CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Women and Their Problems: A General View

The basic underlying motive of women's movements and research on women's issues worldwide is the unequal status—economic, social and political—of women vis-a-vis men. In every aspect of day-to-day life, property issues, agricultural and industrial labour, violence, legal and civil issues, education, health, etc., women the world over continue to be discriminated against. The social oppression of women serves to keep women tied to the family and home. In addition, this activity is not considered as 'real' work and goes unpaid for. In societies where women have been able to enter the labour market, they have limited access to superior occupational positions and remain in positions considered as lower level merely by the fact that women occupy these positions. The sexual division of labour has not only divided work into household work and family responsibilities (done by women) and real work (done by men) but also women's work and men's work in the labour market.
Even in the most advanced countries of the world like Denmark, Norway and Sweden, women's average earnings continue to be approximately 20 percent less than that of men. In France, there is continued pressure for women to keep to their traditional roles at home. Almost 40 billion hours of work by women per year goes unpaid for. In Japan, Korea and Taiwan, the culture is blatantly patriarchal with women's earnings declining steadily to only about 43% to 45% of men's earnings (ILO, 1983, Table 17A). In the U.S., there has been a significant devaluation of women's household work but without a corresponding change of attitudes they face at the work place. Moreover, inspite of the devaluation of household work, women continue to perform most household chores. In 1979, it was estimated that this work would cost approximately $14,500 per year (World Conference, pg. 4).

When we talk of women in management, there are two issues on which we focus on simultaneously, women and management. Why do we refer to issues of women in the context of company management? There are two reasons for this. Management and executive positions are the fastest growing and sought after occupations, not only in India, but all over the world. These occupations traditionally dominated by males, are now seeing the entry of
women, thereby transforming the sexual division of labour. It is interesting to see the constraints faced by women entering male dominated structures. Also, management, which implies power, control, leadership and decision making, questions the sphere of male superiority and is, hence, unlike just 'any other job' like a secretarial or even certain engineering or scientific activity.

An understanding of the factors constraining women in modern career paths is important to draw policies both at the national and the organisational level, for the future.

The central question in this field of women in management is what are the factors and forces which inhibit (i) entry of women into managerial positions in public and private organisations and (ii) upward mobility of women in the organization.

Broadly speaking, we can classify the factors affecting a woman's career as:-

- factors relating to women themselves (i.e. their traits),
- factors within the organisation and
- factors outside the organisation
The factors pertaining to a woman are essentially socio-psychological factors. These socio-psychological factors are based on the personal attitudes of men and women to women in management. Certain traits, attitudes, etc. of women are seen as the reason for women's slow rise in the management hierarchy. Biological differences vis-a-vis men and role socialisation are the basis for differences in attitudes and traits of women.

Factors within an organisation are due to women occupying certain positions within an organisation and also few women being in positions of power lead to stereotyping of women. Discrimination and reinforcement of traditional beliefs of women inhibits the career growth of women. Other factors within the organisation include lack of mentors and role models and networking opportunities.

The systemic factors theory is based on the dual labour market theory in which the labour markets are segregated on the basis of race and gender. Although this theory will be discussed in greater detail in our next chapter, we note here that these systemic barriers are structural in nature. As pointed out by Thomas & Alderfer (1989), they arise when identity groups (gender, race) do not coincide with organisation groups (based on tasks, position in the hierarchy). Sexism creates and institutionalises identity groups - men and women. Men are seen as stronger, able to take more risks, better decision makers,
etc. whereas women are taken to be weak, timid, powerless, soft,
etc. Various labour laws prohibiting women in certain kinds of employment are examples of systemic factors. This segregates the labour market occupation wise and women are taken to be qualified for only certain jobs. Moreover, sexism has been internalised by women themselves and thereby form and 'internal barrier' to a woman's growth and development (Brenan, 1988).

Factors outside the organisation include socio-cultural and economic factors. The socio-cultural and economic factors explanation places women in management in the wider context of women's position in society. In a sense, these factors are ultimately the reason for discrimination against women since both, socio-psychological and systemic factors arise from the socio-cultural and economic reality. However, we distinguish between factors inside and outside the organisation to be able to understand whether, once women are able to enter managerial positions and break away, at least partially, from their traditional roles, what actually influences a women's growth and development in her career. If factors external to the organisation are more important in determining a women's career path, we are implying that traditional roles and modern career paths are contradictory to one another. Can a women then be successful career wise only at the expense of her traditional roles? Can a woman transcend, rather than reject her traditional roles, while pursuing her career successfully? If factors within the organisation are actually more important in
determining the 'glass ceiling' (Morrison & Glinow, 1990) and not the external factors, then our conclusions about traditional roles of women and their careers will be very different. Policies within an organisation will then be of primary importance and such policies should yield positive results.

Economic factors, including education are more useful in explaining the difference in numbers of male and female workforce and their occupations. However, the cannot explain why females with the same economic and educational background as their male counterparts may find constraints in the access to jobs and upward mobility in their occupations. If education is treated as an investment in human capital, then what we are implying here is that the pay-off (in terms of position and thereby incomes) on this investment will vary depending on the gender of the person, i.e. the returns for females will be lower.

The most important socio-cultural factors that influence a woman's occupational career are the family and her traditional role as housekeeper.

The family has been defined and evaluated in many ways. Although some earlier sociologists like George Peter Mudrock (1949) argued that the family is a universal social institution over all societies, we have enough evidence today that the family is not universal, neither over time nor different cultures. The matrifocal black families of the West Indies, Guyana and U.S. and the kibutz systems in Israel are counter examples to the idea of
a universality of the family. Subsequent studies on the families focused on the functions (Talcott Parsons, 1959) and dysfunctions (Vogel & Bell, 1968, Leach, 1967, Laing, 1971 and Cooper, 1972) of the family. The dysfunctions of the family referred mainly to child development. Cooper focused on the stultifying influence of the family on individuals - the exploitative family produces an exploitative society. The Marxist view of the family propounded by Engels, sees the family as not only essential for the social reproduction of labour but also creates and sustains an attitude to develop this workforce without rewarding the labour (of women) in developing this workforce.

Though there are limitations to each of these views, the family as a social institution continues to survive today (see Table 1.1 below). The structure of the family in the urban, industrialised societies (including such areas in the developing world) have undergone significant change. The Industrial Revolution which took production away from the family to the factory, created what Parsons called the 'isolated nuclear family'. The isolated nuclear family had the following characteristics particularly suited to the post-Industrial Revolution economic structure:-

- it allowed for greater social mobility,
- it allowed greater geographical mobility,
- the availability of services meant that the services of the extended family were no longer as important,
- the emerging individuality of persons was better accommodated in a nuclear family.
Table 1.1: Married 20 to 64 Year Old Women as % of All 20 to 64 Year Old Women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage (Year)</th>
<th>Percentage (Year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>79 (1956)</td>
<td>80 (1966)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>72 (1951)</td>
<td>77 (1961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>72 (1955)</td>
<td>76 (1965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>75 (1956)</td>
<td>76 (1966)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD, 1968

The nuclear family, with a husband, a wife and children, became functionally more specialised and its functions were given even more qualitative importance. Based on studies in the U.K., Fletcher (1966) argued that the functions, especially their role in socialising the young, "increased in detail and importance".

With a smaller family and it being the only outlet for non-economic, emotional relationships, the quality of services provided by the family became more important.

What was the woman's role in the new nuclear family? Perhaps the most detailed study of this question was undertaken by Ann Oakley (1974). Oakley found that before the Industrial Revolution, the family was the production unit in which the husband and wife were indispensable to the production process.
Household responsibilities were handed down to unmarried children. During this period, the wife was neither economically dependent on the male nor completely 'domesticised'. However, with the advent of the Industrial Revolution, production shifted to the factory. Small artisan units closed and the supply of proletarianised artisans flooded the labour markets. To control this flood in the labour markets, child labour was restricted and women were kept out of the labour force. This increased the dependence of children and women on men for their survival.

Also, to keep women out of the labour market, legal, institutional and ideological means were propagated to keep women at home. By the twentieth century, the housewife-mother role of women became institutionalised as the 'primary role of women'.

The effect of this can be seen as late as 1977 in the U.S. when almost 16% of all households had the father as the single wage-earner, a mother as a full-time housewife and at least one child (Levine & Lyons, 1980).

In the West, the feminist movement grew out of the peace movements of the second world war and the civil rights movements in the U.S. Beginning in the sixties, the feminist movement questioned every aspect of womanhood - the politics of reproduction, sexuality, housework, parallels between women and
race/caste, marriage, family - and by the seventies the women's movement was able not only to get a number of progressive legislations implemented in every social sphere - politics, education, rape, harassment at work, wages, family - but were also able to significantly affect the attitudes towards women. Levine & Lyons (1980) point out this change in the perception of women and their roles. A woman remarks that the U.S. President Mr. Gerald Ford's "picture (in his shirtsleeves in the kitchen) was a marvellous indicator of change" (ibid, pg. 107). Antal and Kresbach-Gnanth (1986-7) also point out that in W. Germany "as elsewhere (in other Western societies), such prejudices (against women) are gradually disappearing" (pg. 141). Progressive legislations has also minimised the unequal treatment of women.

In 1978, about 42% of the work force were women (Levine & Lyons, 1980) and between 1970 and 1977, the number of women students aged 22 to 34 increased by 133 percent (ibid, pg. 74). In Germany, the percentage of women in universities increased from 23.9% to almost 38% in 1983 (Antal and Kresbach-Gnanth, 1986-7, pg. 139).

Although the number of women in education and the work-force increased substantially by the end of 1970s in the advanced Western economies, we find that, even as late as 1988, only 3.6% of board directorships and 1.7% of corporate officerships in the Fortune 500 were held by women. Table 1.2 below also illustrates the skewed distribution of women in lower level occupational positions.
Table 1.2: Breakdown by Occupational Status of the Female Active Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country, Year</th>
<th>Employers &amp; Independent Workers</th>
<th>Family Workers</th>
<th>Wage Earners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany, 1961</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark, 1967</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands, 1960</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K., 1966</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD, 1968

What then restricts women in senior career positions like management? This is the reason why women in management has gained the special attention of academic researchists the world over. Although socio-psychological attitudes have undergone favourable changes in the advanced Western countries, socio-cultural constraints on women in management cannot be excluded as an important problem facing women in management. Women still are in an unfavourable position when it comes to family and house-work as the study done of London families shows. See Table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3: Choice Between More Pay and More Time Off

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Time Workers</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More pay</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Time Off</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other answers</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.L.O. studies bring out some interesting statistics to substantiate the above arguments. Worldwide, women work twice as many hours as do men. Whole time housewives work about 69 hours a week. Working women who usually end up doing most of the house-work in addition to their job, work 55 hours at home and 44 hours outside, i.e. 99 hours a week. In Italy, 85% of full-time working women (with outside) jobs do all the housework. In Europe as a whole, women with jobs have half the leisure time that men do (International Women's Tribune Centre Inc., 1986, pg. 5).

1.2 The Indian Scenario

In the underdeveloped world, in addition to the above problems, a majority of women have to face extreme poverty and even stronger religious and patriarchal structures which reinforce their inferior status. The pressures of poverty have forced women to find employment in the informal sector where working conditions are dismal. In the organised sectors, they have been stereotyped in occupations which are grossly undervalued. These jobs on an average pay as low as 50% of comparable jobs which males take on (Ibid, pg. 10).
The economic exploitation of women is only the manifestation of a whole body of social oppression of women. For society to be able to discriminate against 50% of its population, it requires an ideology, a set of beliefs, which can form the basis of and sustains this economic exploitation of women.

It is true that although women belonging to different classes, races and castes face different degrees of discrimination and of different types, women continue to be discriminated from men by the fact that they are women. This common factor cuts across class, caste and racial boundaries and thereby warrants study of women's issues independent of other exploitative relations.

In India where almost half the population continues to live under the poverty line, women's issues by themselves are often considered privileged or not so important an issue. Much research in India has therefore focused on class-caste-gender issues, rather than pure gender issues. Consequently the literature available is mostly on the issues facing the agricultural labourers and the unorganised-informal industrial sector.
However, India's upper and middle classes have grown phenomenally since the 1980s and now account for more than 200 million people, i.e. roughly around 40 to 50 million families. Women from the upper and middle class have been able to receive a good education and take up jobs and professions making them more upwardly mobile. Today we find them in all echelons of employment including science and technology, management, engineering, finance, etc. At the same time, women continue to face an immense amount of pressure in our society to maintain their conservative-traditional roles. Though poverty is not a significant problem for women of the upper and middle class, a number of important issues have arisen - dowry and bride harassment, sexual harassment in the workplace, etc.

Having come from the same class situation as these women, I was interested to learn, if and how, women face discrimination at the workplace, in spite of being legally empowered, economically independent and career oriented. I found relatively very little research focused on women in the organised sector in India, especially women in higher employment positions, unlike the research been done on women in development which focused on the class-caste-gender nexus. It is for this reason that I took up research on Women in Management in India.
In India, the socio-cultural factors play an even more important role than the advanced Western world. As we mentioned above, social institutions have been able to sustain our beliefs continuing the economic exploitation of women.

Just as in the West, the impact of colonial rule in India, reduced the participation of women in industry. Table 1.4 below illustrates this trend between 1881/1901 and 1931 for different industries in Bengal.

Table 1.4: Women Workers in Bengal in Selected Occupations 1881/1901 to 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1881/1901</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Producing &amp; selling ordinary fuel</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making, selling dairy products</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk worm rearing</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton textiles</td>
<td>1703</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk textiles</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jute textiles</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket making &amp; allied handicrafts</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic service</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>4198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice husking</td>
<td>2131</td>
<td>1390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: M.K. Raj, 1988, pg. 41
From then on there has been a gradual decline in the participation of women in the labour force in proportion to the total women population, although in absolute numbers the number of working women has increased significantly. See Table 1.5.

Table 1.5: Decline in Female Labour Force Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female Workers as % Women Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>31.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>33.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>32.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>27.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>23.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>27.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>14.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>20.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ibid, pg. 44

The post World War II Women's Liberation Movements saw more and more women receiving higher level education (Table 1.6) and

Table 1.6: Growth of Women Enrolment in Institutions of Higher Education In India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Women Enrolment (in thousands)</th>
<th>Number of Women per 100 Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-6</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-6</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-6</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-2</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-5</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-7</td>
<td>1125</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: P.P. Singh (1991), pg. 203 from UGC Report for the year 1986-7, pg. 177
entering the labor market. In particular, there has been a rapid increase in the employment of women in the organised sector (which is important to note in reference to the current study). See Table 1.7.

Table 1.7: Women Employment in the Organised Sector, 1970-71 to 1984-85

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women Employment (in thousands)</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-1</td>
<td>1923.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1</td>
<td>2792.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-2</td>
<td>2899.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-3</td>
<td>2996.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-4</td>
<td>3057.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-5</td>
<td>3162.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Labour, 1988, pg. 11.

However, a disproportional number of women have found employment largely in lower level jobs (see Tables 1.8 and 1.9 in Appendix I). Another study (Table 1.10) shows very few women in India in professional careers.

Table 1.10: Women in Professions, India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Females per 100 Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supreme Court Judges</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Court Judges</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.A.S.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.F.S.</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Education Service</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Positions in S&amp;T Org.</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: M.K. Raj, 1988, pg. 86
When understanding the Indian women labour force, we must keep in mind the caste and status factor. Although an increasing number of Indian middle and upper class women receive formal education and training, they do not even enter the labour market. The percentage of unemployed educated women consists of a large number of voluntarily unemployed women, more than 50% of the total number of unemployed women (Kapur, 1986, pg. 297).

This fact reflects the importance attributed to family and housekeeping by Indian educated women. India's historical development was such that the professional middle classes under British Rule came from the upper Brahmin caste and the industrial classes were the trader castes as well progressive peasantry from the upper non-brahmin communities. The caste system is directly linked to family status, this status in turn depends on the control of women as the man's sexual property. Women not only are not supposed to work, in fact, they are not supposed to interact with the outside world.

It is not surprising then that the initial educated women under British Rule in India took up the medical profession or education since these occupations could be sexually segregated.

After Independence progressive legislation like the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976, better education, industrial development in the public sector and urbanisation brought more and more women into higher occupational positions. However, most
urban and professional women are still linked to their family and are very seldom single. More than 92% of all urban women in the age group of 25-39 were married (Ashish Bose, 1975).

A study done of 120 professional women in Delhi indicates that the trend is similar for professional women where almost 80% of them lived in some kind of family structure. See Table 1.11 below.

Table 1.11: Family Structure Related to 120 Delhi Women Professionals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Percentage of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living alone</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with another relative</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal Nuclear</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal Joint</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugal Nuclear</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugal Joint</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents living in</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Liddle & Joshi, 1986, pg. 249

The above study also showed that almost 90% of the women managers from this sample belonged to either the brahmin, kshatriya or non-brahmin (high status, below brahmin but above vaisya) communities.
With this background, we can say that most professional women in India in the middle class have benefited from "... some improvement because of various social and economic factors, but even today the majority of women live in perpetual subservience, self-denial and self-sacrifice" (Bhasin, 1982, pg. 40). Another study concluded that "educated women, employed in white collar jobs or professions, are still subject to various forms of family control" (Raj, 1988, pg. 87).

Hence, the Indian professional women are not able to overcome the sexual division of labour at home and/or in the labour market. It is important to note that the above studies and reports have not been conducted on women managers in particular. Management is an occupation with very different characteristics from, say, medicine or education/academics. Hence, it is important to see whether these general socio-cultural factors remain the primary factor influencing a woman's career in management.
Sociologists have given several reasons for the sexual division of labour:–

- that women's primary role is a mother, wife and housekeeper,
- it is assumed that every woman is economically supported by a man, be it father or husband,
- that they work only to supplement family income and do not work to be successful in a career,
- the discontinuity in their employment for child bearing and rearing, makes women 'secondary breadwinners',
- the dependence of a family on the primary male breadwinner, forces the women to be more geographically mobile and so makes it difficult for her to pursue a career,
- a large pool of 'qualified' women workers, keeps wages for such lower level occupations low.

Studies which are specifically on women managers in Southeast Asia (Table 1.12), have shown that it is not external, but rather factors in the work situation which have contributed her career development.
These factors are the lack of mentors and networking opportunities.

Table 1.12: Career Development - Perceived Roadblocks & Solutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstacles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondents who perceive obstacles to career development</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstacles found in work situation</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstacles found within self</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstacles found outside work/self</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own effort not sufficient to remove obstacles</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Asian Inst. of Management, 1987, pg.10

Does this mean that the factors within the organisation can play a more significant role than the outside social environment even in the Indian context where family responsibilities and the home may be given more importance than other Western or Asian countries, and where external social support mechanisms are not as developed as in the more advanced countries?
1.3 **Scope and Method of the Study**

This was the central question with which I approached the study. To me it seems that the answer to the above is negative - that in India the external socio-cultural environment, the traditional role of women as housekeeper, mother and wife, other family obligations, exert a far greater influence on a woman's career than the organisation itself. I assert here that there is a direct conflict between a woman's traditional roles and her being a successful manager. This formed the central hypothesis of my study.

The above hypothesis gives primary importance to factors outside the organisation. A corollary to this hypothesis is that factors within the company, i.e. the inherent prejudices against women in a male-dominated network which aims at eliminating women at crucial senior positions, are not the factors determining the growth of women in a career. The attitudes of men within the organisation, I felt, were not sufficient to constrain the upward mobility of women in a company. As pointed out earlier, the policies that have to be drawn up to effect change will depend on our results of what are the primary factors constraining a woman manager's career development.
We can now restate our problem as follows:

The dependent variable in our study is a woman's career development. The factors that determine (inhibit) her career development are the 'independent variables'. Three approaches to the study of women in management have given a theoretical basis to explain the primacy of certain 'independent variables'. More precisely, the gender-centered approach has given primacy to particular traits of women; the organisation-centered approach gives primacy to the structure of an organisation, whereas the gender-organisation-systems (GOS) approach points out that it is the broader socio-cultural and economic environment which determine woman's career path. These approaches are elaborated in the next chapter.

In our study, the 'independent variables' have been chosen based on the GOS approach, i.e., rather than study whether or not any one factor, like women's attitudes or organisation structure, inhibits a woman's career development, we take the status of women in management as a continuous and multi-directional interaction of feedback between gender and personalities, organisational structure and context, and the socio-cultural and economic environment in which gender and organisation can be located (Fagenson, 1988). The GOS approach, which is essentially an interactive approach, required a broader methodology to bring out the relative importance of various factors ('the independent variables') which inhibit a woman's career path.
1.3.1 Profile of Women Managers

Before we discuss the 'independent variables' of our study we first determine the relevance of the dependent variable by drawing up a profile of a woman manager by determining career choice, job perception and future plans of women managers. This essentially tells us whether the central question of our thesis is valid one, that is, does the problem of women managers stated earlier exist at all? It was important to know whether women managers were career minded, whether they see their career development as a transient state or long-term proposition involving careful career planning, whether they see impediments in their career development and, if so, what were these impediments.

Once drawn out, the profile of women managers, will indicate to us their concerns, if any, and also whether these concerns originate at the work place or outside the work place, or both.

1.3.2 Work Place Problems: Sexual Politics

Sexual politics is a more general phenomenon and arises in all interactions that arise in the work-place. Interactions between men and women are complicated on account of the sexual dimension. This dimension maybe either attraction between the man and the woman or harassment of the woman by men.
in many cases there may be attraction between men and women and one can say it is purely personal. However, the issue often does not remain personal. It affects personal-interpersonal relationships between others and also has organisational implications. Sexual attraction can begin in the work-place:-

- on account of physical proximity,
- on account of being in constant touch with another person, sharing information and experiences,
- power can be a simulator of intimacy - according to Quinn & Lees (1984, pg. 37), in 74% of the romantic relationships that occur at work, the man is at a higher position than the woman,
- the organisation culture is an important factor. Education establishments, with strong norms of proper behaviour inhibit such relationships.

Sexual politics also has important implications outside the work-place. Seymour (1987, pg. 80) points out that "a lot of clients feel uncomfortable around a woman in business. They know how to relate to their wives, mothers, and girlfriends, but when a woman comes to the office and wants to talk a deal on industrial drills - well, they don't know what to do".
Sexual attraction may have positive and negative effects. What if a woman manager is physically unattractive. True, sexual harassment may be less of an issue. However, if "sexual tension is an important dimension of organisational life, and if it can be managed in healthy, productive ways, attractiveness is an asset" (Quinn & Lees, 1984, pg. 38), then our woman manager is in a disadvantageous position.

A woman in an organisation, in particular a woman manager, must be able to understand the nuances of sexual politics. For example, a relationship with the president of the company may make her advancement in an organisation faster and at the cost of tensions with other senior managers. This can not only make the work environment unpleasant and affect proper and effective work but as found by Quinn & Lees, "men are fired about 5% and women about 11% of the times" (ibid, pg. 40) - this is usually because men are in higher positions and more indispensible.

Therefore, sexual attraction does arise in the work-place and can be viewed as healthy, normal and personal but can have serious effects on a woman's career path. Sexuality is difficult to control. The best an organisation could do is to "imbue it with a spirit of freedom and equality ... not protect but develop respect for people" (ibid, pg. 44).
Sexual harassment is a type of behaviour at the work place. The women's movement has taken up this issue and made changes to protect a woman against sexual harassment. Although empowered and protected by law, it remains difficult for women to take action because of its covert forms as well as threats like losing one's job or position, physical assault, etc. On the other hand, compliance can lead to loss of self-esteem.

More and more studies have shown that sexual harassment is not an expression of romantic or sexual feelings but with the "need to control and exercise individual power" (ibid, pg. 42). Moreover, sexual harassment has found to be less hierarchical than horizontal. With more women being able to reach higher positions, there is also a question of sexual harassment of male employees. Social norms make it difficult for men to come forth with their complaints. There have also been cases of 'false charges'.

Sexuality and sexual harassment are linked to cultural norms of society and the organisations. Since it can have serious implications for its employees, in particular managers, women managers will have to be 'educated' on how to cope with these stresses and strains at work. Organisations will also have to implement programs to control harassment by sensitising its employees and taking action against offenders - in other words, creating a culture in the organisation which does not promote sexual harassment.
We undertook to probe the issue of sexual harassment in a comprehensive manner through field-work and by determining the severity of this issue and draw conclusions as to its seriousness in inhibiting a career path of a woman manager.

1.3.3 Gender Stereotypes and Dual Career Families:

Gender-stereotyping is to make certain unquestioned assumptions about women and assigning certain roles and/or attitudes to women based on these assumptions which are considered 'traditional'.

Stereotyping women can be seen from any of our above discussed theoretical approaches. The inadequacies of the gender-centered and structural approaches led us to consider the GOS approach. Stereotyping women is a societal issue. It has had a severe effect on women, men and organisations which in turn have reinforced these 'traditional' beliefs of women - which can today be considered as 'myths'. We have already seen that many 'myths' about women's attitudes have found no empirical basis at all. However, stereotyping women continue to have a serious effect on women. Some of the most important effects for women managers are:--
- role status incongruency

Men have a higher status in society. This is easily translated as a norm in an organisation so that men find it difficult to take orders from a woman. In an interesting study of restaurants, it was found how cooks avoided face-to-face contact with waitresses because they didn't want to take orders from the waitresses. Another study found that in a group where a woman manager called a meeting she conceived of it as 'a meeting of her staff' but for her male subordinates it was 'a mutual protection society for the interchange of ideas'. The inferior social status of women has come into conflict with a woman manager's higher status roles within an organisation.

- role conflict

A woman's traditional roles are that of mother, wife, housekeeper, sex-object. As Kanter (1977, pg. 8) points out,

"these are ways of resolving the issues of sexuality, competence and control that arise when a woman enters a group of men. Such roles help to confine the woman to a limited place where she is not a competitive threat and her sexuality is comfortably defined in traditional ways".

As a 'mother' a woman is to be seen as kind, sympathetic, uncompetitive, service oriented, not taking independent action, emotional and so on. Women managers come into conflict with such traditional beliefs about the role of women and are likely to face a hostile work environment.
As a sex-object, a woman is likely to draw attention but causing tensions in the work situation and at the cost of demeaning of her other potentialities. As a wife-housekeeper, women are likely to be assigned positions which are part-time, not demanding and which are 'meant for women'.

The effects of role conflict has resulted in several 'myths' which women managers will have to confront in the workplace:

- that a woman's place is at home
- that women work only for extra/pocket money
- woman cannot work as long hours as men because their main place is at home
- women don't care about promotions or responsibilities
- employment of women leads to juvenile delinquency

These 'myths' have perpetuated women remaining in lower level positions in an organisation. The feminist movement has played an important role in challenging these 'myths' which can ultimately be overcome only as the number of women managers increase substantially.
Stereotyping of women has had a definite impact on a woman manager's career. Stereotyping a woman has led to different evaluation norms of men and women managers ultimately resulting in less favourable positions and slower rates of promotion. One study has shown that women had actually more promotions, but there was no correlation between promotions and advancement in the organisational hierarchy, a tactic which is called 'pacification by promotion' (Gregory, 1988, pg. 1.7). Falkenberg & Rychel (1985) have also shown how role status incongruency and role conflict stereotypes have led to the assumption that women are likely to have a higher turnover rate and thereby affect the career mobility of women.

It is not only men and organisations that must be blamed for stereotyping women. LaRouche & Regina (1984) has also pointed out that this stereotyping has affected female behaviour by encouraging "behaviour patterns, mind-sets, and emotional expectations that are often irrelevant, inappropriate and damaging to their own career interests" (pg. 3). For example women may assume that men don't like to work for a female supervisor. However, there is no such fixed rule, for as one study shows, 41 percent of reporting firms indicated that the hired women executives, none rated their performance as unsatisfactory, 50% rated them adequate, 42% rated them the same as their predecessors and 8% better than their predecessors (Stead, 1978).
Expectations are based on the certain myths and "assumptions grounded in the anticipation of a likely outcome" (Hardesty & Jacobs, 1986, pg. 48). The most important expectations of women managers are:-

- expectations about corporate opportunities. A study found that women are unaware that there is a heightened competition for jobs in top management. Women expected that 'of the millions of professionals ... only a handful achieve success'.

- critical mass theory (Collins, 1982) that when women managers account for more than 35% of management positions, discrimination will decline significantly. There has been no strong evidence for this (ibid).

Expectations have led women managers to play the corporate game according to "women's rules" (Madden 1985, pg. 114) which causes many women to first be committed to their personal goals, second to their men and only third to their work (ibid, pg. 91). This has reinforced the stereotyping of women managers.

Expectations, like stereotyping, will have to dispelled by change in social and cultural values (through the feminist movement), institutions (especially educational institutions), the organisation as well as at a personal level.

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Dual-Career Families:

Although the importance of dual-income families have their own peculiarities (Falkenberg & Monachello, 1988), when we talk of women in management, we are more concerned with dual-career families.

A career (Parker et al., 1981, pg. 75) usually refers to a job which requires a high degree of commitment (in terms of time, energy, training), high ego personality, continuous development urge (pay, status, achievement, power). Career positions are usually found in professional, technical and managerial fields where one has an opportunity for self-expression, autonomy and social contribution.

From the beginning of this century, more and more women are working outside the home. In recent years with greater opportunities for women, they have been able to enter career positions. This has simultaneously led to a more and more families in which, both husband and wife, are career oriented.

Plewa & Friedlob (1989), in a study of women accountants, found that 75% of women found an incompatibility between a woman’s professional goals and family responsibilities (ibid, pg. 53). In other words, there is an incongruency between work and family roles (Arnott, 1972), i.e. a woman’s self-perception and behaviour on the one hand and her perception of the expectations others hold or her on the other hand (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969).
Though incongruencies can occur on various counts, the most common is that between a woman's career and her role as homemaker. Many of the present beliefs of women are lodged in social and cultural norms. However, with changes occurring rapidly in the workplace but without a corresponding change at home, there is an increase in conflict between couples and marital problems, divorces and single-parent families are increasing. A new integration of family and work is needed (Hunsaker, 1983, pg. 68).

Based on the studies of Sekaran (1988), Rapoport & Rapoport (1969) and Stanfield (1985), Falkenberg & Monachello (1988) have summarised the problems faced by dual-career couples:-

- role-overload

Even where both husband and wife are career-oriented, it is common that family responsibilities remain in the woman's domain (Keith & Brubaker, 1979, Lein, 1974) because women are traditionally the homemakers and also because the man's career is considered more important (Buttel & Greenhaus, 1982). These have given rise to time management difficulties, problems in the division and organisation of domestic tasks and excess work-related social demands (Falkenberg & Monachello, 1988, pg. 3.13).
Another area where women face a role-overload is when it comes to transfer and travel. For the woman manager, a transfer or travel could mean increased prestige and income. However, for the women there is inverse relationship between travel/transfer possibilities and fulfilling her family responsibilities (Hunsaker, 1983, pg. 72).

- Identity issues

Identity issues arise on account of role incongruencies. A woman's identity depends on her socialisation and socio-cultural norms in a particular society. Women experiencing identity problems can lead to more role overload since she may feel more compelled to sustain her image of 'mother' to the outside world (Yogevo & Brett, 1985).

The most common result of role overload and identity problems is for the woman manager "to subjugate their career needs to the needs of their family, despite the fact that this approach may result in an increase in work-related problems" (Falkenberg & Manochello, 1988, Heckman, Bryson & Bryson, 1977).

In a controversial paper, Schwartz (1989, pg. 184) pointed out "that it costs more to employ women than to employ men, by the virtue of the fact that women still experience difficulty both in getting ahead and in combining career and family".

The general effect of role overload is that women postpone their childbearing until their early 30s, which is precisely when the
returns that employers have made in training and development of their managers begin to accrue. Therefore, the higher costs in employing women must be recognised and appropriate policies have to be drawn with this in mind.

In our study we have directly studied the issues of role-conflict and role-overload of women managers. This was further explored by studying the perceptions regarding women in management, their response to specific issues including networking, understanding the innermost thoughts of women managers and the responses of men managers on women managers.

The perceptions of civil servants further elaborates on these issues. Through our field work we hoped to determine the relative importance of these factors in the Indian situation.

1.3.4 Introduction to Methodology of the Study

Research methodologies depend upon the theoretical bases. Theoretical models of women in management have evolved considerably since the early writings of Hennig & Jardim (1976). The factors affecting women have been better understood and it is evident that a mere anti-macho image theory is insufficient (Calas, 1988).
If we ask whether we have good theories on which to base our empirical research, "the answer is a clear NO" (Sekaran, 1988, pg. 1.20). However, research has shown shortcomings and a clearer picture of WIM, and the approach necessary, has emerged. The deficiencies of both, a gender-centered perspective and a pure organization-centered approach, has pointed out that the direction for future research will have to be the GOS approach.

Sekaran (ibid, pg. 1.20) has summarised the aspects covered by a research design:

1) Type of Investigation - whether it is causal (say gender and attitudes) or whether it is correlational (say between position and power). Causal studies are usually studied in a laboratory setting whereas correlational studies are usually field studies. It should be noted that the theoretical model on which empirical studies are based should be sound. Empirical studies should not be used to validate a theory but rather should be used only to see whether the theory is 'not incorrect'.

Studies can also be either contextual or context-free. The context-free studies are of the more general issues on hand (WIM) and not with reference to, say, a particular industry or sector - education, health, voluntary sector, profit-making industry, etc.
2) Cross-Sectional and Logitudinal Studies - Cross-sectional studies are undertaken at a moment of time. Longitudinal studies, though more difficult, can be valuable to see how certain relationships change over time, other factors remaining constant. Longitudinal studies are useful to study mentoring relationships.

3) Sampling Design - can directly affect the outcomes of any study. The essential problem of sampling design is to generate an 'ideal random sample' which has no biases and which will be truly representative of the whole population. Of course, an ideal sample is difficult to generate, but should be kept in mind while undertaking an empirical study. For example, when studying mentoring relationships, taking a sample from more than one organisation instead of a single organisation, may help neutralise any bias arising from an organisation's culture or history.

4) Data Collection - biases and inconsistencies can occur in data collection. Consistency, for example, can be better ensured by using one interviewer throughout the data-collection process (Mainiero, 1986, pg. 640). Biases have often arisen in studies from questioning techniques and/or questions asked.

The main method used for data collection is the questionnaire. The questionnaire may contain questions which are open-ended and/or closed. Open-ended questions may not be easily quantifiable. On the other hand they can insight into the problem without losing opinions of the respondents (Adler, 1984, pg. 69).
Standard questionnaires like the Women as Managers Scale (WAMS) have been developed to study different aspects of this issue. The WAMS, for example, has been designed "to identify and measure stereotypical attitudes towards women managers" (Peters et al, 1974).

5) Data Analysis - data can be either quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative data can be analysed by using statistical techniques like regressions, factor analysis, content analysis, etc. Today quantitative analysis is more easily accepted in academic circles. However, as Sekaran (1988) puts it "qualitative data, when appropriately collected and analysed, can offer a richness that quantitative data cannot alone provide" (pg. 1.23).

Although there is no doubt that better empirical studies can help us identify better and more 'robust' theories, in more recent years, research is tending to be more 'action-oriented', arising from the practical, day-to-day concerns of working women.

Action-oriented research has become common in India in the context of the voluntary sector and many social movements like the tribal movements. This approach has now been proposed by Susman, 1983) for issues relating to WIM. The steps involved are:-

- identify a problem
- define the problem
- diagnose the problem theoretically to check available options
- plan actions on the basis of alternative options
- select and take a course of action
- evaluate outcomes of the action/s
- identify general findings

Action-oriented research can be useful to individuals, organisations as well as the more general institutional system.

The GOS approach moreover requires a broader scope of questions to understand the interaction between various factors affecting women in management. Our tools were the questionnaire and the case study method which has been detailed below in the following sections.
1.3.5. The Questionnaire

Introduction

The literature search for Indian writing on WIM, yielded only a few of papers and studies, and even less on the macro data about women managers. There has also been theses about women civil servants and women entrepreneurs. Macro data on women civil servants is available.

In addition to literature, there have also been attempts by professional bodies to focus attention on this problem. For example, All India Management Association (AIMA) held two seminars (1988-1989) and a number of papers were written. Similarly, Foundation for Organisation Research (FORE) conducted a workshop (1990-91). These were deliberations where managers, both men and women exchanged opinion about the problems of WIM. The accent was on finding solution to known problems. I had opportunity to attend two of them.

While the discussions were insightful (participants being senior women managers themselves) the data base was very limited and not of great use for research.

While management trade unionism is decades old in India; they are very influential in public sector, associations of women managers are relatively new.
There has been reports of a women managers network in public sector under the Chairmanship of Dr. Reena Ramachandran, a director of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. This network is in the process of collecting data about women managers in State owned enterprises.

There does not seem to be any such attempt on the part of the women managers in private sector enterprises. Similarly in the case of a national data bank, even though some attempts were reported by some Chambers of Commerce.

Organisations themselves do not maintain their records on the basis of gender and data regarding women managers is not readily available. Some organisations also do not seem to be happy sharing this information with researchers. Building up of a national data bank on women managers is overdue, and when it is done and published, it would provide a valuable context for research in this area.

As such an effort is beyond the capability of an individual researcher. I opted to build useful knowledge with regard to selected organisations and analyze it.

In the absence of comparable national data, this study has to limit itself to inter se comparison of sample organisations, and is a "stand alone", which is a limitation.
There is also a matter of definition - while the tasks of a manager are too well known, the title of a manager is an organisational decision: whom it calls a supervisor and whom it calls a manager depends on the management. Apart from the thin line between supervision and management, some the management cadre start with executives and only middle managers are called managers. In some others, the hierarchy starts with a management trainee who is called a manager after successfully completing probation.

For my purpose, I have accepted the company classification because I was looking for women who exercise managerial authority, irrespective of what they are called. It is this group which I have tried to study and understand. It is likely that there are a number of women supervisors who exercise authority of sorts, though not as managers. These do not form a part of my sample. The criteria is both exercise of power and being recognised organisationally to be managers which characterizes the group whom I have surveyed.

It has not always been easy to get comprehensive organisational information about a category of employees (women managers) which is not a usual internal classification. Comparatively it could have easy to collect information on managers in scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. As a matter of fact this information is collected regularly and widely disseminated.
Even if women are perceived as an underprivileged group, Indian industry does not accord them the status of a special interest group for internal policy making.

The absence of both employee recognition, trade unionism and company policy makes women in management a distinct group which has yet to make its impact.

What seems to have happened till now is the recognition of separateness and uniqueness of women managers. It has not gone beyond.
Choice of Organisations

In the absence of both national and sectoral data on WIM, what has possible was to select a viable sample of organisations.

The following considerations were kept in mind in the selection:

(a) Literature suggests that the problems of women in management are of two types: those that are generic to the gender and those that are specific to the organisation. The sample selection should enable the study of both.

(b) For a meaningful study, the organisation, more particularly the workplace must have a reasonable number of women. Isolated women managers (one or two in a location) will not reflect the real problems. Being one or two, they will be on the periphery of the mainstream activity. The choice should be of companies with workplaces where a fairly large number of women are employed as managers.

(c) Medium and small organisations have a greater bias towards an entrepreneurial style, where the top person, may be the owner, decides all issues. These are unlikely to provide the larger area of interaction which is necessary for the study of a special group like WIM. So, the choice has to be large organisations.
(d) Ownership has great influence on managerial policy, so the sample should contain both privately owned and state owned enterprises. There is also an additional factor, state owned enterprises are the largest employers of managers in the country.

(e) The sample should be from a near homogeneous habitat, so that the problem of externalities are not dissimilar. For example, the life in a small town, company townships and a metropolitan town could be very different. The organisations should be from one "town" or at least comparable locations.

(f) The policy offices of the organisation, should be in the same place so that it is possible to interact with the senior policy makers.

(g) The organisations should be sympathetic to the requirements of a social science field researcher: without which the possibility of meaningful data collection becomes difficult.

(h) The organisations should represent a distinct typology e.g. high technology, infrastructure etc. so that generalisations are possible, to cover more than that unit.
Multinationals have a distinct organisational culture, some of it they inherit from their head offices and some as an interaction with local reality. They have limited use for purposes of comparison. Even more important, adding them to make a composite sample could distort the picture.

While a study of women managers in multinational organisational is a valid enquiry in itself, they have been excluded for the purpose of this study.

Keeping these in mind, the first stage selection was to identify relevant sectors, industrial groups. The discussions in the management seminars of the All India Management Association helped one to consider the following as meaningful:

(a) Traditional industry where almost all tasks are by men and women have to find a place for themselves. They have no perceived advantage.

(b) Industry where women have a distinct role.

(c) Industry where the managerial needs are based on "knowledge" rather than traditional skills.

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The choice under the first category was, the steel industry which has masculine connotation of heavy industry where women have not been considered appropriate, except in service occupations like secretarial or personnel work.

I chose Steel Authority of India (SAIL), the largest, metallurgical and engineering company for study.

SAIL apart from being a mega company in its field was also undergoing at that time a managerial reorganisation for better efficiency. So, one more researcher in their offices was not a burden.

As an example of the second, I chose the hospitality industry which provides service to its clients which has "feminine" overtones e.g. looking after guests, making their stay comfortable. Hospitality industry should prefer women in their management group because it is intuitively a task of a woman should be better at performing.
There was another reason. In the AIIMA seminar, there was an interesting interaction between a former woman employee and the male personal director on the question of harassment of women managers. As sexual harassment has been one of the concerns in international literature, an industry where the issue was openly talked about could be usefully added to the sample.

As an example of the third, I chose the information technology (I.T.) industry where the number of women specialists in both soft and hardware is large and where gender is not seen as a disadvantage. Both men and women I.T. specialists have the same professional recognition.

Except in the case of steel, I chose one unit owned by private sector and one unit owned by the public sector. This was not possible for steel because Tata and Steel Co. (TISCO) was not a Delhi based company (the criterion regarding common externality).
The final sample of organisations chosen and their characteristics is summarised in the following table.

Table 1.13: Sample of Organisations and their Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SAIL</td>
<td>- Traditional industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Perceived as a masculine bastion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- undergoing management reorganisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ITDC (Indian Tourism Development Corporation)</td>
<td>- State owned enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- A large hotel chain which provides hospitality for national and international travellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Where a number of women have reached senior positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Indian Hotels Corporation (Taj Hotel)</td>
<td>- State owned enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- A most successful hotel chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Part of reputed Tata group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Thrown for managerial innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Computer Maintenance Corporation (CMC)</td>
<td>- A large software company which looks for its recruits from among the best qualified irrespective of gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- an innovative company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- owned by the State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. DCM Data Products</td>
<td>- Part of the DCM group of industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Recovering from initial failures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- privately owned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The top management of each of the organisations was approached with an appropriate introduction. Post fact, I discovered that this was necessary for cooperation both of the officials and women managers.

All the organisations have been cooperative and the Chairmen of two of them wanted me to share my findings with them, indicating their interest in the subject, women in management.

While the primary object of the field work was women managers, it was felt useful and necessary to interview men managers similarly placed in the organisation, so that one could get a comparative picture.

Ideally, I should have selected pairs of managers, one woman, one man with similar backgrounds. This was not possible in all cases, either because such pairs were not available readily or we could not interest them always.

So, I adopted the next best method of preparing two lists of managers to be interviewed with the help of the personnel department of the company: one woman, one man broadly of similar levels.
Each group corresponding to the other in broad terms. What was attempted was not person to person correspondence but group comparability. This might have also given an unintended advantage of eliminating individual biases.

There could be errors in making groups, due to lack of knowledge, due to non-availability of persons for interview. There have been cases where the response had to kept out the sample, because it was patently unusable.

Inspite of these limitations, the groups put together have a validity for our purpose, to compare men and women managers, similarly situated regarding their work place experience.

The following table gives the sample size

Table 1.14 : Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ITDC</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAJ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMC</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCM</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAIL</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The aggregation of these numbers can be done in two ways; one, by gender - 100 odd managers divided nearly equally, women and men. Two, by organisation, sample of managers of 5 organisation of varying sizes between 20 to 40 (broadly speaking).

One of the ideas when I started the research was to analyse the responses by organisation and compare the status and problems of women in each. After studying the responses we found that inter organisational dissimilarities do exist but they are few and there is a thread of commonality which seems to be more enduring. This could also be because of the nature of the organisations chosen, large organisations have a culture of their own.

So, I thought I should present the results as group findings.

This means that our composite sample size is about fifty respondents, not a small number but certainly not a large one either. This is a limitation, if one can call it so.

Then there is a question of representativeness. What does this agglomeration cover? Is it typical of all women managers?

The answer is a qualified one. If we had available with us the national data bank of women managers, one could have placed it in the context. Because it is not available, we have to hypothesise.
From discussions with many companies (not only those in the sample) one gathers that woman managers are mostly a large company phenomenon, more public enterprise than private industry, more modern than traditional industry, more metropolitan than small town (company towns are an exception).

If this impression is correct (later research could confirm it) then our sample represents the typical situation of an Indian Woman manager.
Various facets of women managers life: The questionnaire

It was not easy to decide on what to include in the questionnaire because the spread of interest is wide, from personal information to workplace problems to wider gender issues.

I did a pilot study in SAIL to test the questionnaire, for clarity, ease of response, respondent attitude and finalised a five part questionnaire. The relevant parts are:

1. Social economic background
2. Career details
3. Atmosphere at work
4. Attitude of family
5. Questions concerning your inner most thoughts
6. Response to wider gender issues

The fifth, perhaps the most ambitious was an adaptation from the research of Dr. D. Varia. I had corresponded with her regarding my work. This is the part which intrigued many of the respondents: some were deeply impressed, some did not see the point, others answered it in varying degrees of seriousness and candour.
The pilot testing of the questionnaire brought out the following issues:

- the length of the questionnaire
- the sequencing of questions
- the amount of help respondent need to answer questions

There was criticism that the questionnaire was long as also an appreciation, that small questionnaires are taken less seriously and the answers are likely to be less thought through.

Learning from the pilot, I planned at least two sittings with each respondent, so that both, the task is easier and a seriousness imparted to discussions.

As it happens, I was able to make friends with some of the respondents and we met many more times discussing my research among other things.

There were two options in sequencing the questions one was to ask in absolute logical order and the other was jumbling it a little so that answers to similar questions can be compared for consistency. Subsequent interviews helped to clarify some of the real or apparent inconsistencies. I preferred the latter.

I found that the most fruitful way of obtaining information was to get the questionnaire filled up by the respondent on her/his own but go through the answers with him/her.
With the result that apart from the questionnaire, I have acquired notes both as supplement and corrections.

In spite of the time spent, not all the questions were equally well answered. For example, I was not able to put across the concept of behavioral distance, people one chooses to work with (within the confines of task requirement) and people one socialises with. The idea was to see whether women managers have distinct behavioral patterns: with colleagues or whether they prefer to work with women. While some answers were given, they did not add up. It is not unwillingness to respond: rather the issue not seen as being relevant to most of them. Likely, socialisation is limited whether with men or women colleagues or the choice at the work place are extremely limited.

Instead, I got interesting insights about this in my discussions with some of them I have used them as supplement: the answers to the questionnaire are inadequate.

Similarly, the answers to part 5; the one about inner most thoughts are of varying quality, so I have selected a few of them from those I have become more familiar for a tentative analysis. It is not representative but could provide some leads to understanding the task which needs more age (maturity) and knowledge (psychoanalitical skill) than I have.
While doing field work, I tried to interview some of the senior women managers (not from the sample), whom I had known well socially and write their story as it were, the way they saw their work life as a personal history which could supplement the survey research. While some were willing I could never establish that sense of sharing of experiences between two women. May be the age distance was too much. Many of them were in their late forties, early fifties and 1 half their age. And the tradition of treating a researcher as one with whom one can share is not universal. So, I gave up the attempt.

The final structure for analysis which takes into account the quality of answers and the coverage of the sample is as follows:

A. Career choice, job perceptions and future plans

1. Social economic background: Age & marital status
2. Why did you choose a management career 2(10)
3. Did you choose this career path 2(6)
4. Perceptions of the job 2(7)
5. Prospects 2(1) : 2(13)
6. Career plan 4(6)
7. Personal priorities 6(7)
B. Work place problems

1. Attitude of the people at the work place
2. Sexual harassment 3(8) : 3 (9)
3. Company policy

C. Role overload and conflict

1. Attitude of the family 4(1)
2. Family obligations and work 4(3)
3. Effect of motherhood on work
4. Obstructions in the progress of women managers 4(12)

D. Perceptions regarding women in Management (WIM)

1. Entry barriers for women into management 4(14)
2. Outlook for women managers 2(14) : 2(15)
3. Is management a man's world 4 (13)

E. Response to specific issues

1. In my opinion feminism is.... 6(1)
2. Gender solidarity 6 (2)
3. Job reservations 6(3)

Note: The numbers relate to the questionnaire while all the responses to the above have been tabulated, the answers to the others are used where they are coherent. Not all respondent's answered all the questions: so the number in the table vary. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix III.
Field work Experience

As I mentioned before my field work was one of the best parts of an enjoyable effort. I met a rich cross section of people - a lot of them trying to find themselves - like me. Thinking back I can have a good laugh at myself - absolutely earnest seeking introductions to various people in the companies having very fuzzy ideas about seniority, personal interpersonal dynamics, getting rebuffed by imperious, private secretaries who informed me "Madam is very busy - appointment not possible". And meeting "Madam" socially and being invited to interview.

The culture of the five organisations is different. SAIL is a mono , gives the impression of hierarchy. To my inexperienced mind, it seemed to have lack of warmth. Respondents were very articulate, also very argumentative, not quite willing to pen up in the first meeting.

It is also an organisation where I interviewed a highly successful woman manager and one whom both the organisation and herself call a 'dismal failure'.

Being the first organisation, I studied, it helped me to correct my perceptions and methods. It was tough but extremely useful.
CMC is a modern organisation keeping in tune with its business ambience, information technology. Women managers are both visible and important. Being an I.T. company, it has considerable attrition (staff turnover) and pays importance to employee satisfaction.

Even though it is a state owned company, it has been successful in creating an atmosphere of trust, freedom and an elan. It is not difficult to identify a young CMC manager man or woman, they have a style.

Both SAIL and CMC at the time of the interviews had very visible Chairmen, V. Krishnamurthy and Dr. P.P. Gupta. They influenced the company policy, particularly employment of women managers. Both have left the organisations since.

Tourism industry can perhaps be called the most feminine of large industry (fashion designing is similar but small in size in India). Employment in this sector has both its glamour and social disappropriation. The two organisations, I worked with Taj (Mansingh and Palace) and ITDC are totally dissimilar even though they belong to the same industry.
Compared to other organisations, I found most managers at Taj spending considerable part of their time at their work place, irrespective of their seniority. As a general manager wryly put it, in the hospitality industry it is most important to be seen around almost all the time - never mind whether one is doing something productive or not".

It is less hierarchical compared to SAIL, at least as far as personal behavior is concerned.

ITDC as a contrast is a big place, in size and the nature of ownership shows. The hand of State is felt all over, informally and formally.

Inspite of this, I found it easy to relate to because of its homeliness (no intended), no starched sophistication of a five star culture, but a genuine warmth. This was expressed in many ways.

My respondents shared their lunch boxes with me, very senior managers being very helpful, sending their peons to escort me round the offices and even opening doors for me. And I was a total stranger to all of them.
DCM Data Products is a part of larger DCM group, a multi product, multi location enterprise. It is essentially a family owned enterprise which carries with it the nuances of its earlier trader background. Women managers are recruited both for the group and the company. But the perception among them there is an under current of unspoken discrimination against women. The answers to the questions do not bring this out, any more than in other companies. The culture is apparently less modern. One does not know if it is a gender bias or a symptom of modernity (lack of it) of the organisation. It is unlikely to be the former, because women in entrepreneurial families are important decision makers. DCM is perhaps no exception. But the feeling of being anti women did come through strongly.

The impressions about each of the company are essentially personal perceptions based on what women and men managers said to me as also what they did not say but what I heard (felt). These observations serve a limited purpose of providing a context, a background to the statistical numbers: making them more meaningful and in no sense is a judgement about them.
Women Managers: A psychological portrait of issues

Section 5 of the questionnaire requires special attention and elaboration in its method. By intensively going through the inner most thoughts of women managers, attempted to get an insight into their perceptions about themselves. To do this, statistical analysis was inappropriate, rather, I used an apperceptive method based on empathy and reflexivity to build a intuitive, psychological profile configuration of the problems of women managers.

It was important to have a sensitive understanding of the psycho-socio reality of women in India. It would be interesting for us to learn if this psycho-social reality was also that of women managers for I felt that it would be an important factor affecting women managers' career. Such an analyses, though not conducive to statistical analysis, will give us a deeper insight into a woman's world, in particular, the problems she faces as an individual, in particular, her career.

India is slowly emerging as a capitalist economy. The feudal-patriarchal society is faced with increasing pressures, making it turn reactionary at times, as its population gains access to education and urban-industrial employment. A typical urban based middle class woman undergoes a progressive Western education, is

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exposed to Western information (including a Western entertainment ethos, liberal scientific temper, etc.), a Western work culture emphasising equality and economic independence and so on.

On the other hand, the domestic life-space is contradictory. A girl child observes that there exists a certain tension which is sometimes articulated and sometimes not, arising from the fact that she is a girl. Her entire psyche is conditioned by this tension. She is told that she must behave in certain way, her ambitions are demarcated and moulded - moulded by her mother's inadequate achievements, she is told that she must 'adjust', she is compared to her brother unfairly, her achievements are looked upon as not of any use in the long run.

To be easily accepted at home, among friends and relatives, a girl must be 'pleasant' conforming to certain established stereotypes. She cannot afford to be different, she has to suppress or hide all her strong emotions which would make her 'different'. Very early in life, a girl realizes that she cannot be alone, be her own - she must be affiliated to a group and then later on in life to a man. Her identity is defined in terms of her affiliations. In school, a girl is seldom found alone. She must be with a girl or a group of girls. This is not so for a boy. Later on in life, before a girl is married, she is someone's daughter. Her identity is subsumed under her father's identity. Young women are often introduced as 'someone's daughter'. This is carried on after her marriage when she is then introduced as
someone's wife' and then as 'someone's mother'.

In marriage, a woman finds that it works out more easily when she wants to be a 'good' wife and mother. When a woman performs her traditional roles, there is less pressure on a marriage. She is able to feel wanted and cared for. If, on the other hand, a woman is more independent, she may not receive the same amount of 'sympathy' which in turn, like a vicious circle, makes her find other areas of self-expression and appreciation. As a child, a girl's identity is subsumed under someone else's. This is carried on when she is married so that she is always trying to make her husband happy and find a space in his life where she finds her identity. She fits her life according to and within his to find a positive response from her husband. She fears independence for it can destroy her marriage. Working women then work only to supplement income not to find an independent identity or economic independence. The situation is changing today, however, at the cost of more strained marital relationships. This is a subtle constraint that career minded women managers are faced with.

Few women get the essential support from the husband that is necessary for her career. Unless the husband is one who says to her that she can be a good wife, mother and a career woman, woman feel that expectations to perform her traditional roles makes it difficult to perform her modern ones, even if she is willing to combine them with her traditional roles. Men today are willing to let their wives be occupied in a career but have still not
been able to accept fully an independent and career minded wife.

When, for a woman, a choice exists between a 'good' marriage (those which easily satisfy her husband's expectations) and a career, a woman often compromises the latter. Our society imposes several stigmas on a single woman so that women even today fear a broken marriage. Women then find 'a bit of their life' in work - even if this work is not 'climbing up the ladder'.

It is a day-to-day challenge for a woman to make her man love her and respond to her emotionally the way she wants him to. On the other hand, a man does not have to spell out his emotional needs. He has always had somebody to love, understand, recognise and appreciate him ever since his childhood. This is often the mother and then the wife. For a woman though, she is always made to feel she is being demanding on her man, nagging him, when actually she is looking for something to have, to hold on to and to take for granted what a man can. What a man gets without having to ask for, a woman has to demand, which is interpreted as dependency on someone, giving rise to feelings of shame. This begins from early childhood when she is taught to give and adjust and prepared for her role as emotional caretaker for the family. She is also taught to nurture, sacrifice and self-efface. On the other hand she must go asking for approval, guidance and recognition for every deed of hers. This carries on in her married life where considerable time and energy is spent in fire-fighting, convincing her in-laws and husband for her need to work, being
thankful to them and being on pins and needles on the job when she is inundated with family responsibilities. Needless to say this is not congenial to an ambitious woman.

Women are taken care of emotionally in phases, never consistently but they draw sustenance from these short periods of care. Often a woman in India gets this security not from her husband, but from other quarters like brothers-in-law, sisters and friends. Friends are an important source of strength for women. Most women schedule time to meet women friends when the husband is away. Women's talk in men's circles is given no importance, labelled as 'gossip' and 'frivolous'. But women friends perform a very important function of being tension release mechanisms - to vent out frustration, anger, sorrow, resentment. They are then able to approach their day-to-day problems at home, with renewed energy. Not to say that women's relationships are always smooth. They are complex, often underlying intense feelings such as envy, anger, jealously and rivalry.

Women in careers find it difficult to find such outlets with other women colleagues. They often become isolated and bitter as they are unable to communicate effectively with their male colleagues for social reasons and at the same time not able to strike a rapport with women friends for two reasons: there are few in similar positions and second, she cannot easily mingle with others from different echelons. She is often branded as having a 'queen bee' complex. Pent up frustrations are put off by the woman acquiring a number of defence mechanisms like over-
aggressiveness, arrogance and being over-scrupulous particularly about written rules. We can expect women managers to be the "crossers of \( t \)’s and the dotters of \( i \)’s".

On the home front, a successful woman needs a very confident man. Rivalry does come into a marriage particularly if the woman is more high profile than her spouse. To keep peace in the house a woman has to underplay herself and her achievements. An earning woman’s status seldom undergoes a qualitative change. She does double duty at home and the office and is a more tired woman both physically and mentally. A woman has to be a strategist, to balance a home and career. She has to apologise, be defensive and give excuses for her work-related actions at home and vice-versa at work. But as women are so used to compromising, far from perfect situations are hardly out of the ordinary.

As we have seen earlier, most educated and career women have emerged from the upper castes. The lower caste-class women have always been working women for they have been forced to supplement their husbands low income. The concept of careers has not been relevant to them. On the other hand, upper caste-class women have not taken to work or careers except medicine. However, they have been the main beneficiaries of better education and opportunities.

Attitudes at home have not changed qualitatively and at the same pace. It is, therefore, not surprising that upper caste-class
women are more prone to pressures of 'tradition'. Dowry harassment is extensively prevalent amongst educated upper caste-class families. Status is also closely linked to a woman's occupation. Amongst the upper caste-class families, a woman being a full-time housewife is a positive feature. A women having to work is seen as lowering the status of the family. Education is given importance not because of the access it gives to better jobs, but because it can secure a more qualified and better husband. Upper caste-class families have stricter codes of dress and interaction with men. This makes it more difficult for women with such backgrounds to function in modern work environments where mentors and networking are important for career development.

Holding the home and hearth together are of paramount importance. It is common to find, in India, that women working in nationalised banks refuse prestigious promotions as this could entail a transfer of location which would in turn disrupt family life. A movement by the entire family would mean that the husband's career is not primary - fact unacceptable to a typical Indian man.

As a mother, a woman is riddled with ambivalent feelings towards her progeny. No matter what she does for her children, she is the one to blame for any emotional and physical inadequacies of her children. The man's responsibility is primarily that of breadwinner. He must be able to afford a good school, good standards of necessities, etc. On the other hand, a woman is the shock absorber in the family, a buffer between the father and the
children. To most children, the father is a being of a higher order. The mother is a notch below. It is taken for granted that it is the mother who should always be at everybody's disposal, whereas the father is busy and at home he should be left alone.

Today there is a significant change in the attitudes of many men. They do take part in household chores and child care. However, the responsibility of a child's development ultimately remains with the mother. Unless this attitude undergoes a radical change, a woman will not be able to overcome the strong feeling of guilt that she experiences every time she is away from her child (at work, with friends, etc.). This makes it difficult for a woman to utilise some of the support systems that are available even in India today. For example, the use of creches or domestic help for looking after children is regarded by the extended family as a woman absolving herself of her duties. The woman constantly fears that if the child were to develop any bad habits or signs of maladjusted behaviour it would be due to her negligence and not being a 'good' mother.

It is then taken that a woman's duty is to give up a promising career and to look after her children. A woman loses touch with her career, becoming and trying to identify with the drudgery of everyday domestic chores, all in the name of motherhood and not receiving any corresponding appreciation for her 'sacrifice'. In the end, the children move out, and with nothing hold on to, it
is too late when a woman realises that her role as mother is only a phase. By then it is often too late to pick up the threads in her career. This is all the more difficult for career minded women, who in today's rapidly changing world, lose out completely. Keeping abreast with markets, technology and information has become more than a necessity today, it is the only way to survive in any managerial career. Women, with these responsibilities of family and motherhood, have little hope of being successful managers.

A young Indian woman lacks proper positive role models. Their mothers have rarely been career minded. Culturally, women's sufferings have been extensively glorified. A woman is unsure whether there is a middle road, a possible balance between family and career. Or will she have to give up one to be successful in the other?

These are important issues in a woman's life. Women often do not find unsurmountable barriers arising at the work place. Women are stereotyped, but, these, can be overcome. A person's abilities are finally what matters. In a competitive environment it is necessary for one to prove that s/he is better than others. This is true for both men and women. People who are not able to compete look for excuses. Women have used discrimination as one.

To me, then, it seemed that it was the socio-cultural environment, in India, was an important factor in a woman's life. I hoped to see whether the psycho-social factors discussed above
was also an important component in a woman manager's career.

1.3.6 The Case Method

The case method which I applied to civil servants was to give more insight into problems of women civil servants, the issue of cross mentoring in the civil services, gender neutrality, discrimination in the recruitment and promotions, the existence of a 'glass ceiling' in a civil services career and work relations in the services. This also gave me a possibility of comparing problems of women in a corporate management context and the civil services in India.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the three theoretical approaches to study the problems faced by a woman manager in her career. In Chapter 3, I will present the findings of my field work. Chapter 4 studies the policy implications derived from our field study. Lastly, Chapter 5 summarises and draws conclusions from the study.