CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE
INTRODUCTION

This research study has been undertaken for the doctoral thesis. While many studies have already been made on the dual role of working women, women working as executives are relatively a more recent phenomenon. Hence, not many studies have been undertaken on the 'woman executive'. Educated women of today, living in urban areas, are likely to develop a marked tendency to become conscious of their individuality and individual status. Therefore, this study, it is hoped, would not only be relatively new and interesting, but would throw some light on whether and how women who have succeeded in their careers to reach executive positions also lead successful lives as wives and mothers; what are the problems they face at home and work, and how do they overcome these.

Women play a vital role in the socio-economic development of our country. The vigorously uttered slogan, "women hold up more than half the sky" is proved by government studies which reveal that the female workforce in India does, indeed, make a significant contribution to the nation's economy and family welfare. Yet, this economic contribution is often unrecognised or left qualitatively unprotected.

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"Unless bold interventions are made to correct imbalances, we would be entering the 21st century with our women left far behind," says Margaret Alva, minister for human resource development, quoted by Setalvad in her article, 'The Invisible Workforce', which appeared in the Business India of March 6-19, 1989. (Setalvad, 1989, p.44).

Improvement in the status of women was a promise made by the Constitution makers and admitted by the Government from the start as one of the major tasks facing the country.

Although granting equality of rights to men and women in the polity, Indian society, like other patriarchal societies, implicitly accepts a sharp distinction between masculine and feminine roles. This patriarchal ideology is so engrained in all of us that we rarely question it. Is there any rational reason why women have been allocated household work or why the entire family cannot share these tasks amongst themselves?

The realisation of true parity between the sexes, granted by the Constitution, will become possible only when the conceptions and attitudes of the people
Tradition and Role Evolution

An old economy dictated that women's contribution centred in the home. In Indian society, which has been tradition directed for several centuries, the hold of tradition is still strong over a large part of society. The structure of our society still demands that, from early childhood, boys are brought up to expect to have to support themselves and their families. A girl is brought up to expect, to hope, that in due course someone will support her and look after her. A boy's education is aimed at equipping him to be competitive, to shoulder his responsibilities. A girl's education still clings to the notion that she may only be marking time in a job and will have only herself to support and that too only for a while.

Husbands and wives are commonly perceived as occupying certain roles in the family structure. Usually, the 'instrumental' role was the concern of one person, i.e., the economic, occupational, financial area; while the other person was occupied with the home, children, kin, i.e., the socio-emotional or 'expressive' role.
Husbands—fathers have traditionally brought home the money, dealt with finances, acted as family disciplinarians, and forged the necessary links between the family and outside society. Traditionally, wives—mothers have been responsible for managing the home and food, caring for the children, keeping contact with relatives and soothing everyone's hurt feelings and egos.

The sacred and secular writings of Hindus have many more allusions to the wife's role than to that of the husband. This indicates that her expected role was more definite and precise than that of her husband. Thus, she had more to adhere to a set pattern laid down for her than the husband had to do. In this connection, she had to spend the whole day in considering matters entirely related to the house and was particularly to be attentive to the needs and desires of her husband, always subordinating her own comforts and conveniences to his. (Kapur, 1970, p.9).

Dharma Sastras — the sacred writings of the Hindus — are full of references to the wife's duties and obligations. The society, being patriarchal, she was expected to give complete obedience and devotion to her
husband. While referring to the Hindu ideal of 'pativrata', i.e., being devoted to the husband alone and considering service of the husband to be the wife's only duty and purpose in life, Kapadia writes: "As a river merging itself in the ocean loses its identity, so a wife was supposed to merge her individuality with that of her husband. Her only concern in life was to see that all services needed by her husband were properly performed by her, the satisfaction of her husband being her sole joy in life... there was no question of raising a word against him even when he was found to be ill-tempered, vicious, diseased or a drunkard." (Kapadia, 1956, p. 169).

Radhakrishnan, while describing the traditional Indian woman, writes: "Centuries of traditions have made the Indian women the most unselfish, the most self-denying and most patient women in the world, whose pride is suffering." It is this pride which sustained marital harmony or at least did not allow marital adjustment to become a problem. (Radhakrishnan in Kapur, 1970, p. 9).

However, times have changed and, today, many educated married women are gainfully employed. Desai has quoted
a passage from Rajgopal's 'Indian Women in the New Age' (1936) to describe this development: "Women are gradually realising that they have personalities of their own as human beings and that their mission in life does not end with becoming good wives and wise mothers, but also in realising that they are all members of the civic community and of the body politic." (Rajgopal in Desai, 1957, p.254).

It was not until the 1940’s that middle class women, who happened to be urban, educated and upper caste, began working outside the home in significant numbers. Earlier, traditional values forced women to tend to the needs of the family and remain within the four walls of their homes. They were expected to be good wives and mothers carrying out domestic duties of cooking, cleaning, tending to the children and husbands' needs, looking after aged parents and performing other household chores. A role outside the home was not only rare but frowned upon. Slowly, with independence, the value of imparting education to women provided the opportunity for women to step out of their homes and venture to work, thus changing the limits of their physical boundaries. There is no question that among the educated middle classes, women are better off than
they were in the pre-independence days. However, even in the West, according to Pave, right into the 1960’s, working women were described as dropouts from their sex - members of some unhappy new subdivision of humanity - and advised to go back home if they valued their mental health. (Pave, 1986).

Although women’s employment in non-agricultural occupations and the organised sector declined sharply, the services and professions have offered greater opportunities to women in the post-independence period. The Constitution of free India gives democratic rights to all citizens without distinction of sex. It declares, "There shall be equality of opportunity to any office under the State. Further, no citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State." "Thus," says Desai, "now theoretically no office is closed to women. This legal prerequisite will help women to secure higher posts and contribute to greater social well-being." (Desai, 1957, p. 197).

However, the problems faced by a working woman cannot
be solved by legislation which gives her equal status and opportunities as men. Her problems are of human values and relationship and can only be solved by the people who live and work with her. To diminish her strain, worry and fatigue, both mental and physical, she needs not only laws for equal rights, but also sympathy and understanding, both at home and at work. (Vohra, et al., 1986).

Desai, in her paper on "Review of Studies on Middle Class Women's Entry Into The World of Work", presented at the seminar on "Women, Work and Society," at the Indian Statistical Institute, Delhi, states that census occupational categories reveal that there has been a marginal increase in the proportion of women in white collared occupations, e.g., doctors, nurses, teachers, office workers, etc. Some of the factors which led to increasing participation of middle class women in jobs are the constitutional guarantee of non-discrimination, higher education for women, increasing pressures on urban middle class families for improving family income, and the growth of employment opportunities. Education was earlier thought of as a stop-gap for marriage and necessary to ensure a good match. However, gradually this changed and education began to
be looked upon as a means of teaching women to shoulder greater responsibilities and seek gainful employment. By the 1970's, in fact, those taking professional education and yet not working were considered to be wasting their education. (Desai, 1982).

Education is a vital factor in the process of the socialisation of an individual. The system of education that a society builds is the foundation on which it rises and is, therefore, considered of paramount interest by the planners of society. The aim of a worthy system of education should be to develop fully conscious and aware citizens. Today, with rising numbers of women going in for higher education or professional qualifications, opportunities for joining the managerial or executive world, are also opening up for them. Thus, the educational system has played a major role in bringing about the entry of middle class women into the world of paid employment.

Along with the system of education, other socialising agencies such as the mass media of communication, also play a very vital role in raising the consciousness or awareness of the people. One of the respondents in the present study, who was above fortyfive years of age,
made a mention of the negative role played by the media when she was younger and working. "The media always played a very negative role, trying to make us working women feel guilty," she said. Today, however, the media plays a much more positive role. Many success stories of women are reported on television, in newspapers and journals. This is bound to have an encouraging and motivating effect on other younger women.

The widening of the public sector was also responsible for acceleration of middle class women in employment. Desai has stated that during 1971-74, employment of women has risen from 8.62 lakhs to 10.77 lakhs. Employment in semi-Government undertakings has almost doubled. Generally, middle class women are employed as clerks, secretaries, telephone operators, receptionists, teachers, nurses, etc., while the women with higher education work as college teachers, doctors and in management cadres. During the late 1960's to the early 1970's the banking industry also opened wide its doors to allow the entry of women. However, middle class women are mostly concentrated in the lower range of the service sector. (Desai, 1982).
According to the State of the World’s Women Report, 1985, which reviewed the achievements of the United Nations’ decade for women, more education, better health care, and the chance to choose when, whether, and how many babies they will bear, combine to give many women the confidence and the opportunity to venture into the world outside the home. The report reveals, for instance, that women have been coming into the labour market at a rate of ten million a year throughout the decade and that they now number 676 million, or 35 percent of the world’s entire official labour force, compared to 31 percent in 1950. This figure was reached quite early in the decade, where it has stayed ever since. (State of the World’s Women Report, 1985, in The Economic Times, Sunday, July 14, 1985). See Exhibit 1 on the next page.

Whatever may be the reason for this stagnation, and there are many — for instance, in jobs women are “last in, first out” as stated in the same report — they are concentrated in lowest-paid occupations and are more vulnerable to unemployment. The report singles out just one underlying reason for women’s greater vulnerability: their responsibility for domestic work in the home. (State of the World’s Women Report,
EXHIBIT I

STAGNATION

In the last decade 100 million more women have gone into wage employment. But women's proportion of the total labour force has risen only slightly since 1950 and has not increased at all over the Decade.

Source: ILO
1985). According to Rafael M. Salas, Executive Director of United Nations' Fund For Population Activities, in his report on the State of World Population, 1985, although education and work participation in the modern sector have improved the status of women, even among the educated middle classes there is little appreciation of the double burden women carry in running the home and in fulfilling an economic role in the modern sector. (Report on the State of world Population, 1985, in the Economic Times, 'The Second Sex', Monday, June 24, 1985). Another observation made by Salas in the same report is that marital fertility rates are still high in developing countries and employment outside the home does not substantially reduce the number of children a married woman would have. (Salas, 1985).

However, while this gives a true picture of the total world, today, it seems that, even in India, an increasing number of women are being employed, not only in the lower ranking jobs but as executives, especially in the larger cities; in Bombay, in particular. More and more opportunities are opening up for them in white collared, executive jobs in advertising companies, commercial houses, banks, travel
agencies and in industry, etc. The ambitious women who feel unfulfilled by family duties, the energetic ones who believe they can devote themselves to both an absorbing career and domestic responsibilities, as well as those who prefer the rigours of a career to the tedium of housework, all of them are moving slowly but steadily into the once hallowed precincts of the executive suite.

Today, even though women are accepting more responsibility outside the home, duties within the home are still considered to be ultimately their responsibility. Many working women wake up at the odd hours of four and five in the morning in order to cook food, pack the children's and her own tiffin, probably, even her husband's, get the children ready for school, instruct the maid servant who may arrive just as she is about to leave, and so on. When she returns from work she has no time to sit back and relax but rushes to get dinner ready and see to the children's homework and other chores. Although women are doing outside jobs, whatever be the motivation, many women in India still place greater importance on the wife-and-mother role. Often women feel tired and torn between loyalty to their jobs and towards their
husbands and children. It is tradition rather than biology that extends women's temporary role of carrying, bearing and breast-feeding babies into a lifetime of domestic responsibility. A Jewish folktale on a mother's love beautifully illustrates the importance that women attach to their mother-role: A young man begs his mother for her heart, which a betrothed of his has demanded as a gift; having torn it out of his mother's proffered breast, he races away with it; and as he stumbles, the heart falls to the ground, and he hears it question protectively, "Did you hurt yourself, my son?" (Jewish folktale).

Jessie Bernard has some interesting words to say on marriage: "Men have cursed it, aimed barbed witticisms at it, degraded it, bemoaned it, and never failed to want, need and profit from it. Research shows that marriage has a positive effect on a man's mental health, earning power, longevity, happiness and comfort. Women on the other hand, often suffer severe depressions after marriage. The bride who was catered to before marriage, becomes the caterer after marriage. She must actively accommodate to suit her husband's expectations. Often she reshapes, adapts, adjusts or suppresses her personality to keep the marriage intact."
Failure of the marriage means the woman's failure." (Bernard in Wani, Sandhya, "Wives Are Not For Beating", Sunday; Mid-day, May 18, 1986).

The performance of multiple roles with their own demands, will necessarily give rise to different legitimate expectations and aspirations which result in conflict and tension. When woman was confined to the domestic role, she would mix with similar people who had like habits, needs and aspirations. Having stepped out of the home, she mixes with a much larger community which, perhaps, cuts across religion, background (rural or urban), etc. This confluence will create certain desires or needs in her, (e.g., friendship circle - the need to meet colleagues after working hours). These desires or needs will in turn generate social habits like going to a movie together or having tea/snacks together after working hours. These habits are bound to have an impact on her family life, causing some conflict and tension and, probably, even a feeling of guilt, of being torn between home and work, especially the "mother" in her will experience role conflict and live with a feeling of guilt that the young/teenage children are being neglected.
During the 1981 congressional hearings on "Sex Equity in Vocational Education", Carol Jabonaski explained the problem: "We are beginning to see that younger female students are recognising the fact that they do have to work and they are beginning to plan for those careers... The young males, however, are still seeing themselves as the sole breadwinners and that the females will be at home. That presents a conflict... these conflicts are there and no one has helped to train them or to let them understand that it is O.K. to have an alternative lifestyle. All of that area still needs to be addressed." (Jabonaski, in Levin, Michael, "Feminism Stage Three", Commentary, August, 1986, p.31).

In India, the problem is similar, today, in most metropolitan cities where many young girls go in for higher education and enter business schools.

Most working couples in India face similar problems. Very often, they have to support a few relatives. Many in-laws expect the working woman to look after the household and serve them also. The husband too, often, expects the same kind of attention from her as if she
has not been working. Hence, carrying out the traditional duties and responsibilities at home along with her job, often overstrains her and, after some time, makes her tired and irritable. The multiplicity of roles is reflected in her expected and actual behaviour. Confusion with regard to her role and status is likely to exist and often leads to conflict. These problems arise because of the patriarchal system of society in which we live, where women's positions are considered to be subordinate to men and, therefore, their needs are treated as such, and where women are expected to care for the family above everything else. On both these counts, conflict is bound to occur.

Executive jobs, by nature, are loosely structured in terms of time and often spread beyond normal working hours. In fact, they quite frequently involve extensive travel, both within the country and, sometimes, even abroad. Apart from this, such jobs have their characteristic strain and stress (of decision-making, responsibility, accountability, etc.), which often overflow/affect the performance of other roles in life, such as their roles as wives and mothers, to which end, especially in Indian society, a great deal is expected of women with the husband.
usually not willing to share household or child-care duties, although there are exceptions. Very often, this may come from the husband with an attitude of 'helping' the 'wife' to complete 'her' duties as and when he can or feels like it.

Take, for instance, the work of a travel agency executive in charge of group tours whose work involves designing attractive tours, packages, booking groups, reception and departure of tourists at odd hours, etc., all of which are 'freely timed' activities. Then, supervisory jobs have their own people-related stresses and strains in the Indian situation. A woman executive facing a beligerent clerk and trying to discipline him may land herself in a situation of executive stress which would ultimately leave a strain on her health and family life. She would probably find herself physically, mentally and emotionally too exhausted, after facing such a situation, to be able to cope with the demands made on her by her family when she returns home at the end of the day. Her husband and children then feel angry, neglected or rebellious and, often, where orthodox or traditional values prevail, especially if elderly in-laws are also living there, lead to some bitterness and anger on their part that the daughter-in-law does not have her priorities right,
that she is not a good wife or mother; their son has worked hard the whole day long; he needs the attention of his wife; she should see to his physical and emotional comforts; the children's homework needs to be seen to, etc. It does not matter or occur to them at all that she too has worked hard the whole day long and is bringing home a handsome pay packet.

Further, the Indian working woman, unlike her counterpart in other developed countries of the world, cannot pick up instant food packets on her way home from work. She also does not have as many gadgets which she can depend on to take the drudgery out of housework. While most women executives would be willing to pay well for good domestic help, this is usually not available today.

Yet, a shift in attitudes towards home-making accomplishments and in the need for them has taken place. We accept and are grateful for the many industrial improvements, mechanical devices and scientific developments that our modern world gives us.

Today, one sees emerging signs of comforting factors for working women, like the growing tendency of
husbands to ease their role strain by sharing the burden of household chores and caring for children, a supportive atmosphere in the family and at the workplace, and mechanisation of kitchens, etc., thus enabling their satisfactory role performance and the containment of role conflict.

This has been corroborated by some popular literature, like paperbacks, magazines and journals. For instance in the West, Margaret Carter, in her article ‘A Fashion for Fathers’, which appeared in the ‘Woman and Home’ issue of August, 1985, has examined the father’s changing role through two books: “Fatherhood” by Brian Jackson and “Book of Child Care” by Dr. Hugh Jolly. She states that “suddenly, fathers are no longer content to be pushed into the background. The 1980’s dad is caring, concerned and eager to be actively involved in his children’s lives.” (Carter, 1985, p.31).

Cosby, in his book on “Fatherhood”, has shared many of his own fatherhood experiences which would encourage men everywhere to participate more actively in parenting. Though the volume is titled “Fatherhood”
its effect is to strengthen the entire family. "Strong families raise strong, healthy children!" Cosby states that much more important than his doctorate in education, is his delight in kids. "Nothing I've ever done has given me more joys and rewards than being a father to my five. In between these joys and rewards of course, has come the natural strife of family life, the little tensions and conflicts that are part of trying to bring civilisation to children. The more I have talked about such problems, the more I have found that all other parents had the very same ones." (Cosby, 1986, preface).

Harris, in her article 'The Three Career Life' which appeared in the 'Signature' issue of March, 1986, has gone so far as to state that what really scares both mothers and fathers is the thought that they may be neglecting their children "just to chase the Almighty Buck." (Harris, 1986, p. 52). The concern is deep and pervasive. Men too feel qualms of uncertainty and clever advertisers have begun to play upon them. Harris cites an example of Xerox T.V. campaign showing fathers who have time to spend with the family ostensibly because they installed an office automation system at the office. (Harris, 1986, p.52).
Because of the emphasis on role by society, a woman is more likely to drift into a job and only become career minded when at the age of thirty or thirty-five she realises that she may have to work for the rest of her life. Because of her background she sees her job evolving step by step, rather than as a whole, as a career with a finite ultimate goal, whereas men visualise a career as a progression, a path leading upward to recognition and reward. Consequently, women often do not make the grade, although they are able enough. They are satisfied with the immediate achievement and do not see where it could lead. They frequently lack self-confidence and drive. The reasons for this outlook on life go far back into our social history. Women are conditioned to live in a male world, organised by men for men.

This seeming lack of ambition or career motivation among women to go right to the top is an important dimension to the problems of women executives and needs probing. Most women executives, it appears, are content to remain where they are with no desire or even thought that they may ever reach really high in the echelons or hierarchy of their organisations.
As individuals, men and women executives seem to be virtually identical psychologically, intellectually and emotionally. But the similarity ends there. Women in the executive ranks confront two sets of demanding, sometimes contradictory expectations that reflect the dual roles they play as women in business and in society as a whole.

A problem that women managers face is that very often leadership qualities for a man are judged as traits of hostility and aggression in a woman. In this connection, American psychiatrist, Dr. Margaret Reinhold, has stated that women suppress or subdue their instinctive aggressive responses and assume a passive role to suit their role stereotype, and that aggression can be a healthy force and we should use it. Reinhold states that an openly aggressive woman is usually not accepted in our society, especially among men who are likely to feel intimidated by her. She might be described in rather unflattering terms as a "battle-axe" or a "bitch". She quotes a newscaster talk about a meeting between Mrs. Margaret Tatcher and the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi when he described them in a "derogatory tone" as "two formidable women." Had he
been speaking of male Prime Ministers the tone would have been an admiring one. (Reinhold, Margaret in an article "Women Can Also Be Aggressive", adapted from "Cosmopolitan" in Mid-day, March 11, 1985).

Phychologist Jessie Bernard, stated that, "Everyone has the potential to have qualities we think of as masculine or feminine. I would like to see both sexes have them - sons who are gentle and tender, daughters who can be strong and assertive. Perhaps with men becoming involved with the raising of children today we will see this happen." (Bernard, in Friday, 1977, p. 247).

Suyin says, "Woman's intelligence and her right to participate in decision-making, affecting the world's future do not mean a competition with man, but a partnership. Her approach to problems will certainly be different, and her contribution lies precisely in that difference." (Han Suyin, "The Woman Revolution", The UNESCO Courier, quoted in the World Executive's Digest, "Do Women make Good Managers?", June, 1984 p. 2).

The truth revealed by previous studies pointing out
that equality for women at home and at work is a myth far from reality remains unaltered. In India, like in some other countries, tradition, custom, and religious taboos still rule society in almost all aspects of life. Indeed, very few women have succeeded in breaking these bonds and fewer had the good fortune of family support in this. Those that have, are the shining stars which every women would like to emulate.

We in India can be proud of the fact that, in spite of the attachment to religion, tradition, custom and usage, we were one of the first countries in the world to introduce, by legislation, equality of the sexes before the law in all respects, as a result of which we had a woman prime minister, and many more as ministers, politicians, lawyers, doctors, and bureaucrats. Very recently, India became the second country in the world to have a woman judge in the Supreme Court. True, these are the exceptions for, by and large, things remain the same; but these exceptions are steadily increasing. More and more women, today, are invading the once all male preserves. We now even have women railway engine drivers, police officers, factory engineers, product managers, advertising managers, etc.
Their forays into this hitherto male world have not been without obstacles and there are few who, in spite of all the barriers, have overcome them and built successful careers and, in many cases, have also had a satisfactory home life.

The study is about an infinitesimally small sector of working women, i.e., those slowly increasing numbers of working women executives who have achieved high positions in the corporate and bureaucratic worlds.

As per the 1971 census, there are thirty-one million women workers in India. Of these, twenty-eight million are in rural areas, mostly agriculture, and only three million in urban areas. The percentage of employed women in urban India does not exceed 9.0%. More than 89.0% of women workers are illiterate. The great majority of Indian women are illiterate or semi-literate and only an insignificant fraction of them are educated. The image of the Indian woman created by a few women holding high positions or academic qualifications is only that of a small elite group and does not in any way, reflect the actual position. (The Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, "Towards Equality" Report of the Committee on the
This study leaves out more than 99.0% of India's working women and concentrates only on women working as executives, constituting less than 1.0%.

These women have all attained the highest educational levels, as opposed to 89.0% overall illiteracy. Their high income levels with perquisites, combined with equally high incomes of their spouses place them in the top income bracket reached by very few Indians today.

These women also move about in social circles and interact with people who are equally well educated and who have been exposed to modern social cultures which are fast becoming worldwide phenomena.

The domestic and social environment that these women executives experience is, therefore, vastly different from that of working women from poor and middle class families, urban or rural. The conception of marriage as the true destiny of a woman, her obligation to bear a son and her roles as wife and mother, are given equal importance as her role as contributor to the household coffers, which often results in conflict and
an on-going struggle to maintain a balance between her two roles.

**Concepts Used in The Study**

It is necessary to define the concepts used in the present study. An attempt has been made to study the definition of such terms as 'socialisation', 'role performance', 'role strain', 'role conflict', 'work status', 'status achieved', etc. The definitions are derived mostly from 'A Modern Dictionary of Sociology' by George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson.

(a) **Socialisation**

Socialisation is that learning which enables the learner to perform social roles and provides the motivation and ability necessary for participation in social systems. (Johnson, 1967).

In the words of Theodorson, Socialisation is "The basic social process through which an individual becomes integrated into a social group by learning the group's culture and his ROLE in the group. By this definition socialisation is a lifelong process." (Theodorson, 1979, p. 396).
Socialisation can be viewed from two different analytical perspectives: (1) the development of the personality as it matures in childhood and throughout adult life; and (2) the learning of those capabilities necessary for participation in organised social life. (Olsen, 1975). Socialisation is a lifelong process and does not end with adolescence as is sometimes wrongly believed.

(b) **Patriarchy**

Patriarchy is a system or form of family organisation in which the father is the formal head and the ruling power in the family. The authority of the father is absolute and final. "The patriarchal family is usually an extended consanguine family (organised in terms of blood relationship) in which the patriarch is the senior male member." (Theodorson, 1979, pp 149-150).

(c) **Role**

Role has been defined as "a pattern of behaviour, structured around specific rights and duties and associated with a particular STATUS position within a group or social station." A person’s role in any
situation is defined by the set of expectations for his
behaviour held by the others and by the person himself.
(Theodorson, 1979, p. 352).

There are variations in the expectations associated with
a status position (for instance, of father, lawyer,
physician, husband, wife, etc.), but only within a
certain range of culturally acceptable behaviour.
"Any given role within a group tends to vary according
to the individual who occupies the status, as well as
the general membership composition of the group, but if
the performance of a role deviates very much from the
expected range of behaviour, the individual will be
negatively sanctioned." (Theodorson, 1979, p. 352).

(d) Role Model

A role model is "an individual whose behaviour in a
particular role provides a pattern or model upon which
another individual bases his behaviour in performing the
same role. The role model provides a standard used by
the other person in determining the appropriate
attitudes and actions of an occupant of the role. "
(Theodorson, 1979, p. 355).
The role model is different from the reference individual in that the internalisation of the standards of behaviour and attitudes of the role model is limited to one or a very few roles, whereas identification with a reference individual is more comprehensive, including a wide range of roles. For instance, a person may have a role model for an occupational role (a woman executive, a nurse, a lawyer, a doctor, or the like), but not identify with or emulate that individual in any other aspect of life. A role model need not be personally known to the individual, not living, nor necessarily real, and may include public figures, historical figures, and legendary heroes. (Theodorson, 1979, p. 355).

(e) Role Strain

As defined by William J. Goode, role strain is a feeling of difficulty or stress in fulfilling the demands of one's role obligations. (Goode, in Theodorson, 1979, p. 356).

(f) Role Conflict

In certain situations an individual may find himself exposed to conflicting expectations: some people expect
him to behave in one way and some in another way; and these expectations are incompatible.

An examination of the literature concerned with role conflict reveals that this term has been given different meanings by different social scientists. According to Gross, McEachern and Mason, in their "Role Conflict and Its Resolution" which appeared in "Role Theory: Concepts and Research", edited by Bruce J.Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, some have used it to denote incompatible expectation situations to which an actor is exposed, whether he is aware of the conflict or not. Other social scientists use "role conflict: to mean situations in which the actor perceives incompatible expectations". For example, a foreman's subordinates and his boss may hold quite opposite expectations for his behaviour but he may or may not be aware of this discrepancy. (Gross, and co-author, in Biddle, et.al. 1966, p. 287).

Theodorson has defined role conflict as "incompatibility between two or more roles that an individual is expected to perform in a given situation. The performance of one role interferes with
or is antagonistic to the other." The state of conflict may last only a short time and the conflicting demands may be met without much difficulty or it may be a persistent problem facing someone all of his life. (Theodorson, 1979, p. 354).

The analysis of role conflict and its resolution is important in the study of values, social processes, and social structure in general. Possible sources of role conflict may be found in the combined roles of the young career mother. (Theodorson, 1979, p. 354).

(g) Role Performance

"The way a person actually plays his role in a situation," is defined as role performance. (Theodorson, 1979, p. 355).

(h) Work Status

When discussing the role of women at work, it is necessary to define concepts such as status of work and status achieved, as most women working in highly demanding careers work for fulfillment and to achieve a certain status.
In the context of this study, status of work or work status is defined as that position which a woman executive has at her workplace which is empowering and enriching, creating in her a sense of her own worth, her self-fulfillment.

(i) **Status Achieved**

Status achieved is a status acquired by an individual through his own efforts, "often through competition and the use of special abilities, knowledge or skill." It is a status that is not an ascribed status. Many occupational statuses are considered to be achieved. For example, woman executive, lawyer, artist, and physician are achieved statuses. "Any status open to competition, the major criteria for the status being based on personal abilities rather than on factors present or inherent at birth (such as sex, family, race, ethnic group), would be considered an achieved status." (Theodorson, 1979, p. 416).

(j) **Stereotypes**

The definition of stereotype is "a set of biased generalisations about a group or category of people that is unfavourable, exaggerated and oversimplified."
Stereotyping is a form of categorising, - the tendency that is characteristic of all human thought, to put things in categories. Thus, there is a tendency to categorise people and to generalise, often beyond the facts, about the characteristics of the members of the category. However, "stereotyping differs from other categorising in that negative characteristics of the members of the category are emphasised and preconceived beliefs are often emotionally toned and not susceptible of modification through empirical evidence. Although inaccurate, a stereotyped belief is maintained because it is a shared belief receiving strong support from one's reference groups." (Theodorson, 1979, p.420).

It has also been defined as a set of exaggerated and inaccurate generalisations about a group or category of people that is either favourable or unfavourable. (Theordorson, 1979, p.420).

These definitions are meant to enable a clear understanding of the terms/concepts used in the study.

Relevance of the Study

The study is important and relevant today as issues
concerning women and women's studies are very much in the forefront. There is an international recognition of the problems of women all over the world.

The need for women's studies being introduced into the University curriculum so that some sensitivity to the issues facing women is generated through the educational process was stressed at a workshop conducted by the Research Centre on Women's Studies of the S.N.D.T. Women's University, a pioneer in this field. "A heightened awareness leads to totally new perceptions and a desire for change. Such changes to be balanced, need the building up of self esteem and self worth on the one hand, pride in one's own positive contributions and an urge to reduce or eliminate weaknesses and incapacities." (Krishna Raj, 1986, p.3).

In the present-day context, it is critical not just to focus on women but to examine the society which, till now, has been biased towards men. "The effort to know something arises out of a need and Women's Studies arises out of a need, that is, the need to improve the position of women." (Krishna Raj, 1986, p.8).
Desai has succinctly summed up the importance of women's studies. In her words, "In fact, women's studies have to be understood as an instrument for women's development and also as a necessary input to deepen the knowledge base of various disciplines. Thus, women's studies have to be understood not merely in the context of research and teaching but also action." (Desai, in Krishna Raj, 1986 p. 20).

If only unequal opportunities are open to women, there can never be equality. If, however, women are given equal opportunities to learn and gain from that knowledge and experience, they are bound to prove or demonstrate their enormous skills and capabilities. Therefore, this study is undertaken with a view to examining the role of women in executive positions. The doors of the executive suite having opened for them, it is interesting to know if and how they have made a success of their highly demanding careers along with their dual role of home and family. While problems of sex bias and acceptance are there, they are not insurmountable. The real challenge is in doing that extra bit, working that wee bit harder, to gain a foothold in the executive rat race. Once a woman is there, and if she has the capability, the tenacity and
the will to succeed, she not only will succeed but will be a pioneer in enabling more doors to open for increasing numbers of women. As more and more women succeed in managerial roles, attitudes will continue to change, bringing about social equilibrium. The family of the future will be made by our generation. "Women must keep knocking on the door. The women who are there now must keep faith for those who will follow. It will be easier in the future." (Sutton, et.al., 1985, p.66).

Therefore, today, this study is greatly relevant for, as mentioned earlier, not only is there a felt need on the part of the Universities Grants Commission to start women's courses and women's studies centres in various institutions and universities, but the Government too is making more definite efforts to improve the status of women. Today, issues concerning women are being taken up by women's wings of various political parties and grassroots women's organisations. Most importantly, it springs from women's day-to-day experiences and realities.

A modest, but sincere, attempt has been made towards obtaining some insight into the lives of women
executives, which would not only guide a further detailed research in this field but also be of use in formulating appropriate and effective strategies for coping with their dual roles, as career women and wives-mothers, thus contributing to or helping to understand the area of family sociology from a women's studies perspective. This is the real significance of the study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Prior to independence, there was a dearth of literature on women's employment, as it is only since then that women began to join the workforce in slowly increasing numbers. This naturally resulted in the recognition of a need for facts related to women's employment and its implications, from the sociological, political and economic aspects, among others, giving rise to a flood of literature based on studies of all types, on the issue of paid employment for women.

In this study on 'Women Executives in Bombay: Their Roles at Home and Work', a review of the relevant literature from the post independence period to date has been taken up. As has been stated earlier, studies
on women working as executives are still relatively few in our country. However, an attempt has been made to read and review some of the literature available here and abroad which are relevant to the theme of the current research. First, studies done in the West have been reviewed, followed by studies done in India. Within these two categories, they have been arranged in chronological order. This is done with a view to bring out a clear picture of Western and Indian literature, progressively, from independence to date.

Western Studies

The first book reviewed here, "Marriages Are Not Made In Heaven", by Janet Fowler Nelson traces the development of attitudes and states that men's attitudes towards women and women's towards men have developed out of the particular way in which people have lived, and the way they lived has been determined primarily by how they had to live in order to survive. In the days of wandering tribes, when food was hunted with crude weapons, man's superior physical strength and endurance protected him and his family from the rigours of nature. Woman's child bearing activities
increased her and the child's dependence on him. Men assumed the fighting protective role while women's activities, although hard and a heavy burden of labour, were more narrowly confined to a home base. This division of labour was inevitable. According to Nelson, in a particular society, with particular economic and social needs, a certain way of behaving was found to work. Because it worked, it became right. (Nelson, 1947). Describing different ways of behaving as right or wrong is really a method of enforcing conformity to a certain standard. It is a way of stating what it is expected rather than an explanation of why it is expected. As the world changes, as society changes, as the family changes, we need to examine these standards and understand why they are expected and are they right in today's context. The family is now considered a unit of consumption rather than of production. Economic cooperation in families is still going on although not in the actual production of food and other necessities, as in the earlier days, but in the contribution of wages. Consequently there is a new pattern of assigned responsibilities, of attitudes towards each individual's share in home and family life. Moreover, even though more and more of the former functions of
the family are taken care of outside the home, (for example, schools have assumed the major responsibility for educating the children), it still is our base - the place from which we leave and to which we return in spirit as well as in fact. (Nelson, 1947).

In their work, 'Women's Two Roles: Home and Work', Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein were the first to bring into focus the issue of the dual burden on middle class working women and their resultant role conflict, as middle class women were making their entry into the world of paid employment.

According to them, "The problem of 'women and work' and of women's role in society generally, has completely changed its complexion during the last few decades." The emphasis has now shifted from the discussion of what women can do to what women should do, for experience has already proved that women are physically and mentally capable and fit to perform a much wider range of activities than "merely those compatible with the commonly accepted idea of the 'weaker sex'." (Myrdal, et.al., 1962, p. XI).

Technical and social developments of the last few
decades have given women the opportunity to combine and to integrate their two interests in house and work. "Their two roles, raising a family and doing economically productive work, were fused into one way of life, work at home. When industrialisation forced these to be separated, it was at first thought that women could carry on only one, namely, the family function. They had, therefore, first to assert their right to work alongside men; and now they have to prove that they can carry on both functions in one and the same lifetime, which is so much longer now than it was." (Myrdal, et. al., 1962, p.1).

Myrdal and Klein have stated that many working class wives went to work in factories where they had to put in ten to twelve hours of hard work. This resulted in the neglect of their children and homes to a degree which shocked the social conscience of the later nineteenth century. Against this background, married women's employment outside their homes came to be regarded as a social evil.

According to them there are at least three different factors which call for a redefinition of women's role in society: (1) The considerable increase in the
average life-span; (2) the reduction of the period entirely devoted to maternal duties; and (3) the factors of uncertainty relating to the later, and possibly lonely, years of married life.

Myrdal and Klein feel that "those who assert that homemaking is women's exclusive role commit the fallacy of leaving women alone to do a thing which should be done jointly by men and women if the ideal of a happy home is to become a reality." Also, "...the number of women in skilled occupations, and of married women staying on in their jobs without being forced to do so by economic necessity is increasing." (Myrdal, et.al., 1962, pp 29 & 42).

Middle class women take up jobs either to utilise their talents or to be economically independent, not having to ask or account to their husbands for every penny they spend on themselves, their homes or hobbies and leisure-time activities; and some merely to pass their time and earn a little pin-money to indulge in a few luxuries or extras that they might fancy. Myrdal and Klein have referred to the social isolation of the modern housewife as a powerful motive to seek employment. Smaller families and the invention of
continually new and improved household conveniences have increased the leisure women enjoy today. Here, economic considerations are not present or important. Women are motivated to seek jobs outside their homes out of their own desire for self-fulfillment, having confidence in their capabilities and not wanting to waste their education and talents. Another motivating factor is also the low esteem in which domestic work is held in our society. This is unlike women of the lower income groups for whom work is a necessity to supplement their families' incomes in these days of spiralling prices, when it is becoming increasingly difficult to make both ends meet.

In theory, some men and women accept the egalitarian ideology, but when it comes to practice, their inequitous behaviour exposes the hollowness of the equality they preach. Early socialisation, which takes place in the family, neighbourhood and school, and the mass media, also reinforce the subordinate values of women, pativrata dharma and primacy of family duties. This to some extent alleviates the feeling of guilt at neglecting the work role.

One of the necessary changes in personal attitudes that
Myrdal and Klein have suggested is some adjustments in the minds and habits of men. They have stated that "Among these is, first of all, the recognition that the patriarchal family, with its division of functions between a providing and protective father and a home-making, submissive mother, however satisfactory it may have been in its time has outlived its day. Bread-winning is no longer the monopoly of men, and home-making should no longer be the monopoly of women."

(Myrdal, et.al., 1962, p. 161). According to them; "Attitudes and ideologies are gradually being brought into line with technical and social developments and tend towards greater participation of married women in the economic, political, administrative and cultural activities of the community." (Myrdal, et.al. 1962, p. 197).

Studies reveal that the stereotype of women lacking abilities and character traits required of managers is widely held and has contributed to their lack of progress in the management field. The sex-typing of management as a male occupation, requiring male traits, poses a major barrier to women who would otherwise qualify and excel in positions of leadership. Much of this sex-typing is based on myths. Dipboye in his,
"Stereotypes of Women Managers: Five Fallacious Arguments Against Women In Management," has mentioned five stereotypes commonly presented as arguments against women in management and concedes that they appear to be "fallacious". (Dipboye, 1975, p.5).

While discussing the first stereotype that men are intellectually superior, Dipboye has stated that research comparing men and women on a variety of aptitudes revealed that women surpass men on tests of verbal aptitude. Women also tend to excel in tests of memory and in scholastic achievement. Further, the stereotype of the ideal woman discourages expression of abilities. Many women unfortunately act "empty-headed" to fulfill the expectations of male superiors, rather than risk ridicule by acting "out-of-role." (Dipboye, 1975, p.5).

Dipboye has stated that research does not support the general conclusion of stereotype 2 that men are emotionally more stable than women. He feels that one of the reasons for the stereotype of feminine instability may be that traditionally a woman's expression of fear, anxiety, grief, disappointment and pain, is more socially acceptable than for men.
According to him, biological cycles affect mood and temperament, but these cycles exist in both men and women. (Dipboye, 1975, p.6).

The third stereotype states that men value achievement, promotion and meaningful work more than women. According to Dipboye, women have for long been described as less committed to work itself and more interested in what Frederick Herzberg has termed the hygiene factors, i.e., money, security, clean working conditions, social relations and other extrinsic factors of work. On the other hand, men who aspire to be managers are believed to value intrinsic motivators such as the desire to achieve, to be promoted, to assume responsibility and to perform work which utilises important abilities.

However, as Dipboye has stated, several studies dispute this notion. A survey of working men and women found that both were dissatisfied with work that failed to utilise their abilities. There was no difference between men and women in terms of the value placed on social relations.

He also states that data from the U.S. Department of
Labour reveals that sex is a poor predictor of turnover and absenteeism. Women showed absenteeism and turnover rates slightly higher than men, but this could be explained by the restriction of women to routine, low-status positions within the organizations. When chances for promotion or utilisation of abilities are minimal, commitment to the job decreases for both men and women. (Dipboye, 1975, pp. 6-7).

The fourth stereotype discussed by Dipboye is that men are inherently more assertive than women. Women are purported to be passive and docile by nature as compared to men who are described as innately more assertive. Although women do tend to score lower on personality measures of dominance, Dipboye states that this is more because of cultural values rather than basic biological differences. Research and observation have proved that women can assimilate to roles requiring the assertion of influence and leadership as effectively as men.

A comparison was made on occupation level, tenure and other relevant characteristics of the leadership styles of seventy male and seventy female managers. Most of the women adopted active, effective leadership styles
and were actually more diverse in their management styles than the men. (Dipboye, 1975, pp. 7-8).

The fifth stereotype discussed by the author is that the successful manager possesses masculine attributes. Throughout the 1940's and 1950's psychologists tried to determine the traits distinguishing the effective leader from the ineffective one. No consistent trait was found to distinguish the good leader from the bad. The characteristics of the good leader depend upon the situation and, in fact, the most important quality of a good leader may be the ability to change his or her style of management according to the situation. Unfortunately, some managers lack this flexibility because of rigid adherence to the stereotype of the good leader as a tough, unemotional and dominant person. (Dipboye, 1975, p. 8).

Dipboye has stated also that psychological research has failed to support many popular notions concerning differences in personality and aptitude between the sexes. Of course, differences do exist, with men surpassing women on some dimensions and women surpassing men on other dimensions. However, individual differences among men and among women are so
many that the stereotype of the typical woman or the typical man is meaningless.

Despite all this evidence, these stereotypes persist, as a result of which a man is more likely to be selected for a managerial position than is an equally qualified woman. In one study conducted by a university placement centre, college recruiters evaluated the employment suitability of male and female candidates for a management position. Men were consistently rated more suitable although all individuals were identical in experience, grade point averages and other qualifications. (Dipboye, 1975, pp.8-9).

One survey indicated that once a woman is selected for a managerial position, her superiors would be less committed to her career development than they would be to the career of a man in the same position. The survey asked 1,500 managers for decisions regarding hypothetical male and female subordinates faced with a variety of conflicts and problems. One problem involved conflict between job demands and family obligations. Most of the respondents stated that they would expect the male employee to put his job above the
family, but would expect the woman in such a situation to sacrifice her career. (Dipboye, 1975 p.9).

Another situation involved personal misconduct which threatened a valued employee's job. Most managers indicated that they would make more exceptions and go to greater lengths to retain a male employee than they would a woman with equal qualifications. Respondents also tended to select a male over an equally qualified female when choosing a participant in a management development seminar. (Dipboye, 1975, p.9).

Dipboye has said sex stereotypes can also distort performance evaluation. In one study, raters were asked to evaluate the quality of a professional paper. Half the raters believed that the author was male and the rest thought the author was female. Those believing the author to be a female judged the paper poorer in its professional quality than those believing the author to be male. In another study, raters attributed the good performance of a man in traditionally male tasks to intelligence while the good performance of a woman on the same tasks was attributed to luck. (Dipboye, 1975, p.9).
Unfortunately, the ultimate consequence of sex stereotypes is that they may become self-fulfilling. Many capable women have either given up or avoided career aspirations to behave consistently with a self-concept or to adjust to a society shaped and dominated by men.

Dipboye suggests that a first step in the direction of integrating women into the management ranks would be the re-examination of stereotypes which distort perceptions and treatment of women. Managers should be sensitive to the female managerial talent among their employees and should make concerted efforts to encourage and develop this talent. (Dipboye, 1975, p.9).

'The Family', edited by Alice S. Rossi, Jerome Kagan and Tamara K. Hareven, is a collection of papers by several authors who discuss whether the demise of the institution of the family which is considered a modern phenomenon is really taking place and whether this most valued institution is in such a severe state of crisis.

The papers in this volume present an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural view of the family. They also
challenge a number of popular beliefs which, until now, have engendered a negative environment. In answering the question: "Is the modern family as fragile as one is led to believe?", the authors describe those forces which affect the family, whether they be world-shaking events like the industrial revolution, or more parochial forces like an ever expanding federal government. The book has explored family life and sex roles in the United States, Western Europe, Japan and Kenya.

This volume refutes at least two major, commonly believed errors: First, that the family is a weak organism, constantly under attack, largely inert and incapable of warding off great and powerful bullies such as the industrial revolution; and second, that objectivity about the family is easily achieved, that those who recommend changes are interested only in the general welfare.

Serious and substantial enquiry into the family is of relatively recent origin, and involves numerous academic disciplines and professions. We are only now beginning to profit from the research that is going on.
Alice Rossi, in presenting a biosocial perspective on parenting, treats the family from the perspective of the parent, particularly the mother, while Jerome Kagan child psychologist, explores the institution from the perspective of the child. Both have emphasised the importance of the family for children.

Rossi's statements on the unique role of mother would make many who argue for sex equality uncomfortable. She has stated that, "... in general, men are taller and have greater shoulder strength and more precise spatial perception than women, while women generally show greater manual dexterity and emotional stamina. This is not an invariant pattern; it can obviously be modified through concentrated training that compensates for sex differences." (Rossi, et.al., 1978, p.4). In her paper, 'A Biosocial Perspective on Parenting', she has quoted D. Hamburg, 'Emotions in the perspective of Human Evolution,' as having said, "A biosocial perspective does not argue that there is a genetic determination of what men can do compared to women; rather it suggests that the biological contributions shape what is learned and that there are differences in the ease with which the sexes can learn certain things." (Hamburg, in Rossi, et. al., 1978, p.4). Women
in all cultures are likely to care for the new born and to prepare food for household consumption. Men can learn such skills, but as a group they are less apt to show ease in infant handling and food preparation than women are. (Rossi, et. al, 1978).

Concluding his essay, child psychologist, Jerome Kagan, has written optimistically: "The forces that initially weakened the family - urbanisation and industrialisation - have produced conditions a century later that are now likely to strengthen it." He has explained this earlier, saying that, "As modern environments make a sense of potency and individual effectiveness more difficult to attain, freedom from all affective involvements becomes more and more intolerable. Involvement with a family is the only viable mechanism available to satisfy that hunger." (Kagan, in Rossi, et. al., 1978, p.54).

Tamara Hareven has laid to rest the false report that the family "broke down" under the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation. On the contrary, the resilience of the institution was so great, says Professor Hareven, that it actually ended up by
contributing to both processes. Families, she writes acted as "agents of change, socialising and preparing their members for new ways of life, facilitating their adaptation to industrial work and to living in large complex urban communities." (Hareven, in Rossi, et.al., 1978, p.58).

Maria Mies' study, "Indian Women and Patriarchy", has discussed social change and role conflict in women. The author is of the opinion that while the idea of equality of sexes has had some positive effect in the area of education, it is hardly so in the area of marriage and family. Although only a small number of women are entering professional jobs, the remarkable feature is the readiness of their male colleagues and subordinates to accept women in such senior positions without aggression or an inferiority complex.

Mies refers to conflicts arising out of dual roles in certain situations. For instance, (1) if it is difficult to get outside help for housework, (2) when the wife earns more than the husband or when her work is more demanding than her husband's, (3) if the couple is living in the joint family, (4) if there are small children who need care.
Finally, the author suggests that if Indian women are to free themselves from the shackles of patriarchy, they will have to wage a struggle that goes beyond partial demands of economic equality. (Mies, 1980).

A very revealing and highly optimistic book by Kay Kuzma, herself a busy professional woman and mother of three children, highly qualified with a doctorate in education, called "Working Mothers: How To Have A Career And Be A Good Parent Too" is a comprehensive sourcebook for all working mothers. It describes how to get the maximum benefits from the limited time a working mother has to spend with her children and offers practical solutions to such problems as finding competent child care, guilt, fatigue and job/family conflicts. The book speaks about how to fulfill personal and family needs, how to discipline children so that they become self-disciplined, and how to shape the family into a strong, mutually supportive team.

According to Kuzma, "It is possible to combine a paying job – even a demanding career – with the job of parenting, and raise healthy, happy, competent
children." However she concedes, "But it isn't easy. It doesn't come naturally. And there are no magic formulas that produce immediate success." (Kuzma, 1981, p. xii).

Kuzma has, with warmth, humour and deep insight into the psyche of children, often relating to experiences or situations from her own life with her husband Jan, and children, Kim, Kari and Kevin, brought out the importance of parents carving out as much time as possible with the children and using whatever time is available as effectively as possible.

How do you determine whether a child is receiving enough of your time? "If he is old enough, ask him," says Kuzma. She has reported that in a survey done in the United States, eleven-year-olds were asked this question. Over fifty percent of the children with working mothers said they wished their mothers would spend more time with them. But the surprising finding was that approximately thirty percent of the children whose mothers were classified as "non-working" wished the same thing! Apparently, this is not just a working mother's problem! (Kuzma, 1981, p. 7).
There is a basic amount of loving adult time that each child needs during his formative years if he is to grow up to be a competent, secure individual. There are no shortcuts. It is not necessary for one individual alone to have to fill this need, nor even two. It does not just have to be the mother and father and relatives. "But someone has to provide consistent, stable, loving nurture." (Kuzma, 1981, p. 73).

Kuzma has stated that parenting is the most important career a mother or father can pursue, and must be given equal status with the work career.

All family problems can be solved by effective communication and compromise, states Kuzma. She has mentioned some rules to follow with the spouse: (1) Agree to talk: Silence is a subtle method of manipulation that can cause bitterness and increase conflict. (2) Agree not to get angry: Conflict cannot be resolved when either spouse is angry. (3) Listen to your spouse's position respectfully: Making hasty statements cut off communication prematurely before the issue is clearly understood. (4) Clarify your spouse's position: Make sure that you understand clearly. (5) Be
honest and specific: Issues can only be solved when they are out in the open. (6) Be willing to compromise: Brainstorm for possible solutions, do not discard a possibility until you both agree that it is impractical. Accept a wise, practical solution whether or not you proposed that option. Consider the final solution as a joint solution. (7) When you reach an agreement, set up a specific timetable for its implementation. (8) Evaluate your solution on a weekly basis: Do not be afraid to discard it if it is not working. Go back to the bargaining table and find another compromise.

She also adds: Encourage your spouse to be supportive through praise and appreciation rather than criticism; don't allow your job to interfere with your family time; devote your time at home to the family; share benefits with your family. Let them see your interest and enthusiasm for your job spill over into your life at home.

Of course, family members should disagree, should stand up for their rights, and should voice their points of view. Family growth is possible only if individuality
in thought as well as in behaviour is encouraged. But it is important to settle these differences early, before they become destructive to a child's self-esteem. "Parents should not waste potential high-quality family time in conflict." (Kuzma, 1981, p.186).

Kuzma admits that it is impossible to avoid all family/job conflicts, but they can be minimised by facing problems squarely and working on solutions, by being creative and flexible and not feeling ashamed to ask for help and by developing as many support systems as possible. "You can have a career and be a good parent, too," states Kuzma. (Kuzma, 1981, pp 111-113).

The book, 'Two Paychecks: Life In Dual Earner Families', edited by Joan Aldous, is a compilation of quality articles on the subject. The first section provides basic information concerning the past and present of dual earner families, with some speculation as to the character of a future society in which both men and women have the freedom to pursue occupational careers.

Aldous begins the book with a brief summary of the recent history of these families and provides a rationale for the use of the term "dual-earner." She has quoted C.N.Degler as having stated in 'At Odds:
Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present', that "Women, by and large, continue to follow their traditional priorities of fitting their employment schedules to their family responsibilities, rather than the reverse, as men do." (Degler, in Aldous, 1982, p.15).

Aldous has stated that the findings from earlier dual career studies make it apparent that male patterns of labour force attachment and job or career sequences provide an inappropriate standard for women. "If such is the case, one of the primary issues concerning dual-earner families becomes how the work situation outside the home can be accommodated to women's family commitments." (Aldous, 1982, p.15).

The collection of studies in this book makes three general contributions to broaden the existing literature on two-paycheck families:

(1) The interface of work and two-earner families have been delineated. Specific working conditions experienced by husbands and wives on the job have been discussed, along with the influence marital relationships have on occupational success. Thus, the interdependence of the economy and families emerges, instead of the usual misleading
one-way causation model of effects going only from the occupation to the family. These articles deal with two-earner families and are not restricted to professional or managerial couples.

(2) Marital and parent-child relations in dual-earner families have been explored in depth. Since it is still uncommon for dual-earner couples to share in household tasks, the reports on the participation of husbands-fathers in child care and housework are welcome.

(3) A general stocktaking of the two earner family field emerges along with suggestions for a series of needed research priorities for the field in the 1980s. The suggested priorities are:

(a) Studies on the impact of current economic changes on family work role.

(b) Studies of the impact of new microtechnologies on family-work patterns.

(c) Research on the linkages between macroscopic social processes and the functioning of dual worker families.

(d) Studies on the relation between family
structure and the personality of the child.

(e) Research on the place of the dual-earner pattern in the family life cycle.

(f) Research on supports for dual-earner families.

(g) A needed research focus for the next generation is how to remove bottlenecks to gender-role equity.


The usual positive view of dual-career families has been challenged and a typology of families based on their varying commitments to paid employment or family life has been developed. These are:

(a) The traditionalists who do not fundamentally question conventional sex-role destinies, even in dual-earning marriages, and will resist structural adaptations to sex role change.

(b) The prioritizers who reject gender scripts
and embrace the new rhetoric of lifestyle choice. Some will organise lives around adult-centred priorities, and others fashion lives more compatible with family priorities.

(c) The integrators or couples who work together in the same field. These co-working couples will tend to become relatively self-sufficient, cut off from the work and family role definitions and dilemmas experienced by most mothers, as these spouses are implicated together in a worklife, and there is no sharp segregation of work and family roles. To the degree that worklife spills over into homelife or is based at home or in the couple’s own work establishment, parental as well as spousal roles may overlap considerably with work roles. The overlap means that what requires separate time in the more typical dual-earning arrangement occurs more simultaneously. This reduces the experience of overload and conflict over life priorities.

How does the woman executive perceive her relations with her male subordinates? How do they respond to her authority?

In 1965, Harvard Business Review polled its readers to find out their attitudes about women in business - how they viewed their managerial characteristics and their suitability for top corporate positions. The results were discouraging. 54.0% of the men and 50.0% of the women thought that women rarely expect or desire positions of authority.

In 1985, i.e., twenty years later, Charlotte Decker Sutton and Kris K. Moore of Harvard Business Review, sent the same survey to another sample of executives. Today, with E.O. (equal opportunity) legislation, the women's movement, and the increasing number of women in business, perceptions about women have greatly changed. In this study, only 9.0% of the men and 4.0% of the women surveyed thought that women do not want top jobs. In general, men were far more willing to accept women as colleagues and saw them as competent equals. However, more than half of the respondents felt that women will never be accepted in business. Exhibit 2 below, shows the percentage of respondents who agree.
that "the business community will never wholly accept women executives" in the 1965 and 1985 surveys. (Sutton, et.al., 1985, p.52).
EXHIBIT 2

Percentage of respondents who agree that "the business community will never wholly accept women executives" 1965 and 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70%
A comparison of the attitudes towards women executives in the 1965 and 1985 surveys is shown in Exhibit 3 below:

(Sutton, et. al., 1985, p.44).

**EXHIBIT 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudes towards women executives</th>
<th>1965 and 1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As viewed by</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 Strongly favourable</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildly favourable</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildly unfavourable</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly unfavourable</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Diagram showing the breakdown of attitudes]
The responses to the follow-up survey done in 1985 indicate that men, in particular, are much more likely today than twenty years ago to see women as desiring positions of authority. Overall, men's attitudes have changed more than women's attitudes. More people also believed that legislation can expedite women's progress in business. The percentage of executives who think women are uncomfortable working for other women rose during the twenty-year period. One male manufacturing vice president in the survey put it very bluntly. "It has been my experience that women in general are the greatest detriment to the success of other women. I have repeatedly witnessed the lack of cooperation by female employees with the newly promoted female supervisors and managers." (Sutton, et.al., 1985, p.44).

Interestingly, although only a number of male respondents feel that men are comfortable working for women, almost half of these men report that they themselves would feel comfortable working for a woman. Similarly, only slightly more than half of the women surveyed in 1985 agree that women are comfortable working for another woman while four-fifths of them indicate that they themselves would feel comfortable working for another woman. Exhibit 4 below shows the
findings of the 1965 and 1985 surveys on how comfortable executives are working for a woman. (Sutton, et al. 1985, p. 48).
EXHIBIT 4

How comfortable executives are working for a woman
1965 and 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Men feel comfortable working for women.&quot;</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Women feel comfortable working for other women.&quot;</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I would feel comfortable working for a woman.&quot;</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not statistically significant at a 0.01 level.
These responses, perhaps reveal that old stereotypes die hard. Lee and Alvares have noted that studies have proved that hypothetical questions elicit more negative responses than do questions about particular cases. (Dennis M. Lee and Kenneth M. Alvares, "Effects of Sex on Descriptions and Evaluations of Supervisory Behaviour in a Stimulated Industrial Setting", Journal of Applied Psychology, August, 1977, in Sutton & Moore, Harvard Business Review, 1985). Respondents often base answers to hypothetical questions on stereotypes and answers to questions about individual cases on the facts involved. (Sutton & Moore, 1985, p.48).

The single biggest change in perception concerns women's desire to move up the corporate ladder. In 1965, half the men and women surveyed agreed that women rarely expect or want positions of authority. However, in 1985, less than 10% held that opinion. See Exhibit 5. (Sutton, et.al., 1985, pp.48-50).
EXHIBIT 5

Percentage of respondents who agree that "women rarely expect or want authority" 1965 and 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1985</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>40%</td>
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<td>30%</td>
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<td>20%</td>
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<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men | Women
The surveys indicate that, in particular, male executives have changed their views on the qualities women must have to succeed in today's business environment. Women's attitudes remain basically the same. As one male vice president and controller of a manufacturing company stated: "Men and women follow the same career path if their capabilities are equal."

EXHIBIT 6

Percentage of respondents who agree that "a woman has to be exceptional to succeed in business today"
1965 and 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>90%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Men: 90% in 1965, 83% in 1985
- Women: 60% in 1965, 59% in 1985
Sutton and Moore state that studies (as reported by E.A. Cecil, R.A. Olins, and R.J. Paul, "Perceived Importance of Selected Variables Used to Evaluate Male and Female Applicants", Personnel Psychology, Fall 1973), reveal that people tend to associate managerial characteristics - competitiveness, aggressiveness, and decisiveness with traits they perceive as masculine rather than feminine. In order to examine this issue, they asked their respondents if the successful female manager has to be "like a man." Here too, responses indicated that men's attitudes were changed much more than women's. In 1965, 52.0% of the men disagreed and in 1985, 78.0% disagreed with the statement. Among the women, 75.0% in 1965 and 77.0% in 1985 disagreed with the statement. (Sutton et al., 1985, p.50).

One male vice president of a public service company put it this way: "It is difficult to answer whether or not women have a positive impact on a company or if women are temperamentally unfit for management. Women run the gamut from poor to excellent, just as men do." (Sutton, et al., 1985, p.50).

This acceptance by women of their traditional roles in life as the only 'natural' one, and the consequent lack
of direction, purpose and career-mindedness, coupled with the barriers erected by male dominated industry, have been so effective that even today the number of women in managerial positions is quite small. There are virtually no women on the boards of medium or large companies. But this is slowly changing.

In the survey conducted by Sutton and Moore, some of the most dramatic changes in attitude are in the executive’s perceptions of opportunities for women. Respondents identified opportunities for women in management in various industries and in different levels of the corporate hierarchy within those industries.

Some of the highlights of the findings are:

1. In no case do women perceive as many opportunities for women as men do. Male executives most often express the opinion that women have “equal” opportunities in those categories listed. The female respondents most often think that women have “moderate but not equal” opportunities in the listed categories.

2. Of the executives responding, 58% of the men and
33% of the women think that in their particular companies, women have at least an equal opportunity for advancement. Those perceptions contrast with 42% of the men and 18% of the women, who think that women have at least an equal opportunity for advancement in business in general.

3. The respondents think that women have the most opportunities in the fields of education, social services, health care, and performing arts. They also think women have more opportunities in staff positions, in large companies, and in non-management positions than in other situations.

4. The responding executives perceive that women have the fewest opportunities industries in dealing with the manufacture of industrial goods, with transportation, and with construction, mining and oil. They also perceive that women have the fewest opportunities in small companies, in top management, and in positions dealing with labour relations and production.

5. In contrast to the 1965 responses, both male and female respondents perceive that opportunities have
grown for women in all but one category. Women express less optimism for opportunities in the category of "your company in particular." The percentage of women who feel that women have at least equal opportunity within the respondent's own company dropped from 40% in 1965 to 33% in 1985. (Sutton & Moore, 1985, p.56).

Sutton and Moore find it rather surprising that women in 1985 perceive fewer opportunities in their own companies than did women in 1965. Respondents seemed to be comparing opportunities they perceive in their own companies with the opportunities they expect should be available and not the opportunities available in 1985 with those available in 1965. They feel that, "Perhaps, all the recent publicity about the great strides women have made in business, in politics, and even in the space programme, has caused expectations to outrun reality. Since the percentage of management and administrative positions women held has risen from 14% in 1965 to 33% in 1985, it can only be concluded that as opportunities have grown, expectations have also risen accordingly." (Sutton, et. al., 1985, p.56).

On equal pay for equal work, more than half the male executives surveyed do not believe women are invariably
paid less than men. However, on a comparison of the salaries of the responding executives, a salary differential did, indeed, exist. Male respondents consistently earned more than female respondents. (Sutton, et.al., 1985, p.52).

In Sutton and Moore's survey, an interesting feature emerged. Most of the responding executives (male and female) who were in dual-career marriages and had children, were quicker to express doubts about the success of women managers. Sutton and Moore feel that if they had problems at home due to their dual-career marriages, they may transfer their hostility to other working women.(Sutton, et.al., 1985. p.60).

The State of the World's Women Report, 1985, an excerpt of which appeared in the Economic Times of July 14,1985, reviewed the achievements of the United Nations decade for women. The report mentions that the reason women often do twice as much work as men is because of the rigidity of women's and men's roles in society. According to the report, "there is 'man's work' and there is 'woman's work'. And because many women do additional work outside the home, whereas few men would dream of doing any additional work inside it,
'women’s work’ always ends up simply being ‘more work’." For instance, in Europe where, on an average, over a third of married women have jobs, the majority get little or no help around the home from their husbands. Italy is typical. 85 percent of mothers with small children and full-time jobs outside the home are married to men who do no domestic work at all.

EXHIBIT 7

THE HOUSEWIFE
Domestic work is "woman's work" whether she is in paid employment or not.

If the value of housework is calculated as equivalent to those services performed by cooks, cleaners and nurses, it contributes up to half the gross national product in many countries.

Source: ILO
As women move out of the kitchen and into the workplace in ever increasing numbers, men are having to change, cope and adapt both at home and in the office. These changes have not been painless on either front, but inflation with its spiralling living costs made a working wife an absolute necessity for economic survival in many households, and led to a much better lifestyle in others.

In his article, "Why Women Managers Are Bailing Out," which appeared in the Fortune Magazine of August 18, 1986, Taylor has stated that it is important that the nation begins to admit women into positions of real power and decision-making. This will greatly expand the nation's pool of talent and merit, the group from which it chooses its business, political, and academic leaders. With a larger group to choose from, the nation seems destined to select better leaders.

However, Taylor states that even in America which has the largest number of women executives, many women, including some of the best educated and most highly motivated, are dropping out of the managerial work force. Many of the dropouts are the pioneering women who have struggled hard, often in the face of prejudice
and economic adversity, to achieve high executive ranks in corporate America, the Master of Business Administration degree. (Taylor, 1986, p. 16).

Among other things, such as organisational rigidity, or women being shunted into staff jobs (purchasing, personnel and public relations), rather than more exciting operating assignments, the demands of raising a family are probably the biggest factor driving women out of the corporation. The stress created is greater than most women can handle.

Some research goes as far as suggesting that having a family can hurt women's careers and that career can take the place of marriage. Taylor quotes from Mary Anne Devanna's study of Columbia MBAs from the classes of '69 through '72, that only 58.0% of the women were married, compared with 73.0% of the men. Josephine Olson, a researcher at the University of Pittsburgh, also observes that women who have a managerial career are less likely to have a husband and children. (Devanna, in Taylor, 1986, p.19).

But as women grow older, their priorities change. Taylor has quoted Brooke Banbury-Masland, a management specialist at Data General Corporation, and Daniel Brass, a professor from Pennsylvania State University,
who studied ninety-four MBA women whose average age was thirty. The study revealed that marriage had overtaken career as what the women valued most. Most of the sample strongly disagreed that "career can take the place of marriage." (Banbury - Masland, Brass in Taylor, 1986, p.19).

The two-career couple, a phenomenon that has become widespread, creates strain and stress, leading to conflict, in turn leading to work force defections. (Taylor, 1986).

"When Fathers and Mothers Work: Creative Strategies for Balancing Career and Family", by Renee Y. Magid with Nancy E. Fleming, as the name suggests, considers the major "roadblocks" working families face and offers solutions that work. Renee Magid, early childhood specialist, shares the reflections of the working parents she interviewed and provides thoughtful solutions to the day-to-day problems of meeting the responsibility of family and work. She decided early on not to include a critical analysis of whether parents should work, and instead accept the current social patterns. Working parents - men and women - are here to stay!
In the book, Magid has recalled her own experience when her son, Mitchell, was seven years old. She was having a bad day in trying to merge work and family and started taking vows to stay at home all the time. She has always remembered his response, "But Mommy, what will you do if you don't go to work, just stay at home all the time and be only a mother?" Magid feels that, perhaps, he was way ahead of the times, and thanks him for putting things in perspective for her. (Magid, et. al., 1987, p. viii).

The book is a comprehensive, practical discussion of work and family issues and is meant to serve as a permanent reference book.

The family portraits presented in the book offer a very personal, realistic picture of the obstacles and choices encountered by working parents and the creative strategies that enable them to succeed. They are "representative of this transitional generation - the Generation with Choices," states Magid, and are illustrative of the broad diversity of lifestyles and options available to today's working parents. (Magid, et.al., 1987, p.7).
Magid, in her book, "When Fathers And Mothers Work" has talked of the new kind of organisation, as described by Naisbitt and Aburdene in their best selling book, "Reinventing the Corporation". They have redefined corporate structures as decentralised, more human, and more appealing to today's worker than the familiar hierarchical pyramid. "These creative organisation structures provide a new structure that can accommodate working parents - and the organisations that employ them - to help the delicate balance of work and family succeed." (Naisbitt and Aburdene, in Magid, 1987, p. 126).

The new kind of organisation, as defined by Naisbitt and Aburdene, "is based on the mutual interest of the corporation and the people within them. The interconnectedness between the corporation and other aspects of life, education, health, the family and the community means a company can no longer sit back and complain..." (Naisbitt and Aburdene, in Magid, 1987). The new kind of organisation envisioned by them will exist as a resource for people. The role of managers will shift from authoritarian order givers to facilitators, mentors and developers of human services.
and human potential. "The new values at the workplace will recognise that human beings, not well-oiled machines, can help the organisation to flourish or die; that each employee has a personal responsibility for the success of the organisation; and that each employer has a responsibility to provide a work environment that is nurturing and satisfying for the employees." (Magid, 1987, pp. 126-127).

Magid's underlying message throughout the book is that although it is not easy, it is possible for working couples to balance career and family. The path is strewn with choices, and individual couples must creatively and innovatively make their own choices to suit their own family conditions and circumstances.

At the end, Magid has provided a useful annotated bibliography of relevant readings for working parents. (Magid, 1987).

Another excellent contribution to the existing literature on women's issues, is the highly readable book, "Women Leading: Making Tough Choices on The Fast Track", written by and about women in the professional and business world who work to achieve. The book is
written by Nancy W. Collins, Susan K. Gilbert and Susan H. Nycum, who offer remarkably candid, humorous and often surprising insights, sharing their fears and that of the other professional and business women they contacted for their study, and discussing the difficulties, joys and sacrifices they all have experienced on their way to the top.

The authors "believe the role of choice is central to achievement." They, therefore have discussed the choices that they and others have made and why they made them, the importance of timing and the implications that the choices have made in their lives. They have also commented on why they and their peers so often select a choice that is stressful. (Collins, et al., 1988, p. xi).

In the book, "successful women" are defined as, "those women in the work force who have all or most of the following: attainment of preestablished goals; power and influence with or over people; high status among peers; notable ranking in their community; autonomy over their own work and actions; large financial rewards; and a high degree of self-satisfaction."
Included in "Women Leading" is a unique section on the husbands of the authors and 100 other men married to successful women. The men have talked about what it is like to be married to, live with, and raise a family with a successful professional woman. The husbands have talked openly, but with a great deal of warmth and understanding and as Keith Gilbert, husband of Susan Gilbert, states: "In summary, yes, there is a price in a number of ways, but I certainly consider the trade-offs worth it." (Collins, et. al., 1988, p. 101).

While discussing about managing children the authors have stated that the impact a mother's career can have on her children should be understood. They also strongly believe that the quality of motherhood need not be impaired when a woman chooses to have both a family and a high level career. "Children are bound to say that they spent fewer hours with their mothers but probably will also admit that due to their mother's prestige, high salary, and interesting life-style, they had many advantages that their peers with nonworking mothers did not have." Children also comment that even though they spent less time with their mothers it was
quality time and they were satisfied. (Collins, et al., 1988, p.144).

The authors do not feel that children of professional women are deprived of a stable, happy or loving childhood. "However, in making the decision to have children, parents need to understand that the commitment to a child is enormous and the child's needs - emotional, physical and financial - must be considered throughout his or her entire lifetime." (Collins, et al., 1988, p. 144).

Collins and her co-authors feel that it is absolutely necessary to choose a husband with compatible values and goals. Achieving women appear to be happiest in marriages where their husbands are as ambitious as they are. (Collins, et al., 1988). The author's conclude that once women understand the personal life-style and many sacrifices required to attain a senior level
status in their careers, and are willing to commit so much of themselves to achieve these goals, the rewards that follow are and will continue to be well worth the hard work, sacrifices and commitment required to attain these goals. (Collins, et. al., 1988).

According to Morrison, White and Van Velsor in their "Substance Plus Style", which was reproduced in the 'Span' of March, 1988, from 'Psychology Today' magazine, 1987, over the years, many people in the United States have argued that the abilities and attitudes of male managers are very different from those of female managers. Historically, the perceived differences have been used to keep women out of management. But now it has become fashionable to say that the differences are beneficial, that women will complement men in the management ranks and bring a healthy balance to business. (Morrison, et.al., 1988, p. 34).

The authors have also stated that the few studies that have looked at American women and men in comparable managerial roles have discovered more similarities than differences, according to a report by Catalyst, a non-
profit, New York based organisation that helps corporations to foster the career and leadership development of women.

In a study conducted by them they searched their data bank of test scores taken from thousands of American management development programmes from 1978 to 1986. The tests measured personality dimensions, intelligence and behaviour in problem-solving groups, and the results revealed very few personality differences between male and female executives. They also found that executive women and men scored similarly on most measures. "Women are just as able as men to lead, influence, and motivate other group members to analyse problems and to be task-oriented and verbally effective." (Morrison, et.al., 1988,p.34).

According to Martha Smilgis in "The Dilemmas of Childlessness", as quoted in the Time magazine of 2nd May, 1988, "careers and indecision are leading many to bypass parenthood." She states that "by and large, the baby busters are female college graduates of the late '60s and early '70s who questioned the moral imperative to reproduce and instead forged ahead in the male dominated workforce." Many, of course, have had
children, but in far fewer numbers than their mothers. "In the 1950's, 9.0% of women of childbearing age had no children; now 25.0% of college-educated working women between 35 and 45 are childless." (Smilgis, 1988, p. 40).

Other things being equal, there is still discrimination. Diane Feldman, in her article, "Women of Colour Build A Rainbow of Opportunity", which appeared in the Management Review of August, 1989, has stated that four years ago, employee resource groups at US West (an information services company) decided to take a closer look at the career paths of coloured women, i.e., black, Hispanic and Asian. Although there was supposed to be equal opportunity for the 65,000 employees, the resource groups felt, after collecting data for one year, that in reality these "women of colour were overlooked for promotion." Although the problem here is of colour, they came up with some startling statistics on upward mobility at US West, which are worth mentioning here as they also reveal a shocking disparity between male and female upward mobility ratios: "One out of every 21 white males had the opportunity to reach midlevel management and above; for men of colour the ratio was one out of 42; for
white women, one out of 136; and for women of colour, one out of 289." (Feldman, 1989, p.18). The figures clearly show that the real problem, more than that of colour, was the disparity between the sexes, for although coloured men had a much lower ratio than white men, it was definitely much higher than that for white women.

**Indian Studies**

Two of the books by Mrs. Chandrakla Anandrao Hate are examined in this review. In the first, "Hindu Woman and Her Future", Hate has analysed the elements that constitute the various problems which have faced Indian womanhood. The book, published in 1948, was timely and relevant, for India was then seriously occupied in reshaping her constitutional structure and endeavouring to enhance the political, economic and social status of her people, particularly that of the women. Her study is restricted to literate middle class Hindu society, which in itself constitutes a separate cultural group.

Hate has stated that man and woman are biologically equally important in the evolution of the human race.
However, frequent pregnancies and consequent post-natal care reduced her physical strength which was of immediate consequence in her share in the struggle for existence. This position was taken undue advantage of by man. He tried to confine her to the four walls of the house, forgetting or overlooking "the fact that in addition to reproduction, she still had the rest of her life and ambition, common with him." (Hate, 1948, p.1).

The two world wars (1914 - 1918 and 1939 - 1945) played a significant role in the emancipation of women, indirectly causing several women to enter fields so far not open to them.

While talking about women's movements, Hate has stated that as far back as in 1929, the different institutions working for the upliftment of Indian women decided to come together on one platform for joint deliberations. The first session of the All India Women's Conference was held in Pune in 1929, initiated by Mrs. Cousins, the then Secretary of the Women's Indian Association. Since then the All India Women's Conference holds annual sessions to discuss matters regarding Indian women.
According to Hate, "to enable her to get an insight into life, education is the only aid." She has stated that given the help of modern science she can become self-dependent and not have to look to others for help, every now and then. (Hate, 1948, p.231).

The study by Altekar, "The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation," is the first important historical work on the status of women. Altekar, in this research work, has traced the position of Hindu women throughout the long history of Hindu civilisation - from prehistoric times to the present day. He has also attempted to give guidelines to tackling the various problems that confront Hindu women and, therefore, men, thus offering solutions.

Altekar has begun his work by dealing with the problems relating to childhood and the education of women. He has shown that in ancient times in all patriarchal societies, including India, the birth of a girl was generally an unwelcome event. The birth of a son, however, was an occasion to celebrate and, almost everywhere, the son was more valued than the daughter, as he was considered a permanent economic asset to the family and would not migrate to another family like the
daughter, after marriage.

He has also stated that "to impart education to children and to help them in settling in life are the two main duties of parents. Both of them were well discharged with reference to the daughter for several centuries in India." (Altekar, 1956, p. 9). As the marriageable age for girls was about sixteen years then, they used to be educated till that time. The cause of women's education suffered after c. 300 b.c. because of the "new fashion" of child marriage.

In this study, Altekar has gone on to deal with the numerous complex problems connected with marriage and married life, the position of the widow in society, the place of women in religion and public life, proprietary rights for women, and the general attitude of society towards women. To sum up, in his own words, "Women have already obtained political rights and privileges, more or less coextensive with those of men. They will figure more prominently in public life when there is a wider spread of education and a further improvement in the economic condition of Society." (Altekar, 1956, p. 367).
One of the first studies on women executives, entitled, "Women Executives in Bombay City" by M.D. Dave, K.S. Sundaresan, A.E. Pinto, C.K. Bhat and J.C. Patel was undertaken for the Diploma in Business Management, Business Management Section, University of Bombay, in 1962.

Since the study is mainly a business management study of 106 women executives, and not a sociological one, it looks at the woman executive in the city of Bombay, more from this point of view.

The authors have defined a woman executive as one who contributes in the attainment of the objectives of the business by directing the work of others or by giving specialised advice. In their study, they have looked at women executives working in middle management positions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority are quite young and only 16 respondents were over 45 years of age. They have differentiated two types of executives: (1) the owner executive, and (2) the employed executive.
Their analysis indicates that the increasing employment of women executives is more a phenomenon of recent years.

The study also revealed that some women executives had received special training through company courses or staff colleges. This training has been in executive spheres connected with their work.

The majority were working out of economic necessity. Among those who replied that they were working to keep busy, it is pertinent that some were waiting for marriage.

The study reveals that these women faced a diverse range of individual problems. There was no factor that was universally acknowledged as a common problem. The problem areas that recurred often were outdoor work and general travel, jealousy and resentment from men, managements' conservative opinion, managing both a job and a home.

The authors have stated that "in compiling our list of executives we are surprised to find that so many large organisations which are generally accepted as extremely
"liberal" in their management outlook do not have a single woman executive on their rolls. This applies both to foreign and Indian firms." (Daver, et al., 1962, p.56).

To sum up the authors have stated that the main reasons for so few women reaching executive positions, is the attitude of companies, the attitude of women themselves, and the feeling that business is "a man's world." (Daver, et al., 1962, p.61).

Also, the majority of women felt that an association of women executives would further their interests. (Daver, et al., 1962, p. 61).

In the second and later study, "Changing Status of Woman in Post-Independence India", Chandrakala Anandrao Hate selected a sample of middle class working and non-working women living in various cities of Maharashtra, namely, Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and Sholapur.

In this study she has analysed the economic, political and social background of the changes being effected on the status of women in the post independence period.
Hate's study is revealing and important as it points out that although the dual role of working women is not fully recognised or appreciated by society and many working mothers experience role conflict and suffer guilt about neglecting their homes and families, most feel that they can cope with the dual burden if the cooperation of family members, especially that of husband, is forthcoming. The chief motivation appears to be family support.

The study throws some light on the working conditions of women, their pay, and the problems of transfers, promotions and working hours, which are, by and large, found to be unsatisfactory. She has discussed the advantages and disadvantages of part-time employment for women and has observed that the majority of the women in her sample preferred to work on a full time basis. Hate has suggested in the book that more creches, maternity hospitals and mobile dispensaries, with trained midwives be provided, along with better transport facilities and premature retirement for those who want it. These will help working women to cope with their dual burden of home and work. (Hate, 1969).
For her study, "Socio-Economic Background of Married Women Students of the University and Their Educational Problems," Neera Desai's sample consisted of 369 married women students of both, Bombay University and SNDT Women's University, of which 34.0% were working. These students, being married and working, had to bear the burden of triple roles. They were students, wives-mothers as well as working women simultaneously. As observed by Desai, the effective performance of these roles calls for different types of commitments, leading to situations likely to generate role conflict and result in a great deal of strain and stress.

An interesting fact pointed out by Desai in this study is that as the joint family is giving way to the nuclear family, the entire responsibility rests with the components of the family and is not shared by several members as was the case in the traditional joint families. Therefore, the women in these nuclear families have to shoulder these triple roles without much help and on the family's own resources.

It is also interesting to learn from Desai's study that the respondents' husbands were, by and large, happy with their wives' academic pursuits as they did
not consider or perceive this to interfere with their wifely duties. (Desai, 1969).

According to Promilla Kapur in "Marriage And the Working Woman In India", the traditional model of marriage is efficient from the standpoint of task performance, i.e., husband and wife are assigned clearly different roles in marriage. These tend to be highly stereotyped and, therefore, sex linked and rigid in terms of prescribed behaviours. In the social structure of the tradition-oriented family, the typical pattern of husband-wife relationship is male dominance and female dependence. (Kapur, 1970).

Inherent in a wife's working is the probability of a double job. It is, therefore, natural for the wife to want recognition and thanks for her plus contribution, at least until there is equalisation of the housekeeping burden. Kapur, in her study has narrated several case studies which bring out the factors for adjustment or maladjustment prevalent in the working women's well adjusted or poorly adjusted marriages. For instance, she has cited a case study where a woman was asked by her husband to continue with her job because of financial necessity. Although she did not mind this, she resented her husband expecting and
demanding that she should carry out all the household
duties singlehandedly. She believed that an earning
wife has the right to have her husband’s help in
household chores and responsibilities, because she
helps her husband in maintaining and supporting the
family, which is primarily his duty. (Kapur, 1970).

Another case cited by Kapur in the same study was of a
woman who had her mother-in-law permanently living with
her and her husband. The woman stated that her husband
and mother-in-law expected that after returning home
from her job, she should carry out all the household
chores singlehanded and without any help. She resented
this because she felt that her mother-in-law who stayed
at home all the time, should look after the household
chores. However, even her husband started insisting on
her cooking and cleaning besides looking after the
children. This greatly irritated her. She felt that
they had no right to ask her to do the household work
after a whole day’s work outside, especially when her
mother-in-law was at home all the time doing nothing
and when her husband could also lend a helping hand
after his office hours. (Kapur, 1970).
Yet another case study states that a cause of friction between the husband and wife was that the wife found her husband stingy and unhappy about her spending money on her clothes, cosmetics, or even on decorating the house. While she was working he expected her to run the house on her salary alone and maintained a separate bank account. When she stopped working she had to ask him to give her money for running the house and often she was questioned as to what she had done with it. In another case study, the wife admitted to being quite open-handed in spending money and was very satisfied that her husband was liberal enough not to question her. They always kept a joint account. On her part, she too never objected or minded his giving money to his widowed mother or other needy relatives. Hence, they seldom had any disputes over money matters. The lady is quoted as saying that she takes as much pride in her role as a working woman as in that of wife, mother and housewife. She does not find it difficult to carry out her dual duties. On the contrary, it gives her a lot of satisfaction. While explaining how she had been able to combine her two roles successfully, she said that she had a set routine. She had evolved a system to run the house smoothly. She attends to the needs of her husband, house and child before going to
the office. She leaves instructions for the afternoon meal. Her mother-in-law supervises the household affairs while the ayah looks after the children. She comes home during lunch and stays with the child for an hour. In the evening, she returns home much earlier than her husband does. She looks after the child and gets the meals prepared and the house tidied up before her husband comes home. They take tea together and relax unless they have to go out to attend some official function. Once the routine had been set, it worked efficiently. When the child was small, she did have difficulties in that she would visit the house four times in the day to look after the child. She conceded that she was healthy and energetic and, hence, she did not feel the strain of her dual duties. (Kapur, 1970).

In India, in families where the economic level is not so low as to require the wife to be in employment out of gross economic necessity, there are domestic servants to carry out most of the household jobs.

The working wife who takes more or equal interest and pride in her wife-and-mother role, is better able to combine her two roles satisfactorily and thus
contribute toward marital harmony. According to Kapur, her study revealed that those working wives who are able to carry out their household duties and responsibilities happily along with their jobs, are much better adjusted in married life than those who fail to do so. In her own words, "... of supreme importance for marital adjustment is the realisation on the part of the wife that whatever be her level of education, her occupational prestige and position and her economic status, she is essentially a woman and her wife-and-mother role is her prime and essential role...". However, she does suggest some measures and changes for better marital adjustment like changes in the circumstances and environment and changes in the attitude and expectations of spouses and in those of the other constituents of the family towards her dual role-sets, arrangements for nurseries and other institutions near her place of work, more help on the domestic scene, etc. (Kapur, 1970, p.442-443).

Kapur says, "marital adjustment can be considered to be that state of accommodation in marital relationships and environment which is characterised by a tendency in spouses to resolve or solve conflicts and by an overall feeling of happiness and satisfaction with marriage and
with one another. In marital adjustment the emphasis is upon the harmonious relations of husband and wife. Broadly speaking 'marital adjustment' can be defined as that state of relationship in marriage in which there is an overall feeling in husband and wife of happiness and satisfaction with their marriage and with each other." (Kapur, 1970, p. 18).

The working women themselves, their husbands and their in-laws react in diverse ways to their being employed. It is the interaction between their reactions and those of their husbands and in-laws that is liable to affect their marital relationship and adjustment.

In the same study, Kapur has listed, rankwise, serious complaints according to the frequency with which these were reported by the sample population of working women. See Exhibit 8 (p.91-92).
EXHIBIT - 8

RANK ORDER OF GRIEVANCES ACCORDING TO THE FREQUENCY OF COMPLAINTS.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order</th>
<th>Complaints of working wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Husband selfish and inconsiderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Her own inability to meet husband's demand and needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husband irresponsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husband complains too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Husband criticises her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Husband expects from her too much efficiency in household jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Husband does not share household responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>She and her husband differ in attitude towards each other's duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Husband does not treat her as an equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Husband is quick tempered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Husband suspicious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Matters relating to in-laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Husband untruthful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Husband rude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Husband conceited</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order</th>
<th>Complaints of working wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Insufficient income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Husband not affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Husband stingy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Husband easily influenced by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Her own inability to look after children and home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Husband narrow minded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Husband does not show affection for her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Husband unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Husband indifferent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Husband does not talk things over freely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Husband differs in preferences for amusement and recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Husband jealous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Husband not interested in the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Husband differs with regard to respect for conventions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Husband differs in choice of friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Husband always wrapped up in his business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Husband differs with regard to intellectual interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Husband differs in attitude towards wife's employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order</th>
<th>Complaints of working wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Husband lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Husband differs in respect of sexual desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband touchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband takes no interest in children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband differs in attitude towards drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Husband drinks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lack of freedom due to marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Husband’s not liking wife’s being employed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Husband pays attention to other women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Husband lacks ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Husband unsuccessful in job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Husband differs in religious beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Husband gambles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Husband harsh to children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Husband late to meals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Husband untidy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Her poor management of income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Husband differs in education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Husband argumentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Husband talkative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order</th>
<th>Complaints of working wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Husband spoils the children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Husband is bored if she tells him of the things which happen in her every day life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Dislikes to go out with her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Husband smokes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Husband differs in taste regarding food</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Complaints here refer to those matters which the subjects reported to have made their married life most unhappy.

On going through the list it appears that the complaints mostly centred around the "husband being selfish and inconsiderate." This refers to the husband-wife differences in attitude towards each other's duties and responsibilities, as it indicates that the husband did not realise that the wife while working could not devote adequate time to the house, children and husband, and was constantly complaining or expecting and demanding too much. In her study, Kapur found that among those working wives who had to carry out household duties along with their jobs and who needed and expected help from their husbands, there was marital maladjustment.
Blood corroborates this (Blood, 1963): "...husbands who fail to respond to the employed wife's need for household assistance can expect to suffer the consequences (Blood, in Kapur, 1970, p. 315).

Second, in order of frequency, was the complaint about working woman's own feeling of inability to meet her husband's demands and needs, due to either (a) her own conflict between two loyalties - home and work - wanting to do her best in both spheres and unable to cope, or (b) demands of her husband, home and her own being far too many for her to meet, thus creating a focal point for serious differences between husband and wife.

The third important source of marital unhappiness was either the husband considering himself superior to the wife or the wife being too particular that she be treated on par with her husband. This indicates that husband-wife difference in attitude towards each other's status was likely to create unpleasantness and unhappiness in their married life. A very common complaint was that the husband and wife differed in their attitudes towards wife's employment, which was reported by the working wives to be detrimental to their marital happiness. Another complaint regarding
differences in attitudes was that of husband being too suspicious about his wife mixing freely with her male colleagues.

Kapur has commented about men, "They like their wives to take up jobs but dislike them to change at all as far as their attitude towards their roles and status at home is concerned, and dislike their traditional responsibilities being neglected, which results from an out of home vocation." (Kapur 1970, p. 407).

Exhibit 9 below gives a percentage frequency of various attitudinal interaction patterns of spouses among the employed wives with regard to wife's being employed.
### PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY OF VARIOUS ATTITUDINAL INTERACTION PATTERNS OF SPOUSES AMONG THE EMPLOYED WIVES* WITH REGARD TO WIFE'S BEING EMPLOYED.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheng</th>
<th>Employed wives*</th>
<th>Maladjusted</th>
<th>Well Adjusted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Wife’s resentfulness against her having to be in job and husband’s insistence on her being in job.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Wife’s willing acceptance of having to be in job and husband’s appreciation for the same.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Wife’s feeling that her making financial contribution is an obligation on husband whereas husband’s taking it for granted.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Wife’s feeling gratified at being able to make financial contribution and husband’s appreciation for the same.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Wife’s being vain of her economic independence and husband’s intolerance towards this attitude.</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employed wives*</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maladjusted</td>
<td>Well Adjusted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=21</td>
<td>N=19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wife’s not being vain of her economic independence and husband’s admiration for the same.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wife’s being vain of her economic independence and husband’s resenting it.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Wife’s considering her job not to be of paramount importance and husband’s appreciation of the same.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wife’s being vain of her occupational position and achievements and husband’s taking no pride in it.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wife’s being vain of her occupational position and achievements and husband’s taking pride in her occupational achievements.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Prejudiced attitude of husband and/or in-laws against &quot;working wife&quot; and her intolerance towards it.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Favourable attitude of husband and/or in-laws against &quot;working wife&quot; and her satisfaction over the same.</td>
<td>0 89</td>
<td>62 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Maladjusted</th>
<th>Well Adjusted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Husband's attitude of suspicion towards his wife's character and her intolerance towards it.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Husband's attitude of faith towards his wife's character and her appreciation of the same.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Husband's attitude of jealousy towards his wife's occupational position and recognition and her intolerance towards it.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Husband's attitude of pride and not jealousy towards his wife's occupational position and recognition and her appreciation of the same.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Husband's resentfulness against wife's being in job and wife's intolerance towards it.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Husband's wholehearted approval of wife's being in job and wife's satisfaction over the same.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Those women who had become employed prior to experiencing marital maladjustment or well-adjustment and were selected for detailed study. The number of "maladjusted" and "well-adjusted"wives was 21 and 19 respectively.*
On analysing the data (Exhibit 9) Kapur found that so far as the interaction patterns Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 17 are concerned, the percentage of maladjusted employed wives, in whose cases these patterns were present, ranged from 52 per cent to 81 per cent, whereas none of the well-adjusted ones had any of these patterns. These patterns were, therefore, found to be congenial for marital adjustment. On the other hand, with regard to interaction patterns nos., 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16 and 18, it was found that the percentage of well-adjusted employed wives, in whose cases these patterns were present, ranged from 63 percent to 100 per cent, whereas there was not a single maladjusted employed wife who had interaction patterns Nos. 2, 6, 8 and 10 and only 10 percent to 33 percent who had patterns Nos. 4, 12, 14, 16 and 18. These were, therefore, found to be uncongenial for marital adjustment. The presence of one or more of these congenial or uncongenial attitudinal reactions was found to give rise to the feeling in the spouses that wife's being employed had contributed towards their marital happiness or unhappiness respectively. This feeling, in turn, was found to be related to the level of marital adjustment.
In marital adjustment or maladjustment, therefore, attitudes play a very important role. Whether the employed wife considered her husband's status in the family to be equal or superior to hers or whether the husband felt his employed wife's status to be subordinate to him or equal, it was the agreement between them on what should be the status of each in the family, that was found to be conducive to marital harmony. (Kapur, 1970).

"Role Conflict in Working Women" by Kala Rani is a study of 150 married working women who were at least matriculates. The data has mainly been collected by the interview process and by observations. She has discussed the dual role of the working woman and argued that if women are unable to live up to expectations that both roles demand, it would lead to conflict.

Kala Rani's study has analysed the socio-economic background of the respondents: reasons or motivation for employment, choice of profession and conditions of work. What motivates women, particularly married women to take up jobs outside their homes? According to the author, the decision of married women to take up paid employment is influenced not only by their personalities but also by the attitudes of other family members.
Apart from this, the socio-economic background also matters.

The study had attempted to find out the husband's attitudes towards respondents' work, and disproves the hypothesis that working women's husbands do not share in household chores. Apart from this, although the children did not like the absence of their mothers from their homes, the majority of the women were satisfied with the arrangements for getting household chores completed in their absence.

According to the author, role conflict is largely psychological. It resulted from several factors, like work overload, ill health, inflexible attitudes of parents-in-law, the unfriendly behaviour of friends and neighbours and lack of positive support from the husband. Many respondents in Kala Rani's Study stated that as soon as they returned home in the evening, they would have to listen to a barrage of complaints from husband, in-laws, parents or children, about the children being neglected, servants misbehaving, tasks not completed, etc.

The author is of the opinion that the joint family
system greatly relieves the working women from role conflict.

Motives to seek employment and role conflict are closely related. Those women who work simply because they are bored at home or because they have a special interest in some work or because it gives them a sense of economic independence and achievement, do not perceive their employment interfering with child-care responsibilities, irrespective of the age of the children or the child-care attendants. On the other hand, those women who do not have any inclination or inner urge to work, but are forced by circumstances, do perceive that their outside work interferes with child-care responsibilities. According to Kala Rani, in the same book, when the woman works out of choice, there is less chance of conflict than when she works out of economic necessity. (Kala Rani, 1976).

The study also reveals a correlation between gainful employment and fertility. Smaller families are favoured by the working women who feel that home and children are their prime responsibilities. They have expressed dissatisfaction at the amount of time
available for their families.

Finally, the author has suggested part time employment for women. She feels that this would enable a large number of housewives to fulfill their professional interests as well as provide diverse, useful social contacts. (Kala Rani, 1976).

Kiron Wadhera's study, "The New Bread Winners", analyses factors such as reasons for women's work, job conditions, attitudes towards employment, working women and their families, and marriage and the working woman. The author is of the opinion that while the change in the status and role of women has given rise to many conflicts and dilemmas, the situation is aggravated by the fact that most women have plunged into their bread winner role by the force of circumstance, or economic need, rather than an inner compulsion for self-fulfillment or out of conviction.

For the purpose of her study the author also obtained the views of husbands, fathers-and-mothers-in-law, and employers. The study indicates that there is no pronounced change in the status of women in the family and in the respect they command in society. For this, the author squarely blames women themselves, stating
that they have passively accepted the new role of bread
winners without having first demanded changes in the
traditional image of women. ( Wadhera, 1976 ).

A study of working women in India and Turkey, undertaken
by Raj Mohini Sethi entitled "Modernisation of Working
Women In Developing Countries", has aimed to ascertain
whether structural changes towards modernisation are
interlinked with changes in culture and personality in
the two countries and whether these changes are
congruent with the existent structures of their
societies.

The basic premise of the study was that urbanisation,
education and employment of women are connected with the
changes in the attitudes of women towards equality,
individuality and independence, and it was hypothesised
that the more urbanised and educated, and the higher the
income and level of employment, the higher will be the
score on the level of modernity.

Sethi has developed a scale of modernity which runs from
low to medium to high, after identifying certain indices
of modernity. The study has looked into the relative
position of man and woman and the attitudes towards woman's education, marriage and family.

According to Sethi, an Indian woman is modern if she fulfills the following conditions:

(1) She is free from the joint family and from the authority of traditional figures like father or husband.

(2) She participates actively in the mass media.

(3) She does not involve herself too deeply with the ritualistic and worshipful aspects of religion.

The study reveals that although both groups of respondents, Indian and Turkish, suggest the acceptance of modern values, pronounced differences could be observed with regard to some values. For instance, Indian women scored lower when it came to attitude towards coeducation, opinion regarding the natural superiority of man, joint family system, the choice of a marriage partner by parents and the attitude towards divorce. She concluded that Indian women are more tradition oriented than Turkish women, who were more modern. (Sethi, 1976).
"A Study of Women Executives at Work and at Home", undertaken by J.M. Unwalla for the Ph.D. degree is a study of 50 married executives, 50 unmarried executives and 50 non-working housewives in Bombay city. Unwalla has probed into the phenomenon of the woman executive and listed its implications at work and at home. The woman executive's personal life has been brought into greater focus by the comparison with the group of non-working housewives.

In her introduction, Unwalla has mentioned how major religions of the world have denounced womankind and thus strengthened the sexist ideology. The Bible talks of God's curse on womankind, after Eve offered Adam the forbidden fruit, the Koran of man's superiority and the Hindu Code of Manu about her subjugation. (Unwalla, 1977, pp. 12-13).

Unwalla states that a subtle interplay exists between the two - work and personal life - and any disturbance or imbalance in one has repercussions on the other. It must be emphasised that the "disturbance" or "imbalance" referred to here are terms relative to the context as perceived by the respondents and in which
they exist. It is not what either the sexists or feminists believe that is important, but how the woman executive herself experiences and feels it, adjusts to it or is unable to adjust to it, that is important.

In her study, Unwalla found that making use of capabilities and a desire to rise higher were the main reasons women worked. Regarding job satisfaction, she has concluded that the overall satisfaction in work of married and unmarried women executives is similarly patterned, the most pleasing aspect being "the joy of working itself" and "meeting people", and the most common displeasing aspect of work was "routine work". (Unwalla, 1977, p. 102).

Unwalla's study also focusses attention on other aspects such as satisfaction with emoluments, financial responsibility at home, membership in voluntary associations and details about leisure hours, indicating that, by and large, women executives were satisfied with their working conditions. The study also revealed that although non-working women spend more time or hours in caring for the children than working women, working mothers were of the opinion that it was not the number of hours spent with the children,
but the type of company she provides, or the quality of
the time she spends with them, that is more important.
They also feel that they are as efficient in handling
all their responsibilities as the non-working women, in
spite of their dual burden. (Unwalla, 1977).

The writer has tried to ascertain the attitude of
superiors towards working women and concludes that women
are accepted by their superiors for what they are; and
men, in general, accept a lady boss just as they would a
male boss.

Although Unwalla has not stated so, it appears that the
women executives she studied, belonged mostly to the
junior or middle levels of management. This is evident
from the fact that their salaries ranged from Rs. 500.00
to over Rs. 2000.00 with the majority earning between
Rs. 1,000.00 to Rs. 1,500.00 per month; the most common
grouse at work among the respondents was "routine work"
which is not normally applicable to senior level
executives; and many unmarried women executives
travelled to and from work in "overcrowded" buses or
trains.
A significant finding of Unwalla's study is that the single largest reason for married (44%) and unmarried executives (30%) to give up their jobs was: "the moment it interferes with or upsets the welfare of my family." (Unwalla, 1977, p. 161).

Another significant feature of the study was that the most potent source of stress for the married women executives was the neglect of family while for the unmarried executives, ill health of family members was the most stressful.

Surprisingly, Unwalla found in her study that the husbands of non-working housewives, as related by 83% of them, "lend a hand in household chores" while only 57% of working wives stated that their husbands helped with household chores. However, among the husbands of working wives, the type of help they offered "must be tremendous" as many would "help in or even completely manage the cooking." (Unwalla, 1977, pp 224 & 262).

Another very significant finding that emerged from her comparison of working women and non-working housewives was that working wives do not disagree with their husbands about bringing up their children any more than
the housewives disagree with theirs (Unwalla, 1977, p. 266).

Unwalla has concluded her thesis with some suggestions for further research, some of which are the job satisfaction of male executives and the impact of boarding schools on growing children and how far they can be regarded as a solution for working women.

A. Ramanamma in her study on "Graduate Employed Women In An Urban Setting", has investigated the problems faced by women both at home and in the workplace. She believed that the education and employment of women would bring about social change and based her study on this assumption. The findings of the study reveal that educated, employed women have brought about structural changes in the traditional institutions of marriage and family. Since women have started earning money, the family pattern has changed to nuclear from the traditional joint family.

She has classified the family in India into four basic types:
In the traditional patriarchal joint family the eldest male member is the head of the family, and he rules the house like a monarch. This type of family is composed of three or more generations living together in the same house, working in the same kitchen, owning property in common and pooling income for common use. A typical joint family may include the woman, her husband, her father-and-mother-in-law, her sons and their wives and children, and brothers of her husband and their families. The head of the family is the father-in-law of the woman. These families may also include visiting relatives who may stay for more than a year. Such families are not prevalent in urban cities. "Certainly, the traditional joint families are extinct in urban centres, and it is unlikely that they would make their appearance again." (Ramanamma, 1979, p 19).

In metropolitan cities, today, the nuclear family is common. It is composed of two generations, usually the parents and the unmarried children. Ramanamma has stated that the respondents in her study clearly showed a
preference for nuclear family, "because of the autonomy the members enjoy." (Ramanamma, 1979, p. 20).

(3) Often, the nuclear family in large urban areas is really an extended family with dependents or adherents living with the couple and their children. These dependents or adherents may be the father or mother, or brothers or sisters, or nieces or nephews of either one or both of the spouses. Here the relatives are usually dependent on the couple. (Ramanamma, 1979, p. 20).

(4) Sometimes, however, in urban areas one sees small, modern joint families, described thus by Ross as quoted by Ramanamma: "The small joint family composes of a household in which parents live with their married children and other unmarried children, or two brothers living together with their wives and children." (Ross, in Ramanamma, 1979, p. 19). This form of family is not permanent as any of the members may move according to the situation. While the income of earning members is not pooled
together, the expenses for running the household are shared. In such families, the members share one roof and have a system of joint cooking.

Apart from this, there are no other obligatory joint expenses. Such families are common in cities. Ramanamma states that the preference of members staying in this type of joint family is obvious for several reasons (a) accommodation is often difficult to find in cities; (b) it is economically advantageous; and (c) the presence of older relatives at home, especially when the young couple are both working, is reassuring and a great boon. (Ramanamma, 1979).

The study based on interviews of 505 educated women belonging to various age groups and different economic strata, reveals that although the respondents preferred personal choice in the selection of their mates, they still opted for marriage in the traditional way.

Her respondents did not accept the traditional superiority of men and expected perfect equality and a
sharing of duties by the partners.

The author feels that although discrimination against women is gradually diminishing and equality between the sexes is being established, on an average, her respondents still spend at least six hours a day on household chores, waking up in the wee hours of the morning. In spite of this, they suffered feelings of guilt that they were neglecting their children. These women were firmly committed to their family responsibilities. At the opinion level, the middle class working woman is anxious about her husband's attitude towards her work role, but at the practical level, it is the children's needs which bother her, more so because of the dearth of reliable domestic help and the absence of creches and day care centres. (Ramanamma, 1979).

According to Ramanamma, women who work outside their homes face various situations which are likely to lead to conflict. She has suggested part time employment for women as a possible solution to the conflict, enabling women to utilise their education while giving them the time and opportunity to cater to family needs. More provision for nurseries and creches at the
workplace has also been suggested by her so that the young children of the employees are taken care of. (Ramanamma, 1979).

A study by Kurien and Ghosh entitled "Women In The Family and the Economy: An International Comparative Survey", indicates that the attitude of the in-laws is declining in importance while the attitude of the husband is still of significant importance to working women. Even if the husband does not share in the household duties, a positive approach towards his wife's working role, gives considerable satisfaction to a woman. Many husbands theoretically subscribe to the wife working, but react sharply when they have to face the consequences of her work.

There are some husbands who consider themselves "not of a demanding nature" and yet insist that everything should be arranged in its "proper" way, children cared for, cleanliness maintained etc. (Kurien et. al., 1981).

A fairly recent review of about 30 studies on middle class women's entry into the world of work by Neera Desai and Sharayu Anantram most definitely indicates the need for work as an economic necessity. However
the management of women's two roles is stressful and straining since there is a lack of facilities like creches, easy transport and convenient canteens. According to Desai, one of the ways of coping with the stressful situation is to have self imposed restrictions on one's career chart. The family does not prevent women from working since it needs the second pay packet but changes with regard to sharing in the women's familial responsibilities are slow in coming. (Desai, 1982).

Another problem faced by many women is sexual harassment and exploitation at the work place. Desai and Anantram in their paper on "Review of studies on Middle Class Women's Entry into The World of Work", have remarked that it is surprising that none of the studies have mentioned the sexual harassment or exploitation that some women face at their workplace and find it difficult to accept that such situations are non-existent. (Desai et.al., 1982).

Usha Talwar, in her book, "Social Profile of the Working Woman", has presented a comprehensive account of working women.
It is a comparative study of 400 working and 400 non-working women from Jodhpur in Rajasthan.

Talwar states that the working women of Rajasthan as presented in her study, seemed to suggest a contrast on various counts when compared with a survey of the two metropolitan cities of Bombay and Delhi undertaken by S.N. Ranade and P. Ramachandran (Attitudes of Women to Part-time Employment, Bombay, Tata Institute of Social Research, 1964 and Women and Employment, Reports of Pilot Studies conducted in Delhi, Tata Institute of Social Services, Bombay, 1970). For instance, the working women of Jodhpur were of middle age, which was the characteristic feature for the rest of the country. While in Delhi the majority of the working women were Hindus, in Bombay they were Christians. Working women of Jodhpur were found in almost all occupations but their percentages were high in unskilled work.

Occupation and income seemed to be correlated as observed by Talwar. Women in prestigious jobs earned more than those engaged in non-prestigious jobs. Most women worked because of economic pressure, and this finding compares favourably with the two surveys of Bombay and Delhi.
The study also reveals that there is a significant change on the positive side for working women in decision making participation in family issues.

According to Talwar, "the traditional notion about the employment of women seemed to be definitely crumbling and the majority of the working women said that their family members approved of their employment." (Talwar, 1984, p. 233).

The author has stated that all women, working and non-working, actively participated in domestic chores, although some variation is there. Also, there appears to be a neglect of children, leading to conflict, as a result of the mother's new role as provider in addition to her role of housekeeper and supervisor of the children.

Marital relationships of the respondents have been looked into and the findings reveal that marital relationships and satisfaction with life tend to contain more negative elements for employed wives (Talwar, 1984).

The Ph.D. thesis on "Women Scientists, Their Families
and Their Work", by Maithreyi Krishnaraj is an excellent study of the problems and issues that generally pertain to employed women, but with a special focus on science as a profession, because it has been presumed that the factor of women being employed in scientific establishments would create additional obstacles.

Krishnaraj, in her study has attempted to go beyond role theory explanations, delving beyond or behind the data, and adopting a feminist - materialist interpretation of the findings. She has traced the historical antecedents that made it possible for women to enter the field of science.

Within the historical framework her approach is broadly feminist - materialist. It is feminist because it believes that women are a distinct disadvantaged group, apart from other disadvantaged groups; and materialistic, because it views the underlying process as inherently of material origin.

The writer has pointed out that the forces of colonialism and capitalism have changed not only Indian society but have had an influence on women's position.
The existing career status of women in science can be understood as the outcome of the way science has developed as well as the way capitalism and colonialism have changed the position of women, thus shifting the focus from individual solutions to the need for systemic changes by this approach.

Krishnaraj's study ends on an optimistic note. The picture is not too gloomy, she feels, and there are trends towards new ways of behaving with younger women being more open. In conclusion, she has stated that in spite of the hold of patriarchy and the influence of capitalist development, stirrings are visible. Women, are beginning to question their inequality, rejecting rituals and becoming less religious, with a more rational attitude towards social customs. In her words, "there are faint whiffs in the wind, that sound hope for the future." (Krishnaraj, 1985, p 402).

Neera Desai and Vibhuti Patel have combined their efforts to prepare a country-report on the impact of the international decade for women declared by the United Nations on Indian women. The report was prepared for the conference "Asian women Speak Out!" at
Davao City, Philippines, organised by the Asian Women's Research and Action Network, and is entitled "Indian Women: Change and Challenge in the International Decade", 1975-85.

The work has looked at the women's question in the larger context of the politico-economic situation in the country and tried to foresee the future of the women's movement. As stated by them, the report was put forward on the eve of the Nairobi Conference, at the end of the decade for women, "not only to provide information but also to sensitise people about the real situation of women in India - because to raise awareness is the first step in the direction of emancipation of women." (Desai, et.al., 1985, p. VII).

Desai and Patel have stated that development models by the first world theoreticians, while talking about "integrating women in the process of development" have overlooked the power of patriarchy and have not recognised "the different historical context - colonial legacy, different socio-cultural heritage and other complexities of caste, religion and ethnic problems of Asian countries. This has resulted in serious social thinkers of Asia doubting the first world development
models that perpetuate the domination relationships on the ground of class, caste, ethnicity and gender." (Desai, et. al., 1985, p. 9).

The experiences of post revolutionary societies like China, Vietnam, and North Korea, prove the strength of patriarchal values, which are so flexible, they can adapt themselves to all types of societies. "Patriarchy predates capitalism and even after its abolition, it continues its hold in different forms." Desai and Patel, therefore, suggest that women's struggles against patriarchy in all societies must be supported. Also, "emancipation from oppression is an act of the oppressed themselves." Asian feminists have, therefore, started articulating their thoughts on women’s questions as well as on the question of national transformation. (Desai, et.al., 1985, pp 9-10).

According to them, the only answer to the complex reality of third world women is the unity of third world women based on a global long term perspective, and, therefore, they have tried to understand feminism in the Indian context.
While talking about the changing realities, Desai and Patel have summed up by saying that the "economic activity of women is not merely an income generating activity governed by rules of demand and supply; it is also gender based, having implications of discrimination and deprivation. Both demand and supply in the labour market are not governed merely by economic laws, but also by socio-cultural values affecting the phenomenon of work." (Desai, et.al., 1985 p. 38).

However, in Indian society, today, both traditional and modern (egalitarian) values coexist. A number of women are taking up non-traditional, challenging occupations/professions, like engineering, architecture, research, aviation, management, journalism, etc. which is a refreshing change from the usual jobs of teaching, nursing or unskilled work.

Another significant change is the status of widows, single or deserted women who, in metropolitan cities, are able to live a life of dignity.

In the international decade for women, the growing violence against women, in the form of dowry - murders,
rape and domestic violence, has received more attention and is being challenged.

Regarding policies and programmes to improve the status of women the authors feel that, "today, the problem is not merely integrating women in the cause of development as beneficiaries, but also removing exploitative employment relations and involving women right from the planning stage so as to know what their needs are." (Desai, et.al., 1985, p. 57).

During the decade, a second wave of women's movement in the country has emerged in the form of women's groups and mass organisations. The first phase of the women's movement was characterised by the participation of women in the nationalist movement, campaigning for legislative action in marriage and property rights and highlighting some of the socio-economic issues hampering the progress of women. However, for two decades of the post-independence period a passivity enveloped all these women's organisations.

Desai and Patel call for women to organise themselves
in emphasising the need to meet the obstacles through solidarity. They have concluded by stating that the decade has not only sensitised people to women's issues, but has generated a need to evolve an economic and political perspective to visualise the future trend of the women's movement. "The initial awareness on women's issues will have to be transformed into action. The end of the decade is not the end of women's struggle; it is really the beginning of the women's movement for actualisation of equal status." (Desai, et.al., 1985, p. 83).

Roopa Vohra and Arun K. Sen's thought provoking book "Status, Education and Problems of Indian Women" seeks to provide a realistic picture of the problems faced by Indian women and to offer solutions. From time immemorial, history has borne evidence to the suffering of women because of traditions and customs created by a society dominated by men.

The condition of women in general improves as society advances. Education played the most important role in enhancing the status of Indian women. Female education itself received a boost when the marriageable age of girls was raised, and an educated wife is now almost
an economic necessity in many middle class families. Religion also played a vital role in improving the status of Indian women. According to the authors, "In fact, Indian woman is moving towards an ideal balance of traditional and progressive values." (Vohra, et al, 1986, p. 136).

The authors have stated that the growth of education amongst middle class urban women has brought about a change in the concept of wife and mother. However, that of husband and father remains unchanged. Many husbands-fathers are still orthodox in their attitudes, putting women at a disadvantage and forcing them into the conflicting situation of career versus family.

Vohra and Sen have concluded their book on the optimistic note that the next generation will face less problems rooted in idealism as they are realistic and do not have too many illusions. Also, that attitudes are bound to change, particularly of men, and two decades hence women "would find more adjustment and a life of give and take in the homes." (Vohra, et al, 1986, p.139).
Ranjana Bharij, in her article "Executive Women Walking The Tight Rope", which appeared in the Business India of November 17-30, 1986, stated that it is not the fact of a woman's employment but rather the discordant Role-and-Status concepts of husband and wife emerging out of the changed roles and expectations and newer demands on working wives as well as out of the rising expectations of spouses, that bring about marital disharmony. The whole conflict is not so much between husband and wife as between the traditional and modern concepts of husband-wife relationship and of their roles and statuses.

While stress and conflict arises in the home due to several factors mentioned above, this stress and strain, coupled with other factors, in turn leads to stress and conflict at work which might result in a woman being unable to carry out either of her two roles efficiently.

Stress is a modern disease whose elements comprise fatigue, marital discord and guilt. One lady executive director of a manufacturing concern finds her health affected by her dual roles. Staying late in the office or entertaining foreign visitors in the evenings keeps
her away from her children. The resultant guilt has led to acute stomachache and loss of weight. (Bharij, 1986, p. 156).

The stress experienced by women executives not only affects them individually, or their family lives, but also affects the organisations for which they work. Work from the office spills over into domestic life and fatigue accumulated in the household carries over into the office. Forced leave from work, due to the sickness of a child, or the servant staying away unexpectedly, are genuine problems all working women face.

The absence of a symbolic "wife" at home aggravates stress in the executive woman who, unlike her husband, cannot return home in the evening and relax or let off steam, if she values peace of mind for herself and the family. The resultant bottling up of feelings often takes a heavy toll. (Bharij, 1986, p. 157).

Other types of stress arising out of sex bias, that male colleagues do not have to contend with are that she may not be fully accepted by her male colleagues and is excluded from their circle and, hence, unable to
develop a closeness or camaraderie with them. Then again, some men do not like to work for a woman boss and view her with distrust, often adopting an attitude of defiance. Sexual harassment at work is another problem that some women executives may face at some time or other in their working lives, leading to stress.

Bharij has quoted one lady doctor as having said, "A working woman's life is hell... She gets the worst of both worlds." (Bharij, 1986, p. 157).

However, it is time that organisations began to acknowledge and accommodate the realities of dual career marriage. With enlightened policies, progressive organisations can create a healthier climate. Bharij feels it is high time organisations reviewed their organisational processes concerning women employees; discrimination, if any, in promotions, training opportunities, awards and recognition; personnel policies regarding transfers and placement and so on. Training programmes to help team building among executives of both sexes would also go a long way in creating a better climate. (Bharij, 1986, p. 157).
No satisfactory definition of sexual harassment has yet been arrived at although various attempts have been made to define it. Sexual harassment can stretch from light-hearted banter to aggressive sexual overtures. Most of the definitions agree that sexual harassment can also amount to unlawful sex discrimination in certain circumstances. Men guilty of sexual harassment are reacting to women in a stereotypical way, interacting with them first as 'women' and then as colleagues. According to Ramakrishnan in his article, "Managing Sexual Harassment at Work", which appeared in the Business India of April 7-20, 1986, more and more women in urban India are working in offices and yet most Indians do react to women in a stereotypical manner.

Sexual harassment creates several social problems including psychosomatic illness, mental illness and other disorders. The victim's attitude to work becomes increasingly negative. The victim may often experience physical and/or emotional symptoms of stress including migraine, back and neck pains or gastro-intestinal ailments. Stress is produced as a result of unexpected anger or continually decreasing feelings of confidence.
and competence.

There are extreme cases which have led to strikes. One such occurred in a saw mill in British Columbia in 1978. The strike was in protest against the sexual harassment of two female workers who had been fired for resisting the advances of a superior. Both male and female workers consequently picketed the saw mill and stayed away. They demanded the dismissal of the superior and the immediate reinstatement of the two victims. The strike continued for six days (Ramakrishnan, 1986, p. 74). However, Ramakrishnan does not mention what was the outcome of the strike.

The ultimate responsibility of responding to complaints and preventing harassment lies with the managers. They could consider various remedial actions, like explicit policy statement on the issue. However, while policy statements may set the right atmosphere, grievance procedures provide employees with a mechanism for formal resolution of harassment complaints. The procedure could well involve a preliminary informal component and a formal grievance process for those charges that could not be resolved informally. If the procedure is
clearly known throughout the organisation and if it ensures confidentiality, it can be very effective. Procedures which do not ensure confidentiality or protect the rights of the victims may leave them feeling vulnerable. (Ramakrishnan, 1986).

Drasta Gandhi's thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Home Science, entitled "Married Working Women: Husband's and Wife's Perceptions", describes marital adjustment as that state of accommodation in marital relationship between husband and wife which is characterised by a tendency in them to resolve conflicts and solve problems, to come to a mutual agreement on important issues of married life, and have overall feelings of happiness and satisfaction with the marriage partner. Gandhi found that favourable or unfavourable overt and covert circumstances help or hinder marital adjustment. For instance, favourable circumstances, like wife's suitable working hours, availability of domestic help to do the cooking and other household chores, the absence of in-law problems, the husband being efficient and systematic in his work, do help in establishing marital harmony, whereas their absence does create marital disharmony.
One interesting finding in Gandhi's study is that husband's and family's support and cooperation, along with assistance from hired help and the use of labour saving appliances have made it possible for working mothers to carry on with their jobs without neglecting their household tasks or their care towards household members which would have otherwise been difficult. (Gandhi, 1986).

However, D.N. Rajan has mentioned in an article, "Five Million Wives Outearn Husbands" which appeared in the Business India of March 9-22, 1987, that the percentage of women in the United States who now earn more than their husbands, according to a Census Bureau study, has risen from two percent to nearly twenty percent in the last twenty years. (Rajan, 1987, p. 11).

According to him, a third of today's big bread winning wives are between 24 and 35 years old, are more educated than their husbands and more likely to have full-time jobs as lawyers, doctors, and managers. He has quoted Mary Henson, author of the Census Bureau study: "On the average, husbands still make twice what wives do. But as women move rapidly into the professions, the wage gap should narrow." (Henson as
The study of emerging Hindu wives in Urban India by M. Indiradevi entitled "Women - Education - Employment: Family Living", states that the sociological appraisal of family in India has not paid adequate attention to the actual relationships between spouses. The limited evidence available varies considerably in its appreciation of the potential of education and employment in promoting egalitarian values in the relationships between husbands and wives. Indiradevi has attempted to enquire into the intimate aspects of conjugal relationships, to seek and identify changes emerging in the patterns of role performance, decision making and behaviour as a result of education and employment of women in Hindu families.

In the study of 160 couples from Hindu families in the fast growing metropolitan coastal city of Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, (50% comprising families with educated but unemployed wives and the other 50%, families with educated and employed wives), it was found that the "education of women has initiated changes in the traditional patterns of conjugal role performance and decision making. Employment of women accelerated the process of change and helped to usher in

The study reveals that women in families where the wives were employed play a positive role in financial tasks, while those in families where the wives were unemployed, play a dominant role in household tasks. In the area of decision making, there seemed to be more incongruence in the responses of the spouses in the families with employed wives than those with unemployed wives, indicating that "while education of wives initiated the process of change in decision-making, employment furthered it by altering the male dominance in decision-making." (Indiradevi, 1987, p. 179). While necessities emerged as the dominant factor in families with unemployed wives, in families with employed wives, comforts dominated.

Regarding behaviour patterns, the dominant patterns appear to be more or less the same among families with employed wives and families with unemployed wives, in respect of the "togetherness" factor relating to the variables like going to movies, or going for walks. However, in the variable relating to "addressing wife by name" there are significant differences between the
two groups with 10 per cent of the husbands in families with employed wives "almost always" addressing their wives by name, as against "none" of the husbands addressing their wives by name in the other type of family where the wives were unemployed. (Indiradevi, 1987, p. 180).

The implications for policy indicated by the study are that measures to emancipate women or improve their status must focus increasing attention on their education. Although essential, education of women is not sufficient by itself to promote equalitarianism in conjugal relationships. It must be accompanied by steps to ensure equal opportunities for women's employment to enable them to be equal and effective partners.

The study by Indiradevi has also brought together extensive literature, both Indian and Western, which will be of great use to students of family sociology and women's studies, and to policy makers. (Indiradevi, 1987). "Women in Indian Industry", by A. Ramanamma and Usha Bambawale is a pioneering piece of work as it attempts to fill in the lacuna in available literature.
on the employment of women in the industrial sector, in Bombay and Pune.

Until recently, women were not allowed to enter the industrial employment sector. Today, they have made a niche for themselves in the electronics industry. This book describes the two spheres of women's lives — work in industry and life at home, with particular reference to women in the electronics industry where special skills and technical know-how are not essential. In this industry, especially on the assembly line, the employment of women is a global phenomenon. Women predominantly occupy areas of unskilled assembly line work.

The study reveals that these women need their pay packets to make life more comfortable for the family. It also reveals that in large factories women workers have some welfare benefits such as three months maternity leave and a creche attached to the factory, with trained nurses and ayahs to attend to the children. A doctor visits the creche daily.

The women did not have independent representation in the factory, but belonged to the male dominated trade
unions.

The study also brought out the fact that many women in decision making, executive cadres in this industry, perceived resentment from male subordinates who felt that women could not occupy managerial positions in an engineering industry. Even the management itself were wary of hiring women in these high posts, particularly where they had to manage men. It is significant that in their study, the authors have come across "only a handful of women in management cadre and that too at the junior level." A couple of women who had reached the board level were wives or daughters of the owner entrepreneur or managing director. (Ramanamma, et.al., 1987, p. 204-205).

One of the findings of the study which needs to be mentioned is that where there are a majority of women there is not much sexual harassment.

A comparative picture of the factories in Bombay and Pune reveals that women in Bombay get better emoluments and perquisites.

At the end, the authors have made several policy
recommendations to better the lot of such women. Some of the suggestions they have made are: promote training for women, institute government regulations to control collusion of firms in keeping wages low and not hiring women, institute and enforce safety and health regulations, and remove protective legislation prohibiting night work by women. (Ramanamma, et. al., 1987).

The work done by Shashi Jain on "Status and Role Perception of Middle Class Women", has explored the sociological dimensions of the problem of status formation and role conflict and how the woman perceives it. The study focusses attention on the middle class, educated woman, as this class of woman is more prone to change, and deals with the pre-marital, familial and extra-familial status and role of women, as well as the awareness of social problems and the impact of social legislation on the status of Indian women. Its aim is to explore the different aspects of women’s roles.

The study initially traces the social and historical backgrounds of Indian womanhood through various periods and ages and gives a theoretical perspective of the
sociologist’s interest in the subject.

According to Jain, "the woman whose status and role was traditionally well defined and almost fixed in the family situation, is now experiencing the impact of change." (Jain 1988, p. 322).

In India the middle class is growing in size and the data on the socio-cultural characteristic of the respondents suggests that educated middle class women are a heterogeneous group of people whose family background, economic status and educational background are widely varied. Families are mostly small in size and nuclear.

Traditionally, a woman has a fourfold status role sequence of daughter, wife, housewife and mother, states Jain. The education of women, urbanisation and the changing norms and values of society have brought in important change in each of the four areas in the status - role sequence. "The direction of change is from role segregation to role diffusion. The fixed properties of women's role in all these four areas are faltering and new governing properties are emerging." (Jain, 1988, p. 323).
The birth of girl-child in the family was traditionally not favoured and she was usually meted out differential treatment in comparison to the sons in the family. However, evidence from the present study shows that important and perceptible changes have occurred in her status as daughter and, today, she is a welcome member in the family of her parents. In matters of education, freedom of movement and communication, she is being treated on par with her brothers. However, there is still some difference in the perceptions of parents regarding the roles of the two sexes. "As regards parents' aspirations for the education of both the sexes, they generally want to give higher education to both of them but when it comes to being specific, their aspirations about sons are more clear and are generally ambiguous in the case of daughters. Fewer parents have occupational and professional aspirations about their daughters and they generally wish that their daughters 'should be married to a well educated and highly placed young man belonging to an economically comfortable and socially respectable family." However, she is being given more freedom to express her views in the choice of a husband than she was given earlier. (Jain, 1988, p. 325).
The normative structure of the family is also undergoing change with norms regarding marriage, employment and social participation having altered, exhibiting tendencies of equality, independence and personal achievement.

The change in a woman's status and role as a wife is also perceptible. In educated and modernised families, women have a greater say in family matters, share in their husband's responsibilities in the family, and participate more freely in social life. Traditional norms of obedience, fidelity and dedication to the husband's families' needs still persist to a large extent.

The characteristics of transition are also visible in her role of housewife. She is now gaining an individual status in her household and household duties are no longer her exclusive obligation. The husband is gradually learning to join shoulders with her in coping with the burden of household chores. She has a say in the decision making process, and controls the family budget. The recruitment of outside help to take care of routine chores and the introduction of modern
household appliances have helped her to have more time on her hands to participate in social life. In spite of these changes, the major responsibility for household duties rests on the housewife.

Jain has stated that the most important aspect of a woman's role is that of the mother. In the changed atmosphere of the nuclear family, the mother occupies the key position in matters relating to child care, socialisation and education, as opposed to traditional families where the elders played a more major role than even the child's parents.

Today, women increasingly realise the need for small families.

Problems related to her mothering role are more acute in the case of working women, states Jain. This is because the working mother has less time on her hands to devote entirely to the children. In middle class families a high standard of living is much emphasised and, therefore, the woman participates in economic activities. Modern middle class families seem to have compromised with the work career of woman and have
accepted the woman's occupational career as an essential fact of life.

The study has shown that working women face difficulties in performing their familial roles, but are not prepared to give up their work role because of this. There exists a revolution in the attitudes, which can be seen in the rising expectations among women. "The traditional status and role sets of women are breaking up and new role-sets based on achievement, independence and equality are gradually coming up," states Jain. (Jain, 1988, p. 333).

In a study conducted on "Parental Sex Role Orientation and Sex Stereotypes of Children", Sukanya Das and Rehana Ghadially have mentioned that the results indicate that parental beliefs and attitudes regarding women's role in society appear to be crucial in shaping the personality structure of children. "Modern parental outlook and egalitarian sex role attitude is conducive to the development of androgynous adults, and in contrast, conservative attitude results in stereotyping." The findings from incongruent families reveal that the modernity of even one of the parents, irrespective of gender, contributes in the decrease of
sex stereotyping of the children. (Ghadially, 1988, p.135).

Nandita Gandhi, in her article 'The Worst of Both Worlds' which appeared in the Sunday Observer of October 8, 1989, has reported that the Maharashtra Government is experimenting with a voluntary part-time job scheme for women, the aim being to enable the working woman to have the best of both worlds. Such a scheme, it is hoped, will open up more employment for women, and is based on the Japanese model which has, through part-time work, increased the rate of women's work participation. The concept of part-time work, like that of home-based work, is one of the innovations being tried out by large corporations all over the world to enable the working woman the flexibility of taking care of her family as well as her work. However, Gandhi has quoted from a detailed survey of 4000 households in West Yorkshire, Britain, carried out in 1980 by Sheila Allen and Carol Wolkowitz, which found that "homeworking is far from being a boon to women, for instead of liberating them from or reducing the burden of the 'double day', it intensifies the pressures of both waged work and unpaid domestic work." (Gandhi, 1989).
The K.G. Paranjpey (former Chief Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra) scheme for part-time work for women, has brought about a quick response from various women's organisations. The Forum Against Oppression Of Women (FAOW), a Bombay-based organisation, campaigning for women's rights, found that "there was more of a broad theoretical agreement, almost like wishful thinking, which carried an undertone of apprehension and confusion." (Gandhi, 1989).

By offering women part-time employment in the public sector, the scheme will unwittingly be encouraging Indian Businessmen to further exploit this section of workers. In the context of the existing patriarchal society which is hostile to women moving out of their prescribed roles as mothers and housewives, full-time jobs will be equated with men and part-time ones with women. The voluntariness of part-time work will soon disappear. "Women will be quietly encouraged and recruited for part-time jobs, their wages will fall, and those entering public production will be shunted into women-oriented part-time jobs which will necessarily be ones without much responsibility or
The Research Status - An Overview

The review of literature has been undertaken from two points of view and, therefore, two types of studies have been included. These are: those studies which discuss the status and role of women in society and those which are specifically on working women, and women executives, in particular. However, there appears to be a dearth of studies on women executives, particularly in our country. The two studies on women executives undertaken by Daver and his colleagues (1962), and by Unwalla (1977) are both studies of women executives in Bombay. These studies have dealt with women in junior or middle level management positions. While the 1962 study revealed that women executives worked mostly because of economic necessity the 1977 study by Unwalla states that women executives work more to make use of capabilities and out of a desire to rise higher. Apart from these two studies, there appears to be no other research work on women executives.

It is, therefore, hoped that the current research which aims to determine factors that are conducive or
inconducive to the success of the women executives in balancing their two roles, and the problems they face in doing so, will not only be of interest but will serve to add to the existing knowledge in this field of work.

The review of literature has been divided into two categories - Western studies and Indian studies, as mentioned earlier. Within these two categories, a chronological pattern has been maintained, with the hope that a clear progressive picture would emerge of literature in the West and in India on issues pertaining to the middle class working woman.

All the studies reviewed here have been made after independence. The focus of earlier researches was mostly on analysing the social institutions of marriage and family. Thus they were generally based on a historical - analytical approach or were empirical studies on the changing scene in family and marriage.

Western studies, reviewed here, begin by tracing the transition of the family from a unit of production to a unit of consumption, economic cooperation by the contribution of wages resulted in a new pattern of
assigned responsibilities. (Nelson, 1947). Middle class women's entry into the world of paid employment brought forth a surge of literature on the working woman and the problems relating to her dual burden. Among the first to bring this into focus were Myrdal and Klein (1962).


Ideas advanced earlier about families being organised on an instrumental-expressive axis, considered the differentiation of roles necessary for a division of labour within the family. However, the highly differentiated family is too unsophisticated for the times in which we live. Urbanisation and industrialisation, along with the education and employment of women have played a major role in determining the change in the status and role of women.
All these forces have affected the traditional institutions of family and marriage which, in turn, affect the status and role of women.

Research clearly shows that Indian women, particularly those who are educated and urban middle class, are experiencing change. These changes have particular reference to attitudes. For example, attitudes towards traditional joint family system, towards marriage by own choice, intercaste and interreligious marriages, coeducation and women's employment, are changing. Our society is a society in transition.

Most of the studies are empirical and have as their locale, metropolitan cities. The studies also reveal that employed middle class women belong largely to the middle or higher income groups, and are educated. They are committed to their jobs without being less committed to their families and are concerned with receiving recognition and satisfaction in both fields.

This dual burden often results in conflict. There is also the possibility of a strain between two or more conflicting expectations, one relating to her role as a woman and the other to her role as a 'person', someone
with her own career, her own identity. A woman executive's work status, often enriching and empowering, has as much pull for her as her family "role" has, where she derives a different type of fulfillment and enrichment.

Several studies have dealt with the role conflict experienced by working women. Kapur, Kala Rani and Mies have used the concept of role to a considerable extent in analysing the middle class working women's situation. (Kala Rani, 1976, Talwar 1984, Mies, 1980, Wadhera, 1976, Kapur, 1970).

Today, we are not less concerned with home and family life, but since home is set up in a different way, the old rules do not work to the same degree or extent. Their rightness, therefore, is challenged. Conflict arises when we are so concerned with the rightness of a standard that we do not think about ways of behaving which will work because they are adapted to present day situations and problems.

Conflict is an ambiguous term. It may be manifest or latent, individual or collective, overt or covert. The nature of occupation and the amount of time spent
outside the home are taken to be associated with role conflict.

The growing numbers of women in gainful employment, whatever be the motivating force behind it, has assumed sociological significance. The additional responsibility of a woman doing a job outside the home must in some way affect her family life, not only in her relationship with husband and children, but with other relatives as well, especially in our country where aged parents usually live with the children or even if not living with them, are cared for and looked after by them. A number of complications can and do arise from time to time in the interaction between career and marriage. In the prevailing economic conditions in our country, both seem necessary and yet are full of hurdles. This is necessarily of some concern to society and has led to various studies and debates on 'women's issues'.

Almost all the studies have illustrated that economic considerations are the major reasons for women to enter the world of paid employment. Some work out of dire economic necessity, some to supplement the family
income, and some to maintain a higher standard of living, being able to afford some luxuries and modern gadgets that make life easier for them. However, the connection between economic independence and interpersonal freedom is debatable. Later studies have revealed that economic independence does not really give personal freedom to women. (Kapur, 1970).

Most women's studies are in the sociological field and are the result of doctoral or post-doctoral research.

A greater emphasis has been given to a woman's role as wife, and it is only very recent studies that are laying more stress on her role as mother. (Collins, et. al., 1988; Magid, et.al., 1987, Kuzma, 1981).

Under the pressure of social and economic change, the family has been evolving, adapting and surviving. Ronald Fletcher, in his "The Family & Marriage in Britain" is quoted by Morgan as having said, "The modern family is one of the 20th century's greatest success stories." He feels, "... that the family has not declined; that the family is not less stable than hitherto; and that the standards of parenthood and parental responsibility have not deteriorated."
Some of the studies done have also pointed out the limited aspirations of women. This is reflected not only in their limited aspirations to rise higher, but also in their low expectations with regard to service conditions and priorities at the workplace. Bias towards them still persists in many jobs.

Women are not accepted per se in higher posts, unless they are at least twenty percent superior to the men in qualifications and experience, remarked the late Vijay Merchant, well-known industrialist, cricketer and social worker, during an interview with the magazine, "Beautiful's Working Woman" (Shahani, 1983). This is corroborated by recent literature both in India and abroad. (Ramanamma, 1979, Status of the World's Women Report, 1985, Feldman, 1989, Krishnaraj 1985, Vohra, et.al., 1986).

There is hardly any mention about sexual harassment or exploitation suffered by women at the workplace. It is difficult to accept that such situations are non-existent, particularly among women employed in junior and middle level positions.
It has already been stated that there is a dearth of research on women in executive positions in our country and the current study is, therefore, this researcher's humble attempt to fill this gap and contribute to the knowledge in this field.