonged to the category of Rs.2001-5000. Thirty six percent of women and 22% of men belonged to the category of Rs.5001-10,000, and 20% of women and 25% of men were found in the category of Rs. 10,001-20,000.

Figure 6 : Current Salary

Seventeen percent of women and a majority of 40% of men earned above Rs, 20, 000 per month, as is evident from the Fig.6. This is a clear sign of discrimination on account of gender and shows a vertical segregation.
WORK RELATIONSHIPS

Work relationships amongst men and women flow from the source of power based on the general hierarchy in the organizations and more specifically from the male power, which is attained by a majority of men irrespective of their position in general organizational hierarchy. The power mentioned here covers domination, control and co-ordination that manifest in the form of paternalism, dependency relationship and coercion (sexual and non-sexual). Many a women (75%) irrespective of their position in the hierarchy felt that men tend to show their superiority in whatever position they might be. Patriarchal power relations are interwoven into the very fabric of bureaucratic hierarchy and authority relations.

Subordinates

Irrespective of women's higher position in relation to hierarchy in the organisation, the interaction of male subordinates tend to be different with male bosses and women bosses. Ms. Sinha, a junior manager holds that 'They maintain a relatively casual approach with women higher-ups in terms of their mannerisms, time management; whereas they are very punctual and obedient with our male counterparts'.

Generally it is felt among women managers that subordinate men do not comply with women bosses' orders readily. Urmila Chatterji a middle level executive expressed that "we do not have much control over our subordinates. We have to request them to gee things done. Whereas our male colleagues or our superiors have control over them as well as on us. Therefore there is pressure from both the sides". Mr. Rama Rao, a senior manager, expressed his extreme dissatisfaction and anger at the inefficient handling of a trade union strike by his lady boss, using filthy language against her, though she was considered efficient in the corporate circles. This might be because, not only was his superior
woman, but also because of the age gap between them, where, she was at least twenty years younger to him.

Women managers feel powerless to punish, fire or demote their subordinates for any indiscipline, etc. Ms Kavitha, a middle level manager, says "Some of my subordinates always come late, around 12.00 noon. They sign the muster and disappear and are seen only at 5.00 in the evening. They never take prior permission. I warned them, but they did not bother. When I complained to the higher authority, he told me 'to ignore' and that these things happen everywhere. Later, I came to know that, my boss called my subordinates to his chamber and told them, 'I did not want you to get scoldings 'from a lady'. That is why I diluted the issue before her. Better remember and do not repeat it again'. This shows that male bosses often protect male subordinates from women bosses during the times of trouble.

Women managers' power in relation to the male subordinates depends upon their family background, (that is, their father's or husband's position) and their relation with male higher ups within and outside the organisation. Initially, when Ms. Chaudhary joined and was working in a senior position, many men who worked under her did not take her seriously. But, after two years of working, she says "Don't know how the news spread that I am the niece of the Chief Executive Officer of the organisation, which I have never let out or behaved so. My subordinates started behaving differently with me, with a lot of respect, and my orders are taken very seriously now". This shows clearly that the male subordinates generally did not give their woman superior her due respect. In certain instances women managers are respected as in the above case as a result of her relation to someone higher up in the organisation.

Male workers or subordinates are rude; and my punishment or suspension or demotion given by women personnel managers has an adverse and a strong effect on their personal lives. Ms. Geetha, one of the respondents said that, "One of the workers in the organisation was always absent and even if he
attended work, he never worked properly. Initially, I gave him a memo. In spite of that his behaviour did not change. My higher officials asked me to give him suspension orders. The man threatened me that he would pour acid on my face and I was scared for a long time whenever I was out of my house”.

Women managers also found that many a time their subordinates are gossipmongers, especially about their women bosses. Ms. Mitali, a junior executive expressed the concern that "if women managers are relatively informal or concerned they keep women in dialogue and drag the information and pass unnecessary rumours in the informal communication". Ms. Geetha, a junior executive, makes an observation regarding men in organization that "they behave as if they know everything and they expect women managers to sit and watch their work instead of interrupting them. They hook up informal relation with all the male higher ups by helping them at their personal work, at their homes or of similar kind, by providing them unnecessary information about women in the office and so on".

In spite of all this, a few women managers (45%) prefer men as their subordinates because as Ms. Mishra, a middle level executive says "I feel we need male subordinates also as they have lot of mobility and they are rude enough to get the things done. When we have to do raw dealings, instead of women, men subordinates can do a better job. They have an equation with other men. They can sit for a cup of tea and make the business". But 22% of women managers and 65% of men managers preferred women as their subordinates as 'women were very sincere in their work'. Male managers preferred women as their subordinates but not as colleagues or bosses because they could not bear a women equal to them or above them'.

The above discussion clearly shows that male power is much stronger than the power women derive from the higher position in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Men cannot bear having women along with them or above them in the
organisational hierarchy as they are used to visualising women being in the exploitative subordinate relationship.

**Colleagues**

Colleagues share the same hierarchy and they have so many things to share with. But when women come in between, men often feel that there is a disturbance in the smooth going homo-social environment. But Mr. Chandra Sekhar a middle level executive says "Though women work with all sincerity, they are and will never be equal to men in the corporate network because it is a man's world. Men crush them down if women want to go above men. It is the truth and I have seen it at various levels".

Ms. Pratima, a middle level manager in the service industry felt that 'most of the men are 'Yes Boss' kind. They always want to be before the eyes of the bosses and move around higher officials They sometimes bribe higher officials based on their interests, like liquor. In a way, that helps them to have good conduct reports and so on, which are useful in getting increments and promotions'.

Tor men, their personal interests are more important than organisational goals and they use organisations for their personal benefit, unlike women, who wholeheartedly work for their organisations apart from their familial life. Men are egoists and die with it' says Ms Girija, a junior executive 'They use filthy language with their subordinates and make friends with them. We do not know the knack of it' says Ms. Shubha, a middle level executive.

Men take total credit when everything goes right and if something goes wrong, they blame the women. Ms. Rajeshwari a middle level executive says "my colleague and I were sharing an assignment for the bunching of an important product of the company. Certain administrative problems arose and the total blame was put on me". Usually it is observed that for any success, men will be
ahead to take the credit, but on the other hand for any fault and failure, the 
woman has to face the blame, showing their so called lack of efficiency.

There is no free flow of communication between male and female colleagues 
when the work is to be shared. Men often feel that women compete with them 
and take the advantage of the information. Senior men, keeping it in mind give 
different kind of assignments to men and women. Ms. Subba Lakshmi, a junior 
executive says that, "we will be given totally different kind of assignments. So 
there is no question of competition at all. Higher officials take care of the 
situation so that we won't come in the way of male colleagues'.

Men often tease their women colleagues. Ms. Gauri, a junior executive claims 
that "my colleague always used to tease me in the name of my fiance. For a 
long time I tolerated it. I got bugged up once and told my fiance. My fiance 
gave him a serious warning".

A majority of male managers (76%) expressed that they are always better than 
their women colleagues One of the senior management consultant was frank in 
expressing that "it is a man's world Where is the place for women. In spite of 
their struggle in different ways and at various levels it is very difficult for 
women to make a place for themselves in the corporate sector. The business 
world, social world and familial world are stamped for men. I might go to the 
extent of saying "equality is impossible".

**Super-ordinates**

Some of the male superiors pamper women managers, some of them treat them 
as just like any other subordinate who works for the organisation and some of 
them treat women managers as mere sex objects and try to exploit and oppress 
them. Ms. Sheila, a junior executive says, "In the strenuous business schedules, 
Senior men want to relax sometimes by commenting and teasing women as
colourful objects. Sometimes they want to show their power of being a man and of being higher in hierarchy”.

As Ms. Sudha a middle level manager aptly puts it, sometimes in the conferences, formal parties and seminars, "women managers are supposed to give bouquets and flowers to the people on the dais and give a colourful appearance. Other than that we are not given any other role to play by our senior officials”. Ms. Sheila a junior executive says in frustration that "I was asked to get water and serve to all the members of the conference even when my male colleagues and subordinates were there”.

Some of the senior male managers who are really serious about their work and who want to meet the organisational goals treat women as serious persons who have come to work. Women managers always preferred such kind of superiors because as Ms. Vanaja, a middle level executive puts it, 'Men do know much about business and have really good contacts and they are really willing to develop the business. We will have a chance to learn more about business and have a career advancement if men do not simply set us aside as women but treat us as able competitors and colleagues'.

Women managers who are trained in the top management schools (I.I.M., X.L.R.I., T.I.S.S.) etc. were taught to maintain informality in the organisations and help eliminate hierarchies so that there will be free flow of communication and the solidarity to work for the organisational goals will be excellent. But Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says, "It won't work in the real life situation. It is only theoretical”. Ms. Sudha, a middle level executive says, "The senior men are feudal and autocratic in nature. In spite of the mistakes on their part, they never admit it and they don't like to learn new things from the young generation. They work with dosed minds'. Ms. Madhavi, a middle level executive who is in charge of recruitment in a trading financial institution, says "As I was taught to maintain informality, when once some of the recruitments were taking place; I have sent some informal message on a note pad sticking it
to the curriculum vitae of the new recruits and sent it to my immediate boss. That man called me to his chambers and threw those papers on my face before those new recruits. I was shocked by his act”.

**DECISION MAKING**

In the organizational studies, analysis of decision making as a plank of behavioral viewpoint has gained a lot of importance through the writings of Barnard (1938) and Simon (1960). In the classical model of organization, structure was the most important aspect of organization. The earlier part of this chapter presented how the organizational hierarchies are gender stratified. If we examine the decision-making processes in the organizations, there are two aspects of decision making: the first aspect pertains to *programmed decisions* and these decisions are normally based on precedents. They are reasonably routine in nature and are based on facts. In the process of the field work, it is understood that a substantial number of employee women managers are engaged in this kind of decision making which is more or less programmed and structured.

Secondly, there are other sets of decisions in organizations, which pertain to the ends of the organization, not simply the means, which are broadly termed as *non-programmed decisions*. These are the decisions that are commonly known as *strategic decisions*. These decisions pertain to the determination of the broad objectives and reformulation in case of need in changed circumstances.

The strategic decisions determine and influence the positioning of the organizations and the strategic role of the organizations with regard to the marketing strategies to be adopted, products to be bunched, new avenues to be explored and decisions with regard to any unforeseen or crisis situation in the organization. It is observed that, in this kind of decisions envisaged above, the role of women manager is marginal. Ms. Parvathi, a senior manager says that "it is a ritual for us to participate in the important meetings of strategic and
policy decisions. Generally, we keep quiet and we feel it's better to be silent. Even if we suggest, they give a deaf ear. So it is no use". Ramanamma and Bambawala (1984) conclude from their research on status of working women that, Indian society is extremely status conscious and status bound. As a result, women in lower status jobs are more accepted by society and the family members but they are not tolerated in decision making roles'.

Firstly, given the comparable experience, exposure etc., number of women moving up to senior managerial level and their presence in that category who take crucial decisions, is limited. Secondly, even in cases where they were positioned in the senior managerial tasks, it was observed that they were not involved in the crucial decisions. Finally, even in cases where they were involved, their view-points were not taken seriously and were set aside. As observed above, the marginalization of women executives' involvement in the 'process' of decision making. Hence not only 'the process' is gendered if it is examined carefully, but the content of decision making is also constantly informed and guided by the gender biases. For instance, in decision making regarding the recruitment into the organization, expansion of the organization and restructuring of the organization, especially in personnel and Human Resource Development decisions, women are the most adversely effected categories.

LEADERSHIP

Classical theories of leadership like the trait theory of leadership propounded that a particular set of traits are essential to be a successful leader. Ability to wield the stick to control and direct, were recognized as essential to a leader. The trait complex that had certain 'in-born qualities' being essential to a leader, is broadly based on the premise that men have such characteristics. Though the trait theory of leadership has waned away and classical theory of organization in which leadership is viewed as simply a control mechanism essentially through carrot and stick policy has given way to the (so-called) participative models.
date the traditional belief in the leadership traits as required to be a successful manager, being linked to gender continue in management practices.

The view that one needs to be a man and have masculine qualities to be a successful manager, (at least in the strategic cutting edge wings of management like finance, marketing and operations) still persists. The winds of change that blew in the organization theory regarding the structure of organization, the modes of communication and participatory and communicative leadership did not unfortunately remove the gendered conception of leadership, which is based on the broad premises of trait themes of leadership that have been found to be of limited use.

Secondly, in the modern participative kind of management which believes in the softer forms of exploitation, by involvement, by communication, by participation based on the so-called consensual model appears to be considering women as 'fit for the new style of leadership'. This change is not indicative of a departure from gendered management, but is a reiteration of gendered management. It is in fact, based on the premise of exploitation of those characteristics of women which the present stage of capitalism requires to further its interests. In the name of new styles of management, women are considered as good 'new managers', more specifically in certain areas, like Personnel management and Human Resource Development. The new managerial thinking wants to exploit their so-called "gendered characteristics", such as employing feminine appeal and persuasion, and market them for the furtherance of its interests. As Mills (1959) succinctly puts it, 'that part of the personality which is more suitable to advance the interests of the capital will be selectively appropriated'. These characteristics which are helpful for the capital are indoctrinated into the mind set of women in general and including those in management.

Sexuality has thus, in the initial stages of organizational and managerial thought and experience, informed the management to exclude women from managerial
profession. Now the same femininity in the present stage of capitalism, is helping to include women in some sectors of management and recognize their leadership traits. *Thus there is no reason to hail their new inclusion. Like the classical exclusion, the process of inclusion is also based on femininity.* The whole issue becomes more complicated because it is not the replacement of classical thinking, but there is a continuation of classical thinking hand in hand with new-thought of inclusion of women in managerial circles. In strategic sectors of management like finance, operations, etc., women are still constantly excluded and men are preferred. Ms. Sareena Rani, a middle level manager in one of the production sector units in Hyderabad holds that "the most important assignments are given to my male colleagues so that they decide for the company. I am not given such assignments to learn. Higher officials always prefer men, as they do not have confidence in women". Thus the present stage of managerial practice operate on the basis of exclusion from some sectors, especially from those with power and inclusion into some sectors, in which sexuality plays a significant role.

Thus, the trend observed from the field are, firstly, the leadership of women managers is limited to certain sectors. Secondly, even in these sectors where the presence of women is significant, there is a large scale clustering of women in middle level managerial positions, where they become intermediaries who act as a bridge between top management and the daily work schedule of an organization. This clustering is primarily because women managers are not provided with structural as well as cultural avenues to reach the top. This has been presented in the discussion of structure of organization where it is shown that only 17% of women are in the senior and top management.

Thirdly, the leadership is shaped on the lines of hierarchical relations of power based on gender discrimination. Ms. Suhasini a middle level executive says, "though I am the chief of the department, wherein I am supposed to have a lot of autonomy and freedom., I have no powers to influence the decisions of the higher authority".
Finally, it is unfortunate to note that, even in those sectors where there is significant presence of women managers as so-called leaders, the real power of decision making does not lie with them. The principles of management envisage the commensurate nature of power and responsibility. But, what is happening in practice is that, the responsibility of persuasion and task accomplishment are being vested with the women managers without the attendant power of decision making.

Thus those few women who take the leadership role are from viewpoint of 'relations of power' in organization are definitely in subordinate positions. The so-called liberal managerial thinking might hail their presence as leaders, it may be more appropriate to describe its paradoxical situation by terming those women who have responsibility but less power, who are leaders but stuck in middle management positions, who take decisions but not the crucial ones. They turn out to be 'gendered subordinate leaders'.

These facts from the field reveal that participative model and the new managerial approach is only for public consumption. In reality, as discussed during the course of this chapter, in terms of the structure of the organizations and relations of power, the role of the women managers is marginal and there is tremendous amount of centralization of power. Ms. Anitha a middle level executive says, "all decisions which I took as head of the department were not accepted by my Chief Manager. My male subordinates felt reluctant to work with me. When I approached my Chief, he refused to answer and asked me to leave the room".

The emerging sectors of management like services and information technology sectors clearly illustrated the hierarchical relations of power reinforcing the fact of centralization and gendered exclusion. It is noted that power structure is shaped on the basis of a particular structure of the organization based on gender. Moreover, women managers take decisions, they are not the crucial ones for the organizations. There is hardly any room for the leadership of women even in
the so-called decentralized participatory new management model. All these
trends are indicative of reinforcement of gendered managerial hierarchies and
its operation even in those cases where women are seemingly involved as
leaders and decision-makers. Thus, the new age of management is in fact
reinforcing patriarchy.

**JOB SATISFACTION / DISCONTENT**

Job satisfaction is a primary phenomenon for anyone, which ever profession one
takes up. Job satisfaction can be gained if one can express herself or himself
through one's work without any constraints. One of the themes of Marxist
views on work says that 'man fulfils his humanity in work, and it is the
liberation of work which will mark the humanization of society' (Aron,
1965/1991:149). But in the corporate managerial circles, the jargon of job
satisfaction, achievement, motivation and so on is nothing but an Utopian
capitalist terminology in the highly centralized and fragmented job structure
which looses work efficiency as well as the satisfaction.

In the current situation, for managers, job satisfaction is primarily related to
financial matters (65% of women and 60% of men), as seen in the above figure
(Fig.8). They expressed that the more their salaries and increments and perks
are, the more they would gain pleasure from their work, they will have a comfortable living and have status in the society. Some men and a few women (30% and 8%) felt that they need power to control the people or situations and some women and a few men (27% and 10%) wanted to show their skills and expertise in a challenging work atmosphere. Job security is the basic factor everyone needed to have, irrespective of gender and 96% of women expressed that a peaceful organizational life where there is no threat to their personal life (sexuality) is to be the major assurance.

More than 40% of the women managers expressed that they were discouraged from having a will of their own and had no special space and choice to carry out their duties. The organization was seen as rigid and strictly bureaucratic and hierarchic in culture which did not allow a space to carry out their duties according to the needs and there was no possibility of taking independent decisions with regard to the organizations.

Many a women also wished to combine their familial as well as their professional career. For them, both were equally important. When there is a threat to any one of them, or when there is an imbalance, or when they wanted to go for career advancement or children or threat to their personal life (sexuality) from the organizational sector, women would like to have a change of job or leave the job or have break in the job, that is, forced unemployment

**CHANGE OF JOB**

Many a women managers expressed that they did not want to change the job given all the conditions were conducive to them. If the family conditions are DOC conducive, they might have to shift for lesser demanding jobs or leave the job altogether. If the organisational atmosphere is not conducive, or if the behaviour of the staff is odd, or pay scales are less, or if they get better career chances, women managers are likely to change the jobs. Therefore from the data, it can be observed that there are three reasons for the job change of women and men:
a. career advancement, b. domestic and familial, and finally, c. organisation related.

It has been observed from the data that a significant number of women managers agreed that their work histories had been 'plan-less' and they had to adjust primarily with their familial demands (30%). In spite of that, whenever they were to compete with men, they possessed all the skills to handle in the organisational activities. Men's attitude have always been towards the improvement of career and standard of living and were thus fixed always on the career ladders whereas women were forced to have a steady pattern of career, instead of taking bold decisions. Around 60% of women managers expressed that they had not changed the job for the past five years whereas only 20% of men expressed that they had not changed the job over the same period. Ms. Priya, a middle level manager mentions, "It is generally felt among the employers that if we stay for too long in the organisation, we will be taken for granted and no longer be given important assignments. We should create insecurity among our employers that we have a great demand outside. That is one of the reasons that managers should change the job quite frequently which is not very common among women managers for various reasons"

Among the twenty four women managers (40%) who had changed their jobs, most of them cited domestic and organisational reasons for doing so. They expressed parents or husband's transfer (four members), children's health and education (five members), as the reasons for job change and nine of them were not satisfied with the organisational prospects and the behaviour of men, and others have expressed personal and other domestic reasons.

But among men managers, only a meager 16% had changed their job for family reasons. And all others have changed for better professional prospects. A majority of 51% have expressed that they left the job because of better professional prospects elsewhere.
Among the men managers the reasons for the break were predominantly for higher studies (50%), trying some kind of independent consultancy work (20%) and other reasons.

It can be observed from the data that women managers whenever they had a break, it was for familial reasons or due to inappropriate behaviour of men or dual demands of time. Where men managers are concerned, the primary reason for the break was furtherance of their professional interests.

Promotion Prospects

Promotions tend to have a very positive effect on job satisfaction and the promotional policies differ from one organisation to another. Though the corporate houses give an impression that they are objective and are 'equal opportunity employers', according to Ms Geetha, a junior manager, "There is severe resistance in treating women on par with men in the selection for the promotions". Therefore women managers are vertically segregated and could not move beyond the middle level managerial positions except for a meagre percentage. As discussed elsewhere, with dead-end jobs, women are trapped into lower positions, cumulating their alienation.

Higher the women managers want to move in the career ladder, they have to face severe resistance and manipulation from male colleagues, seniors and subordinates. Top management while evaluating the performance of women managers took into consideration extra work-place considerations such as the details of their family, their husband's position, their personal and organisational behaviour apart from their performance, unlike for men. where only their performance at work is considered and appraised. This hindrance and political manipulation of those top executives and employers in obstructing women from reaching the positions of power is an apparent sign to control women, through relegating them to lower positions of power.
Women are not supposed to overtake their husband's career if both of them happened to work for the same organisation. Ms. Maheshwari who work as a junior level executive in one of the service industries expressed that "my husband works along with me and he joined the organisation after me. When I was considered for promotion based oil my seniority and experience, the interviewers asked me in the interview panel that 'how can you cope up if your husband is in subordinate position. Won't you feel bad?' When my husband and I do not have any problem what's their problem?" Her application for promotion was rejected.

A frequent matter of doubt is posed by the employers concerning women managers' commitment to their profession. Ms. Sudha, a middle level executive says, "we literally do not know how to prove ourselves that we are really serious and have come to work and take our profession as serious as any other breed which has come to work".

In corporate houses, a manager is supposed to have free interaction with the people around. But the woman manager's free movement or interaction does take negative implications sometimes. Ms. Lakshmi Parvathi, a senior manager in one of the commercial departments for the past 10 years says, "the promotion prospects should be according to merit. When it comes to reality, there is always bias. If we move freely with our male colleagues or other members of the organizations, unnecessary rumors pass on. Even if we don't communicate; it is very difficult. The knife is double edged That is having a severe effect on our working and promotion prospects".

The data shows that women managers are equally qualified and competent as men are. But the promotion patterns for men and women are totally different in most of the organizations. The most merited and potential women are not tolerated in the men's circles. Ms. Preeti, a middle level manager says, "I was supposed to get promoted into a powerful and responsible higher position, but my junior was placed into it. Everyone was shocked. The reason that the top
management gave for not giving the promotion to me was that, the position requires late hours of work, and working on holidays, which I anyway do even now. The reason they gave looked so silly. It was only a pretext".

Sometimes, when a woman manager gets promotion based on her own merit, she would be accused of having connections with the top officials. Ms. Savithri, a middle level executive says, "As I was equally competent and achieving results for the company, I was given promotion and two increments, but I have been accused of having illicit connections with the top cadre".

Promotions are possibly based on one's undertaking the assignments which are difficult and challenging. But as Ms. Chandrakala, who is a junior level executive says, "The best assignments go to the men and women have to do with the regular and routine jobs which no one likes doing. Nor there is much recognition accorded to them. This affects our promotional prospects".

Around 65% of the women managers told that definitely there is a negative effect of one's own gender on their promotion prospects. Around 35% expressed that it depends on one's own performance. Many a women closed their eyes towards the gendered nature of the organizations and once they move up in the hierarchy they totally ignore that they belong to a particular group called 'women' and they try to identify themselves with their men managers in the higher rungs of hierarchy. Ms. Heera, a senior level executive holds that, "Gender would not in any way effect our promotion prospects. It is an equal world nowadays".

As regards male managers, 45% of them expressed that women did have a bit of disadvantage because of their sex with regard to their promotion prospects where as 55% denied it.
Though the capitalist organizational network appears to recognize the individual worth for the betterment of the organizational fame, it is the patriarchal set up which holds women from entering the power niche of bureaucratic hierarchy.

LABOUR TIME

Women work for more than 15 hours a day for job as well as domestic needs. On an average, 33% of women managers work for below 8 hours a day officially. A majority of 50% work for 8-10 hours a day and, 17% of women managers do work above 10 hours per day on an average.

**Figure 10: Working Hours/Day (Job)**

For those who work overtime, no special benefits are paid. Seventy eight percent of them told that they did not have any flexibility of working schedules (seen in Fig 10). They were supposed to do the full time duty as per the time prescribed by the company.

As can be seen in the figure below, (Fig. 11), around 51% of the women managers told that they worked overtime and around 42% told that they do
work overtime, but not always. Only 7% expressed that they do not work overtime.

**Figure 11: Overtime**

Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive says, "We are not paid for working overtime. Sometimes it stretches up to 14 hours of work when the reliever is late or absent. We have to work in spite of difficulties at home. Middle class families cannot live on single earnings to lead a comfortable life". Ms. Maheshwari a junior manager says, "We are not paid overtime. Everybody works overtime. Often, when we have to complete a task before the deadline, in last one month we worked twice till mid night". Ms. Sudha expresses that "if we do overtime, though we are not paid for it, we will be in the good books of the higher officials".

As has been already pointed out, and can be seen in the Fig 12, around 47% of women managers spend 2-4 hours per day for their domestic work whereas 50% of them spend more than 4 hours for their household matter. Only 3% of the women managers spend less than one hour for their domestic work. 100% of men expressed that they spend less than one hour for their domestic work.
The women managers hardly find respite at office and at home. Neither their work can be humanized, nor their labour, both paid and unpaid is reduced. This capitalistic-patriarchal cob-web stretches so long that they are left with no leisure.

Marx’s views focus on two major themes regarding work. According to Aron (1991:149, 150), the first theme is self-expression of oneself in the work, i.e. ‘man fulfils his humanity in work’ and the other conception that ‘man is truly free only outside the work. In this conception, man realizes his humanity only to the extent that his labour time has been sufficiently reduced so that be has the possibility of doing something besides working. Of course, it is possible to combine these two themes by saying that the complete humanization of society would presuppose that, first, the conditions imposed on man in his work were humanized and that, simultaneously, his labour time was sufficiently reduced so that he could read Plato in his leisure hours”.

Ms Sudha, a middle level manager asks, "Leisure! What does that mean?” Ms. Meena, a middle level manager says with a satirical smile "it is wiped off from my dictionary". More than 30% of the women managers told that they arc left with no leisure at all and many a times they fed aloof and alienated with the domestic chores and busy professional schedule. Fifty three percent of women expressed that they hardly get time to spend with their family.
Ms. Sareena Rani, a middle level executive told that, "By the time we come from our offices and children from the schools, all of us are damn tired. We hardly talk to each other on working days other than looking after ones own business and doze off". Dr. Sushma Rao, a senior executive says "Travel fin-long periods sometimes lead to inadequate time on a regular basis with my daughter. I try to make up for it when in town".

Those small number who had leisure time, spent it by reading books and magazines, academic as well as entertainment ones, a few of them spent their time listening to music and radio and watching TV whereas others spent their time resting, practicing dance, attending get togethers, travelling, visiting relatives and other family members etc., based on convenience.

**STRESS**

The capitalist mode of work in the organizations and the patriarchal relations in the family as well as society squeezes all energies, emotions and interests of women managers make them to live like cogs in the wheel. If we look into the position of women, most of them are in the first decade of their careers, wherein a large number of changes are occurring in their total way of life. The demands made out of patriarchal mode of production and reproduction in combination with capitalist mode of work in the organizations nuke women stressed out and the ultimate stage is detachment with one-self.

Many a time, women are lost in the complexity of the huge corporate set up. The fragmented, mechanical and morose work structure has tat its human characteristics and pattern of work has been degraded into an instrument, instead of work itself being the expression of oneself. The individuals are alienated because they lose control over their own existence in a system subject to autonomous laws.
Stress is a condition of physical as well as emotional exhaustion due to the overwhelming pressures. To most managers, stress is a part of everyday life managing the demands of one's roles in a better way, sexual demands and advances from men at various phases of life, severe monotonous workload, less manpower, dissatisfied work structure, untimely work schedules, travel demands, taking on the spot decisions and most importantly, domestic work pressures.

Around 35% of the women managers told that they undergo severe stress and tension in their job which is an ongoing process all through and 60% of them told that they do face tension or feel stressed out only during the times of trouble. Ms. Vijaya, a junior executive in one of the reputed corporate houses, says that "Yes! Work load phis untimely schedules plus less man power lead to lots of stress".

Dr. Sushma Rao, a senior executive, says that "when there are deadlines for different projects to be met they do overlap and this creates tension or stress. Excessive travelling is also one of the reasons for stress relating to the job". Whereas Ms. Sajala, a finance executive says "There is lot of tension in the finance sector. The decisions should be taken on the spot"

The physical signs of stress may be high blood pressure, liver and kidney problems, ulcers, migraine, aggravation of asthma, insomnia, going into mild depression, mouth sores, constant fatigue, disturbed menstrual cycle and sometimes it goes to the extent of getting abortion of their pregnancy also. The mental signs of stress are very difficult to spot irritability, boredom, inability to cope with routine problems, suppressed anger are some of the mental signs of stress. Ms. Vijaya, is unmarried and works as a junior executive, say that "if I work for late hours beyond our schedule, sometimes it leads to a mild depression. As I stay alone, that hangover of work will not go. I will be very irritated and that will be shown on my servant-maid or whomever is before me". 

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Ms. Sonica, a middle level executive says that "compared to office, at home I am totally different. In the office, I won't show my anger to anyone. But at home, I will be angry with my children. With severe work-load at office, I get irritated with even a bit of noise at home and with that, sometimes I beat my children. Women will be playing so many roles that are at extremes. No actor can play like this".

The new 'human relations' techniques that are being employed in the organizations have some unintended consequences. For example, corporate etiquette, hospitality, and public relations principles may enjoin employees to be at their best behaviour at all times. Being polite and general to all the clients of the firm at all times is part of this tendency. More often, women employees, especially managers are groomed in this manner. This can have serious psychological consequences, as employees learn to sublimate and repress their true status of mind to accommodate corporate values and needs. Though they may be feeling depressed at times, for example, they are expected to maintain a warm and cheerful demeanor. It is obvious that once they leave the office premises, they carry their repressed frustrations home and let them loose on the family.

As felt by the women managers, stress might be external to the organization (like family or personal as well as other social problems) or internal to the organization. When it is in relation to the organization, stress may be linked with, insufficient resources to do an adequate job, entrapment in a dead-end job, uneven distribution of workload, sexual favors, top levels of the management like deadlines to be met within a short time, etc. It might be linked with the subordinates and colleagues as well. Uncooperative colleagues and subordinates, and their negative attitude generates organizational stress.

Frequently, official commitments lead to tension at home front. Mrs. Uma Reddy, a junior executive says "Working for late hours will be difficult because children will be looking for my arrival. Husband is always preoccupied with his
profession. If I won't attend, they will get used to bad habits. That's my major worry".

Ms. Kanaka, an executive expresses that "It was our wedding anniversary. We had plans to go out and have a dinner. But my boss asked me to work overtime when I had made plans to go out. I felt angry with myself yet I knew any requests or arguments might reflect on my job. I tried to suppress my anger. It led to a severe headache. It spoilt the mood of the day".

There are some who can manage to drop their tension at office itself and relax at home. Again this depends upon the organization, their place in the organization, the family support, age of the child, availability of somebody to care for the child and other factors. Ms. Sajala, a middle executive in the finance sector, says that "The tension at office is dropped at the office itself. We cannot work both ways. When I go home, I relax and forget about office. Only next day morning, I start thinking about my office when I am on the way to the office".

Another question that might arise is, whether tension at home leads to lack of commitment at office? Forty three percent of the women managers expressed that 'office matters are different from home and tension at home is always left at home and when they come to office nothing enters into their head other than office work. Around 45% of them expressed that not always there will be tension at home and only when the situation is serious, household tensions do peep into their commitment at office. As one of the executive points out, 'after all, we are also human beings. Sometimes situation so arises we cannot compartmentalize ourselves into office sphere and family sphere'. Ms. Sareena Rani, a middle level manager told that "though I attend most of the domestic work, yet my husband expects me to be more cooperative and helpful for the family". She questions, "for whose sake am I working? Is it not for the family I am doing as much work in the office as my husband does. Apart from that I
am attending family work. These things make me disturbed and affect my officework". The different levels of stress can be seen in Fig. 13.

![Stress Graph]

Ms. Sajala, who is a middle level executive in one of the top financial institutions in the city having a small child of seven years, says that "My child is not yet convinced on me going out and working and be away from her. Even today, she does not like me to go out and work. But I feel we will be more disciplined if we work outside, and the child also learns within no time".

Beyond office work and familial sphere, even other pans of society also create pressures and tension on women. Ms. Madhuri Iyer, a junior executive opines that "There are lots of irritations, in the office especially. Men will be acting smart and want to portray their ego before us, in what ever level they might be placed in. Some will be dirty goons. They will physically as well as mentally create pain and pressure. If we travel during late boon, there is problem with the society, and a fear of goons, either in the form of co-passenger in the bus or auto-wala or someone on the road. We have to go through all these while we reach our offices and homes. It's a man's world, you know".

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Ms. Shradhanjali Mishra, a senior executive says that, "I get into tot of stress. Until the problem is over, I won't come out of it. I have asthma, and stress aggravates it. I can't overcome my stress, that's the weakness, I learnt to live with it". Twenty five percent of the respondents told that they do undergo with health problems like insomnia, headache etc. But not always.

Among men, around 40% of them expressed that they do undergo severe health problems because of the work-load. When they have severe workload they took to smoking and consumption of alcohol etc. They reported to have severe blood pressure, migraine, liver problems etc. Around 40% of them told that they undergo common health problems which come and go and they are temporary. Around 33% of them told that they never had any health problems because of the tension at office.

For a woman manager, the stress levels that she has to undergo is twice compared to a man, because a woman has to excel both at work, and look after her career and at the same time, look after her home and children. In that respect, the stress that a woman has to face is double compared to men.

**SEXUALITY AT WORK PLACE**

Sexuality is a key factor in the analysts of gendered relations of organizational structure. Weeks holds that:

*We still cannot think about sexuality without taking into account gender; or, to put it more generally, the elaborate facade of sexuality has in large pan been built upon the assumption of fundamental differences between men and women, and male dominance over women* (1986:45)

In a world in which women are viewed as subordinate to men, in which heterosexuality is the norm and in which organizations expect women managers' behavior to conform to a view of 'normal' gender relations, sexuality becomes an embodiment of power relations (Burrell and Hearn 1989)
Sexuality at work place which is a public issue is a public form of sexuality and the concern here is with the public form of sexuality. Hearn and Parian (1987:93) make reference to the use of sexuality through harassment, sexual joking and sexual abuse — as a means of controlling women and of maintaining authority. In this connection, the increase in sexual harassment, when juxtaposed with the increase of women in managerial positions, it can be linked not only to a more sexually heterogeneous work place but also to the use of harassment to control, to threaten women, and to remind them of their ultimate position as sexual objects (Balsamo,1985: 11-12). This kind of separation to control women can be put in different ways, like denial of job based on gender, discrimination based on gender at different points of time; subjection to sexual harassment, sexual advances from men, employing feminine appeal as a code of conduct of the work structure etc.

Some of the women (37%) would like to have preferential treatment because they are women. Ms. Heera, a senior manager says that "I will be happy if somebody opens the car door for me and hold it. It is a matter of respect". A few of them (20%) felt that they would not like to have preferential treatment because they would be considered as weaker sex. Ms Sudha an executive says that, "in the process of giving preferential treatment, men consider us as weak and assign less powerful jobs which will be the dead end in its own way". Whereas 43% of women managers felt that they need preferential treatment is women only during certain occasions like child bearing and ill health in the family. Ms. Girija Ganesh, a respondent opines that, "all said and done we are women and we have to look after the children and family, we cannot escape from it".

"Employing feminine appeal is a must in the current corporate structure" says Ms, Uma, a junior manager. "It gives you a different suture to identity and helps to be in the good books of the higher officials and the clients" according to Ms. Mahima, a junior executive. Around 37% of the women managers want to employ feminine appeal to further their career interests.
Ms. Parvathi, an executive from commercial department says that "sometimes women in the marketing division have to employ feminine appeal, otherwise their position is threatened". Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive holds that "today the trend has changed. When we are dealing in the service sector, being feminine is a must. We have a different code of dress and code of conduct". It is expected by the organizations that the modes of dress have to be gendered and yet not be sexualized. Therefore organisational women always took care of looking feminine enough in appearance and at the same time "business like" in behaviour.

Ms. Mamata Sinha, a junior manager has gone to the extent of saying that "If my client has got attracted by my figure and femininity, then I will kick him to the sky and get my business done. If the other person is weak it is his problem. I want my business to be done and for me my career is important". This kind of a trend is generally observed only among enthusiastic junior managers who want to make a career at any cost.

But the story of the senior managers is a bit different. Around 20% of them wanted to show the personality in their style of work rather than giving a feminine appeal "Employing feminine appeal to get the market is not a successful method in the long term. Some will be doing it The task is clouded It is convenient if you do not operate it" says Dr. Janaki Iyer, a middle level manager in one of the financial institutions.

Women have to deal with the sexual advances from men, in one form or the other was expressed by 67% of women managers under study. Ms. Girija, a junior executive says that "occasional passes and sexual advances art common from our younger days but is not expected even in the professional way of life" Ms. Sudha, a middle level manager says that, "I have not seen even a single woman who has not faced this kind of a situation. If things arc loo offensive and beyond our control we have to take the help of top management or quit the
job". Therefore the public forms of sexuality are particularly affected and reinforced by the public as well as private inequalities of the patriarchal structure.

Some of the women managers (28%) did not want to comment on it feeling "it is too unprofessional to talk about such a kind of things at office" (Ms. Sajala, a middle level executive). Around 5% told that they never faced such a kind of situation. They would like to ignore the very fact of sexuality or overlook it thinking that they are neutral. This can be a convenient means to removing the obvious from contention.

Some women opined that they cannot manage these kinds of sexual advances for long, as it created unnecessary stress and pain. Therefore 'to overcome such cases being tough and assertive and aggressive, is a must' according to Ms. Uma. Being tough and assertive can help women to keep men at a distance but it is not always possible by women. "When assigning certain jobs and work to the subordinates, I generally ask them to do it but it is neither a request nor an assertion" says Ms. Urmila, a middle level manager. Ms. Geetha a junior executive says that "in the organisation women must behave like men, but not be men. It is a difficult equation for women managers. Yet it is very difficult to maintain gender neutrality for women". "Being tough and assertive is a natural way for men because it is the quality required for a manager" says Mr Mahendra, a middle level executive.

**Sexual Harassment**

The Supreme Court of India (NAWO. 1997:9) defined sexual harassment to include"..such unwelcome sexually determined behaviour (whether directly or by implication) as :
a. Physical contact and advances;
b. A demand or request for sexual favours;
c. Sexually coloured remarks;
d. Showing pornography;
e. Any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature”.

The judgement makes it mandatory for the employer or other responsible persons at workplace to prevent or deter the commission of acts of sexual harassment and to provide the procedures for the resolution, settlement or prosecution of acts of sexual harassment by taking all the steps required.

Though the guidelines and the law to ensure the prevention of sexual harassment are there in the judgement, in practice, the different forms of sexual harassment are highly personal and individualistic in nature, hence, making it public, according to many respondents, is very difficult.

"Sexual harassment is common but not obvious", according to Ms. Anuradha, one of the respondents. Sexual harassment, either seriously or jokingly, as suffered by 62% of women managers expressed that it can take place in various forms like sexually coloured remarks (16%), a demand or request for sexual favours (30%), physical contact and advance (10%), verbal abuse (39%) and molestation (5%). Whenever sexual harassment takes place, it is personal individualistic in nature and invisible in its form, and as expressed above, it has diverse form. Though sexuality is individualistic and personal in nature, but the issue is very much public and it is an issue of power.

Sexual harassment for women come from either colleagues and subordinates or clients, but when harassment takes place by bosses themselves then many women felt that they will feel helpless and powerless to enforce their demands and may suffer retaliation for their complaints. Ms. Mamata, a Human Resource professional says that "One of the girls in our company always
complained to the top management that her immediate boss is harassing her. The top management told her that all these things are common and you should have confidence in you to retaliate. After sometime; when she had gone and complained again, the next thing the top management (fid was asking her to resign the job because the company could not afford to lose that particular man who was harassing the lady because he was bringing very good business to the company". Ms. Mamtha says "When there is any such risk from women complaining sexual harassment by men, women will be made to resign the job by the higher officials. This is very common. Nothing will come out of the four walls. It may lead to women joining the spree of the unemployment'. Many a times, sexual harassment is systematically legitimised by the organisation heads.

Many women often feel humiliated by harassment from fellow men but refrain from mentioning it to their colleagues or friends or family members, either for fear of losing the job or for the fear of the society. Ms. Geetha, an executive expressed in agony that "As I am newly married, my boss called me to his chamber and asked whether I am using any family planning method, if not to go for it and which family planning measure is better and other odd things which are unbearable. I don't know whether he behaves the same way with other women or not, but I felt very humiliated and angry but could not do anything. I am planning to quit the organization if he continues this again". Power of men is derived from the patriarchal social structure outside the organisation, and the same power is also present in internal organisational structures

Single women and young widows are the most harassed group, according to the present study. Ms. SubbaLakshmi, a junior manager in one of the service sector joined the job in her 30’ s after she was widowed and she had to bear the family's responsibility. Her boss as well as her colleagues used to initially request and later demand and threaten her for sexual favors. She had to leave two jobs. She says that "in private sector, the boss is the head and he is not answerable to anyone. I am strong hence I could escape from such a kind of
things. But there are so many women who will be surrendering to such demands”.

**Figure 14 ; Forms of Sexual Harassment**

Many a times the organizational heads hush up these kind of harassment! when it comes from clients either by transferring the woman manager to some other place or giving some kind of increment and ask them to resign, Ms Vibha, a junior executive had been molested by one of the foreign clients during a function. When it was made public, it was hushed up by transferring her to other department with an increment. She wanted to go to the court but the authorities requested her not to make it public, as the reputation of the company would be at stake.

"Discussion on pornographic pictures has become, of late, a bit common among the corporate circles and women fed bad and humiliated. It is an outright sexual violence and abuse against women to show women as so objects and nothing else" says Ms. Girija, a junior level manager. "Sexually colored remarks regarding women's figure and size are not escapable. Young women have to face all this. But as the age passes by, elderly women will be on the safer side" says Ms. Renuka, a middle level manager.
Ms. Anitha, a middle level manager says that "Generally, unmarried men do not make any serious comments or harass women at a severe level. Harassment comes from the married men and widowers who speak in an obnoxious way that it will be very difficult to retaliate with same parity". "In order to satisfy their ego, men would like to see the humiliation and suffering in women's eyes. Then only their egos will be satisfied and they feel they are physically more powerful than women. I mean women as the subordinate crowd", says Ms. Aparna, a junior executive. "If women retaliate men with similar kind of comments on same parity, women are considered indecent and vampish. She is not treated properly as it is not possible for men to show their manliness", says Ms. Lakshmi, a junior manager.

Some times, women managers are asked to work for late hours even when the things are not urgent. Superiors or colleagues may take the advantage of the lonely position of the women manager Ms. Girija, a junior level manager who had to move from her earlier place of work on account of sexual harassment, says that "my boss always used to give me assignments at the last hour of the office timings, and keep me till late hours on some pretext or the other. I requested some of my colleagues to wait for me. But how long? He always wanted me to submit to him When I gave my resignation letter, he put it in the dustbin. I did not take up work experience certificate and I have never mentioned anywhere that I have worked in that particular organization 1 came to Hyderabad and started working here with a loss of pay and experience".

Friendly interpersonal relations and comradeship among organizational members is always welcome as long as it is within limits. Ms. Prabha, a junior manager says "Women are always the misunderstood crowd, and men want to take advantage of the camaraderie and the limits are always transgressed"

Many men (40%) did not answer the question whether they have harassed or made sexual remarks and if they did it, why did they do it? They left this
question unanswered. Some have told it as an absolute nonsense to bring these kind of questions in the competitive work place (20%). Some have blamed women for their ill behavior, and expressing that their dresses tempted men to comment on them. Some of than (20%) said that it is a natural rhythm of life.

Many women managers told that we cannot distinguish which way the harassment comes from. Generally, women managers overtook such kinds of nasty comments because; as in the words of Ms. Madhuri, a junior executive, "If we bother about such things we cannot work outside. Sometimes I reply back on the spot and will feel relieved temporarily". Some of them have reported to the higher officials and many a times no action was taken. Various responses of women managers to the harassment they are undergoing are as follows:

There are general grievance cells in almost all the organizations visited. But generally these cells are ineffective and defunct. Normally, the employer chairs the cell along with the head of human resources But when a woman manager comes with a problem of misbehavior of colleagues or superiors or subordinates, and goes to the grievance cell if the problem is not of serious nature, then generally the cell looks at it impartially. But, if the situation is serious, generally concerning the misconduct of men, directly or indirectly the higher officials would give hints to the woman manager, either not to prolong the issue or make suggestions to her, to leave the organization as the employer cannot afford to lose men managers, who are considered useful and who bring business to the organization. " I'm the living example I have faced the situation and I was thrown out of the organization for no fault of mine" says Ms. Dixit, a middle level manager in the service sector.

Many of them expressed that adjusting or compromising to the conditions is the best alternative- Many a women managers told that when the issue takes a serious turn they generally leave the job and join somewhere because prestige and self esteem is what it matters to most of them. None of them opted for beating up the ones who had hurt and harassed them severely, nor they gave a
police complaint. It was because they felt resorting to complaint is too procedural and one cannot afford to spend too much of time for such kind of things. "Though family supports temporarily during the period of crisis, continuous support and patience on the part of the family, either for husband or parents or ablings or children is rare" says Ms. Geetha, a junior level executive. According to Raj Birbal (1997), though such incidents are common, there are only a handful of complaints and cases. He thinks that such a scenario is not only due to social and familial constraints, but also because there is no specific forum for this purpose. *Even if* such forums are there, they are ineffective.

**Figure 15 : Countering Sexual Harassment**

Hence; the sexual harassment has always been hushed up as an individualized phenomena, in order to have the least effect on the organizational production or clientele relationship. Sexual harassment is not taken seriously generally, and is treated very casually. Sexual harassment is deeply rooted in power relations between men and women, that are shaped along gender lines, which is *nothing* but the manifestation of the exploitative capitalist and oppressive patriarchal social structure.
MANAGERIAL UNIONISM

Unions are unambiguously men made and male dominated groups in the market structure. Trade union movements have always been blue collar and working class phenomenon. But despite the increase in women’s labour force participation even in the managerial labour market, conditions in women’s employment have always militated against female unionism. As the entry of managerial women into corporate management is new, managing traditional trade union values of unity among the newly discovered pluralist membership provides a significant challenge to traditional patriarchal trade unionism.

Among managers, unionism is considered rare, though not uncommon. In Hyderabad, there are no managerial unions, which work for the managers, leave alone for women managers. There are only managerial networks and academies which conduct seminars and training programs for the betterment of performance of the managerial employees, but do not take up the cause of managers and fight for them. Women do face lots of problems like wage discrimination, blocked promotion and sexual harassment, and lack of minimum facilities like creches for women managers with young children. Employers do not take care of the women managerial labour’s welfare activities, which are notified as per the Factories Act, 1942. It says that any industry which employs more than thirty women should have a creche, she is entitled to have thirty minutes to spend with the child, either leaving the child in the creche or feeding the child in the lunch hour. But it has been noticed that these stipulations are not taken seriously by the Chief Inspector of the Factories and the corporate houses also do not care to give due regard to such mandatory welfare regulations.

Managers are the most unorganized and fragmented group in the organizations. They do not have any kind of relation with other employee managers to other branches of management. This is partly due to the fragmentation of the managerial work structure. In this context, there should be some union or group which should take care of the interest of the managerial employees, other in the
formal sense or informally. But the pitiest part is that one-third of the women managers expressed that they have no idea about unions and they don’t want to be a part of it. Ms. Vijaya, an executive says that "I do not like any such organization. I’m always away from them". One fourth of women managers told that unions are not necessary for managers because they are not the blue collar labour and they are not on par with them. Ms. Maheshwari, a junior manager from a production sector says that "I never feel that I should present my problems to a group of people. When you have problems, you should solve them by yourself. Why should you call a third person. That shows your incapability".

Managers do not consider themselves to be a part of the labour process even though they are simply hired labourers who can be fired in an arbitrary manner. They form the most vulnerable section of the hired labour. In case of women managers, the need for some organized effort is even more pressing given the back-drop of inherited inequalities, discrimination at work place and other factors mentioned above. Since managerial labour tends to consider itself as a part of, and identifies with the capital, it blocks its own way to form any kind of organized unions. On the contrary, in reality, as pointed above, 'hired managers' are like any other component of labour. But this group goes to the extent of marketing their psychological personality traits also, that is, the human variable is marketed for an immediate personal gain in the interest of capitalism. This kind of marketing of personality traits becomes more manifest and tends to be linked to the social grouping of women in management especially when the women managers are thought to be suitable to a particular set of roles like front office managers, guest / public relations executive and certain managerial positions are demarked as feminine. It is interesting to observe how capitalism organizes various social groupings in such a manner that they tend to develop a distorted notion of their place in the capitalist relations of production, particularly in case of managerial labour and more so in the case under consideration. The distorted version of their position became amply dear when one of the women managers Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive in a
corporate hospital expressed the opinion that "unions are absolute bullshit. It is a cinematic imitation. Nothing can be achieved if you are a member of a union. In private sector, you should be in the good books of the top officials. Otherwise, you will be left nowhere",

A little more than half of the women managers in the study expressed that unions are very much necessary to express their problems and grievances. Ms. Shradhanjali Mishra, a senior executive says that "Up to a certain point, unions should be there. But the top management is not really empathetic with unions". Ms. Sailaja, a middle level executive who works for one of the top financial institutions in the city, says that "I have never thought or worked with a union. But it is good to have one. You have a platform to discuss if the top management is not cordial. We can take a collective action". In similar terms, Ms. Vanitha Nair, also a middle level executive says that "Frankly speaking, I do not know much about it and I am not interested. But I feel they are essential because an individual may not be able to contact the top management to put his/her arguments. Since unions are much experienced they might be of some help" and Ms Sajala, a junior executive says that "We need a platform to express our grievances. I feel that grievance cells within the organization are of no use. They should be from outside and should be impartial. Therefore trade unions/managerial unions are very much necessary. Most people do not have access to top management and one has to fight for genuine cause".

THE ROLE OF MANAGEMENT CONSULTANCIES

Management consultancies provide professional services, they are considered as the helping agencies for the organizations and individual managers. Their role and how they are structured for the benefit of organizations is well as individuals has to be reviewed.
During the course of field-work, as a result of interaction with management consultancies and training centres in Hyderabad, the following aspects have come to notice:

a. They have not touched the women managers' family domain and the problems they face with familial labour (domestic and reproduction).

b. They have not looked into the issues of job segregation and wage discrimination. Even if it has been brought up to their notice; their solution for women was to cope with the job segregation and wage discrimination, by competing with men.

c. Management consultancies were insensitive to sexuality and sexual harassment of women in the organizations. Even if women expressed such a kind of problems, they felt that women were incompetent and inefficient to bear all this.

Management consultancies always address the issues of how women managers can and should spend most of their time, physically, mentally and emotionally for the betterment of the organizations. These consultancies have nothing to do with the problems of women. The problems and issues faced by women managers are considered as individualistic and private in nature.

As women were sent to seminars and management training and orientation programs by their respective organizations to the management consultancies. organizations expect management consultancies to work for the benefit of the employers of the organizations rather than for the employee managers.

Separate programs for women managers are limited, and in case such programs are conducted, the problems they usually take up are.

a. Time management in the overburdened office and family life so that more service can be extracted for the organizations.

b. Skill management in the de-skilled and fragmented work with programmed decisions from the above to follow.
a. Motivating the alienated and segregated labour by reinforcing the same old work structure and inculcating the capitalist way of labour's life,

d. Obeying to the patriarchal values of the organizations by reinforcing the male culture.

**Conclusion**

Indian women managers are in search of their new identity in the corporate world. In spite of all the problems, they would like to have a challenging career. When they start their career with all enthusiasm to be a competent professional, the capitalist as well as the patriarchal culture segregates and subordinates them. The subjective recruitment patterns, job segregation, sexual harassment and the marginalization of women in the managerial work runs contrary to Weberian ideas of bureaucracy and reaffirms the very gendered nature of organizations.

In their endeavour of being professionals, they do not get adequate support from the organizations, they feel lack of job satisfaction and experience a sense of discontentment. They are caught up in the whirlpool of job, family and gender subjectivities.

The responses from women managers, wherever appropriate, have been compared and contrasted with those of male respondents. The result is that, evidently, there is a latent inequality and an in-built structure of subordination and oppression of women based on the ideology of gender. The empirical analysis graphically describes how this takes place. Wherever necessary, empirical findings have been supported by appropriate references to the literature on the subject.