CHAPTER VI

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF WORK:
OFFICE AND HOME

VI.1 WHAT PROMPTED YOU TO CHOOSE THIS PROFESSION
VI.2 WHAT OTHER PROFESSION WOULD YOU HAVE OPTED FOR
VI.3 WHAT JOBS ARE SUITABLE FOR WOMEN AND MEN
VI.4 WHO IS MORE PREFERRED BY THE EMPLYERS
VI.5 WHO IS THE HEAD OF THE HOUSE-HOLD AND THE DECISION MAKER
VI.6 EMPLOYMENT SCOPE IN THE TWOFIELDS
VI.7 ACCEPTANCE OF WOMEN IN JOB MARKET AND ORGANISER’S OPINIONS
VI.8 MATERNITY
VI.9 MANAGING HOME AND OFFICE
VI.10 CAN YOU REACH THE TOP
VI.11 FACTORS RELATING TO SEX INEQUALITIES IN THE LABOUR MARKET AND RESPONDENTS OPINION
VI.11.1 PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION
VI.11.2 WORKING HOURS AND LOCATION
VI.11.3 ABSENTEEISM AND PREGNANCY
VI.11.4 SEX TYPING OF JOB
VI.12 SUMMARY
CHAPTER VI
QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF WORK:
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The previous chapter gave an overview of the region on which this study is based - Pune city. A cursory attempt is made to trace the city’s growth to the contemporary industrialised economy of the society wherein women are making a place for themselves. Besides being employed in the traditionally ‘feminine jobs’ they are also being employed in the technical fields. The interviews with the select respondents gave qualitative knowledge of their professions and their lives.

This chapter systematically lays down the responses to the various queries asked by the researcher. As this study pertains to the changing perceptions and trends in employment and societal attitudes due to industrialisation, it could best be analysed by studying all the responses received for a particular query together, rather than individual cases. Each section is devoted to a query along with the response of the respondents. The questions encompass a
wide array of issues beginning from, what primarily prompted them to take up professional education, to managing home and office and finally whether they can successfully reach the top position in their respective jobs or occupations.

The interviewees were selected from amongst 75 sample. Majority of them were selected on the bases of the number of years of experience in their profession, hence the views of those with one year and those with twenty years experience are covered. Various issues were discussed during the interview.

VI.1 WHAT PROMPTED YOU TO CHOOSE THIS PROFESSION

The respondents are technically qualified women, which is a shift though small from the majority who are non-technically qualified. Here an attempt was made to grasp the innate reason or the cause which prompted them to act differently from the majority by choosing one, a ‘masculine’ profession, i.e., Engineering and second, a new emerging profession.

Most of the interviewees were encouraged by their parents to take up professional education. They were always told to concentrate on education both while in
school and afterwards. Only a few made major contribution towards the daily household chores. The reasons quoted for opting for these professions by them mainly included - good track record in academics, keenness in building a career, and the urge to be independent. Other reasons were more economical in nature, such as lucrative job which was in demand and hence could foresee opportunities to grow. Some drew their interests from the experiences of other's lives. * For instance, Lata, a computer programmer said "since my sister was not professionally qualified, she is a "mere" housewife; this pinches her a lot". She hence

* Names have been changed to keep the anonymity.
decided to be professionally qualified and so self-dependent. The dependence of her sister on her husband and the status of a "mere" housewife with the world limited to the four walls of the house inspite of having the abilities to do productive work, instigated Lata to acquire professional qualification. This would help her get a job and build a career.

Majority of the women Engineers said that they had good academic records and hence wanted to make use of their abilities. For instance Ms. Sapna, an Engineer said she wanted to develop a professional career, away from routine jobs done by women. While Ms. Rajani said, "I felt the need for being self-dependent, both economically and socially", which truly was the result of circumstances. Rajani had lost her father while in school and mother while in college; since then she stayed with her sister's family.

The computer professionals (who have specialized in computers, but are not Computer Engineers) took up this field for various reasons. Some had graduated in computers while others did not have any basic degree in Computers. They were drawn towards computers because it interested them besides the lucrative pay packets it
offered. Others got drifted in this field due to the influence of peers as it was regarded as the "in thing". Meghna said "I joined the Computer Course as my close friends had joined it and also because I was unable to decide which vocation to take". On the whole they saw it as a convenient job, giving enough monetary returns.

Also Computer as a profession has the unique advantage of freelancing from residence. It is also possible to set up one's own independent business after gaining experience. Many senior professionals in this field have their roots in M.Sc. Physics. After completing M.Sc. Physics they took up certificate course in Computers as it had by then become a pre-requisite for higher studies in Physics. Not only did they find it interesting and involving, they also had an immediate job in sight, which made them take up Computers seriously. Many stated that they were the initial batch to enter Computers in early 1970s. This was an advantage for them to enter this field with little education in Computers, unlike in nineties where much more qualifications are essential.

Mrs. Joglekar shared that, "my parents invested in my
education, and I am capable; hence to do justice to the investment I wanted to work. I would also like to utilize my education". Ms. Swati was the eldest amongst her siblings; she said, "my father's income alone cannot suffice and so I work primarily for financial reasons. While others opined that personality also develops as one gains confidence. To sum up, the reasons were - (i) make use of education, (ii) to earn money, (iii) to develop a career, (iv) to be independent, and (v) to develop personality and gain experience.

VI.2 WHAT OTHER PROFESSION WOULD YOU HAVE OPTED FOR?

The respondents were instilled with the desire to do a non-traditional job but competition in either acquiring admission to the professional course or being selected for a job hold equal chances of being left out. At such a cross road what other profession would they have chosen as an alternative to the one they were in; seemed a relevant issue for discussion.

The respondents were asked which other professions would they have taken up, the Engineer women's replies varied immensely from teaching to fashion designing, architecture, marketing and investment banker. Majority
of computer professionals were inclined to pursue physics in some form or other — astrophysics, physicists. Others would have taken up advertising. The interviewees reaffirmed that they would have made a career anyhow and it was clear that it would still have been a "non-traditional", "non-feminine" job. Mrs. Menon opined that, "if one is willing to work hard to built a career it is more challenging in the technical or new upcoming fields and so I would have become an Investment Banker".

On the whole, these women were inclined to develop a career in some non-traditional, non-feminine
job. Computer professions were inclined towards astrophysics and physicists. Engineer women would have preferred marketing or teaching. Teaching they feel would be more suitable since it has limited and flexible hours and many holidays.

VI.3 WHAT JOBS ARE SUITABLE FOR WOMEN AND MEN

Traditionally, the society by and large identifies the jobs women and men should take up either overtly or otherwise. Sociologically it would be worthwhile to know their perception on the suitability of job after they have effectively carried the dual role burden. Here it needs a mention that the respondents had begun their career thinking they were different and had made a unique choice of occupation.

Majority of the interviewees in the first instance said that girls/boys can take up any profession and there are no restrictions on what profession should not or cannot be taken up. But during the course of the interview, some of them remarked that jobs like teaching are more suitable for women as they have flexible working hours and also that the work can be carried home. Not many outstation trips and no late
nights is what makes it more suitable. The family depends on women mainly for their emotional needs hence their availability and presence is essential. Other reasons which qualify for unsuitability of jobs are - (i) jobs where they are tied up the whole day, (ii) physically and medically impossible jobs, like mines. Yet the rest 50 percent reaffirmed that all kinds of jobs are open for girls and boys, hence they should choose in accordance to their own ability and aptitude.

The question what jobs are and are not suitable for boys met with similar responses. While the majority replied any job is suitable, a few were very specific in their response by mentioning medical, engineering and business. Ms. Shalini, an Engineer, age 21 years with 4 months of service in a large manufacturing Company put it absolutely straight and simple but it spoke volumes on the ingrained social values - "Boys should not take jobs where there is no opportunity for them to go ahead in life and be successful". Shalini further opines that, "a mother has to lookafter the house as well as bring up the children and so she should not take up very time consuming jobs". Social values associate and emphasise the success of a man with the career and that of a woman with her
capability to manage the home and family. Career is secondary for a woman, first comes her home.

Suitability of job for women is based first on her ability to maintain her home hence jobs which gives some flexibility of time are preferred. Though not many interviewees availed this facility, yet were running their home successfully. Men on the other hand could choose any job depending on his aptitude and career mobility.

VI.4 WHO IS MORE PREFERRED BY EMPLOYERS

Women are still seen basically as home makers and supplementary earners by the society. Each individual has to act within a framework accepted by the society. The employer too weights the pros and cons of selecting a candidate. Also primarily being profit oriented organisations, they are keen on employing those who they feel would be an asset than a liability in any way.

Asked, if in a situation, there were two equally competent candidates, one man and one woman, then who would normally be chosen and why. As the work ethics defines, it would be the one who is more competent. But
the question goes beyond it; in a condition "all other things remaining equal" who would have been chosen. Many did reply "the one who is more capable". In fact, a consultant opined that there are other invisible parameters involved which decides on the candidate. They include (i) stable personality who is unlikely to jump and would rather stick to the job, (ii) who can take work pressures; meaning, can work much after office hours. These two points are considered along with the competency of the candidate.

A senior computer professional who has been on interview panels for selection of candidates, shared the trends in selection depending on the profession. Suppose lecturers are required for an Engineering college then a married woman is likely to get selected because she will stick to the job as it gives her enough time for her family, (it has flexible timings). As she is married she will look for stability. Also women are found predominantly in teaching professions. But a man is likely to quit such profession as soon as he gets a better opportunity elsewhere, flexible or rigid timings either way do not make much of a difference to him. On the other hand if it was a selection for employment in the Private Sector, then a
man is more likely to be chosen, because he can work over time regularly and there are no hassles for his security when he stays late in the office.

Labour market is sensitive to their own requirements and the adjustability of the human resource. In situations where candidate should not quit and should stick to the job, married women are preferred. On the other hand where extra working hours and security problems is involved, men are preferred.

VI.5 WHO IS THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD AND THE DECISION MAKER

Sociology defines Indian society as patriarchal which is synonymous to having a patriarch heading the family and also being the decision maker. Also home is the primary agent of socialisation; further women are the agents perpetuating the culture, traditions and values which includes the patriarchal values. In this context the respondents have braved to be different by entering the male dominated world of employment and by being economically independent. This question thus examines the internalised socialisation process of
patriarchal values in contrast to their achieved status.

During the course of interview it was generally observed that majority of the interviewees said that the head of the family was a "male", the remaining said "both". The interviewees who said "male" were essentially below 30 years of age, some of whom were even earning equal or more than their husbands. The ones who said "both" were senior by age and by work experience. They felt offended when asked to answer "female" or "male".

For instance Mrs. Nair said "I don't know how to say "female" or "male" because it is always both to take each and every decision. Mrs Deshmukh said, "we always take a joint decision, whether it is having a child or anything else, also I earn as much as he does". She elaborated further to say that "it is untrue (wrong) to say that "male" (husband) is the head of the family because he is not independent at-all, rather he is completely dependent. Whether it is managing the household chores, the maid servant or even understanding the relatives, and maintaining relations, they are unable to take care".
The older women were more articulate in expressing their own feelings and also the husband's role in decision making. A change in the gender division of labour is reported along with a shift in authority patterns. The older women share more in household decisions and most noteworthy is that husbands no longer consider their wives' work as a threat to their authority. Thus the older women could assert for their equality along with gender division of labour by openly sharing that they both are heads of the family. On the other hand it is noticed that the younger women who earned equal or even more than their husbands said 'male' as their head. This could be because neither office nor home has remained their domain hence ambiguous in their own status and in asking for equality hence docile not assertive.

VI.6 EMPLOYMENT SCOPE IN THE TWO FIELDS

Women after acquiring due education are now employed in the two identified fields at various stages. But it is a point of concern to know whether it will continue or like in other professions, women would gradually be left out without much opportunities.

Within the Engineering field, more women are qualified in Electronics and Telecommunication followed by Computers, Electrical then Instrumentation and Civil. There are fewer women in Mechanical, Chemical, Production and Metallurgy. Likewise, in Industry women are absorbed in the similar sequence. Within an organisation, a woman Engineer is more likely to be absorbed in the Research and Development Department than on the shop-floor.

Many women feel that this (Research and Development) is the best job profile they could have received in their career. Women with no prior work experience, after being inducted in their first job especially on the shop-floor feel very 'conscious' and 'odd' working on the shop-floor surrounded by men. Also the work in Research and Development is quite prestigious, result
oriented and comfortable. Still many are posted in the shop-floor. In spite of their apprehensions, after the initial few days, they felt comfortable working with men and as such have not faced any adjustment problems. Ms. Sapna shared,

I was very happy to be selected in a top automobile Company but after being inducted I had apprehensions of working in the shop-floor along with the blue collar workers. Initial couple of days were uncomfortable but after that we had built a rapport. Eventually the management shifted us(girls) to the Research and Development; we were on the top of the world.”

Sociological inference indicate that she did not have confidence because the socialisation process does not prepare them to supervise men that too elder to self and vis a versa the men may too feel below their dignity to accept their supervision. Comparatively Computer professionals gain an easier entry in the job market. Somehow or the other there is some kind of acceptance to the idea of "women and computers" unlike for "women and engineering". This could be attributed to certain characteristics. One, it is a physically static work; second, extensive use of fingers; third, extension of type-writing work; fourth, it is tedious and requires patience. On the other hand Engineering as a whole carries the
impression of 'toughness' and that it is traditionally thought of as a masculine job. The researcher draws these reasons from the interviews with the respondents.

One of the most notable features of Computers is that it allows entry of labor force at two distinct levels. First, as Data Entry Operators and Personal Assistant as a replacement of type-writers. This essentially means that the same Personal Assistant does the work not on a type-writer but on a Computer which is considered as the "in thing". This section is essentially seen as worker category or one position just below the management cadre (for eg., Personal Assistant etc.). Ms. Menon says, "An office without a Computer does not give a good impression to the client - it is the "in-thing".". Computer is a multipurpose usage for writing, accounts, for projection and most important storage of data which can be readily available". Second, are included in the management cadre who are professionally qualified personnel having indepth knowledge of applications of Computers rather than engaged only in usage of Computers as in the earlier case. They are recruited in the management cadre.
Another observation is that women are recruited in large numbers in both these categories. They are recruited in the lower category with an underlying attitude of a 'feminine job', but in the upper cadre they are recruited on the basis of competence amongst other criteria. But the software professionals at the upper-most strata are mostly men. The reasons for this, as told by Mrs. Joglekar is,

To become Systems Analysts or an expert in any new field of Computers, one has to devote nearly 12 to 16 hours of work per day. Which obviously means you are at home only to sleep. Men can afford to do that. But women still cannot. We have not been taught to make our career at the cost of our family needs. Children require my attention, they would like me with them at the dinner table. Also driving down everyday so late is not safe. Before I had my children I used to be in the office everyday nearly up till midnight and invariably my husband used to pick me up. Unmarried girls are able to reach higher positions as they have less familial responsibility.

The reason attributed to this state is that women loose out in the advancement due to their inability to put in long hours of committed work. Here, it needs a mention that "office hours" do not mean anything to software professionals or their employers. It mainly depends on how you develop your own skills. A male professional whether married or unmarried can spend even up to 14
hours a day to produce a result as he does not have any other responsibility. This would be seen by the employer as committed, hardworking and quick at doing work. This kind of committed time and energy sharpens his skills and his career graph shapes upwards. On the other hand a woman may until marriage also devote this kind of time and energy for the work. But after marriage, specially after child bearing the woman's energy and time share has to be split between her home, children, husband and work. Here is when her career graphs upward slope either slows down or becomes a plateau.

Even though the entry is gained for the employment, and the competence of male and female is same, the real difference is visible at the creamy layer. This is in spite of the fact that many a times the employer connects an employee's residence through an internet so that even during illnesses or maternity the woman is working.

Another reason why women are readily absorbed is that as compared to unmarried women, unmarried men are more likely to be fond of job-jumping in search of greener pastures and may quit without giving much notice time
period. The unmarried women are likely to move only if they get married. While married men may not jump often, he is still more likely to quit in search of better avenues compared to married women who are least inclined to shift as it means disruption of family routine. Software field requires continuity of work of at least one year and employees quitting with half done work leads to delay in completion of the assignment. Further, the software professionals have the advantage of working from their house using the networking system. They can avail off this facility in cases of long illnesses or maternity period.

Another advantage this profession has is that one can freelance from an office cum residence arrangement. Hence, they do have a choice whether to work in an office or be self-employed. This is of special interest to women as they can manage the home and also be working.

VI.7 ACCEPTANCE OF WOMEN IN JOB MARKET AND ORGANISERS' OPINION
The issue of women's acceptance in job market and organiser's opinion is of special interest as one, it is of direct relevance to the objective of
this study and second, these women would be the trend setters for the future. They would set a precedence for more girls to be technically qualified, seek employment and set the ground for an egalitarian family and society.

A decade ago very few women Engineers were employed even on trial basis. It was considered a risk in all senses. But today it can be said that the employers have partially shed off their fear and have begun to employ women. The Management personnel as well as the employers interviewed affirmed that the women have themselves proved their capabilities. Now-a-days, the employers especially of the small scale industries are ready to interview women candidates, giving them a fair chance and are unbiased. Ms. Aditi shared, "they do not carry any doubts about ‘how can a woman work like an Engineer?’"

The only apprehension they have in their minds is how long will she work, meaning will her marriage and later child bearing role alter her outlook. It would influence her to quit the job. A senior executive from the Human Resource Development Department shared the Management’s dilemma,
Unlike earlier times, we are now open to women joining our Production Department and giving due training to them. But our experience in the last 4-5 years indicate that many of them change their priorities after marriage and want to leave our job even when the remuneration is so high. We always wish they would not leave us and have a firm mind.

One of the interviewee has set her own Electronic unit. She said that she conducts interviews herself and whoever is more capable get selected. She said that a wrong perception prevails amongst employers as regards maternity issues. Bearing a child is a natural phenomena in women and so they are aware that even though employed; a maximum of two maternity leaves would be taken. Further she emphasised that child bearing being a natural cycle in a woman's life, it should be accommodated with grace. Her past experience showed that if the employer is accommodative at such a stage, then these women remain sincere and continue to work and do not quit. It is because it is not easy for the employer to continuously invest time and money in recruiting and training new hands.

Women are seen as more sincere, reliable and possess patience to do repetitive, routine jobs. The women are likely to stick to jobs which give less headaches, have
understanding employers and adequate remuneration. Women have a tendency to stabilize. In other words, bogged down by the stress, they make genuine efforts to manage and effectively control the pressures of office work in the similar manner as done at their homes. Mrs. Krishna does not depute women to marketing assignments and outside touring jobs because of commitments at their home front.

Mr. Deshpande, a senior trainer in a large Engineering manufacturing factory has array of experiences. He said that girls today have a very strong desire to work in a factory and practically use their Engineering skills on the shop-floor. But once they get married their priorities change by themselves. Even if the husband is accommodative they are unable to manage both the places - office and home, effectively and end up with a guilt feeling. Hence they tend to shy away from a 8 hours job plus a possible overtime.

But there is a positive side to it because of which women are increasingly being employed as technical resource. They work sincerely, consciously and most important they never leave their assignment incomplete. Mr. Deshmukh a senior executive of the Research and
Development shared that, "women are more good at intellectual work. Hence are best suited for work on "control panels" (Electronic Engineering) and Research and Development department (Mechanical Engineering)".

The fact remains that 10 years back the management did not want to take the 'risk' of employing women Engineers. Today they are only being cautious but are employing women. Their policies have changed. As other industries are taking women, they do not want to be branded different/orthodox and hence left behind. Another sociological issue which comes out strongly is the dual role burden. Dual role burden exists and is accepted by many working wives. They do not vocally assert their equality. Management shares that they are best suited for Research jobs and on Control panels.

VI.6 MATERNITY
In Sociology, women figure only in the section 'role of family', in that they are seen as agents to perpetuate the lineage and also the traditions and culture. Child bearing is a natural process for a women. Only after women have gained employment, has the question of maternity leave come up. In the
long term interest it would be worthwhile to know the
reason of only three months of maternity leave and
that too only twice as prescribed in India. A woman
may lose a child before birth or soon after birth; in
such case of medical problem she stands to be loser
as she has availed off two maternity leaves but has
only one living child. This study restricts itself
in knowing the opinions of the respondents on the
issue of maternity.

Most of the interviewees had their child in the first
year of taking up the job. They planned their child
keeping in view their career. Three months of
maternity leave seemed sufficient though few had
extended it by one month. They were questioned on
whether three months is adequate or not and further
their views on paternity leave.

The interviewers by and large felt that three months is
inadequate but do not want to vocalize it in so
many words as it would adversely affect the
employment of women. Alternatively, the maternity
leave could be joined with paternity leave.
"Paternity leave" evoked varied responses. This
proposal was a welcome. Some said the paternity leave
should be for 15 days since the day of delivery while others felt it could be for maximum period of three months. But the freedom to choose when to take should be available. A few women did not assent to this proposal saying that after all it is only the mother who can feed the child. But if the machine which stores the mother’s milk (for over 12 hours) is available here, then paternity leave could be regarded as more worthwhile. The father thus can look after the baby.

They were averse to the idea of six months maternity leave because it would definitely affect woman’s employment adversely; even though ideally speaking 6 months would be a boon. An interviewee shared that ‘the employers are now comfortable with three months of leave, but they will not assent to six months maternity leave; after all it is a profit making organisation and not a charitable trust.’ Private organisations would not like to employ women at-all. One, the employers would not like to pay for 6 months of maternity leave. If the Government takes initiative to pay for 3 months then private organisation can pay for 3 months of the remaining maternity leave. As today, private organisations feel that two, 6 months leave may be
not practically feasible because the organisation would be in effect losing a trained personnel for 6 whole months; meaning thereby that a replacement is inevitable. Further they would have to waste resources training a new person just for temporary purpose.

Maternity leave is talked about by the private organisations as a burden. Sociologically as well as scientifically it is accepted that development of good human resource is essential. Moreover, with the rise in cost of living number of children hardly ever goes up to three. Also according to factory law there is no provision for maternity leave for the third time. Women take leave either for bearing, rearing of children, other household responsibilities but men take leave for their own selves. Equal amount of leave is available to both except six months of two maternity leave. It is a wrong perception that women take leave often. The respondents also shared that now a days women do not quit the job due to pregnancy because to restart after a break is very difficult. Women thus carry on working during the child bearing age also. They definitely strain their health.
VI.9 MANAGING HOME AND OFFICE

Women have gained employment but their main responsibility lies in managing home effectively. Irrespective of the status they achieve and the economic contribution they make; they remain the sole in charge of managing the house. Whereas men are involved only in building their career and earning money.

There are certain assumptions as regards the role of the woman even after being employed-

1. The responsibility of the household lies with the woman.
2. She has to make things happen so as to manage the home and office effectively.
3. If the husband is helpful in household matters, she should thank her stars; if he is otherwise, she should have nothing to complain.

As a comparison, the mental state of the married man in the related issues are -

1. The responsibility of the household lies with the wife while he may "help" at times.
2. He has to only manage his office routines.
3. If his wife fails to effectively manage the house,
he can reprimand her.

The interviewees who were from Pune, conveyed that everyone has to work, hence they too took up jobs irrespective of economic necessities. They were conscious that in spite of their professional education, they would have to look after the house, even if it amounts to quitting the profession. Mrs. Joshi's mother advised and cautioned her by saying, "if you work in an office, people will praise you, but if you are unable to manage both effectively, you will be stigmatised or be mocked at".

In most cases, when the child was young, it was looked after by the interviewee's mother, or mother-in-law. Some had to avail the facilities provided by creche or servants. Also, quoting an interviewee, "My mother-in-law is a wonderful lady, she generally prepares my tiffin in the morning and would try her best to help me", she further admits, that it is only because of her mother-in-law that she can go to her office and carry on with her career plans unhampered by domestic responsibilities. Once at home, she whole-heartedly devotes her time to the family affairs.
The women who have made a mark in their career say that a husband's ego has to be pampered especially in cases of working competent wife. Mrs. Godse's (an Engineer) husband who is also an Engineer shares that as much as he is proud of having an Engineer wife, his ego has to be satisfied as he feels the threat of losing her to her career. Hence deliberate efforts have to be taken to pamper husbands ego if she shows signs of moving above him professionally. All the interviewees shared that they can never (even under adverse circumstances) neglected their children and husband at any cost for their office work or its strain. This conveys that at times they do tend to forgo professional opportunities for the well being of the family. This may not be true for men.

On the lines of -"when will working women have wives?"; Mrs. Rao summed up the tension and the conditions in which a self-dependent working wife is created - "working women cannot crib or be visibly disturbed about some issue (in office) and share it with their husbands because he would say if you are unable to manage office work quit the job; unlike the male colleagues who can cry on their wife’s shoulders."
"Further, women workers do not seem to have the same 'need' for home comforts and a listening ear as men - and to the extent that they do need comfort, and support, they are thought to be able to provide it for themselves or to get it from other people (women) rather than necessarily from their husbands.

Some of the interviewees said that they deliberately refrain from socializing because that is the only time they get to spend with children and husband. Due to fear of children being addicted to TV and other vices, in the absence of the attention of their parents; they doubly refrain from going out after office hours. A point which couple of them harped was that well educated working women spend "quality" time with their children, teaching them even while having casual conversation which is in contrast to the many hours spent by housewives with their children. It is the 'quality' time spent that has an impact on the intelligence of the child. The child too imbibes certain qualities, seeing both the parents making

optimum use of time. All this has a positive impact on the quality of the human resource. Ann Oakely while referring to cultural division of labour claims that, ‘working mothers enjoy their children more and are less irritable with them than full-time mothers’.  

Mrs. Kataria who by her choice got married in a Punjabi family settled in Pune was not permitted to work outside even when she possessed a B.E degree. Now, at the age of 44, she manages the accounts of their business using the Computer with the help of an accountant in the home itself. It was a painful experience for her to accept the role of a ‘house-wife’ when she had professional capabilities. There are regional differences of attitude towards women working outside the house. Here, the researcher is unable to provide any supporting data for the trend among Punjabis not to allow the women to work outside the house. Mrs. Kataria shared, 

I am a Maharashtrian Brahmin but got married to a Punjabi classmate of Engineering College. I had a strong desire to work and make use of my education but my mother-in-law said "in our family we do not permit

women to work outside, it is the question of the family's izzat. Had I married a Maharashtrian I would not have faced this problem.

The respondents shared that it was a tight rope walk for them managing home and office. Only after they finish home work can they begin with office preparation and office.

VI.10 CAN YOU REACH THE TOP?

With the rise in the cost of living and the urge to be independent, financial reasons would be important for women to take up employment. Yet it cannot be ruled out that these women who struggle at home and office would have a desire to achieve certain higher level in their career. But in a male dominated world is it possible to leave a mark?

The interviewees were positive that they would reach the top. Some added a skeptical note to it. They said that if only I stick on with a job will I reach the top. A respondent put it all in a sentence - "We have to work doubly hard constantly to prove our capabilities." The reasons which made them say 'yes' were - they were serious about career hence would stick on; their work performance were excellent; they were
sincere and submitted the work in time; possess good work record and some were senior most in their departments. The few reasons of skepticism were - that they should be able to continue with persistent efforts; should be able to manage office and home even after having children; take the strain; and most significant the boss should be 'confidant' of them rather than 'test' them. Another set of hindrances were - if only they could gossip or socialise with the (male) bosses as other male colleagues do, in order to please them and to remain in their good books; and no political games are played. Promotions were at times subject to the fact that they lacked contacts at the top level and they were unable to socialise with their male bosses unlike their male colleagues.

VI.11 FACTORS RELATING TO SEX INEQUALITIES IN (A DEVELOPING) LABOUR MARKET AND RESPONDENTS OPINION.
Setting up of large industries and factories lead to formalised impersonal work relationship, protective legislation, specialisation of tasks, a fixed location of work and hence separation of the work place and home. This section includes the experiences and opinions of the respondents in this study.
VI.11.1 **Protective Legislation**:

Protective legislation includes prohibiting the employment of women in industry during the night, in certain types of work such as underground work or work involving lifting of heavy weights or other work considered dangerous to health, maternity leave, and requirement of separate sanitary facilities for women. Such legislations follow from ILP standards and conventions. Protective legislation may lead to protective discrimination which can adversely affect the attitude towards employing women. This point has strongly come through from the respondents. Ms. Lalita for example asserted that since she is unmarried and carries no major domestic responsibility, and in addition she has her own conveyance, she would willingly stay longer in office to pursue her work without a discontinuity. But the company/factory rules do not permit it. Likewise the inability of the women to work in the night shift encourages the employers to prefer men in capital intensive industries where equipment has to be continuously in process to be profitable. It hence raised the relative cost of women workers. The protective legislation then comes as a mixed blessing. The women respondents in this
study have debated the question of time duration of maternity leave and the viability of paternity leave. Also none of the respondents had creche facilities attached to their office and hence they had to stop breast feeding as soon as they resumed the office work. Yet on the other hand they dismissed the idea of six months maternity leave as they were sure it would affect women's employment adversely.

Women hence tend to keep silent in such issues and the solution in not sought. Going back to the example of the employee willing to work after office hours, they are unwilling to take it up with the management as other women may not be thinking the same way. Also the Management can legally be punished by the Labour Office for not obeying the legislation.

VI.11.2 Working hours and location
With industrialisation the location of work has been separated from the home. Domestic responsibility and work thus have become separate and practically it puts more burden on women who have to do the domestic's work, child bearing and rearing. This set up becomes more rigid with the fixed hours and full time employment. Full time employment entails a 48 hours
work per week. This criteria can be modified to suit the women. Instead of pressing hard on number of hours of work, the completion of an assignment can be emphasised. Further part time employment for women could be worked out. In industrialised societies in recent years, part time work has become an important means by which women with family responsibilities have been able to join the labour force.

VI.11.3 Absenteeism & Pregnancy

Many respondents showed that since they were in the Management cadre - in technical sector and were held responsible for the assignments it was not an easy task to take leave. Dead lines, meetings, out station trips and other emergencies had to be catered to hence taking leave has to be more or less planned. In case of children's illness, etc. they had to first hand over the work to a colleague or request their husbands to accommodate with the child's needs. The employers too affirmed that except during the pregnancy period and initial child rearing women rarely took leave. Otherwise women did not take any more leaves than men.

Also they said that each one of us should accept the motherhood role of women as it is natural and so there is no much point in making a issue of it instead a co-operative attitude should be carried.

The respondents employees and employers both asserted that in these days with the cost of living rising and within the set up of a nuclear family, it is rather difficult to have more than two children. This notion could also existed due to the fact that they are educated meaning thereby that pregnancy leave was taken only twice. The Computer professionals also showed that the work can be carried out effectively from residence on an inter net and rigidity to working hours can be circumvented.

VI.11.4 Sex Typing of Jobs
The sex typing which has surfaced in our study is greatly flexible yet it does indicate the back drop of division of labour in favour of men. In the Engineering field it did seem apparent that women were less in Civil Engineering field. The Engineers and the employers both favoured working in Research and Development which is more a mental job than physical. The Computer field had considerable number of women but
at the most specialised level men dominated in numbers.

VI.12 SUMMARY

While the women consciously nurtured a "career minded" outlook, they were also aware that they should be prepared to manage the house and family along with the job after marriage. Thus they knew it was not an easy task. If the husband was cooperative and helpful it was their fortune but in case he was neither cooperative nor willing to shoulder any domestic responsibility they were expected to accept it in their stride.

Besides a good academic record what counted was the competition they faced for securing admission in professional colleges. The Engineers had a stiff competition, one, to secure admissions to the Engineering Institutes and second, to get a good job.

For non-Engineer Computer professionals admissions was not so tough as was getting a job and continuing with it.

This is strictly the findings of the interview. A senior women Engineer affirmed that the employers have no disappointing experiences with their women Engineers. In fact, employers strongly felt that they
are more reliable and are unlikely to leave a job undone. But on issues like marriage, maternity and child rearing they are unsure. On their part to solve this dilemma, they have a tendency to recruit married women rather than unmarried. Majority of times, marriage results in change of the residence not only outside the town, but in metropolitan cities even a shift of residence can result in large distance and hence quitting of job. Referring to the position of the minority of women who enter male-dominated trades and professions, Harriet Bradly opines that,

This presents them with a double bind; if they take man on in their own terms, they are denying their feminity, which may diminish their private status as women; if they assert their feminity they risk being labeled as inferior and inadequate workers.

There is a tendency for these professionally qualified women to opt for the teaching profession in various institutes, colleges, universities etc. What draws them back to this 'feminine' work profile is the flexible timings and a unstrenuous routine where in they get enough time to look after their children and home. Majority of the respondents rated computer

career as good to best but put in a work of caution saying - "It is a very strenuous and demanding job and overtime is often and hence requires a very understanding family".

6 Sticher Sharon and Jane Parpart opine that: However, full-time employment of the mother does appear to weaken traditional sex role stereotypes among children, having positive effects on daughters' feelings of confidence and self-worth, but less positive effects on son's self-confidence and ambition. Other interesting feelings are that unemployment of the husband causes less stress in families with less traditional sex role conceptions, and that dual career families have less stress if there are flexible role conceptions. At present such research has been confined largely to industrial societies; there is a fertile field for more such research in areas in the Third World where paid employment for both women and men is growing.

Technical education along with a promising employment and career is having an impact on the familial authority patterns. The authority may not be questioned very overtly yet circumstances force certain adjustments resulting in the emergence of more egalitarian family structures.

Along with accepting the fact that the wives too are

employed and their economic contribution is substantial, the husbands in particular and other family members have begun to share the household responsibility of everyday chores.

Protective discriminatory laws at times becomes dysfunctional for the participation of women. In the study undertaken the respondents have shared that when unmarried there is generally less familial responsibility and they are willing to stay late in the office to finish their assignment. This was more prevalent in the case of computer professionals. But the management did not want to take such responsibility and hence in the long run there is adverse impact on their career.

In the Computer field, the private sector is preferring to employ persons on the basis of the assignment rather than fixed working hours. Also they are promoting the use of internet due to which work can be carried home and communication be done directly through the computer. Hence even during maternity period, the women can continue working.

Employment can give the women the financial
independence but the private organisations generally have fixed time schedule which is unsuitable for women as they have to look after the children and the house. Three months of maternity leave is less according to some respondents but they further add that six months leave would adversely affect women's employment. They opined that a combination of maternity as well as paternity leave should be evolved.

The Maharashtra State Policy for Women has attempted to recognise such hindrances as well as the facilities like creche and flextime which would enable women to seek employment. The Maharashtra State's Policy for Women has emphasised the need to develop part time employment opportunities for women. During child bearing and rearing stage it would give the women economic sustenance power. The policy has also stressed the need to have creche facilities near the work place. But in doing so, they should withdraw the clause of 'above 30 number of women' as it give a chance to the employers to restrict the women to 29 numbers.

Pune has the precedence of more than 100 years of
women's education. Social reformers emphasised the advantages of education. Gradually their employment in certain areas like nursing, teaching, doctors was accepted. Also this help them in creating a niche in new jobs. This region thus has a work ethic where in mother and mother-in-laws have been working and thus the younger women have perpetuated it. These women has the role model of the other elderly women who worked. This set the trend of liberation as majority women had work culture at home.

A systematic policy has to be chalked out by the Government which would enable women to be employed, with their career graph pointing upwards. Women hold the responsibility of bearing the children towards which a positive attitude has to be developed by the society as a whole.