CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since long, the women forming almost half part of the population have primarily been performing the duties of home makers though some of them helped their husbands in their economic activities. In many countries we find that a few exceptional women have adorned the throne and ruled well and wisely along with some women who were brilliant teachers and able administrators, but their number was extremely meagre. Vast majority of them were busy in doing the hard daily routine of household activities and lower types of manual and menial jobs. This was perhaps due to the structure of the society where women occupied subservient position irrespective of their occupational roles.

Thus women everywhere and also in our country had to live under several disabilities and inequalities for a very long time. D.Souza (1975) has observed that in India as in other countries of the world there is a great discrepancy between the idealised concept of women and the real life situations in which women find themselves. In both the industrially advanced and less developed countries women are burdened with cumulative inequalities as a result of socio-cultural and economic discriminatory practices which, until recently have been taken for granted as though they were part of the immutable scheme of things established by nature.
All over the world women are denied equal access with men to opportunities for personal growth and social development in education, employment, marriage and family, profession and political life.

Since the beginning of the present century significant changes have taken place everywhere as well as in India. These changes generated by many socio-economic and political factors have left their impact on women and contributed in creating a new consciousness among them about their importance in society. In the post independent India this process was accelerated and one of the major consequences was the awakening among some of the leading women about the fact that they should come forward to improve their lot themselves. As stated by Jacobson and Wadley (1977), "Throughout much of India there is an increased awareness of the particular disadvantages women suffer, and efforts are being made on any fronts to increase women's economic and decision making power and to improve their general well being. Many eminent Indian women clearly feel that women themselves must play major role in endeavours to mitigate the enormous problems of poverty and inequality that plague them and the nation as a whole."

The history of Indian women has a very long past. Due to the paucity of archaeological evidence so far discovered it is not possible to state much about the specific position of women during the period of Indus Valley Civilization. We
stand on surer ground about the description of her status when we enter the Rigvedic age, because it throws much light on various aspects of the Indian society.

In Vedic India women had been occupying a place of honour and respect in the home both as a mother and as a wife. They used to take an active part in religious matters and managed the household activities effectively. Majumdar (1968) maintains that the women spoke to the people gathered at the husband's house and went to feasts and general sacrifices, gaily decorated and decked with ornaments. They were fully attentive to the husband's duties. In that age they used to help and participate in certain professions like agriculture, in the manufacture of weapons, embroidery, basket making, weaving clothes etc. The teaching profession was also common in the higher sections of the society in those days. Distinguished women teachers like Gargi and Maitreyi composed various Vedic hymns and specialised in branches like theology and philosophy.

But in the later Vedic period with the classification of the society into well defined caste hierarchy we find the emergence of a rigid social order. Education began to be denied to them and thus they lost equal status with men. Desai (1957) while explaining the views of Manu in this regard, states that he invests the Brahmanas with new privileges. He deprecates the Sudras and women and concedes
to them an inferior status. He thus lays down theoretical basis for the social and legal subordination of women.

Jainism and Buddhism, the two heterodox movements were aimed at destroying the rigidification of the Brahmantic priestly oligarchy. These movements attracted a large number of women to their fold because of freedom in religious practices without distinction. Thus many women started the career of nuns and preachers. But in spite of equality as preached in Buddhism, there was a lurking prejudice about women's inferiority even in that religion. Harner (1975) states, 'Though women according to Buddhism can reach the highest stage, she is, however, considered inferior in status to a male Bhiksu'.

The process of deterioration of the status of women seems to have been continued further from the 3rd century A.D. onward. Early marriage of girls became a marked feature during this time with the result their education was curtailed, freedom restricted, religious rights denied, widow remarriage banned and implicit devotion to husband was recommended. A few instances, no doubt, of some gifted women who played their part in the administration of the country were there.

But the mass of women continued to live under social discrimination before the advent of the Muslim rule and also after it. The political subjection and the super imposition of alien culture made her position more miserable as has been
expressed by Majumdar and others (1966), "The commentries and the digests repeat the Smriti laws making it compulsory for the guardian of a girl to give her away in marriage before the attainment of puberty, prohibiting social intercourse with abducted women even after their performance of a penance as prescribed by the scriptures and declaring woman to be unfit to give evidence in judicial trial because of their proneness to untruth."

When we enter the Mughal period we find a vigorous impact of socio-political forces of Islam on many aspects of Indian life. Women in this age became more insecure and they had to be protected and sheltered. Thus their life became altogether restricted within the four walls of the home as Sengupta (1974) observes that apart from purdah, other evils seemed to have prevailed more extensively. New culture and habits were introduced by the conquerers. There was an upheaval of economic, social and political life and for many years, the people were unsettled and afraid. Evils such as polygamy, sati, child marriage and the prevention of widows for remarriage considerably lowered the status of women. No doubt, in this period there were also a very few examples of accomplished women like Durgavati and Nurjahan who could get the chance to show their qualities as good administrators. But at the advent of the British rule we find the position of Indian women further deteriorated to
the maximum. They were completely suppressed and were an inferior species without any right. They did not possess any independent status of their own. Their opinion, their likes and dislikes and their desires were never to be considered. Pandita Rama Bai (1901) has rightly observed that she is forbidden to read the sacred scriptures and has no right to pronounce a single syllable out of them. To appeal to her uncultivated low kind of desire by giving her ornaments to adorn her person and by giving her dainty food together with an occasional bow which costs nothing are the highest honours to which a Hindu woman is entitled.

Due to the impact of western education a beginning of a new phase towards the improvement of women's position was started in the early part of 19th century. The reformers of this century who had liberal views began to question the disabilities imposed on women with the result that some of the evils and customs which could no longer be tolerated began to be uprooted. Sati was abolished in 1819, and widow remarriage act was passed in 1856. Child marriage and polygamy began to be condemned. To remove illiteracy and ignorance among women the need for educational institutions was felt and some schools were opened.

In the beginning of the present century women started taking more interest in education. The activities of various reform movements, in spite of some limitations, contributed
to create an atmosphere of political and social awakening among women, as has been observed by Desai (1957). In contrast to hundreds of years of pre-British India, this new development during the last hundred years, where a mental climate for recognising women as equals and providing equal opportunities to them, has been created.

The establishment of an industrial society also contributed to create an environment which compelled women to think differently about their future. The economic crisis and rising cost of living as a result of world wars accelerated this process and the women who were almost confined to the home began to enter into gainful employment.

Independence of our country also ushered a new era and brought in its train immense responsibilities for all the citizens of the country. New Constitution gave women equal rights in all spheres of life. Many women, year after year came forward to avail of the educational facilities for which they were deprived of since a very long time as has been observed from the census figures given in Table 1.1

### TABLE 1.1
Progress of female literacy in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>0.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2.93</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>7.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7.93</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>12.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>18.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>24.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981
Female literacy rate in India during 1961-71 decade has gone up by 5.74 per cent, from 12.95 per cent in 1961 to 18.69 per cent in 1971.

Similarly during 1971-81 decade it has gone up by 6.19 per cent, i.e., from 18.69 per cent in 1971 to 24.88 per cent in 1981.

Even after having got equal educational opportunities, women opted only for some occupations like teaching and medicine which were considered comparatively more respectable by the society. But gradually the situation changed and women came forward in large numbers to work in offices in varying capacities along with men as Kapur (1975) has pointed out that taking up of jobs in the offices as clerks and officers in various capacities by the women of middle and upper classes is almost a post-independence phenomenon in India. In free India, women – both married and unmarried – of these classes have been entering in increasing number into various kinds of remunerative jobs and occupations that have been largely the preserves of men. Regarding the entry of educated women in different types of jobs the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1971-74) maintains that in the public sector, while the number of women employees in the categories of professional, technical and related workers and primary and middle school teachers, has been continuously rising since 1960, their proportion to total employees has more or less remained constant with only minor fluctuations. The number of women as administrative, executive and managerial workers increased from .10 lakhs in
1960 to .12 in 1966 but there was a downward trend in 1968. In the category of clerical and related workers, the number of women with the only exception of 1962, has gone up from .37 lakhs in 1960 to .79 lakhs in 1968. For the same period their proportion to total workers in this category has gone up from 4.2 per cent to 7.6 per cent. The number and proportion of women workers in transport and communication has remained steady, while in services, sports and recreation their number has gone up from 0.05 lakhs in 1960 to .13 lakhs in 1968.

In recent years factors like rising age of marriage smaller families, rising costs and standard of living and need for greater participation in decision making are introducing major changes in the life styles of women. Moreover, the impact of higher education has contributed a lot in changing the outlook and widened the vision of young women. Now they want to be economically independent and to be recognized individuals existing in their own right. These are the women for whom the work outside the home is a stimulation to achieve excellence in various fields of life. They have once for all, shattered the myth of male's superiority and female's inferiority, by their achievements and performance. The Report further states that the central services which threw open their ranks to open competitions, giving equal opportunities for women, since 1948 show a slow but steady increase in the number of candidates as well as
successful entrants. In the I.A.S/I.F.S/I.P.S. examinations
the ratio of women to men recommended for appointment has
improved from 1:81.6 in 1960 to 1:7.5 in 1972. In other
services, however, e.g. the Indian economic service, the
statistical service and the engineering service their
proportion still remains low, though in the Electrical
Engineering Service their position is relatively better as
also in the ranks of Geologists. Karnik (1973) has also
pointed out that a growing number of women are also qualifying
as engineers, architects and accountants. No profession or
service is barred to women and more and more women are taking
advantage of these opportunities.

But women on these responsible jobs stand on a cross
road without a long history of past experiences of their own
to guide them for their onward march on the road to the
successful performance of the duties.

Moreover, the women who played a second fiddle and
accepted happily as a matter of habit what came from the
mouth of men are now playing the role to which men folk have
not been accustomed to. In this new situation they must be
confronted with many problems and difficulties. Further the
attitude of the society has not been changing with the speed
with which the women are occupying the fields recently
dominated by men. So a large number of problems are bound
to arise as Kapur (1975) remarks that in principle woman has
the status of equality with that of man, but in day to day life it is still far away from the ideal, and as a worker she faces multiple problems both at home and at work.

The question that society is changing according to the requirements is very important for all the women who are in the work force but as Peter Wolsely (1973) has pointed out that it is specially important for those women with the ability to go through to the highest post for it is here that the career commitment which is needed for success is usually most intense and can most easily clash with stereotypes of what a feminine role should be.

The expectations and responsibilities of higher jobs are altogether different from those of middle or lower level jobs. Maule analysing the difference (1961) between these two types of jobs has rightly stated "Instead of carrying out policies laid down by others, initiate and dictate policies, instead of carrying out decisions made by others, make decisions, instead of working just on jobs, co-ordinate the work of number of jobs, instead of being responsible for their own work alone, are responsible for finding, hiring, training and directing a number of other people doing a variety of different kinds of work."

Besides this, in our country the family as a social unit and women's role as a wife and a mother and a housewife has its own significance. A woman working outside is still
considered, consciously or unconsciously doing something unnatural and unwomanly and the society does not encourage the extra interests which interfere in the comforts of the family. Reconciliation between commitment to the career and family responsibilities give rise to many problems and difficulties. Kala Rani (1976) explains that any combination of work and home which requires a woman to opt out completely for paid work is highly inconsistent with success in many high status occupations. The performance of traditional responsibilities from women at home puts an almost intolerable strain on those women who take up professional employment even when their children are at school.

The two roles that of a successful careerist and a good housewife are very taxing because each is a whole time job. Naturally there are many occasions when one has to be neglected in the interest of the other and this gives rise to a sense of guilt and inadequacy. The career woman occupying a position of responsibility is torn between two loyalties, loyalty to achieve success in her career and thus hold her head high among men, and loyalty to her family, particularly, to her children. Thus her dilemma becomes really excruciating and she begins to feel as if there is no way out of it. No wonder, this gives rise to tension that adversely affects her dual roles.

Therefore, the present study concerns itself with the problems of women working along with men and performing
decision making roles in higher jobs.

But before we discuss the main object of the present study, an attempt has been made to review some of the studies conducted on women.

Review Of Studies

In recent years significant contributions have been made by social scientists and scholars from various disciplines in India and abroad towards the study of various aspects of the life and activities of women mainly in the context of social change and economic development. Full time gainfully employed women have been of special interest in most of these studies. Since the multiple problems faced by the group, no matter in which occupation, have become important contemporary issues due to the emergence of a new parallel role for them in the work situations. In fact, the significant outcome of the U.N. decade for women, starting from the international year of women in 1975, has been that relatively more number of studies and researches on women have been conducted and reports and books have been published dealing with the various aspects of the lives of women from practically all over the world as well as in India. The studies dealing with women in India can be broadly classified into the following:

a) Historical
b) Books written from an ideological viewpoint.
c) Empirical studies.
Historical

In this category are included the studies of Indra (1940), Altekar (1956) and Mitra (1965). These studies are general in nature and provide us with valuable source material regarding the position and status of women beginning from the Vedic times onward. The material in these books is based upon original Sanskrit texts.


Neera Desai's (1957) book 'Women in Modern India' may also be included in this category because it deals with the changing status of women in the Indian society historically. In her comprehensive study, she has attempted to describe the actual position of women in their varied roles from the past to the present. Discussing the present predicament of women in India to-day, she holds the opinion that women themselves must throw away the crushing burden of the past and for this purpose they must launch concerted action. Theoretically women are considered equal to men but in actual practice, religious value system, social institutions and the male dominance continue to adversely affect the life of women.

These works do make some references to the work situations of the women, but they do not directly deal with the working women.
Books written with Ideological Viewpoint:

Books written from an ideological viewpoint by some Indian sociologists seek to set up a model role for women which should strike a balance between the changed social situations of the present and the rich cultural norms of the Indian society.

In this category is included 'Indian Women' by Devki Jain (1975). It is a collection of essays concerning various problems that confront women of various categories and belonging to different regions of the country. The first part of the book deals with the historical background and the kinds of the experiences women had in different areas together with the impact of these experiences on the role and behaviour of Indian women today. In the second part the author maintains that there is a need for formulating a carefully thought out ideology which should suggest alternative paths of progress for women and also provide an alternative vision of future. The writer suggests that with foresight and relevant research, change in India can be directed for a future richer than the past, offering novel ideas to other societies engaged in the same endeavour.

Another book which can be put in this category is 'Women in India — Two Perspectives' by Jacobson and Wadley (1977). The main theme has been taken from the Hindu concept of Sakti, the manifesting power and the creative principle
which is seen as essentially female. According to Wadley, women are benevolent if their sexuality is controlled by males and not by themselves. Further, it is argued that women in their role of wives are totally under the control of men, but in their role of mothers they are not under control. It is this Hindu view of woman as mother which according to the writer allows for the ready acceptance of women leaders. It is in this aspect of Hindu thought that Wadley sees the potential for ideological change.

Mukherjee (1978) in her book 'Hindu Women; Normative Models' deals with the property rights that women enjoyed in ancient India and refers to the subservient position women had in ancient India and later.

These books bring out the fact that women in ancient India were idealized only as wives and mothers and were not given any recognition as human beings in their own right. It is apparent that these authors avoid calling spade a spade that is, facts mentioned by them establish conclusively that the "traditional stereotypes" about women were deliberately formulated and enforced by the male dominated society. All the Brahman law guides were mainly concerned with denying any right and freedom to women.

Empirical Studies:

After the first world war significant changes took place in Indian economy. With the expansion of industries and
introduction of new form of economic structure many women belonging to the urban proletariat and the rural artisan class, were hard hit by poverty and were forced to take up manual work to support their families. After the World War II, even the middle classes were economically affected and women of these classes, too, started coming out of their homes to earn and supplement the family income. These middle class women started going in for college education in order to secure gainful employment. This new phenomenon attracted the attention of scholars and some empirical studies were made to deal with these revolutionary social changes in the attitudes of women and the new roles they began to play in various spheres of social life. A few such empirical studies are examined below.

The first study of this kind is by Hate 'The social and economic conditions of Educated Women in Bombay City' (1930). The author used the questionnaire method. The study concludes that a definite change has taken place in the economic conditions and personal status of women in the Indian society. The investigation has indicated that the change is deep and vital.

Another book included in this category is 'The Hindu Woman' by Margaret Cormac (1953). The purpose of the study is to describe the feminine role and how the Dharma of a Hindu girl is interiorised, primarily through the training at home from birth onward, in a carefully controlled structure of
relationship which has the sanction of a hoary tradition. The author concludes by stating that the Hindu woman is submissive and she does not develop her potentialities, but, at the same time, she feels psychologically secure and responds to the changing needs of the society.

Ross, Aileen D 'The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting' (1961) is another empirical study of non-working women which deals with the effects of industrialisation and technological changes on the traditional middle and upper class Hindu families. The sample covers 157 middle and upper class men and women belonging to various castes, income groups, occupations and linguistic groups, in the city of Banglore. Her conclusion is that young urban want to set up homes of their own and favour a change in the traditional patterns of family relationships and division of labour. While discussing the traditional Hindu family, Ross states that it is possible to have adjustment between husband and wife within the framework of the Hindu joint family. Further, she suggests that due to the changes occurring in the family structure because of married women becoming economically dependent, the problem of adjustment may become all the more difficult for them, but a working wife is no longer considered undesirable. She concludes: "Indeed, the main reason that so many married Hindu middle class women work without reproach is because everyone understands the economic problems of the middle class and that a wife's income is often essential to the family's standard of
Another work which deals with a segment of urban women only is Rama Mehta's (1970) 'The Western Educated Hindu Woman'. This pioneering study examines the far-reaching impact of western education and alien influences on the Indian society. Her enquiry covers fifty graduate married women of different castes, who had taught in primary and secondary schools run by the Christians with English as medium of instructions. They belonged to the age group, 20 and 25, and were the daughters of the army officers or the civil servants. The study examines the impact of the influences of western education on this group in order to find out whether this impact was merely a superficial one or went deeper and affected their values and ways of thinking. She has demonstrated that as a result of new values there is an awareness among them that the past must be harmonized with the present. The process of modernization has initiated social changes but they favour that these changes must be made consonant with their cultural values. The respondents did not disapprove socio-economic changes taking place all around them but at the same time they believed that their domestic life should be guided by the Indian traditional values.

Tara Aliбег's 'India's Woman Power' (1976) examines the position of women from the Asian viewpoint. The book is divided into three parts. The first part examines the historical and global context of the present day position of
Indian women. It also examines traditional values which define their place in the society. The second part describes their actual lives, hopes, aspirations and expectations and the third part includes discussion of the economic and political role of Indian women. The book deals with many paradoxes and contradictions concerning women so abundant in Indian society and culture. She recognises that while India has some extremely advanced legislation related to women it is more honoured in the breach than observance. She points out that India has had a relatively high proportion of women leaders compared to Britain or America yet over 80 per cent of Indian women are illiterate. Her conclusion is that 'not only is there no movement in India now to comprehensively involve women to meet the challenges and changes ahead, but in spite of advanced legislation the period since independence has been disappointingly inactive in terms of feminine progress'.

Girija Khanna and Mariamma Verghese's 'Indian Women Today' (1978) states that a vast majority of marriages are arranged and are successful. According to the writers, "Marriage is smooth sailing when a woman is accommodating and abides by her husband's wishes. The average Indian wife who is basically a family woman, would rather abide by her husband's wishes and finds great happiness in marriage than confront him and make her married life complicated and unhappy".
Their opinion about working women is not very complimentary. According to the writers some women become bossy and authoritarian because they earn as much as their husband. Thus a working woman's right to do whatever she chooses, opines these writers, becomes a cause of conflict between husband and wife and disturbs the family harmony.

Sen Gupta's study 'Women Workers in India (1960) can be considered as the first detailed survey on workers in factories, mines, plantation and agriculture, and in other services and professions. The writer considers several factors which compelled them to opt for various jobs and discusses their problems, privileges and disabilities both at work and at home. The author asserts that women have as much right to live and work as men. There is need to establish an ideal partnership between them in all walks of life for a happy life. She suggests that women must combine their household roles with their outside interests and work if they want to keep pace with the changing times.

Hate in her study 'Changing Status of Women in Post Independence India' (1969) deals with the various factors leading to change in the position of women after independence. Her sample pertains to the four cities of Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and Sholapur and covers middle class working and non-working women with their families and the employers under whom they were working. The author has made a comparison
between Indian women and their counterparts in developed countries. She points out that women in socialist countries are working in responsible jobs which is a proof in itself of their capability, in contrast to democratic countries like U.K., Japan and India where their proportion is much smaller. The study explains that this is due to the fundamental differences between a society based on socialistic principles and a society based on liberal democratic capitalistic ideology. The study concludes with the observation that women's status has, no doubt, changed, but only superficially. In theory there is equality but in day-to-day life, she is discriminated. Lastly, the writer observes that society has not given due recognition to the dual role, a working woman now plays and as a consequence the problems and difficulties that trouble her life. This appears to be the first full length empirical study dealing exclusively with the various aspects of the changing life and statuses and roles of urban women.

Ranade and Ramchandran's study 'Women and Employment' (1970) is based on the reports of two studies - one conducted by Delhi School of Social Work and the other, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, Government of India. The main purpose of these studies, was to find out the attitudes of women towards employment particularly, towards part time employment. The survey also tried to examine whether educated women wanted to strike a balance between work and home.
The surveys concluded that a large majority of the respondents did not favour part-time jobs because of insufficient remuneration. Most of the respondents were interested in regular jobs and wanted to continue with work, and in the majority of the cases, their relatives too, favoured that they should work.

Kapur (1960, 1970, 1974). The most significant contribution to the study of working women has been made by Promila Kapur. Her first work (1960) was a socio-psychological study of the 'Change in the Attitudes of Educated Earning Hindu Working Women'. Later, her study (1970) 'Marriage and the Working Women in India' explores how successfully, along with the added responsibility of their jobs, the educated working women have been able to make adjustment in their married life. This study aims at discovering and analysing the factors responsible that help or hinder them in seeking adjustment in marriage.

The universe of this study was the city of Delhi and her sample covered 300 educated working women from the three major occupational categories i.e. teachers, office workers and doctors. The study reveals that the wife's employment, in itself, does not affect her marital relationship adversely. There are many objective and subjective factors which bring about harmony and discard between the wife and husband. The action and interaction among these various factors shape the pattern of marital relationship. The study further explains
that a large majority of the husbands like their wives to be in gainful employment, but they are not prepared to make changes at the behavioral and expectational levels in the changed situations. This creates tensions in their lives. Kapur shows how the educated working women are being influenced by the egalitarian ideas while the traditional and male dominated set-up of the Indian society continues to be the same. This creates crises situations which can only be avoided if there is harmony between the pace of change and the attitudes of women as well as the other members of the society.

Kapur's next work 'The Changing Status of the Working Women in India' (1974) studies the attitudes of the career women and their impact on them as well as on their marital and family relationship. The writer has shown that women belonging to middle and upper classes are now conscious of their political and legal rights. They are desirous to acquire knowledge and skills, and to have an economically independent status. Further, she has explained the problems and difficulties these women are facing in their new roles. It is an action-oriented study which suggests some measures to improve the marital relation and the statuses of educated women so as to enable them to play an effective role in the development of their nation.

The contribution in this field made by Y.W.C.A. is also worth recognition. The study 'The Educated Women in
Indian Society To-day' (1971) carried out by this association was an attempt to find out the answers to some important questions like what should be the standard of knowledge of educated women from where broader conclusions could be drawn, how far ahead the educated women had gone and how much they had been able to contribute to national progress.

The study is divided into two parts. Part I consists of information regarding the educated women working in the four fields - Teaching, Social Work, Medicine and Surgery and Nursing. Part II pertains to the interpretation regarding their achievements and failures.

The study provides us with certain facts and practical suggestions which are based on professional opinion whereby the productivity of educated women can be profitably increased for their benefit as well as of the people whom they serve.

The New Bread Winners (1976) is another study by this association under the supervision of Wadhera. In this book, based on empirical data, several problems relating to the working women in different categories of jobs in the capital of India have been analysed. In the study it is noticed that in the new situations their roles are being redefined, and, this, in turn, is affecting their position in society. Women in our society have so far had only a secondary status because of the economic dependence on men. The change, now taking place is creating many problems of adjustment. No doubt, some
middle class women with better qualifications have been working to utilise their education and training but majority of these women in the sample were mainly in gainful employment due to economic reasons. The conclusion of the study is that working women belonging to middle level jobs with better economic status were more satisfied as compared to the women who were less educated and were working on low paid jobs. On the whole, the study indicates that work situations of young working women were not satisfactory and there was no striking change in the position and the respect enjoyed by the working women in the family as well as in the society. The study suggests that in order to improve their position women must change their outlook and attitudes, and be more assertive and develop a more realistic attitude so as to bring about a desirable change in the society as a whole.

Goldstein's study 'Indian Women in Transition' (1972), is another empirical work and has purely sociological perspective. It seeks to probe as to how the new values created by the higher education among women are creating conflicts with the traditional family-centred values. It tries to perceive the effects of university education on the lives and the roles of the women when they take up jobs. It critically explores the way, the forces of tradition and modernity, and the problems stemming from these, are to be resolved, and the extent to which highly educated employed women change their roles and create new values and norms.
The author works on a sample of 97 young women both graduates and post-graduates selected from Bangalore University in 1965. The study reveals that the majority of educated women felt that education had helped them in finding a suitable marriage partner and also in adjustment in marriage. The study further points out that majority of women were of the opinion that they were serving the society through their vocational fields.

The study further explains that higher education enabled women to become aware that a career could be an alternative to marriage. They accepted the fact that marriage and motherhood as prime factors that gave them recognition in society but their desire to work was motivated by their wish to be independent. The study also examines the need of combining the new freedom and opportunities with the old values and traditional norms governing women's place in the society but they also felt that gradual change was inevitable.

Singh in her study 'Status of Women and Population Growth in India' (1972) tries to establish a co-relation between the social status of women and fertility performance. Her study pertains to a sample of 311 women both working and non-working with four categories in the descending order of social status. The major hypothesis in the study is that the higher the status of women the lower the fertility and vice-versa. To explain this relationship she has taken social
status as an independent variable while age at marriage, knowledge and use of family planning practices and incidence of mortality as the intervening variables.

After discussing the relationship of intervening variables as the indices of social status, on the one hand, and the fertility, on the other, the study reveals that the social status of women is an important factor in the reduction of fertility. The study concludes by stating that higher education along with employment in higher prestige occupations was the most important factor in the lowering of fertility. According to the study fertility control had bearing upon other variables but employment of women in status positions along with the higher education was considered the most important variable for a sizeable reduction in fertility.

'Employment of Educated Married Women - its Causes and Consequences with reference to Chandigarh' by Srivastva (1972) is another study which deals with the changing attitudes of women. She has proved that at each socio-economic level wives are working in occupations which are consistent or only slightly lower in prestige from that of their husband's occupations. She has also found that working women have more permissive and liberal attitude towards their children. Working women support the idea that women should be free to work and occupy responsible positions. But the most important finding of her study is that working women harbour a sense of guilt.
due to the realization of the fact as the author states "constant attention of the mother and her physical presence are considered important to provide healthy psychological environment for the development of a child's personality".

'Role Conflict in Working Women' by Kala Rani (1976) is another study in which she has highlighted the different areas of role conflict among working women and the nature of their adjustment with jobs and with traditional roles. The locale of Kala Rani's work is Patna, a city with several distinctive cultural characteristics. Her study indicates that majority of the working women had succeeded in performing the two roles to their satisfaction. The causes of dissatisfaction were their inability to reconcile their dual roles, or ill health, or inflexible attitude of parents-in-law, unfriendly behaviour of co-workers and half-hearted support from their husbands. She has tried to establish that conflict was not a function of the profession, income and education of the working women. It was largely psychological. She explains that working women are haunted by a feeling of guilt for neglect of house-hold work but she has stated that strong emotional support from the husbands who take the employment of their wives as a source for a higher standard of living give inner strength to working women.

R.M. Sethi in her book 'Attitudes of Educated Working Women in India and Turkey: Modernization of Working Women in two Developing Societies' (1976), examines the trends of
modernization along with their impact on the changing attitudes and beliefs of working women in two modernizing societies, India and Turkey. In both these countries the modernizing trends like urbanization, education, employment etc. have played an important part in bringing about several changes, both qualitative and quantitative, in the life of a woman. The author has shown that there was a marked difference in the level of modernity between these two developing societies, and the cultural conditions in both the societies had a deep effect on the process of modernization as a result of which even the urban educated working women were still tradition-bound rather than modern. 

The above mentioned studies show that Indian women troubled by the 'traditional stereotypes' which still persist in spite of constitutional rights conferred upon them. It is so because the dominant male, by and large, is unable to adjust himself to the fact that the working woman, being no longer economically dependent upon him, has rights and privileges of her own. These studies also demonstrate that the dual role, that is, sex-role and role as a working woman, come in conflict with each other and give rise to a sense of guilt in working woman because she realizes that she is not able to fulfil her duties as a mother to her own satisfaction. Also ambitious and highly talented women feel that their dual role proves a hinderence to attaining excellence in their careers.
In brief, these studies conclusively highlight the fact that women, even educated, working and economically independents like her sisters of yore, continue to face problems though in a modern disguise. The present study has therefore, been undertaken to find out the extent to which working women in India are handicapped in their chosen careers and to deal with the inevitable conflicts that arise in their personal and family life due to the dual roles they play.

**Design of the Study**

The present study is designed to investigate the problems faced by women working in higher jobs. By higher jobs we mean women who are working as I.A.S., I.P.S., P.C.S. and other central services as well as heads of the department in the above mentioned areas and performing decision making roles.

It has been observed in the preceding discussion that women even though highly educated and working continue to face various problems in their job role performance. They have to face many obstacles and hinderances in their chosen career due to the traditional stereotypes and unfamiliar situations. Therefore, the present study was undertaken to examine their job roles and the problems involved in them primarily in terms of their own perception and also according to the perception of their role partners especially their
immediate male supervisors and subordinates. However, the problems that these women face in their role performance can be understood with the help of the concept of role.

The concept of role has been defined in a number of ways. Various scholars have emphasised different aspects of this concept depending upon their field of inquiry. Since the first explicit formulation of role concept by Mead (1934) and Linton (1936) it has been widely used by anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists. Various definitions and meanings given to the concept can be put into three main categories (Sharma 1975).

In the first category are those who define role as the property of an individual occupying a particular position in the society. According to this perspective 'role' refers to the actual behaviour of the occupant of a position and not to the normatively patterned behaviour expected of him in the social system. In this context Davis (1949) states that "how an actor actually performs in a given position as distinct from how he is supposed to perform, we call his role." The role is thus the manner in which a person actually carries out the requirements of his position.

The second category consists of those who define role in terms of occupant's own perception of his situation and other social positions. In other words 'role' is defined in terms of the cognition of the focal person.
The third category comprises of those who define 'role' as the property of a social system. They explain the concept of role in terms of the normative behaviour as expected of or ascribed to the focal person or role occupant by the society (Znaniecki, 1940; Linton; Nadel, 1957; Biddle and Thomas, 1966).

It is apparent that while definitions in all the three categories that have been discussed have emphasised important aspects of the term 'role' they are not complete in themselves if studied in isolation. For instance the definitions in the first two categories do not take into consideration the expectations of others while those in the last category ignore the involvement of the focal person as such in the particular role situation. However, a more comprehensive definition of role includes all the significant aspects of it.

It can thus be concluded that role represents the behaviour expected of the occupant of a given position. In addition, the concept of role would also involve, "the actual behaviour of the focal persons, their own perception of what should be their behaviour and the behaviour ascribed to them by the society" (Sharma, 1975). In the present study also, in order to make use of the role as the basis for understanding the job role perception and the problems involved in that it was decided that the concept be taken in a multiple sense.
Role Performance

In simple terms role performance is the actual or overt carrying out of a particular role by an individual. It is often denoted by role behaviour (Newcomb 1950) and 'role enactment' (Sarbin 1954).

Role behaviour is seen by Goffman (1959) as constituting a kind of performance and the audience consists of not merely those who are gathered together for the purpose of listening and observing but any one, real or imagined whose attention may be directed to the actor. On the other hand Sargent and Williamson (1958) give a more specific viewpoint when they state that, "a role behaviour is patterned according to the demands and expectations of the members of one's group and occurs within one's group."

Role perception or the perceived role, on the other hand is the set of expectations or behaviours that the occupant of the position believes that he or she should enact. Role perception precedes role enactment during which the performer not only locates his own position but also defines his expectations regarding his role in relation to those held by his/her role definers or relevant others.

Role perception is thus the capacity of an individual to anticipate future acts expected of him/her along with the
awareness of the implicit and explicit consequences of these so as to make role enactment possible as well as predictable within limits. Fore knowledge regarding the attributes of a role would not only help the incumbent to perceive the role expectations more accurately but would also facilitate and hasten the process of role learning and role taking which is essential for the correct performance of any role.

However, for making use of the term role for understanding the present study as stated earlier it was decided to use the concept in a multiple sense. Therefore, the present study is an endeavour to examine the self perceptions of women in higher jobs and the problems and difficulties involved in their role performance. It is also concerned with the perceptions of their role partners in the capacity of superordinates and subordinates. Sharma (1975) has called all the three partners in such situations as role definers. By role definers, he means, "the persons who are dependents upon the focal person (the role incumbent) have capacity to encourage, persuade and exercise sanctions on the focal persons and are perceived by the focal persons as their role partners in an international situation."

Objectives of the Study

To delineate the motives which prompted these women respondents to seek higher jobs in different fields.
To study the work situation in order to deal with various aspects of work such as the job, working hours, extra time to be devoted to the job, tours, transfers, and other facilities available at the work place etc.

To examine the self perceptions of women in terms of their own evaluation of their role performance and whether they feel tense and discriminated while performing their job role.

To analyse the problems and difficulties involved in the job role in the process of decision making and its implementation, transfers and promotions etc.

To examine their attitudes towards women in higher jobs in general.

To delineate the perceptions of their role partners, i.e., their bosses and their subordinates regarding women in higher jobs.

**Significance of the Study**

Much work has been done on the problems of working women as such, but the literature it deals exclusively with the problems of women on higher jobs is rather scanty. The significance of the present study lies in the fact that it examines the work situational problems of such women who have been late entrants in the world of work traditionally regarded as the male prerogative.
The study focuses attention on the problems arising out of their working with males and the challenges they are facing due to male's prejudices and his hesitation in accepting them in their new roles.

Since they constitute the apex of educational pyramid among the educated women from the lowest to the highest levels, their experiences will help to assess the extent to which women in India have been emancipated, that is, freed from the age old prejudices and the extent to which they enjoy equality of opportunities in the pursuit of their career.

This study is undeniably very important not only for present and future incumbents but also for the planners who hope to bring qualitative changes in the administrative set-up.
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