CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of working wives is not new to India. In an agricultural country like ours women have always been working outside their homes in the fields by the side of their men. With the advent of modern industrialization, women from the poorer sections of Indian society started working for their wages in factories and mills as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers and menial servants. A sizeable section of those who constitute the rural and urban poor have formed an inalienable work-force in the villages and also in the cities. While this was the position of women from the lower strata, those from the middle and upper classes were mostly confined to their homes. Indeed it was considered demeaning for a girl, and even more so for a married woman, of these classes to come out of her home to take up out-of-home gainful employment.

However, the post Second World War period witnessed a remarkable change in the complexion of this age-old traditional scenario. Women of the middle and upper classes for the first time started coming out of their seclusion and began participating actively in vocations that had been largely the monopoly of men.

Scholars who have made an in-depth study of this phenomenon
have given a number of reasons for this change. The most important reason is the proliferation of white-collar jobs and their availability for women in India. The history of the growth of white-collar jobs in India is, as in the West, closely related to the history of the growth of the middle class.

However, scholars like Misra (1961) and others have highlighted one crucial difference between the West and India regarding the emergence of the middle class and white-collar occupations. In the West, the middle class, as also the white-collar occupations, evolved as a natural consequence of an industrial culture, whereas in India both the groups were, in a way, grafted onto the indigenous system even before it had acquired the sustaining force, namely the industrial culture. This difference has had its enduring influence on the characteristics and functioning of the middle class and the white-collar workers. Therefore, for a fuller comprehension of the various dimensions of the difference of the genesis of these groups, a survey of their growth and development in the West and in India is called for.

C. Wright Mills (1951) in his well known book, "White-Collar: The American Middle Class", has given a detailed description of the various aspects of the white-collar workers in America. Occupational groups such as teachers, sales people, assorted office workers, bookkeepers and doctors in clinics constitute the white-collar people of
the new middle class. They account for more than half the middle class as a whole. Tracing the origin of this class, he observes that while the centralization of the property led to the decline of the old middle class, the onset of the industrial revolution led to the emergence of the new middle class.

Mechanization of production requires fewer individuals of the labour force to manipulate things, but more to handle people and symbols. The white-collar workers are known for their skill in handling of paper, money and people. "They are expert at dealing with people transiently and impersonally; they are masters of the commercial, professional and technical relationship. The one thing they do not do is live by making things; rather, they live off the social machineries that organise and co-ordinate the people who do make things. White-collar people help turn out what someone else has made into profit for still another; some of them are closer to the means of production, supervising the work of actual manufacture and recording what is done. They are the people who keep track, they man the paper routines involved in distributing what is produced. They provide technical and personal services, and they teach others the skill which they themselves practice as well as all other skills transmitted by teaching" (C.W. Mills, pp. 65-66).

Mass production of goods necessitated the search for new markets and expansion of the old ones to sell them. This called for the services
of an enormous number to be engaged in sales and distribution, thereby opening up new avenues of employment of white-collar people. Yet another reason for the increase of white-collar occupations was the rise of big business and huge government departments and the consequent growth of bureaucracy. Mills writes, "The rise of thousands of big and little bureaucracies and the elaborate specialization of the system as a whole create the need for many men and women to plan, co-ordinate, and administer new routines for others. In moving from smaller to larger and more elaborate units of economic activity, increased proportion of employees are drawn into co-ordinating and managing" (p.69). As a result the proportion of white-collar workers has been burgeoning decade after decade. Similarly the increased tasks of government on all fronts have also drawn many more people into occupations that regulate and service property and men.

The following are some of the salient characteristics of the white-collar workers according to C.Wright Mills:

Age-Sex Composition : A good many white-collar workers are women. In America, according to C.W.Mills, 41 per cent of the white-collar workers in the 1940s were women, as compared to 10 per cent of the free enterprisers and 21 per cent of wage-workers. As regards the age composition he found that on an average the white-collar workers were younger in age than the free enterprisers.

Class Composition : Occupation rather than property is the source of income for most of the white-collar workers."...... the possibilities
of selling their services in the labour market, rather than of profitably buying and selling their property and its yields, now determine the life chances of most of the middle class" (C.W. Mills p.71). In terms of property, Mills observes that the white-collar workers are not 'in between capital and labour' but they are in exactly the same property-class position as the wage-workers. They have no direct financial tie to the means of production, no prime claim upon the proceeds from property. Like factory workers—and day labourers, for that matter—they work for those who do own such means of livelihood.

While in terms of property, the white-collar workers are in the same category as wage-workers, in terms of occupational income they are 'somewhere in the middle'. Another aspect is that the new middle class is a more homogeneous income group.

As regards status and prestige, it may be said that the white-collar group has borrowed the prestige and status of the old middle class. Two reasons seem to have led to this. Firstly, the fact that most of the white-collar jobs call for skills which can be acquired by formal education and close contact with higher-ups in charge. Secondly, the limited size of the white-collar group, as compared to wage-workers, has led to successful claim to greater prestige.

Power Position: The white-collar workers by virtue of the nature of their work, relations to institutions of property, as well as the typical income they earn, enjoy certain power over wage-workers and over many more associated with the net-work of management. However, the
power enjoyed by the white-collar workers is basically derived and not intrinsic power.

In short, the white-collar people cannot be adequately defined along any one dimension of stratification—skill, function, class, status or power. They are generally in the middle ranges of each of these dimensions. Their position is more definable in terms of their relative difference from other strata than in absolute terms. They do not also constitute one compact horizontal stratum. In terms of property, they are equal to wage-workers and different from the old middle class. In terms of income, they are, on the average, somewhat higher than the wage-workers. In respect of prestige, the white-collar group has successfully claimed more prestige than wage-workers.

In these days nearly all jobs require some combination of manual and mental effort, thereby rendering the classification of workers into two well defined categories of white-collar (non-manual) and blue-collar (manual) workers difficult. Nonetheless there are differences. Kenneth Roberts (1978) has shed some important light to differentiate the two categories of workers. White-collar (non-manual) workers, he writes, bring more than mere labour power to their jobs. They have motivation, skill and knowledge— the products of education and training— and place them at the disposal of the employers. He further explains. "For manual (blue-collar) employees work equals the sale of labour
power.... White-collar employees rarely sell pure labour power. There are real senses in which they become partners or members of the organisations in which they work. Managers and professional people are not offered mere jobs; they have careers which often involve a prolonged commitment from an employer. Whereas manual labour is commonly bought by the hour, the non-manual worker is offered closer integration into the organisation. The generous fringe benefits are symptoms of this integration" (pp.30-31).

Regarding career patterns, he says: "Male white-collar employees normally benefit from incremental salary scales and progressive careers....... White-collar salary levels improve progressively with age and peak only in the period immediately preceding retirement....... Salaried staff acquire seniority, status and authority. A blue-collar working life rarely offers these experiences" (pp.23-24). Further he writes: "Throughout their careers white-collar employees can expect and experience personal mobility....... The manual workers lifetime offers a vastly different experience-of immobility" (p.26).

Similarly, M.L.Kohn (1959, 1963) has identified three ways in which white-collar occupations differ from blue-collar occupations. First, white-collar occupations typically require the individual to deal more with the manipulation of ideas, symbols and interpersonal relations, whereas blue-collar occupations deal more with the manipulation of physical objects and require less interpersonal skill. Second, white-collar
occupations involve work that is more complex, require greater flexibility, thought and judgment, while in blue-collar occupations the individual is more subject to standardisation of work. Third, the degree and closeness of supervision is less in white-collar than in blue-collar occupations.

As noted earlier, the history of the white-collar occupations in India is inextricably connected with the history of growth of the middle class. In his useful book "The Indian Middle Classes" B.B. Misra (1961) has given a historical account of the genesis and growth of the Indian middle class and the white-collar workers. The main refrain of his thesis is that while in the West middle class and the white-collar occupations emerged basically as a result of industrial revolution and the consequent economic development, in India they emerged mainly in consequence of changes in the system of education, law and public administration introduced by the British during the middle of the 18th century. He writes, "The British attempted as a part of their educational policy to create a class comparable to their own, so that it might assist them in the administration of the country and help in the development of its internal resource, necessary for the payment of the increasing imports of British manufacturers...... These ideas and institutions of a middle class social order were imported into India. They did not grow from within. They were imported in the country without a comparable development in its economy and social institutions. The Indian middle class which the British aimed at creating was to be a class of imitators not the originators of new values and methods. The West
proceeded to develop education so as to satisfy the needs of an already developed economy. India, under the British, proceeded to develop education so as to form a class to develop its economy. That was the British theory of 'Infiltration' which was to apply to both educational and economic fields. As a result, the cart was put before the horse.

Based on the principle of liberalism, the educational policy of the British in India was mainly directed against the exercise of any monopoly. It was, in the words of C.E. Trevelyan (1838), "to rouse the mind and elevate the character of the whole people, not to keep them in a state of slavish submission to a particular sect". The second objective of the British was more pragmatic. It was to train the Indians intellectually and morally to perform their duties with efficiency and probity in the judicial and revenue branches of public services where their responsibilities and powers were rapidly growing. With the consolidation of their power in India, the British government initiated steps aimed at the centralisation of the administrative system. It took under its direct administration the management of lands, forests and huge commercial undertakings like roads and bridges, railways and irrigation works, salt and opium factories, water supplies and hydro-electric works, which were all run and managed by civil servants—a large bulk of whom were white-collar workers.

The various policies of the government had a profound impact on the traditional order of Indian society. They shook the foundations
of the old mutually exclusive and hereditary status groups of caste which did not recognise the natural equality of man. They broke the intellectual monopoly of the Brahmins and Dwija castes by throwing open the door of government employment to all castes and groups. They did this by also creating a new class of educated Indians comprising members of various white-collar professions who cut across caste and class boundaries and who supported liberal reforms. Thus the new policies institutionalised liberalism. For the first time in the hoary history of India occupational mobility was set into motion, which in turn helped to increase social mobility.

The new middle class seemed to develop its own identity and outlook. Commenting on this, Misra observes (p.390), "The character of the middle class in the period after 1905 became more and more complex, for besides the religious approach, an economic approach to social divisions and political struggle emerged from the growth of modern capitalism. For example, the industrial population of Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore and Jamshedpur seemed obviously divided into capitalists and labourers, rather than Hindus and Mahammadans. There were professional classes as well, but instead of being grouped as members of distinct and exclusive castes, their general tendency was to regard themselves as members of specific professions divided into income hierarchies instead of castes, again an economic concept. The religious and economic concepts of social division began to operate side by side. But since religion has the backing of tradition and general acceptance,
 Misra also points out how the religious hold was more in the small towns and other mofussil areas than in the big and industrial towns. He comments, "But since the great bulk of the population remained still illiterate and the economy still undeveloped in the rural areas, the religious approach to social problems continued more or less unchanged except in big cities and industrial towns" (p.390).

In India while the middle class and white-collar professions are mid-eighteenth century developments, the entry of women of the middle class into professional occupations is almost a post-independence phenomenon. It was only after independence that middle class women started coming out of their seclusion and began actively participating in vocations that were largely the monopoly of males. Though a number of women from the neo-middle class thronged schools and colleges as a result of the new educational policy of the British, they did not venture out as readily to take up outside jobs suited to their qualification and training. Such was the hold of tradition over the Indian psyche that it was unthinkable even for an educated woman to seek salaried jobs outside the house. However, this sway of tradition did not last long. A number of forces of social change were unleashed which were destined to affect the lives of women--especially the middle class educated women in several significant ways. Of all these factors, the economic factor was the most powerful. The rising aspirations of the middle classes which could be transformed into realities only with
the help of additional income, emboldened the women of his class to defy tradition and come out of the confinements of their home and hearth. What is more significant is that the middle class tended to evolve its own rationale to justify this action of their women going against the established traditions. Commenting on this development, Kapur (1970, p.5) observes, "The phenomenon of the increasing number of educated working wives, has for its mainspring, the growing economic necessity for the wives to contribute their earnings to the family income. Since, marriage is not a spiritual communion in a vacuum, but a union of two human beings who need clothes, food and a place to live in, material foundations are indispensable and a wife's participation in procuring the required family finances becomes essential in times of economic hardship. The attitude of society towards married women taking up jobs has also changed."

In the beginning, women were supposed to take up only those jobs or occupations which were considered by the society to be respectable, like those of teachers or doctors. But things started changing fast. Very soon the middle class women stepped out and started serving in offices as clerks, officers and in various other capacities.

Aileen Ross (1976) in her article on the 'Changing Aspirations and Roles: Middle and Upper Class Indian Women enter the Business World', has also pointed out that rise in the cost of living has made
many middle class Indian families feel that they must have two salaries per family. As a result, by the late sixties the idea of middle class women taking up salaried jobs spread rapidly in India. In 1966, 91 per cent of a sample of college women at the Punjab University, Chandigarh wanted to work after college. In 1972, Goldstein (1972) found that 85 per cent of graduate college women in Bangalore preferred employment to staying at home.

Despite this significant change, women in the white-collar occupations were not evenly spread. Karuna Ahmad (1979), for instance, found that women tended to cluster in a few white-collar occupations like teaching, nursing, clerical and related jobs. Their highest concentration was in the teaching jobs. Another important aspect was that the women who took up jobs clustered either in low status occupations or in the lowest rungs of the prestigious professions. For example, most of the women teachers concentrated in school-teaching and very few were teaching in colleges and universities.

She also found that besides constituting a small proportion of work-force in the higher professions namely medicine, and other male-dominated professions, women received lower salaries despite similar qualifications.

The report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1975) explains the situation thus: "The low proportion of women in
the higher ranks may be a reflection either of prejudices and discriminatory recruitment policies or lack of career commitment on the part of women. Disparities in the proportion of men and women at different levels of responsibility are important indicators of the unequal employment status and opportunity combination of factors, that is the educational system, training, job orientation and cultural condition.

Alfred De Souza, (1980, p.7), holds a similar view: "Because of the constraints of the sex segregated labour market, women tend to cluster in a limited range of occupations which have low status and are poorly paid. In India, as in other countries of South Asia, women are less likely than men, to continue their education to higher levels and are more likely to be found concentrated in female occupations like teaching, nursing, social work, secretarial and clerical occupations all of which have low status and low remuneration".

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Western sociologists and anthropologists have written extensively on all aspects of family life. The increase of women in the labour force has been mainly responsible for the emergence of different lines of research. In the early phases of analysis of wife-working families, the emphasis was clearly on the impact of a wife's employment on structure and function of families, as also on domestic relations. They seemed to be particularly interested in knowing the negative effect of the mother's employment on the socialization of children.
The onset of the 1970s witnessed a shift in this approach. Researchers like Bailyn (1970), Rapoports (1971), Epstein (1971), Holmstrom (1972), and Poloma (1972) tended to focus on other related aspects of the issue, such as the family in relation to the social environment that included the work and support system.

The question of how women combine the demands of their professions with their domestic responsibilities, vis-a-vis the role of the husband in such families has been studied by the above mentioned scholars in the 1970s. Most of these studies were conducted in the late 1960s, using focused interview, for both husbands and wives and employing relatively small samples. The general results of these studies are as follows: The husband's career generally takes priority over his wife's and the male continues to fill the traditional role of bread-winner and provider. The wife's career involvement is usually secondary to that of her husband.

In the book 'Two-Career Family', Holmstrom (1972) explores the phenomenon of two-career families in contemporary America. He selects 20 couples in which the wife is employed fulltime in a profession in the Humanities or Sciences. In this study, both the husband and wife are interviewed, thus avoiding the 'wife only syndrome'.

The author in this book suggests that two-career families are faced with major structural difficulties which require individual solutions, since society offers no institutionalized ones. Most of the barriers facing
the two-career family are related to (a) the rigidity of occupations which define careers in terms of fulltime work (b) the isolation of the nuclear family which places the economic, household management and child-rearing tasks entirely on the husband and wife. Furthermore, the author suggests that a vicious cycle of male supremacy results from the occupational structure which requires the husband, in order to maintain his superiority, to relegate primary responsibility of the children to his wife. She, in turn, focuses all her energies on 'over-mothering' her children, especially sons.

According to him, the career of the wife in general was given less weight than the career of the husband in choice of geographic residence; wives gave up permanent jobs with no offers of a secure new job when their husbands changed employment; stepped back when anti-nepotism rules were imposed, when applying with their husbands for new employment. Although the husbands in dual-career families were supportive of their wives' careers, the wives were generally expected to follow their husbands, when their husbands changed jobs, to live where their husbands' career demanded and to take the major responsibilities of the home.

Holmstrom also suggests solutions for increasing sexual equality. He is of the opinion that unless the sex roles of males and females are changed affording the husband and wife in a family the same opportunities to participate in both the areas of child-rearing and house-keeping and in gainful employment, sexual equality will not be achieved. Flexible work schedule for men and women, increasing the father's
role in child-rearing and providing child-care centres are seen as possible solutions for increasing sexual equality.

The book, 'Working Couples', edited by Rhona, Rapoport and Robert N. Rapoport (1978), is about married couples both of whom hold paid jobs. In this study, the editors, who have established themselves as well respected authorities on dual-career families, have called upon other specialists in the field to apply their research experience to the consideration of the particular problems confronting working couples today. They discuss how some of these issues have arisen and analyse how they are being dealt with in a number of contexts. They write, "Working couples are subject to constraints of various kinds in meeting the challenges they face and there are many who reject the life style on these grounds; but there are many others for whom it works. Numerous families are now attempting to operate the pattern in new ways. Both may have separate jobs and her income may not only be separate from his, but in some cases, larger and more reliable. Such a situation creates its own problems, which need to be resolved". The authors look at and clarify some of the generic issues and discover which resolutions have been satisfactory, as well as the various devices created for helping dual-worker families to function.

In this book, twelve contributors have applied their research experience, each to the consideration of a particular process confronting working couples today. In doing so, they have built up a picture of
many of the key issues that transcend different social environments and situations. They have also specified many of the issues that are specific to situations such as cultural differences, phase of the family cycle, external linkages to the world of work where many occupations are highly demanding and make it a particularly uphill, cross-grained effort to establish this pattern of work and family life.

Some studies on division of family work in the wife-working families, notice an egalitarian pattern, i.e., husbands increase their participation and assume some of the domestic and child care responsibilities, which customarily fall exclusively on wives. Bailyn (1970) observes that family roles in dual-career couples are differentiated very little according to sex. Bahr (1974) concludes that when a woman is employed, her husband's family labour increases, while hers decreases. Young and Willmott (1973) felt that the family was becoming more symmetrical, i.e., it was evolving towards a pattern in which each marital partner has a significant role in both paid work and family work. Similarly Safilios Rothschild (1970) observes the egalitarianism in the division of household work, since husbands significantly more often do or help with several tasks. But she also finds that when income is high the wife's employment may not lead to an increase in the husband's housework, because the couple can afford hired help.
On the other hand, there are different findings, which do not support the new egalitarian pattern, but rather support the traditional one. These findings report that the division of labour in the modern middle class family still follows traditional stereotypes (Poloma and Garland, 1971; Bryson, et al., 1978; Pleck, 1978; Wein­grten (1978). Rebecca Stafford, Elaine Backman and Pamela di Bona (1977) conclude that 'although ultimate responsibility for many tasks, is shared, generally wives and female partners do the women's work and husbands and male partners do men's work. This division leaves the women most of the household duties, whether or not they also are employed in the labour force'.

W.C. Louis, Tavecchio, Marinus H. Van, Ijzendoor and others (1984) put it thus, "Dispite the observed shift towards a more egalitarian relationship employed wives continue to prefer not to completely relinquish responsibilities with respect to certain household activities in particular preferred division of family tasks". They write in conclusion, in families with employed wives, the emphasis remains upon the wife's fulfilling specific household tasks. Working outside the home, sometime results in an inordinate 'overload' on the wife since she still takes responsibility for a lion's share of the household work. As long as men are not truly prepared to carry a larger share of the family tasks, women do not emancipate themselves from the feeling that house-work and child-rearing are their fundamental moral duties. Increased involvement of the women outside the home results primarily in an increase of her burdens".
Several authors have expressed concern with the area of decision-making in the dual-working families (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Safilios-Rothschild, 1969, 1970; Rodman, 1970; Olson, 1969; Turk and Bell, 1972; Sharon Price-Bonham, 1976; Cromwell and Cromwell, 1978). All these studies indicate that wives' employment give the decision-making power to them, and egalitarianism in conjugal decision-making appears to be the norm in dual-employment marriages.

In an influential work 'Husbands and Wives' Blood and Wolfe (1960), first present a 'theory of resources' which assumes that the relative power of husbands and wives in making family decisions depends upon the relative resources (such as education, employment, occupational status) which spouse brings into the marriage. Husbands usually have higher power because they control a greater number of these resources. The wife's power in decision-making is assumed to increase as her resources increase.

The validity of the results obtained within and across countries leads Rodman (1970), to revise the 'theory of resources' and to take into account the cultural contents in which families are located. Thus in highly developed societies education can be a socio-economic resource variable that increases the husband's power in the family; in less developed societies education can be a cultural variable that brings about closer contact with an 'egalitarian moral ethic'. D.B. Kandel and G.S. Lesser (1972) in their study of marital decision-making in American and Danish urban families also found the shared
pattern of marital authority in which husbands and wives participate equally in making a variety of family decisions in both countries.

The same opinion that wives' employment gave the decision-making power to them is also held by Constantina Safilios Rothschild (1970). She also makes an examination of the individual decisions, which shows that this is true only for three decisions—family size, purchase of clothes, furniture and other household goods, and use of money. In all other cases the wives' employment either makes no difference or renders the decision-making less egalitarian or outright husband-prevalent. She contends that objectively all decisions are not of equal importance to spouses. They may view decisions with a differential degree of importance for socio-economic reasons.

Cromwell and Cromwell (1978) also analyse self report perceptions of relative spousal dominance in decision-making and conflict resolution for an inner city neighbourhood sample of 137 marriages representing three ethnic groups—Anglo, Black and Chicano. They found that egalitarianism in conjugal decision-making appears to be the norm across and within the three ethnic groups as perceived by both husbands and wives.

Burke and Weir (1976) point out the stress experienced by the men whose wives are working. They in their study of 189 married husband-wife pairs find that men whose wives work are subject to
greater stress than men whose wives are not working and they appear to be having more difficulty in coping effectively with this pattern of family living. Thus, whatever benefits accrue to the wife and family from her participation in the work-force do not appear to mitigate whatever difficulties the husband experiences with this arrangement. P.M. Keith and R.B. Schaffer (1983) also note the depression in two-job family. They in their paper entitled "Employment characteristics of both spouses and Depression in two-job families" examined the objective and subjective characteristics of employment of both spouses in relation to depression in the two-job families. They analyse the data from personal interviews with 135 husbands and 135 wives in the two-job families. Objective characteristics included work-time, income, and occupational level; subjective characteristics were job satisfaction, work orientation, and comparative evaluations of financial, work and family situations.

They also find that the employment characteristics of each spouse have little effect on the distress of the other. They are of the opinion that subjective evaluations of aspects of life influence the perceived quality of life experiences more than objective characteristics do. These characteristics are better predictors of distress among women than among men. Because of the greater salience of family responsibilities for women, commitment to employment represents a departure from traditional norms, requiring more innovative behaviour on their part and perhaps accounting for the greater importance of employment characteristics. Some of the factors considered, such as
perceptions of financial situations and attitudes toward employment, may have been responsible for their entry into the labour force initially. For men, involvement in activity in the home would represent less traditional behaviour.

Many researchers show that a wife's earning or not-earning has significant effect on financial management and this is shaped by the income level effect. M. Edwards (1981) writes, "At lower income families if the wife did earn, either she managed the finances herself, or she and her husband did so jointly. At higher income levels if the wife did earn, either a shared management or an independent management system was likely; the later form of financial management was more likely if the wife made a significant contribution to the family". Jan Pahl (1983) also concludes that when wives earn in their own right, they are more likely to have a measure of power over the spending of the money. However, according to her, this power is still shaped by ideologies about the nature of marriage as held both by husband and wife and by the social worlds in which they live.

In India, a study of the working conditions, social status, social and behavioural patterns, attitude towards marriage, education, and the concept of equality of working women is attracting the attention of sociologists and other social scientists. Several works like those of Promilla Kapur (1970, 1974), Srivastava (1972), Raj Mohini Sethi
Many studies, like those of Kapadia (1959), A.D. Ross (1961), and Kapur (1970), have shown that the employment of the wife is closely related to growing economic necessity. So the wife's participation in procuring the required family finances becomes essential to overcome economic hardship. A.D. Ross, in her study of 'The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting,' explains how a wife's being gainfully employed is no more considered undesirable by the society. She writes, "Indeed, the main reason that so many married Hindu middle class women work without reproach is because everyone understands the economic problem of the middle-class, and that a wife's income is often essential to the family's standard of living" (p.198).

The economic compulsions necessitated change in the traditional attitude and outlook of educated women. This has been pointed out by many sociologists including Dr. Cormack (1960). The main conclusions of his study are:

1) There is a steady rise in the marriageable age of girls;
2) The basis of selection of mates is changing;
3) The trend towards remarriage and dowry is increasing;
4) The joint family is changing gradually;
5) Women's awareness in the field of politics is increasing;
6) Women's preference for higher education is increasing;
7) Their religiosity is declining;
8) The necessity of divorce is being recognized;
9) Women's education is expanding and co-education is receiving preference.

Four studies were conducted under the auspices of the School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay University. They are by Neera Desai (1957), Chandrakala Hate (1930 and 1946), K.T. Merchant (1957), and G.B. Desai (1945). Chandrakala Hate (1930), finds in her study that educated women are taking a bold stand against the convention of their marriages being arranged by the parents without their having a word to say for themselves in the matter.

Regarding the economic conditions of the women, Hate's (1930, p.240) finding is that "on the whole the result from this group of questions indicates a definite tendency on the part of educated women to become independent economically and thus try to improve their economic conditions". Hate feels that a definite change has taken place in the economic condition and personal status of women. The investigator has indicated that the change is deep and vital.

The other important findings of Hate's (1946) study are:

1) There is a growing tendency among educated women to marry late;
2) The satisfaction of married life among educated women is high;
3) Divorce is taking place;
4) The system of joint family is breaking up and the concept of a nuclear family is coming into force; and
5) Participation of women in economic and social work is increasing.

Merchant's (1957) study, 'Changing Views of Marriage and Family' also lends support to the view that in respect of marriage, the girls are now in favour of marriage by choice.

G.B. Desai's (1945) findings are that women now prefer their marriages to be settled with the mutual consent of both the parties, though it may be arranged by parents. Desai found in her study that the trend towards widow marriage was increasing. As for divorce, her finding was that though it was taking place, its percentage was low. She found too that the joint family was losing its significance and the concept of independent livelihood was assuming importance. "If a woman" she observes, "is educated, she can manage to earn her livelihood".

Ramanamma's (1969) study entitled 'Position of Women, with Special Reference to Poona' is an important work in the area of the enquiry regarding the impact of employment of women on the authority structure of the family. In her work, Ramanamma has tried to analyse the nature and extent of change that has occurred in the power structure of the family as a result of the changing role of a house-wife into an earner, pooling her resources with that of her husband. After
a thorough study she concludes that though the employment of women has improved her self-image and status in the family and outside, in certain respects it has had no significant impact on the family power structure. The husband continues to wield the traditional power of lording it over all the members of the family including his earning wife.

A detailed study on married working women is found in Promilla Kapur's (1970) book 'Marriage and the Working Woman in India'. In this study she explores in depth the effect of women's working on marital and family relationships.

This study is based on detailed interviews with 300 working women of Delhi. She states that the study aims at discovering and analysing the factors that contribute to the maladjustment or adjustment in marriage of the educated working woman, and seeks indirectly to find ways of harmonizing the increased desire of educated Indian women for achievement and self-expression, pressing economic needs and the call of their duties towards their husbands, homes and children.

In this study, she has classified the factors, conducive or detrimental to marital adjustment, into two categories, namely, objective and subjective factors. Objective factors include education, income, occupation, length of service, kind of marriage, religion, caste, age, children and so on. Subjective factors include satisfaction with job, reasons for taking up job, attitudes, status and so on. Kapur found
that no single factor in itself was solely associated with adjustment in marriage. Most importantly, she states that "the wife's employment as such, does not affect marital adjustment favourably or adversely. There has been much doubt among social scientists and in the public mind about the effects of women's employment on the husband-wife and mother-child relationship". According to her, "Marital maladjustment is, in the main, the function of attitudinal incompatibility, whereas marital well-adjustment is, in the main, the function of attitudinal compatibility". She introduces the concept of 'attitudinal lag', which occurs when the attitudes of one of the spouses, forming the unit of marital relationship, change earlier or in greater degree than those of the other spouse and thus cause lack of fitness between their attitudes. And as attitudes considerably affect behaviour pattern of those who hold them, the lack of fit in the attitudes would lead in maladjustment in the behavioural relationship of the spouses as well.

The change in attitudes and status of the educated working women is the main theme of another book of Kapur, 'The Changing Status of the Working Women in India' (1974). According to her, the attitudes towards marriage and the status of educated working women have no doubt changed and are changing. This change in the attitudes, expectations, and behaviour of these women is a healthy indication of a situation which may create a greater drive for recognition and success in the occupational and professional work-worlds which has been the prerogative of men till recently. But the ideal of equal status for women
has not been attained mainly because even when there has been a change in the functional system, there has not been so much change in the normative system, and it is the gap between changes in the functional and normative system, social legislations and social attitudes and the lag between the changes in the attitudes of women and men that create confusion and come in the way of achieving the goal.

Subsequent studies (Chakrabortty, 1978; I.Kaur, 1983; I.B.Devi, 1987; R.C.Reddy, 1986; Dak, 1988;), mostly of urban educated married women, have attempted to investigate the reasons why married women enter the labour force, the division of domestic labour, the balance of power and their changing value orientation. For example, Chakrabortty's study highlights the ambivalent position of women by placing it in the context of societies that are moving towards modernity or Western social patterns.

Indrajeet Kaur, in her book 'Status of Hindu Women in India,' studied the changing value orientation of educated middle-class Hindu women. She studied the value orientations of 300 educated women of Gorakpur city in Eastern U.P. with particular reference to their attitudes towards marriage, joint family and husband-wife relationships, aspirations and preference for career, religious outlook and national consciousness. The broad conclusions of her study are:

1) The traditional basis of marriage is changing;
2) The degree of change in the religiosity of women seems rather
slow; they still continue to believe in superstitions, keep
fasts and attach religious value to certain types of dresses
and ornaments;
3) Women are no more confined to household duties but they
can stand on par with men in public life also;
4) The inequality of sexes is no more being respected;
5) Women are aspiring for higher education;
6) Co-education is catching up; and
7) The joint-family system is breaking up.

Therefore, she concludes that changes are taking place
in value-orientation. They, no longer, hold rigid attitudes towards
religious observances, modes of matrimonial behaviour, social and
political status, putting on modern dresses and costumes and entering
employment. What was once a taboo with these women is now welcome
and is being adopted as a value of their life. However, while the shift
towards modernity is clearly noticeable in some aspects of the value-
orientation, it is only marginal in others. On the whole, the outlook
of Hindu women is still in a transitional stage, neither wholly tradi-
tional nor fully modern. They are in the process of changing their
value-orientation in the direction of modernity.

While Kaur studied the cases of women in U.P., Raghunadha,
the cases of 300 working women of different occupations in semi-urban
areas of Rayalaseema in Andhra Pradesh. He studied the changing attitudes of the educated working women towards the social aspects of marriage, education, social norms and customs etc, and his broad conclusions are similar to those of Kaur regarding the social aspects of marriage and higher education.

In short, women in Indian dual-earner families seek employment mainly for economic reasons. Even though there is a change in the status and attitudes of educated and employed women, they experience role conflict, marital stress mainly because husbands do not alter their domestic roles. A recurrent theme in these studies is the dilemma that wives/mothers experience by virtue of their employment.

Ramu's book 'Women, Work and Marriage' (1989), is an important work in the field for the reason that he has attempted to study the various aspects of the dual-earner families in India from the perspective of both the spouses—wife and husband. In his work he has set out to improve upon methodological and theoretical shortcomings of the earlier studies on the subject. He points out that these earlier studies, due to the sampling bias of including only wives, have produced the "Sociology of Wives" instead of sociology of dual-earner families. In his study he has covered both husband and wife. He has also made a comparative study of single and dual-earner couples in order to establish differences and similarities in their patterns. Based
on the date generated from his study of dual-and single-earner couples in Bangalore city, he concludes that

i) Social and cultural contexts preclude women in India from using their economic status to fundamentally alter the domestic order.

ii) Working wives experience conflict as a result of the impact of their economic status on the domestic division of labour and on marital power.

iii) Paid work has resulted neither in a universal change of attitudes towards gender-related issues, nor in an unqualified acceptance of the women's contribution to domestic economy. Instead, earning an income has become part of a wife's obligations, thus nullifying the power of economic resources as an instrument of change in women's domestic status.

iv) By recognizing and accepting the traditional gender roles, most wives have compromised their power to renegotiate the domestic order.

In the end by way of generalization he observes (p.191), "For many women who work for pay, occupational success and self-fulfillment can be achieved only when they convince themselves and the significant others of the primacy of the 'feminine' role, as well as about their commitment to the Indian sense of womanhood. Such an approach has serious consequences not only for women themselves.
but also for undermining patriarchy in society". He asserts that this is embodied in and embellished by textual (religious, legal) and contextual (labour market, education) factors in India. They also provide the necessary context to understand and appreciate the reasons for the failure of the new economic status of women to bring about even marginal changes in their lives. As long as these contextual factors remain unchanged, the superior position of husbands in families in general and dual-earner families in particular is well insured. And, thus, the stratification based on gender continues.

Finally two studies on the changes that are taking place in Dharwad (the town of the present study) due to modernization and economic development merit consideration. In his book 'Modernization and Kin Net-work' Dan Chekki (1974) found that the patterns and effects of modernization have not been uniform in a developing country like India. While the pursuit of education, better jobs and new values have influenced a good deal the traditional kinship values and behaviour patterns of the younger generation of Brahmans in this small town of Dharwad, the same cannot be said of the Lingayats of the same town. By way of explanation of this phenomenon, he writes "The differential impact of modernization on these two communities in the same city seems to be due to the differential capacity to internalise modern values and behaviour patterns. The different receptivity of modern values by these two communities may be largely attributed to the variables of caste, education, occupation, the sub-cultural value orientation and the variant 'ethos' of the Lingayats and Brahmans" (p.154).
Notwithstanding this differential impact, he found that the forces of modernization are potentially capable of producing cataclysmic changes in Dharwad.

As regards the impact of modernization of family, he states that despite modernization and some changes in the urban family and kinships, the nuclear family far from being isolated and atomized, appears to be organically fused with the extended kin network. Also several traditional values, norms and behaviour patterns relating to family and kinship still persist. Indicating how the family in Dharwad is adapting itself to changing circumstances, he cites the example of youngsters living in nuclear families still retaining deep sentiments of filial piety and trying to fulfil the wishes of their elders. Important decisions of such families are taken in consultation with parents and other intimate kin. In his concluding remarks on the impact of modernization in Dharwad, Chekki observes that the patterns of modernization and its effects have not followed the same lines as in the Western nations and are not likely to do so in the future. Also the transition from traditional to modern living need not necessarily involve stresses and strains, socio-cultural maladjustments and conflicts. It does mean, however, that given the relatively slow rate of modernization and traditional social system, such conflict and friction need not dislocate social life.
Conklin (1976) in his article entitled 'Family structure, caste and Economic Development' based on the data collected in Dharwad in 1969, has made some useful observations on the changing family practices. He found that family practices and behaviour patterns are common to all the segments of society except for the highly educated Brahmans. In his opinion the main reason for this difference is the impact of education and urbanization. The joint family sentiments are strong but the economic forces that tend to break it seem to be stronger in Dharwad than elsewhere. 90 per cent of the respondents claimed that joint families were best but this sentiment did not prevent a number of sons and daughters among them to separate when they had economic opportunities that made joint family living unfeasible.

About the Study:

It is clear that the emergence of urban married women as a work force has been rightly viewed by sociologists as heralding a profound change in all the vital aspects of Indian society. The present study is an attempt to understand the various ramifications of this change on marriage, marital relations, family, its norms, its authority structure and decision-making, parenting patterns, attitude towards work and career as also the other aspects of living together of white-collar couples. With a view to collecting comprehensive information on these issues, it was decided to interview and collect information from both the husband and wife. Confining our investigation only to the wives would perhaps have yielded a one-sided and hence
a lop-sided picture. It is, therefore hoped, that our modest effort at collecting and interpreting the information will help us to understand the marital and family lives of the white-collar couples and thereby shed light on the comprehension of the changing pattern of behaviour and attitudes of such matrimonial unions in a relatively small but fast-developing city of Dharwad in Karnataka.

The broad objectives of the present study are as follows:

1) To study the changing perspectives of the white-collar workers towards marriage, family and kinship, and thereby see how far the actual patterns of behaviour concur with or deviate from the ideal.

2) To study the impact of wife's employment on the structure and function of family, and to know whether the employment of wife has helped or hindered the normative pattern of family life.

3) To know the attitudes of white-collar men and women towards their work outside home, and to see how far the demands of work are accommodated within the prevailing domestic set up.

4) To analyse the parenting patterns of dual-working families, and to know how far the modern outlook coincides with the deep-rooted traditional ethos.
A word by way of explanation of the title. Though the present study has the title "White-Collar Marriages" it does not restrict itself only to the investigation of the various aspects of the institution of marriage among the white-collar workers. The title is given more as a factotum name encompassing a probe into the multifarious changes that a marriage between two white-collar workers brings about. Therefore in the course of the present study efforts are made to probe into the changing role of husband and wife, their ways of feeling, thinking and looking at things. In brief, it is an attempt to study the impact that the marriage of two white-collar workers has on their life patterns and their worldview—their Weltanschuaang.