Chapter III

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Women have entered the world of paid work and are gradually rising to positions of decision-making and power. Not content with traditional pink-collar jobs, women are increasingly venturing into non-traditional work. Since women have joined the Armed Forces researchers have developed an interest in their motives, combat readiness, work-related attitudes, and social support. Research on women in the Armed Forces has been undertaken in the U.S., U.K., Canada, Europe, and Australia. The paucity of work in India is because of two factors: Women have joined the military in India relatively recently, and secondly the tendency of the Armed Forces to maintain that every thing pertaining to Defence is classified information.

This chapter reviews literature pertaining to the following dimensions examined in this study.

- Gender
- Attitudes towards Women.
- Women in Combat
- Stress
- Motivation and Self Actualization
- Personality
- Work Related Attitudes
- Employment, Family and Social Support

The year 2006 has seen a spate of newspaper articles, TV debates and public opinion polls on women in the Indian Armed Forces. Why this interest, when the entry of women into the Armed Forces in the 1990s created hardly a ripple in the media or the Indian...
population in general? The media attention started with Lynndie England, the public face of the Abu Ghraib scandal, who posed for the infamous picture of detainee abuse (Baxter, 2005; Female US soldier, 2005; Higham & Stephens, 2004; US army took photos for fun, 2004). The difficult part to swallow was that women were capable of sexual abuse (also see, Female interrogators, 2005; Novak, 2005).

This was followed by the first court martial of an Indian woman officer, Anjali Gupta, a flying officer in the Indian Air force who was charged with indiscipline and financial irregularities; she later filed a sexual harassment complaint. The Chief of Air Staff reduced the court martial recommendation from 'cashiered' (dismissed with disgrace) to mere ‘dismissal’ (Anjali has been, 2005; Anjali dismissed, 2006; Gupta taken, 2005; Gupta will be, 2005; IAF woman officer, 2005).

Two other incidents involving women cadets have been reported: a sexual harassment charge by three former women cadets at Air force Academy, Hyderabad, the cadets were reported to be of average caliber and their training was terminated (Sex for stripes, 2005). The second incident involved ragging at Airforce Academy, Dindigal where men and women freshers were ragged; a witness described the injuries as "gruesome" (Rao, 2002). The immediate cause of the gender debate however was the first such incident when a woman officer of the Indian Army, Lt. Sushmita Chakravorty shot herself (see Section 3.1.3 for details).
3.1 GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Gender studies today are mainly focused on women because throughout history there has existed an imbalance in power, representation and scholarship between men and women. Thus, there is a larger agenda to be addressed in order to overcome women’s invisibility, marginalization and subordination in history and society. Using the post modern perspective there has been a shift from fixed, stable identities to the complex, contradicting local gender practices and cultural influences that construct gender today. This has made it difficult to state gender insights in terms of universals.

Sandra Bem, widely known for her studies on masculine, feminine gender role identity and androgyny has moved on from her emphasis on androgyny (Bem 1974, 1975; see also Bridges, 1981). ‘Andros’ in Greek means men and ‘gyne’ means women. Androgynous individuals cultivate both masculine and feminine qualities e.g. androgynous women and men are both nurturing and assertive, both strong as well as sensitive. This emphasis on androgyny may lead people to believe they have two potential sources of inadequacy to deal with; also presupposing the existence of masculine and feminine traits sets up self-fulfilling prophecies that perpetuate them. In her study, ‘The Lenses of Gender’, Bem (1993) defined different beliefs or ‘lenses’ through which culture constructs masculinity and femininity. The three lenses are ‘Gender Polarization’ that provides mutually exclusive scripts for being male and female and defines any person or behaviour deviating from this as problematic. The next lens is ‘Androcentricism’ i.e. the privileging of males, male experience and the male perspective. Women are held to a male standard, their behaviours are interpreted from a
male perspective. The third lens is 'Biological Essentialism' i.e. male female differences and male dominance are natural.

Bem has sought to shift the debate from inequality and difference to examining how androcentricism, gender polarization and essentialism disadvantage women. Her goal of Utopia is to eradicate gender polarization, so that society recognizes the biology of sex to be important only in the narrow biological context of reproduction. This gender role transcendence perspective moves beyond gender roles as a way of organizing perceptions. Bem’s humanistic concern is that gender polarization prevents men and women from developing their full potential as human beings and our preoccupation with 'masculine' and 'feminine' values has prevented us from developing a concept of a 'real' human. Many social scientists find the idea of a gender free society appealing, however, Gilder (1992) offered a contrasting view i.e. a concern about the decline of traditional gender roles that underlie our social and economic order asserting that these changes would damage man-woman relationships and family life.

3.1.1 Gender Stereotypes

Unger (1979) argued for the precise definition of the terms sex and gender. Sex refers to biological properties while gender, which entered scientific writing in the 1950s, refers to properties of masculinity and femininity that reflect culture, socialization and psychological development.
Our attitudes towards gender differ from those of the previous generation, though we have a larger perspective about women’s and men’s roles and abilities, our socialization began years ago, so our traditional values conflict with our “equality” values for men and women. In this period of transition, there are issues that need to be resolved e.g. many believe that women should have equal opportunities in public and work life but do not think women should engage in war time combat. Most young adults believe both working parents should participate in child rearing, however, most assume the mother and not the father should take time off from a career to look after the child for the first few years (Wood, 2003, p.16). Gender is a relational concept because femininity and masculinity are defined in contrast to each other.

The arbitrary meaning culture assigns to gender is evident in Margaret Mead’s classic work among three societies in New Guinea (1935, 1968). Among the Arapesh both men and women conformed to what we call feminine behaviour, the Mundugumor socialized men and women to be aggressive, independent and competitive. The Tchambuli showed reversal of gender roles as defined by most societies i.e. the men were taught to be decorative and attract women while the women were domineering and sexually aggressive. An example of how we redefine gender is the concept of androgyny.

The masculinity, femininity debate was fuelled by research on androgyny of Bem (1974, 1977) and Spence (1985). They both treated masculinity and femininity as independent dimensions rather than bipolar and developed tools for assessment i.e. The Bem Sex Role
Inventory (BSRI), (in today's terms it would be Gender Role Stereotype Inventory) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ).

Bem (1975) found androgynous individuals rather than sex typed ones more adaptable in different situations, showing situationally effective behaviour regardless of its stereotype as more appropriate for one sex or the other. Androgynous participants displayed "masculine" independence or "feminine" playfulness when the situation was appropriate. Bem (1981) theorized that gender schemes were responsible for sex typing: Boys and girls attend to and remember information consistent with their own gender. Bridges (1981) found that in terms of liking, both androgynous and sex-typed females liked the androgynous male more than the masculine one, though males did not differentiate between the two females. In terms of attractiveness, sex typed persons were regarded as more physically attractive than androgynous ones.

Eagly and Steffen (1984) found gender stereotypes directly related to social roles not gender. Male and female homemakers were rated similarly on feminine and masculine traits. Williams and Best (2000) conducted research over 15 years, university students in 30 countries rated adjectives as masculine and feminine. There was a high degree of pan cultural agreement in gender stereotypes. Lips (2000) found gender stereotypes apply most strongly to the young, as they age; men and women describe themselves in less stereotypical terms.
3.1.2 Gender and War

Dixon (1976) laid bare the military's prejudice towards women who adopt traditionally male roles, the threat is, by effeminizing the role they emasculate the men who normally fulfill it. Popular insults hurled at cadets involve femininity; sexist remarks denigrating women are often used. The cult of masculinity results in exaggeration of physical and sexual prowess, profanity, courage, aggression and drinking. Antipathy towards effeminacy is seen in hair length, taboos on certain topics and pastimes.

Enloe (1983) analyzed the ambivalence of the military towards women soldiers. On the issue of uniforms and placement of breast pockets, the question was: Declare femininity or hide it? The American army's recruitment brochure had a photo of a pretty woman in a helmet with the caption, "Some of the best soldiers wear lipstick". After the Gulf War, however, (Enloe, 1992) the woman in the photo does not smile, she is a serious citizen doing her job (see also Pierson, 1988, p.38). The fear was that after the war women may give up domestic dependence and sex wise segregation of jobs.

Gellhorn (1986) claimed that, through history and across the globe the war zone has remained masculine territory and women have been behind the lines, resented for their "safety", scorned for their ignorance of the "real" and really masculine experience. Accad (1988) also equated war with masculinity, referring to the gun, cannon etc. as masculine sex symbols, extensions of the phallus, used to conquer and destroy. Desire, sexuality and the death instinct have been linked together by Freud. According to Accad, the difference between male theorists and feminists like Brownmiller, Dworkin ad
Reardon is that the former do not want to change men, women objectification or dominant submissive sexuality. The women however, want to change conditions of female suppression and male dominance.

Gabriel (1988, p.351) has referred to the feminization of the French army and its turning technological and “white collar” (except for a few units where physical courage was important), Cohn (1988) concerned about the nuclear arms race wrote of the military’s use of a language of abstraction, sexual imagery, male birth and God, referring to the terms “Little Boy” and “Fat Man” for the atomic bombs that flattened Hiroshima and Nagasaki. While Chapkis (1988, p.108) has referred to the film “Top Gun” as the military myth equating masculinity, power and sex.

Herbert (1993) has shown that military training is a period of rapid re-socialization and enculturation, under conditions of relative isolation and confinement. The military holds the male soldier, particularly the combat soldier, as an ideal type. When women join, they emulate that which they are not and can never be, becoming further marginalized. Only by opening combat to women will we move towards a gender neutral model of what is a good officer and enable women to be fully integrated in the military (see also Fine & Addleston, 1996; Klien, 1999).

Kovitz (2000, p.36) argued that the military is a gendered and gendering institution and constructs multiple femininities and masculinities. Though feminists (see Albrecht-Heide,
1988, p.115) committed to peaceful conflict resolution may argue against the recruitment of female soldiers, it seems a moot issue given their presence.

3.1.3 Gender Bias in the Indian Armed Forces

Women join the Armed Forces with optimism, some continue to feel that with the skills acquired in the military they can do any job in 'civvy street' (civilian life), others are disillusioned, they see a sharp gender divide, where senior officers are patriarchal and give women soft jobs which male colleagues resent and women do not want. They feel jawans respect them if they know their job; it is the male officers who patronize them. A woman officer remarked, "May be it's the sight of a women in uniform that brings out the lech in them", and another said "we don't need protecting – tell us how to do something better don’t make it easy for us" (Kumar, 2003).

In the first, such incident Lt. Sushmita Chakravorty shot herself apparently because of lack of job satisfaction. A gold medallist, she joined with dreams of serving the nation but was working in supplies, overseeing catering, said her father (Unhappy with job, 2006). The Army put it down to depression and ordered an enquiry (Army orders, 2006). Following this incident women officers were interviewed by the press, a woman officer who was interviewed confirmed that on joining the Armed Forces there were problems initially, the men were not used to women, women had to get used to the high premium on discipline, but most picked up the service ethos and culture quickly (Pandit, 2006 June 18). The Army Vice-Chief. Lt. General. S. Pattabhiraman remarked that the Army did not need women. This created a furore in the media and resulted in a flurry of articles and
TV programmes on gender bias in the army, with the army reiterating that the Vice Chief was quoted out of context and that the Army was proud of its women officers (Army and women, 2006; Army to recruit, 2006; Pandit, 2006, June 21).

Women cadets at Officer’s Training Academy, Chennai, when interviewed regarding combat roles, said they were happy using their skills in their present jobs but were willing to volunteer for combat if given a chance. They insisted that even among males only 75% were in fighting arms. An SMS survey regarding women in uniform found 49% saying “yes” and 51% saying “No”, in terms of viewer feedback (Roy, 2006, June 19). When asked if women were denied opportunities, a woman officer, Major Virdi said that women were aware of the jobs the Army offered when they filled the forms, thereafter they could not complain. Regarding training, it is the same for both genders 26% is physical, which for women is very gradual to avoid stress injuries, physical performance standards are almost the same except for a few relaxations such as more time for women in sprint. From the second route march onwards, the load is the same, 10 Kg. and the distance, 25 Km., in the same time as for males.

The T.V. programme, “We the People” (Roy, 2006, June 25) had eminent speakers giving their opinions. Kiran Bedi felt women were not given opportunities to grow or to get leadership experience, as senior men were particularly insecure. She also felt that women could go into combat but induction and training should be same as for men. “The tough will survive, man or woman”, said Bedi. Further more, she said that women in uniform need family support. Five years down the line the initial optimism wears off with
marriage, children, and the problem of spouse’s posting. Bedi’s view is similar to that of Arya (2001, Part II) who felt that family often took precedence. Vice Admiral Dr. Arora felt “women have grown, men need to grow more”. Lt. General S. Prasad said women must be given permanent commissions to prepare them for combat and larger roles. Former IAF pilot Cheryl Dutta felt women should be trained for fighter planes and given permanent commissions, she felt her marriage and two children had not affected her fitness and training.

Finally, the Defence Minister P. Mukherjee stated, “We are proud of them (women). They are making valuable contributions and we’d like to encourage more to join” Regarding combat, he said, “it will be hard work, it depends on their willingness and wishes, they are getting ready” (No bias against women, 2006). As Nakka (2006) points out, allowing women in combat on their own strengths would benefit the country and Indian women. Generalizing their limitations to deny them a role in combat is like saying, all men are strong and capable which is also not true.

Other issues have been relatively minor such as prohibition of lipstick, bindis and religious symbols, use of sacred thread around wrists and neck etc. For women, mangalsutras should not be visible outside the uniform; hair must be worn above the collar (Gupta, 2004). Another issue was women doctors instead of male to examine women recruits in the army (Female docs, 2004).
The above review of literature on gender has shown the prevalence of gender stereotypes in the Armed Forces, no systematic research has been done in India in this area; the present research has therefore examined the issue of gender in the Indian Navy.

3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES.

In terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy, attitudes affect performance. Garcia, Erskine, Hawn and Casmay (1981) demonstrated that successful minority candidates were judged to be less qualified when evaluators believed that the institution had an affirmative action policy. Chacko (1982) found that these perceptions involve self-perceptions in the case of equal opportunity employment for women, which may ultimately erode an individual’s self-confidence and effectiveness. Heilman, Battle, Keller and Lee (2000) in three studies of affirmative action where women were given preference for a job, found the self-assessment of the recipient and others’ views of them were affected negatively, this was reduced when it was made clear that merit was a central criterion. The implications are, emphasize a woman’s qualification and merit in the Military, otherwise her competence would be discounted.

The effect of male attitudes on women officer cadet trainees in the Israeli Defence Forces was demonstrated by Dvir, Eden and Banjo (1995). They confirmed the Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) i.e. raising teacher expectation improves pupil achievement. Squad leaders were told based on ability, aptitude tests and commander’s ratings that their trainees had high command potential. Results showed that leaders rated the command potential of cadets higher than the control group. This was true of men led
by a man, women led by a man but not among women led by a woman. Davidson and Eden (2000) found that women recruits held in low esteem by women superior officers tended to perform poorly. A Meta analysis of 17 studies showed the Pygmalion effect – self-fulfilling prophecy was particularly strong in the military (Schultz & Schultz, 2002).

3.2.1 Views of feminists, military scholars and military men regarding induction of women into the Armed Forces

Turpin (1988) classified the roles women play in conflict as refugees, victims, combatants, peacemakers, resisters and re-builders after the war. Feminists are divided on the issue of women combatants. Some feminists view it as militarism and find support in conservative women and peace activists who rebel at women training to kill. US Marine Commandant R. Barrow said, "Women give life, Nurture life. They do not take it" Johnson (1998) asked, "Under the guise of protecting women, what is Barrow really protecting (male patriarchy)? Can we really accept that a distinct male nature exists eminently suited for taking lives?"

Hacker (1988) referred to different approaches to women in the military. Classic Liberalism seeks equal rights for women in the military in terms of economic benefits and a deeper political right to leadership, which has been linked to arms from the time of Aristotle. The Socialist approach looks at the historical and social aspect of women and revolution, noting that after the war women revert to traditional roles. Radical Feminism covers a wide spectrum; one strand relies on women’s unique nature orienting them towards peace, while anarcha-feminism sees military institutions as patriarchal. Cultural
Feminists like Alice Echols celebrate masculine and feminine characteristics as inseparable from maleness and femaleness.

Stiehm (1988) exploded 3 myths about military women i.e. they go to war (very few do); they are whores and lesbians (because they appear to look and act like men); even military women need protection, so should not go to combat (an extension of patriarchy to the battlefield). Stiehm advocates women in the military as equals in equal numbers, as she says, “It’s our military too”. This will not lead to increased militarization of women or a country. Fenner (1988) agreed that with a greater number of women, the military will be changed for the better. Eco feminists hope feminizing the military will make it kinder and gentler.

Heyzer (2004) and Panicker (2005) have outlined the increase in civilian war casualties from 14% during World War I to 75%, and the increasing impact on women’s lives in terms of violence, economic and social upheaval. (See Barrenechea, 1995 for women refugees; Hans, 2000 for women in Kashmir; Jung, 1997 for women’s voices; Takazato, 2000 for women in Okinawa; Women’s Day, 2002 for women in conflict; Wong, 1995 for women in Eritrea).

Women have played a variety of roles during war and in peacekeeping, they have mostly been absent from formal peace negotiations and policy-making processes on war and peace issues (Behra, 2004; Chenoy, 2002, 2004; Manchanda, 2001; Mohsin, 2004). It is important that women bring special skills to the peace process and shape post conflict
reconstruction, to ensure societies founded on justice, inclusion and dignity of all members (see Banerjee, 2000, for Naga women's peace initiatives).

As armies increasingly engage in operations other than war (OOW) i.e. peace keeping, humanitarian and nation building work and anti terrorist missions, the "masculine" combat culture must share a "feminine" sensitivity of helping people in need until the term soldier is redefined to include both, and becomes gender neutral.

3.2.2 Attitudes of military men and public towards military women:

Bauwnes (1992) cited a Belgian Royal Military Academy study of service women and men, where roles were stereotyped because of the token presence of women. Sexual harassment was related to lower job satisfaction. Both sexes preferred men as colleagues. Men preferred male chiefs and one third of the women preferred male chiefs. Harris, Scarville and Steinberg (1994) found the main reason women left the military was discrimination in terms of promotion, assignments (not challenging) and discriminatory behaviour and verbal comments by army commanders. A US Government Profile (1997) found that 65% of officers and 50% of enlisted respondents said that women were not fully accepted in combat. Fifty percent disagreed that 'everyone was treated equally in promotions'.

Stiehm (1998) found that though 12% of the US army was female, their acceptance was limited in an institution placing a high value on cohesiveness. Mitchell (1998) felt women were physically weak, and were given special privileges that degraded readiness and
morale, women in uniform performed traditional work and 85% did not want combat jobs.

Mohrman (1999) reported that male combatants in Bosnia opposed women joining their ranks. Male officers feared repercussions when disciplining subordinate women. Brown (2000) found attitudes towards women were slowly changing. "A crack had appeared in the Navy's brass ceiling", with a woman commanding a war ship in the Gulf War. The Navy held briefing sessions with men and their wives regarding mixed gender appointments on ships. Yoder (2001, p.773) cited a Roper poll showing that 97% of the US public, supported women in traditional roles (typist, office assistant) in the Army but this decreased to 35% for ground combat.

Pershing (2003) found men attending US service academies had very traditional attitudes towards women, while the women believed in non-traditional gender roles. Women were perceived as receiving special treatment due to gender normed physical training.

The UK, "Women in the Armed Services Report" (2002) noted that the experiences of the three services differed. The Royal Navy having no close combat, women have been deployed on ships since 1990. In 1993, 47% of male officers preferred to serve on an all male ship; it was down to 13% in 2000. It was less likely that disciplining a woman was seen as a problem, though junior ratings still perceived leniency and favouritism towards women. Women on board ships were seen as not a problem. Women however
anticipated shorter careers and were less likely to feel they could combine naval careers with motherhood.

In India, Karve and Debnath (2000) wrote of exceptional concessions and privileges given to the first batch of women pilots. They felt that the Indian Navy favoured women trainees in the guise of gender norming, which though justified for biological differences, should not condone lack of professionalism. They suggested a long-term holistic approach, gender sensitization programmes in lieu of ‘a surfeit of policy letters’, to create a positive atmosphere for women to work in. Further, a soft systems approach based on competency was recommended.

In 2001 a newspaper headline read “The Indian Airforce’s fear of flying women commanding fighter planes” (IAF’s fear, 2001). Typical reasons given were pregnancy, waste of training, and women POW’s. J.Singh, former director Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis said, “The non effective period when pilots are not flying is far greater in women than men”. “India is not ready for men and women to share locker rooms”. Air Chief S.K. Kaul (retd.) spoke of delicate male egos. A further problem was posting military husband and wife together.

Bakshi (2003) felt that senior male officers, who have no women peers, have a patronizing and protective attitude towards women officers. They underestimate the chain of command based on the officer not gender, they believe troops who are from rural, and less educated backgrounds would not accept women leaders.
Arya (2001, Part II) found men officers were dissatisfied with the induction of women “often saying they need to post a male officer along with a woman for night duty, women cry, lose time during pregnancy, they affect male bonding, there is lack of toilets and facilities. Their body language showed they were patronizing, suffering or dismissive”. The researcher in the present study found a small improvement in that, some men officers were quite supportive of women officers while a few others did tend to mock, imitate them in a shrill voice and in short do their best to protect male patriarchy and privilege. This was counterbalanced on the other hand, by men officers who spoke of the competence and meticulous work of certain women officers.

The review of literature on attitudes towards women in the Armed Forces has shown the various myths about military women, and how attitudes impact women’s performance in terms of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Since no empirical research has been done in India on attitudes towards women in the Armed Forces, the present research has investigated attitudes towards women in the Navy.

3.3 WOMEN IN COMBAT:

If leaders on the sub continent followed their personal beliefs and not political expediency women would never be in combat. When President Musharraf sent a message, “We in Pakistan have not worn bangles and we can fight India on our own” Prime Minister Vajpayee shot back, “In Punjab where bangles are popular, people also wear a “kada” (Tribune, 2001). In short the feminine is incapable of war.
There are various reasons as to why ‘women in combat’ is an important issue. In India Hundiwala (1992) looked at a Catch 22 situation where service women are non combatants, which gave them “a professionally subordinate status often without responsibility commensurate with rank, position and seniority, the three most acknowledged tools of authority in the Armed Forces”.

In Israel, for example where army service is important, the nation being founded on socialist principles, women cannot be a part of “the old boy’s network” because of the menial jobs performed by women in the Israeli Army, this impacts the jobs they get later when they complete their military service (Shiloh, 1998).

Johnson (1998) wrote of the “Brotherhood” i.e. peers who one defends to the death. This bonding is a particular outcome of combat training. Women are excluded from this “brotherhood” which is a salient issue in an institution where cohesion is all-important.

Finally it is a question of citizenship. Fenner (1998) argued that the military’s core function, combat must be open to all citizens physically and mentally qualified. This may change the patriarchal nature of the military but he agrees with Illshtain that it would be for the better.

Enloe (1983) has referred to combat as an elastic concept. Women are mainly in support roles, this definition of support changes to meet a nation’s current demands. Ratio of
combat to support personnel is “tooth to tail ratio” the assumption being there is a clear line between combat and non combat, front and rear. If combat is only “eyeball to eyeball” direct physical combat then women controlling missiles in aircraft and submarines are not in combat. In the US, women are allowed in combat aircraft and ships, not in direct ground combat, the former can cause far more damage and as US Gulf war statistics show, women casualties are from both combat and non-combat roles.

3.3.1 Combat exclusion for women: ethics and rebuttals

News week reported that Desert Storm was dubbed a “Mom’s War”. Campbell (1992) preferred to call it a parent’s war. Though dual service career couples were deployed 140 children lost one parent, none lost both. Sixty four percent of Americans say it is acceptable to send young fathers to war, only 28% say, the same for young mothers. Under present regulations in the US single parents and dual service parents file a valid and up to date family care plan, reviewed by commanders to ensure workability (Finch, 1994).

Peach (1994) outlined three ethical approaches to women in combat. According to the ethics of accountability and care, women should be excluded from combat because according to the former they are not good enough, according to the latter because they are “too good” and oriented towards peace. The ethic of justice favours women in combat because they are equally qualified as men. Accountability concludes women would harm unit cohesion; male bonding and team spirit while fraternization in mixed gender units would reduce concentration on the mission. US Gulf war experiences have shown
otherwise, women in Indian CRPF and Police have shown otherwise. US Defence Secretary Cheney and General N. Schwarzkopf, coalition commander said that women performed magnificently in the Gulf (McCoy, 1995). A US government survey (1999) found 77% of men and 63% of women well prepared for wartime missions. Men viewed the impact of women on unit readiness less positively than women did, but more than half indicated that women would affect unit readiness no differently from men or in a positive way.

Detractors were: Blair (1999) who believed that the infantry was the last bastion of maleness in the US Military and accommodating more women would make a masculine institution feminine which was dangerous. Simons (2000) made the point that women affect unit cohesion and morale, and that peace time training was quite different from war in terms of maintaining cohesion, because regardless of their qualification women will distract men from their mission. Simons acknowledged the use of women in espionage and intelligence gathering, not in combat. The researcher points out that intelligence analysts like Sgt. Raichle (Myers, 2003) in a mobile combat post was less than one mile behind the tanks in Kuwait.

Women’s lack of physical strength and stamina has often been cited as reason for combat exclusion, particularly aspects such as upper body strength. A study by the US Government, Army Research Institute of Environmental Medicine (1997) determined that it was possible to improve women’s scores on a number of tests by intensive training, including weight lifting, running and drills. This showed that with proper physical
conditioning women could perform very heavy military occupational specialties. The Ministry of Defence UK (2003) reviewed 100 studies on the relevance of gender to biomedical aspects of performance particularly in the infantry which is physically demanding and effective performance could make the difference between life and death. They concluded that in terms of body size and bone structure women are more likely to develop stress fractures during military training. Less than 1% of women can match the average man for strength and aerobic fitness. With training, women show slightly greater gains than men. The top 0.1% of female recruits and 1% of trained female soldiers would achieve physical fitness for the infantry. The researcher comments that these studies do not take into account disparities in prior physical conditioning. Some women naval officers in the present research pointed out; if we start training girls early, in school, their overall fitness would improve. Moreover, there are many combat specialties requiring technology not physical strength, which women can perform. There is also the question of how much strength is enough?

Pregnancy is an issue in terms of putting the foetus at risk, if pregnant women are deployed (Newsweek, 1991). Women time their pregnancy because the path to promotion is command, one platoon leader described herself as a leader of men while waddling about in a maternity uniform, others may ask for a transfer (Stoddard, 1994). Solaro (2005) has categorized pregnancies into three types, Congratulations! Oops! And get me out of here. The last type, where the soldier becomes pregnant to avoid deployment according to Solaro does not deserve the same consideration as the Marine who was so determined to deploy that she gave birth on a warship. The other factor is that pregnancy
may affect deployability. Finch (1994) suggested that this was not a problem in the Gulf war because they could be replaced with other personnel, if number of service women increase, there could be a problem. The researcher would prefer to call this a family issue rather than a women’s issue. Research also shows that time lost due to menstruation, pregnancies is not significant, in fact men lose time due to desertion, alcohol and drug abuse (Reeves, 1995).

A psychological argument is that men are more aggressive than women are. Eagly (1987), and Eagly and Wood (1982) offer a social role and socialization explanation. In fact, Bettencourt and Miller (1996) found that when there was provocation gender differences in aggression tend to shrink or disappear. Van CrevelD (1993) outlined the Israeli experience where male soldiers were so traumatized when female soldiers were wounded or killed that they were less effective and enemy soldiers were so macho; they would fight to the death rather than surrender to women. Now in Israel, though women can volunteer for combat, they are not conscripted.

The worst nightmare, a woman Prisoner of War (POW) became a reality during the Iraq war. Rathburn-Nealy was the first Army POW, the second, Major Cornum broke both arms and injured her legs when her plane crashed on a rescue mission, she relied on another POW to eat and dress, the Iraqi’s sexually molested her. Her matter of fact attitude is testimony to the ability of military women to cope and the American public to accept women POWs. American commandos rescued Lynch from an Iraq hospital, it
was reported that she was raped, but does not remember; thinking about it was painful (Lynch discredits, 2003).

Nichol (2005) wrote about the American soldier who tried to intervene when Major Cornum was being abused and was beaten to a pulp. He asked the question “Is it a man’s duty to protect?” Hoping never to be in that position, Nichol reasoned, the crux of the matter was that women combatants did not ask for special consideration, the problem was male generated and for males to over come. A female POW raped, pregnant may be the worst scenario but women in the Gulf have fought with honour. Two percent of the wounded in Iraq were women, though they may choose to return home many stay. Some because it’s their job, others due to a sense of guilt and obligation to fellow soldiers (Wounds threaten, 2006). Thirteen service women died in the Gulf, 4 hostile deaths, 9 non hostile deaths, 21 were wounded in action and 16 had non battle injuries, when they were in supposedly safe support roles. Thereafter the combat exclusion rule was repealed with some exceptions.

The review of literature on women in combat has shown the ambivalent attitude towards women in a war effort. Factors ranging from physical strength, pregnancy, psychological factors, women POWs, to ethics of accountability care and justice have been cited as reasons for excluding women from combat. The present study therefore, has investigated various reasons for excluding women from combat in the Indian Navy.
3.4 STRESS.

Since Selye's work on stress there have been many definitions but a lack of consensus on stress (Pestonjee, 1987). A job stressor is a situation at work that requires an adaptive response on the part of the employee; job strain is the aversive reaction to the stressor that may be psychological (anxiety), physical (headache) or behavioural (smoking). Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Sonek and Rosenthal (1964) developed a theory of role dynamics, which reports stress resulting from conflicting and vague expectations.

There is a curvilinear relationship between stress and job performance. Prolonged exposure to stress can lead to burn out (exhaustion with feelings of low personal accomplishment). Optimists and people high in hardiness (a combination of high commitment, feeling of personal control, and perceiving change as a challenge) are better able to resist stress (Greenberg & Baron, 2000, p.275).

Three factors related to stress in work settings will be examined as relevant to women in the Military i.e. Organizational Role Stress, Post traumatic stress disorder, and Sexual Harassment. Though this section has presented research on Post traumatic stress disorder, and Sexual Harassment since these stressors have been widely experienced by women in the Armed Forces, particularly in the recent Gulf Wars, the present research has not investigated these two aspects since this is beyond the scope of the present study. The present study has concentrated on Organizational Role Stress.
3.4.1 Organizational role stress (ORS)

ORS has been investigated by Pareek (2003). A role is a set of functions an individual performs in response to the expectations of significant members of a social system (role set) and his own expectations. Pareek has identified 10 role stresses, arising out of conflict between the role in question, self and other roles occupied and arising out of incompatible expectations by significant others and by the individual person. The first are Role Space Conflicts – Self Role Distance, Role Stagnation, and Inter-Role Distance. The second are Role Set Conflicts – Role Ambiguity, Role Expectation Conflict, Role Overload, Role Erosion, Resource Inadequacy, Personal Inadequacy, and Role Isolation.

Some occupational groups i.e. Air traffic controllers, nurses, nuclear power plant workers report qualitative (difficulty level) and quantitative (amount) work over load (Berry, 1998, p.433). Perception of work over load increases when work demands high attention for an extended period, and when work is interrupted. Role conflict correlates positively with emotional exhaustion among teachers, lawyers, and trade union members. Effective coping strategies are approach strategies, emotional and social support is important, Employee Assistance Programmes involve stress management. Pandey and Shrivastava (2003) found a positive relation between work stress and illness and a negative relation between active coping and illness. Thus, active coping reduces stress and illness.
The following flow chart describes factors affecting occupational stress and strain.

Figure 3.1 Factors affecting occupational stress and strain.

Note: Key elements: Job demands influence and are influenced by family demands, in addition they are moderated by a variety of personal attributes. Job demands are affected by whether the individual has personal, environmental, family and social resources that act as buffers and moderate the kind of outcome. Hyphenated lines indicate buffering effects.

Organizational role stress research in India:

Madhu and Harigopal (1976) found role ambiguity to be negatively related with job involvement. Sen (1981) studied four levels of bank employees, top, senior, junior management and clerical staff. The top level had low scores on role stagnation, high scores on inter role distance; the clerical staff had high scores on Role Stagnation and low scores on inter role distance. Women had more role stress than men, unmarried people and those in urban areas experienced more stress.

Mittal (1988) found doctors experienced more stress than lecturers, women doctors and lecturers experienced more stress than men doctors and lecturers. Kumar (1989) studied male executives, unmarried males had higher total role stress than married males, and those married to workingwomen had higher stress than those married to homemakers. Lower level executives were higher on Role Stagnation, Personal Inadequacy and Self Role Distance. Singh and Singh (1991) studied supervisors and found an inverse relationship between security-insecurity and occupational stress and between security - insecurity and job involvement.

Jagdish (1991) studied 400 supervisors and found that perceived occupational stress had a negative effect on employee job satisfaction and satisfaction with management, the latter relationship was stronger. Jagdish and Srivastava (1991) found occupational role stress impaired an employee's self-confidence, self respect, perception of reality. Sharma and Sharma (1991) studied Class II gazetted male officers and found Role Ambiguity and Self Role Distance were associated with higher general and job anxiety. Total ORS was

3.4.2 Stress and Women Soldiers

Post Traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has been studied in war veterans but is now regarded as a mental health problem that could result from trauma at any workplace. Symptoms may involve nightmares, flashbacks, an unwillingness to talk about combat experience, and an unusual response to loud noise. King, King, Gudanowski and Vreven (1995) studied four war zone stressors, and found male war veterans scored higher than women veteran on all four indices. Holbrook (2003) studied trauma patients in hospitals and found women more likely to suffer PTSD than men. These differing results would need further investigation. Sergent Jenny Mckinley on the Oprah Winfrey show (2004) testified to the haunting images and nightmares in which the soldier who was killed beside her asked for help. Greer (2005) reported that 1000 American troops in Iraq have PTSD symptoms. US Army soldiers receive help through a Combat Stress Control programme. The US Navy uses Operational Stress Control and Readiness. Navy personnel go through an annual suicide prevention briefing that helps them identify a friend who may be in trouble.
In India incidents of soldiers killing seniors or colleagues, and suicides have been attributed to severe stress factors. The reasons cited are deployment in difficult terrain, low oxygen at high altitude, the fear factor, being constantly on the alert, fatigue and uncertainty (the soldier is ready with bag and baggage to first cut the jungle then do a reconnaissance). They have to obey seniors without question; the latter may not be good in man management and may be rude and abusive. The personal factor is most stressful, family situations such as family’s ill health, problems regarding children’s education coupled with lack of leave often leads to marital discord and severe stress (Mishra, 2004). Women constables of the CRPF face similar stresses of leaving home and a dual role in the workplace and at home. If the Armed Forces induct women at rank level, research is needed on their coping mechanisms.

Col. D.S. Randhawa (2005) has recommended that as a starting point to combat, women soldiers could be employed in low intensity conflict operations. The Army in India is involved in counter insurgency and terrorism operations, army commanders have to win over the population, which generally includes 50% women and 20% children and old people. Women battalions commanded by women officers including short service women officers who have retired are part of the proposal by Randhawa. He suggests using women’s intuition, and their ability to multitask and process information differently, in areas of psychological operations, civil affairs, intelligence and sensitizing the population. To quote Col. Randhawa “women participate in Armed Forces only to the extent that cultural values and structural patterns of gender roles allow, even when other
conditions foster their inclusion.....Women are talented, skilled and need to be integrated in the organization”.

3.4.3 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment of service women in the Gulf has been documented by Campbell (1992). The military imposed restrictions on their dress and movement, but Arab men, unaccustomed to independent women continued to grab them, in solidarity, some servicemen boycotted establishments closed to women.

Harris, Scarville and Steinberg (1994) found that despite the zero tolerance towards sexual harassment proclaimed by the Army, nothing was done when harassment was reported; in fact the women were perceived as “the problem”, treated as outcasts and the incident minimized. O’ Neill (1998) outlined the military sex scandals of the 1990’s: Tailhook, in 1991 where military aviators assaulted over 80 women; In 1996 the Aberdeen scandals, where three soldiers of the Army Ordinance Center abused women undertrainees. Demers (1998) reported the case of the woman infantry officer in Canada who was physically and psychologically abused. The attrition rate for women is high particularly in Canadian combat units, reportedly due to work environment, family issues and sexual harassment.

Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2001) found that in a 1995 US survey 70.9% of women and 35.8% men experienced sexual harassment, the former by higher ranking males, the latter by female co-workers or subordinates. Yoder (2001) reported, regarding the same study
that sexual harassment affected work satisfaction, family relations and psychological well-being. Harassment was reduced when personnel believed that higher authorities would implement and enforce zero tolerance of such behaviour. Pershing (2003) found 96.8% women in US service academies had experienced some form of sexual harassment but very few reported it (perceiving nothing would be done, or fearing repercussions such as ostracism and the academy code of silence). Schmitt (2004) reported 112 cases of sexual misconduct with service women by their own troops in the Gulf region.

The Indian Navy (Harassment, 1998) has indicated that, reported cases of harassment, ill treatment and bias against women would be awarded maximum punishment. Cases resulting in death would be viewed as aiding and abetting suicide and would attract deterrent punishment, in keeping with the National Policy on upliftment of women and world standards.

In India, women IAS and IPS officers are not immune to sexual harassment (Women Cops, 2003; Vetticad, 1996). However, very few complaints have been received from policewomen. After the Marine drive case, when a constable raped a student, gender sensitization programmes have revealed that values and stereotypical attitudes towards women need to change (Natu & Shrinivasan, 2005).

As explained earlier the present research has not investigated PTSD or sexual harassment but has concentrated on ORS. The review of literature on ORS has shown that in certain occupations ORS is higher. Factors affecting ORS are personal, environmental, social, as
well as family and job demands. The present research has studied ORS and factors influencing ORS among officers of the Indian Navy.

3.5 MOTIVATION AND SELF ACTUALIZATION

3.5.1 Reasons for women joining the Armed Forces

Women choose the tough, disciplined and non-traditional life of the Armed forces for various reasons. Stenvik (1982) found that women joined the Norwegian forces straight from college more than half had fathers or relations working in the military. Women joined for practical reasons i.e. education and economic rather than ideological. The level of consciousness was very low; women thought it would be fun, unconventional and exciting, not really knowing what the military was all about. They believed military service would open up areas previously closed to women; few were concerned with women’s issues and equality.

Pierson (1988, p.39) referred to a survey of the Canadian Women’s Army Corps during World War II, the first reason for joining was patriotism, the second was the urge to travel, the third was the desire to be near family and friends in the forces. Reeves (1995) has quoted sociologists who believe that persons joining the military value nationalism, patriotism, conservatism and authoritarianism. Women join because of ideals of duty, honour and country, because it is a vocation. Women also join because of the unique environment of travel, adventure, discipline, structure and they see themselves as dissimilar from civilian women. The last reason is the pay and the economic benefits of joining.
Cieslarczyk, Jarmoszko and Marciniuk (1999) described the historical – cultural background of Poland that makes them associate the military uniform with values of patriotism and sacrifice which is probably a reason for women joining the military.

Fletcher, Mc Mahon and Quester (1993) suggested that women are attracted to equal pay for equal rank and experience. Research in Europe and the US in the 1980’s however suggested that economic factors were secondary to the unique characteristics of the military such as discipline and adventure, according to Shields, for American women the most important reasons for enlistment were the possibility of travel and being different from civilian women. Among the French it was the need for structure and an organized life and the desire to escape routine according to Reynaud (Carreiras, 1999). Research by Carreiras on the first 1,000 women to join the Portuguese Armed Forces confirmed these motivations.

Bolgar’s (1999) research on women in the Hungarian armed forces also showed the importance of equal opportunities, a sense of vocation, team spirit and confidence. A Czech study found four basic motives for joining the military: traditional for professional reasons, social advantages, educational opportunities, career motives linked to professional development. Differences between genders were beginning to fade away among younger soldiers. Men placed more emphasis on technology, defence of the country, educational and professional training. Women joined because of a desire for independence, a liking for uniforms, and better working conditions (Garcia, 1999).
Gal (1999) outlined four motivations for induction into the Israeli Defence Forces, which is different due to conscription. Survival: The soldier is convinced he has to fight to stay alive, so society, country survives. Ideological: An emotional love of the nation, idea, leader, and this army does not need obligatory service. Normative: The individual does what society perceives as legitimate and is influenced by social pressure. Personal: Fulfills the need for self-actualization unconnected to the society or group. Gal has traced changes in motivation for induction in Israel and believes that: today salary and personal factors are more important, increased opportunities to women is for equal opportunities, the elite no longer join the Army but do business, the Israeli Defence Forces are moving towards an all volunteer force.

Wong, Kolditz, Millen and Potter (2003) studied the US soldier in Iraq and concluded that the primary motive for combat was unit cohesion, they fight for each other and also for ideology i.e. liberation, freedom and democracy.

Singh (2005, p.76) studied CRPF women in India and concluded that joining the paramilitary was an informed choice. An important aspect was the secure government job with pension (voluntary retirement after 20 years). Several women overcome opposition at home, but despite the tough grind, no one dropped out. Other reasons were; a desire to prove themselves, the power of the uniform and training in the use of arms. The majority of CRPF males said women joined for economic reasons; none of the women mentioned this factor (p.89).
3.5.2 Self-Actualization

Maslow (1954) developed the concept of a self actualizing person who is more fully functioning, who uses all her/his unique capabilities or potentialities free of the inhibition and turmoil of the less self-actualizing and who lives an enriched life. Maslow also referred to cognitive and aesthetic needs that Miner (2002, p.121) interpreted as deficiency needs separate from the other hierarchy.

Sex differences in self actualization measured by the Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1974) indicate that females score 1.1 points higher than males on Time Competence. Other differences were less than 1 raw score point. Fox (1965) found females higher on Self Acceptance, Nature of Man and Synergy. Similar results were obtained by Noll and Watkins (1974). They found that females scored higher on self-actualization than males among those seeking encounter group experiences. Otten (1977) who studied college students obtained similar results.

Age differences in self actualization measured by the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI), show that mean scores for adult samples were higher than high school samples, the trend of increasing self actualization scores continued up to early or middle adult years (Knapp, 1976, p.85). Further research cited by Knapp (p.57) indicated that residential mobility (a part of armed forces life) was related to self – actualizing. Students who had lived in four or five communities since first grade were higher on the POI than others; it is therefore possible that children of military families, exposed to different residential
environments and social situations would be higher on awareness, with a broader knowledge of the world that would stimulate creativity in a growing individual.

**Occupation and Self Actualization** as measured by the POI. Murray (1966) found that teachers who were higher on self-actualization were rated as more successful teachers by their students. Lafferty (1969) has reported normative data on the POI for different occupational samples such as teachers, entrepreneurs, priests, nurses and managers. Ladenberger (1971) compared top and middle level management in different industries. Results were similar but top-level managers were higher on Self Actualizing Value and Self Regard. Uhes and Shybut (1971) reported correlations of up to .41 between POI scores and success in Peace Corps training programmes in Micronesia. Prediction of adaptation to a foreign culture, concerns business as well as military peacekeeping forces and may be extended to adaptation to the military way of life.

**Personality and Self Actualization** as measured by the POI. McClain and Andrews (1969) noted that subjects who had the peak experiences described by Maslow were more intelligent, liberal, tender minded and autonomous on the 16 PF. Barnes and Srinivas (1993) studied Indian women and men aged 35 to 55. Results showed that self actualized women scored higher than self actualized men on intelligence, tough mindedness, self-reliance, non-sentimentality, enthusiasm, emotional stability, accountability and responsibility, shrewdness, astuteness and liberal and radical thoughts. Older participants (35 to 45 years) were more self-actualized; those with higher education and lower income were more self-actualized. Single participants were more self-actualized than married
participants. Afroz and Mittra (2003) studied self-actualization and personality of professional Indian women. Only one out of 33 was self actualized, the rest were high on self-regard. Hidalgo (2006) found a positive relationship between a person's spiritual experiences and level of close relationships with self-actualization among college students. There was a negative correlation between taking drugs and self-actualization.

The review of literature of different countries has shown various reasons women give for joining the Defence Forces. The present research has studied reasons given by officers for joining the Indian Navy. The research on self-actualization cited above has related self-actualization to personality, occupation and to demographic variables. The present research has done the same with the sample of naval officers and in addition has related self-actualization to gender and work related attitudes.

3.6 PERSONALITY

In terms of trait theory of personality, the five-factor model has two approaches. Big five advocates such as John and Srivastava (1999) use the factors as descriptive structures. The Five Factor Model (FFM) advocates reify the factors as constructs that are causally responsible for the individual's dispositional tendencies. McCrae and Costa (1997) have established cross-cultural generalizability of the FFM across languages and cultures. The "etic" approaches (importing a list of personality questionnaires or lexical terms from one language to another) have supported the five-factor structure. The "emic" approaches (starting directly from the target culture, using interviews, conversations, lists of terms
from native dictionaries) are not as consistent in finding the five factors as the etic approach (Caprara & Cervone, 2000, pp 72-73).

Age: Older individuals taking the NEO-PI-R score slightly higher on Agreeableness and Conscientiousness and slightly lower on Neuroticism, Extraversion and Openness Since age differences are so small Costa and McCrae (1992, p.55) take it as evidence for stability of NEO PI-R scores with age, also scores show stability over a six year period.

Gender: Women tend to score higher than men on Neuroticism (especially Anxiety) and on Agreeableness (especially, Straight forwardness and Altruism). These differences being small, combined sex norms are considered appropriate. Using the big five questionnaire Caprara and Cervone (2000, p.253) found women score higher on friendliness and emotional instability in Germany, Italy, Spain and the US. On the NEO PI-R education has been related to Openness (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

Academic Achievement: Costa and McCrae (1992) found a relationship between FFM and academic achievement and motivation. The NEO PI-R correlates with Murray's adjective checklist measuring motives. McCrae 1987 found a positive correlation between Openness, Conscientiousness and academic performance in higher education. Other research shows Extraversion is negatively related to academic achievement while Neuroticism is positively related and in some research negatively related to academic achievement. Agreeableness is unrelated to Academic Achievement. Diseth (2003) found a relationship between personality, approaches to learning and academic achievements.
Clinical Use: Ben-Porath and Waller (1992a) noted that personality tests might be used for specific evaluation such as screening for psychopathology in high-risk professions such as pilots, police etc. As pointed out by Costa and McCrae 1992, there are many ways the NEO-PI may be used for clinical evaluation, and research is needed to develop such applications. In their rejoinder to Costa and McCrae, Ben-Porath and Waller (1992b) felt the NEO-PI rater’s form would be most useful to clinicians to obtain information on clients.

Personality and Occupation: Studies on personality and occupation have been conducted in India: Bhushan (1976) used an Indian adaptation of the F scales; he found military personnel display more authoritarian aggression and more authoritarian submission. Mohan, Sehgal, Bhatia and Kakkar (2000) studied 240 army officers, divided into four groups: 1. Second Lieutenants and Lieutenants, 2.Captains, 3.Majors, 4. Lt. Colonels to Lt. Generals. There were no differences in the four groups on Extraversion. On Psychoticism and Neuroticism, Group 1 had the highest score, on Social Desirability Group 4 had the highest score.

Mills and Bohannon (1980) found a relationship between supervisor’s ratings of effective police officers and Autonomous Achievement, Dominance and Functional Intelligence on the California Psychological Inventory. Miner (2002, p.549) in terms of managerial role motivation theory outlined personality characteristics required of managers in bureaucratic, hierarchical systems that could apply to the Armed Forces. These are positive attitudes upward, competitiveness horizontally with peers, the exercise of power
downward, assertiveness and desire to stand out from the group or be visible. Miner (2002, p.563) found that in the 1960's female's motivation to manage was lower than that of males, this was not true in the 1980s.

The review of literature on personality traits has shown their relationship to academic achievement and effectiveness in different occupations. The present study has investigated the relationship between personality and work related attitudes in the Indian Navy.

3.7 WORK RELATED ATTITUDES

3.7.1 Job Satisfaction

There are many theories of job satisfaction. Maslow's Need Hierarchy theory discussed earlier was restated in terms of Alderfer's Existence, Relatedness and Growth theory. Herzberg's two factor theory of job satisfaction states that dissatisfaction is associated with conditions surrounding the job i.e. working condition, pay, security, supervision, co-workers, called hygiene or maintenance factors. In contrast satisfaction is associated with the work itself or outcomes directly derived from it i.e. nature of job, achievement, promotion, personal growth, recognition called motivators.

Lock's value theory states that job satisfaction is the extent to which rewards received match outcomes that are valued. Determinants of job satisfaction are organizational i.e. pay, benefits, supervision, work and social stimulation and personal i.e. personality traits, life satisfaction (Greenberg & Baron, 2000, pp.174-177).
Self-efficacy theory of Bandura states that motivation and performance are partly determined by how effective people believe they can be. Dov Eden manipulated self-efficacy by providing information or training to influence people’s beliefs about themselves that lead them to perform better in a self-fulfilling prophecy called the Galatea effect. Eden and Zuk (1995) used this technique to convince naval cadets in the Israeli Defence Forces that they were unlikely to get sea sick, self-efficacy proved quite effective.

Adam’s Equity theory states that people are motivated to achieve equity in dealings with people and organizations. Locke and Latham’s goal setting theory has been useful in organizations. Machungwa and Schmitt (1983) studied five occupational groups in Zambia and found evidence for the two-factor theory, goal setting and equity theory.

Gender and Job Satisfaction: Hulin and Smith (1964) found no significant difference in Job Satisfaction when genders were matched on education and years of service. Weaver (1980) examined job satisfaction among American workers from 1972 through 1978 with 4,709 participants and found no sex differences in job satisfaction. There was a possible association between job satisfaction and education, age, income and occupation. Smith and Plant (1982) found no overall difference in job satisfaction of male and female university professors though males were more satisfied with supervision and coworkers. There was no sex difference on work, pay and promotion. Witt and Nye (1992) in a Meta
analysis comparing men and women in multiple samples found no gender differences in job satisfaction.

Bartol and Manhardt (1979) found females gave less preference to long term career objectives and more emphasis to work environment and interpersonal job aspects than males. Trend analysis over 9 years showed a convergence of female preferences with those of males on which sex differences were found. Chacko (1982) studied women managers and concluded that those who perceived their selection was based on equal opportunity had less organizational commitment, less satisfaction with work, supervision and co-worker, they also experienced more role conflict and role ambiguity than those who felt that sex did not factor in their selection.

Age and Job Satisfaction: Research shows a curvilinear relationship between age and job satisfaction in the UK and US. At first there is a decline with age, the lowest point being at 26 to 31 years then job satisfaction increases throughout the working career, this may be due to better adjustment, conditions or rewards with increasing age (Spector, 2000, p.212).

3.7.2 Life Satisfaction

This is a state of subjective well being. Weaver and Holmes (1975) compared women working full time outside the home with homemakers and reported that the former had higher life satisfaction. Research shows that life satisfaction has a reciprocal relationship with job satisfaction (Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982). A longitudinal study over 5 years
suggested that the spillover hypothesis i.e. life satisfaction affects/spills over to Job Satisfaction and vice versa is correct (Judge & Watanabe, 1993). It was also found that older people, whites, women, those with less physical health problems and married people were higher on life satisfaction.

3.7.3 Morale

After World War II, "morale" was important for military and civilians. Boring (1988, pp.325-343) defined morale in the Military as "wanting to do what you have to do". He stressed the intellectual aspect i.e. one is convinced what is being done will achieve the goal; the emotional aspect i.e. the zest that goes with health and competence; the social aspect i.e. the feeling of agreement with superiors and others with whom one co-operates. Morale is high when a person knows his objectives and he and his leaders believe they are worthwhile and attainable. Indicators of good morale are low rates of malingering, absence without leave, court martial, loss of equipment, slackness in dress, saluting or carrying out orders, or requests for transfer.

Meyer, Allen & Smith’s (1993) affective commitment to the organization, where the employee has an emotional attachment to the organization and believes the organizational goals are his own, is very close to "morale" as defined by the military and hence has been taken up for study. Closely associated is Organizational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB) that involves altruism (helping others) and compliance (following rules) i.e. extra role behaviour not generally considered a required duty or part of a traditional job description. Shore and Wayne (1993) studied 383 employees and their managers. The best predictor
of OCB was the perception of the organization’s commitment to employees (POS), affective commitment was positively related to POS, while continuance commitment was not related to POS. Bolino and Turnley (2005) studied the personal costs of a specific OCB i.e. individual initiative. Results showed higher levels of initiative were associated with higher role overload, job stress and work family conflict. The relationship for OCB and work family conflict being higher for women, Mishra and Mishra (2005) found a correlation of .20 between achievement motivation and organizational commitment among supervisory telecom workers in India.

Morale is important in the military therefore the impact of gender-integrated basic training was studied by the US Government Accounting office (1999). A 3 year study found that performance of women improved in gender integrated training units while performance of men was slightly improved or not affected, moreover teamwork, cohesion and morale of women improved. Harrell and Miller (1997) assessed the effects of gender integration on readiness, cohesion and morale as “relatively small” other influences such as leadership were more important. Problems in a unit could be created due to men perceiving double standards i.e. different physical standards and demands on women; problems also arose due to dating, sexual relationships and sexual harassment.

The literature review has shown the relationship of job satisfaction and life satisfaction to gender. The literature on morale or affective commitment has related it to organizational citizenship behaviour, as well as to gender integrated training in the military. The present research has investigated gender differences in work related attitudes in the Indian Navy.
3.8 EMPLOYMENT, FAMILY AND SOCIAL SUPPORT.

The combined responsibility for paid and non-paid work was called the “second shift” (Hochschild, 1989). With both partners working, sexual division of labour in housework and childcare became the focus of research; however surveys in England and Australia showed no tendency for unemployed men to take on more house work (Connell, 1987, p.99). Research by the U.S. Labour Department, (Andrews, 2004) showed that the working woman spent on an average twice as much time on housework and childcare compared to the working man. Men spent more time on their jobs, leisure and sports. In India, highly educated women often dropped out of employment after marriage, called the post marriage brain drain (Bano, 2003, p.211). However, when arranging a marriage “suitable girl” often means “working girl”, so a woman may expect to combine career and family. Some women work until their first child is born then return to the work force once their children reach a certain age. This is true of even highflying women in the U.S. (Baxter, 2004). However many women work continuously and take leave when necessary.

In India regardless of employment status, the woman continues to take on the role of looking after the home and children (Heptulla, 2002). Even in dual income families the man continues to be seen as the provider (Ramu, 1989). Since Ramu studied lower income workers, Bharat (1995) extended her research to professionals and non-professionals. Results showed that professional women and their spouses had a more favourable attitude towards women in paid work but overall traditional gender roles
continued to exist. Dasgupta, Basu and Chaudhari (2004) studied marital quality as perceived by the spouse. In single (male) earner families traditional gender role attitudes resulted in better marital quality while in dual earner families, marital happiness was higher when the male had modern gender role attitudes. There was hostility towards women in the labour force; they were seen to be competing with men.

The situation is further worsened since the education system continues to stress on traditional gender roles rather than on equality, women’s participation in the work force continues to increase, often encouraged by the family for economic reasons, without any sharing of home and childcare. The result is that women are often discontented and cannot function effectively.

Kapur (1970) found that despite multiple roles 55% of workingwomen in India were well *adjusted* in married life, only 26% had problems. Studies by Thakar and Mishra (1999), as well as Gaur and Dhawan (2000) confirmed that despite stress Indian workingwomen were dealing effectively with the environment and adapting to it. In the US, Hoffman (1992, pp.190-199) reported positive aspects of women working, in terms of increased status in the family and society, better marital relationships, (studies show that this is true in the middle class, marital relations may worsen in the lower class when the woman works) and better attitudes towards children. Participation of fathers in housework and childcare increases the child’s social development. Bem’s theory suggests that diminished gender role typing may benefit both boys and girls. Mothers’ working increases independence training and helps daughters become well-adjusted, high
achievers. Whether it is a disadvantage for boys is not clear. Schnittker claims that being a working woman is beneficial to health (Employed women, 2004).

The psychological well being of working women: The scarcity theory predicts that employed women experience greater stress because time and energy is limited, spending it on work takes away from the family. The enhancement theory predicts that employment increases self esteem and social support, thus positively influencing family life. Maternity leave is an important determiner of whether women are satisfied with their dual roles. Largest benefits are given in Sweden; women get 90% of pay for one year after the birth of a child. India, Italy, Britain, Germany, Japan, and Canada provide 14 to 20 weeks paid leave. US, Australia, New Zealand, Swaziland, Papua, New Guinea do not require employers to provide paid maternity leave to women. In 1986, the Ministry of Labour in India instructed that both married and unmarried women be given maternity leave (Pruthi, Devi & Pruthi, 2001). Asthana and Verma (2005) studied 86 women lecturers and found married lecturers had more life stress than unmarried. Unmarried working women received more social support from family, community and social institutes.

Schwartzberg and Dytell (1996) found no gender difference among dual earner couples on work and family stress and job home interference. Mothers employed outside the home had more time pressures; hence, help from the spouse was important. Researchers called this effect “Don’t tell me I’m terrific. Tell me you’ll do the laundry”. In a Meta analysis of 50 research studies Kossek and Ozeki (1998) found a negative relationship
between 1. Work and family conflict and, 2. Job and life satisfaction, the effects were stronger for men than for women.

**Family and Military women:** Enloe (1983, p.79) described the military wife as a "mother who socializes future military generations and as unpaid labour and volunteer to move her husband’s career graph upwards. What happens when the military wife is a man? Military husbands are not expected to play the same helpmate, nurturing role for the military, nor is he expected to quit his job and move as his soldier wife is transferred, or be deferential to the general/general’s wife, or provide unpaid labour to make the base a community”.

Stoddard (1994) studied married women of the Air Defence Artillery who were deciding to continue or leave service. The Air Defence Artillery, being a combat arm, put women under greater pressure to excel due to high visibility and non-traditional nature of the job. Results showed that West Point graduates were less likely to leave as well as women who perceived higher support of their husband. Children were not a factor in their decision.

A major concern of dual military families is joint domicile. Harris, Scarville and Steinberg (1994) interviewed 30 US service women, 80% were married, 53% to service officers and 27% to civilians. Their husbands did not want to or could not change jobs with the service woman’s transfers. Dual military couples that were not co located had to decide about the children, who usually stayed with the mother. Concerns about the
children included the lack of quality time. Sixty seven percent of service women who left said that family / career conflict influenced their decision.

Second Lieutenant Nunag of the Philippine Military Academy said that later when faced with a choice she would choose family over career (Bennett, 1996). Arguello a woman cadet at the Argentina Military Academy felt balancing career and family would be a challenge (Valente, 1999).

Gibbs (2003) described the Richardsons, husband and wife were battalion commanders deployed in Iraq; they left their daughter with a friend. Mothers balance family and job under extreme conditions that include leaving a power of attorney and will with the babysitter; many keep family photographs with them and record favourite songs for their children. Lieutenant Commander Bharati (2004) has described leaving his son with a friend while he and his wife were deployed. This would occur only in a close-knit social structure like the Indian Navy. As social structures change, facilities for dual military families need to be reviewed.

Singh (2005, p.80) studied women in the Central Reserve Police (CRPF), the majority were in the non officer rank (OR). There were many female headed households and single mothers due to high operational mobility. Women left children with relatives or took them along when accommodation was available; the husband remained at his workplace. Often, married women felt that unmarried women should be deployed. Women constables said husbands did not share housework. Social support in terms of
friendships were restricted to the same rank, civilian friends were few. Officer’s wives were not friendly with women officers because their interests differed from working women; the fact that women officers work in close proximity with their husbands was another area of concern. Also wives took on the husband’s rank and did not consider junior women officers to be on par (Singh, 2005, p.99). Many women did not marry because they felt they would not have a peaceful family life and time for children.

The literature reviewed in this section has outlined the adjustments women make to cope with career as well as family particularly in the military, and shows the importance of social support in fulfilling their dual responsibilities. The present study has investigated the importance of social support for married women in the Indian Navy.

Summary

Based on the review of literature, the present research has focused on women in the Armed Forces with certain basic assumptions, emphasizing particular dimensions.

- Gender stereotypes exist in the Armed Forces, for full integration of women, attitudes towards women in the Navy and in combat need to be examined.

- There will be gender differences in motivation, work related attitudes, role stress, self-actualization of naval officers.

- There will be a relationship between work related attitudes and role stress of the participants.

- There will be a relationship between gender role identity, self-actualization, personality, and work related attitudes of naval officers.
The present chapter has given a view of developments in areas of work related attitudes, stress, motivation, self-actualization, personality, gender equality attitudes and social support. The next chapter presents the research methodology adopted for the study.