CHAPTER V

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK

An individual's work or job is part of his/her social persona. For some people, work is primarily a means of meeting financial obligations. For these people, money is important and the work itself something which does not particularly matter—'it's just a job'. For other individuals, both financial pay-off and the sense that one is good at one's work matter. For still others, work is the central concern of their lives, something they must do. For these people, work is a calling; in important ways, such individuals define themselves by their work (Michael Berger et al., 1978). In other words, for them work is a career which implies a long, if not a life-time, commitment to one's work. It is, therefore, important to know how an individual looks at his/her job and what attitude he/she develops towards it.

The dual-worker couples do not always have the same orientation and attitude toward work and career. Very often the demands of work and family usually conflict even in conventional situations, and for working couples the potential conflicts are multiplied. In the western world, dual-worker couples try to manage these conflicts within the context of a societal expectation that the careers of men are more important than the careers of women. Traditionally, men but not women are expected to be devoted to work. A man's status is primarily defined by his occupation, a woman's is not (Michael Berger et al., 1978).
A number of western scholars conducted studies on this issue in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Of them, the more important are Rapoport and Rapoport (1971), Poloma (1972), Garland (1972), Holmstrom (1972), and Bebbington (1973). 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 breadwinner and provider. The wife's career involvement is usually secondary to that of her husband's.

Holmstrom (1972), in his study of 20 two-career families, finds that the career of the wife in general was given less weight than the career of the husband in the 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.

Helen M. Huges (1975) holds the same view. According to her, many married professional women's career lines are different from those of their male counterparts. The married woman's career lines do not follow the dominant, male pattern of attending professional school right after college with an uninterrupted career line that builds to a pinnacle.
which leads into a plateau period followed by retirement.

Pendleton, Poloma and Garland (1980) think that married woman's career history could be viewed differently from a man's. It is impossible for the married professional woman to have a career in the fullest sense of the term.

Heckman et al. (1977) also find that women are willing to place their careers as secondary (a) to the needs of their family as a whole (b) to the needs of their husbands' career. That is why the women's career performance is poorer than their husbands'. According to them, there are several factors which are influential in producing an adverse effect on women's career performance. They are: (1) the woman's own internalized values which include some traditional stereotyped female role expectations, (2) society's values, whether shared or not, exist and, therefore, present problems with which the individual must deal, and (3) institutionalized policies which include instances of discrimination, anti-nepotism policies and other explicit and implicit restrictions that can be detrimental to a woman's career. Benson Rosen et al. (1975) hold a similar view that the significant barrier may be the husbands view the principal female role as that of a helpful supportive wife, which could affect both the career and marital adjustment of working women.
Michael Berger et al. (1978) have classified dual-worker dyads into three broad categories:

1. Traditional, 2. Non-traditional and 3. Egalitarian. The couple where the wife subordinated her interests to those of her husband's is called as traditional, and the couple where the husband subordinated his interests to those of the wife is called as non-traditional, and the couple where both the husband and the wife were prepared to sacrifice one's own career in the interest of the career of the other depending on the situation can be called an egalitarian couple.

They have observed that even egalitarian couples are forced into changing to traditional types. Even in the West the forces of the job market operate in such a way that the husbands have a better chance of getting a job than the wives, despite the fact that they are as committed to their careers as their husbands are. The wives do not make a sacrifice so readily but only under duress.

It is rare for couples to give the wife's career precedence over that of the husband's because it conflicts with the traditional views of acceptable masculine behaviour.

Another reason why the husband is not prepared to sacrifice his career for that of his wife is financial. As compared to the earnings of the wife, the earning of the husband would be more, which
means that sacrificing the job of the husband would be sacrificing a higher earning, which would be detrimental to the improvement of the family.

The status of men is also primarily defined by their success as providers, a women's desire to return to work may be interpreted by her husband as an indication that he has failed in his major family role. Men with such feelings are unlikely to be supportive of their wives' returning to work. In addition, for some women, children's resistance to their going out to work dampens their enthusiasm for job-seeking. Children who have been accustomed to a full-time home maker-mother often resent their mother's 'abandoning the hearth' although this may depend on the age of the children. This child-care responsibility greatly limits the ability of these women to commit themselves to full-time work schedule.

A related factor which increases the likelihood that women among dual-worker couples will subordinate their careers to those of their husbands is the difference in importance given to family matters in the socialization of men and women. It has been widely noted that only women are expected to integrate their work and family lives. Men are permitted to specialize, to invest solely in work-roles.
In brief, according to Berger et al, the following are the reasons why husbands do not subordinate their careers to those of their wives:

1. Husbands are more likely to be offered jobs;
2. Husbands are likely to hold higher pay positions;
3. Wives are more likely to be responsible for child-care; and
4. It is hard to act against the societal expectation that the careers of men are more important than the careers of women.

Despite these factors, Barger et al. found that one quarter of the couples in their sample made egalitarian decisions.

The traditional norms in Indian society are so formulated as to discourage women's career. As has been rightly observed by Ramu (1989), there are several key components of the traditional 'Sati' concept of Indian womanhood that are responsible for this. First, it is believed that marriage is central to a woman's life. In fact, a woman establishes her female identity through marriage. She is expected to be not only a wife but also a mother—an ultimate expression of her womanhood. Second, it is expected that a woman will keep the interests of her husband and children above her own. Hence renunciation is the very essence of Indian womanhood. Third, a woman commands respect and honour by men when she excels in her role as a mother and wife than in anything else. Fourth, a woman needs her husband and
children for her own being and becoming a person. Finally, a woman believes that her children and her husband need her.

Tradition also dictates that a wife be supportive of her husband's work and career and she is expected to share her husband's problems and worries and to be a promoter of her husband in his occupational objectives. The husband normatively enjoys superior authority and power. 'The husband is superior, the wife is subordinate'. This way a successful husband would be able to address himself to his occupational goals, and a woman to her familial goals.

But many studies on working women in India as those of Kapur (1960, 1970, & 1973), Jauhari (1970), Tripathi (1967) have found that in middle classes of metropolitan cities important changes are taking place in the attitudes of the working women, their husbands, their parents and the society in general. Kapur (1974) has rightly pointed out that this is a significant development because it is the middle class which ultimately sustains and gives direction to a society and it is this class through which social changes normally come.

Even while these phenomenal changes are occurring at a fast rate, the Indian society has not still been able to form a niche for a career woman. She has yet to forge a place for herself in society (cf Career Digest, 1972, p.1114).
A number of others have also noticed a lag between the change in the attitudes of the husband and other members of the family towards the working wife's role and status and that of her own attitude towards the same. This has created social and psychological, inter-personal and intra-personal problems at home (cf Kapur 1970). Others like Epstein (1976) have found that an Indian woman's 'status-set'—the combination of statuses a woman holds at any one time—has a limiting effect on her acquisition of new statuses or relinquishing the ones she has already had. In India as in the West "female-sex-linked" statuses are respected much more by the society than her other statuses. The norms that govern the role behaviour are often ambiguous having discrepancies between expected behaviour and expected attitudes. Goode (1960, p.485), has pointed out that there is almost no consensus on the role behaviour expected of the working woman by members of each "role-set", and that the role demands attached to any one status may be over-demanding. When statuses occur in a combination which is not typically found, the situation is unusual and makes people feel uncomfortable. This phenomenon is pinpointed by Kapur in her study of the attitudes of working women (1973). In her study of the attitudes of the working married women striving to combine job with marriage, Kapur found that they faced almost a situation of normlessness, thereby forcing them to face and experience great conflict, tension and strain.
Chakrabortty (1978) argues that while many middle class women with a university education prefer to marry and perform their usual roles as wives and mothers, they also concurrently prefer to seek employment opportunities so that their educational training may be used to enhance the family's living standards. A consequence of such competing goals is that many married women at work find it extremely difficult to succeed in their careers as well as their domestic roles. Ultimately, as Chakrabortty concludes, most married women employees give low priority to their careers and continue to attach primacy to their domestic roles, and this tendency has serious implications for their self-concept.

Hence married women suffer from certain inevitable disadvantages arising from their dual-roles. The reasons that hamper the careers of married professional women in India seem to be more or less similar to those of their counterparts in Western countries. The lack of career orientation in married women was found to be so because of their household responsibilities and their not having 'single-aim-thinking'. It was also because of the attitudes of men, women and of society towards women's employment, which was approved mainly as a means of supplementing the family income and not as a means of the woman's own development and satisfaction.

Another reason is that the employers are prejudiced against employing married women, especially in jobs where workers have always been men.
While summing up some of the tentative conclusions of her experience of studying business women in Australia and India, Ross (1972) refers to some factors that seem to be militating against the possibility of the great majority of educated women from getting very far. One of such factors was found to be marriage which, Ross felt, handicapped their ambitions, because that is uppermost in the minds of young college girls. "Gaining a degree may assist an Indian girl in bargaining for a husband .... So at the precise time when ambitious young men are putting all their energies into preparing for a long career, young women are merely whiling away their time" (p.36).

Kapur (1974) has also given certain reasons that hamper the careers of educated women in India: lack of specialized education and training, lack of ambition, lack of confidence in their capabilities or their attitude towards their careers, the prejudices of society or those of the employers or discrimination against them at the stages of selection, confirmation and promotion, and household responsibilities and commitments of marriage and family come as obstacles in their way of attaining equal status, prestige and recognition equal to those of men.

The trends of change noted above that were seen in the metropolitan cities during the sixties and seventies seem to have now percolated to smaller towns and cities.
It is found that a majority of working women in our sample (58 per cent) took up jobs mainly for economic reasons such as supplementing family income, helping to raise the standard of living etc. In fact 78 per cent of them were in employment when they got married. Indeed some of them confided that their employment before marriage helped them in two important ways namely, they were able to contribute their own share towards the marriage dowry and the fact of being employed was also one of the main reasons for getting a suitable husband. Nearly 70 per cent of the husbands in our sample want, approve, or at least do not mind their wives being employed for economic reasons and certain other advantages.

Having collected the information regarding the main reason for the employment of women among our respondents, we were interested in knowing their attitude towards work outside home. In Dharwad, as in the other metropolitan cities of India like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, there are significant differences in the way that wives and husbands look at work outside home. While men (81 per cent) primarily look at work as a career, women (74 per cent) look at it as just a job—primarily a means of meeting financial obligations.

Hence in order to elicit information on this aspect, certain questions were posed to the respondents. When they were asked as to how they would react in case the conflict between demands of work and
of the family arose, it was found that, men, as careerists, were prepared to sacrifice the interests of their family to those of their careers. But not so the women who, by and large, kept the interests of the family and the responsibility of the children above those of their jobs. Nearly 74 per cent of them said that they would rather forgo promotions, perks and perquisites in their office jobs than sacrifice the interest of their family and children.

Narrating how she had to sacrifice her career for the sake of her son, one Mrs. I, a school-teacher stated:

Our precious and only son Ravi was born six years after our marriage. I call him precious because he was born after two still births. When I conceived for the third time, our gynocologist kept me under constant watch and got me admitted into a maternity hospital 15 days before the delivery so that I could be under the constant care of the doctors. With all that care it was not a natural delivery. A caesarian had to be performed. That was how Ravi was born. After the delivery the experts advised us to refrain from future conception for fear that it may endanger my life. With a view to ensure that Ravi got the best of care, we appointed a baby-sitter who had undergone a short course in mid-wifery and child care.

After the completion of my maternity leave I resumed my duties as temporary lecturer in a Women's college at Hubli. One day an unexpected holiday was declared for schools, colleges and
all Government offices due to the demise of a national leader. My husband who was a Reader in the University, and who happened to be in Hubli on that particular day, came to my college on his scooter to take me back to Dharwad. After parking the scooter in the backyard, we were about to enter the home from the front door when we heard our child Ravi yelling. We rushed in and found that Ravi had fallen off the cradle and was shrieking in pain. We rushed and picked up the baby. Wanting to know what our baby-sitter was doing, we entered the hall and were shocked to see Ava enjoying a serial on the TV with a cup of tea in her hand. My husband was beside himself and was uncontrollable in his fury. He took two decisions on the spot. He dismissed the nya and ordered that I should resign my job as temporary lecturer at Hubli forthwith. When I demurred, he hit the roof shouting "Tell me whether you want your job or Ravi". Faced with this dilemma I ultimately decided to give up my lecturer's job. Though I went on looking for a job in the local colleges of Dharwad, I did not land any for nearly three years. Only two years back I was offered a job in a local English medium school, where I am presently working.

But this was not the unanimous opinion of the working wives. In our sample, 26 per cent of working wives had a different approach to their work. For them, as much as for their husbands, work was a central concern of their lives in which they wanted to excel.

The occupational break-up of these 26 working wives shows that of 22 teachers in the Universities/Colleges, nearly 50 per cent
viewed work as a career. The same can be said of managers in banks and offices. In our sample, out of 6 such respondents 3 viewed work as career. Among 12 doctors, 33.33 per cent look at work as a career. This attitude was found to be less among secondary school teachers (16 per cent) and clerks, stenographers and receptionists (13.78 per cent).

That the post-graduate and under-graduate teachers, managers of banks and offices and medical doctors should look at work as career is understandable. For these jobs require a relatively long and costly education and training. Having spent a considerable number of years and having invested besides a considerable amount of money acquiring the requisite qualifications for these jobs, they would have certainly developed a careerist attitude towards their work, unlike those working in lower jobs like secondary school teachers, clerks and stenographers, receptionists etc.

Further, an attempt was also made to know how the couples look at work. It was found that in 16 dual-earners families, both look at work as just a job, whereas in 23 families, both look at work as career, and in 3 families, the husband looks at it as job, but the wife as career, and in a majority of the families (58) the husband looks at it as career, but the wife as just a job.

A careful perusal of the above figures reveals that in quite a few cases there is a gap between the societal expectations and actual
attitudes. The conventional expectation is that men whose status is determined by their occupation should ordinarily look at their work as career for which there should be a life-time commitment. But in reality we find that 19 working husbands look at their work just as a job and not as a career. With a view to know more about these men, we made deeper probes into their socio-economic background and found that all of them not only come from rural areas but also from well-to-do families. For them the present jobs are not the mainstay of their livelihood. They have taken up urban jobs for reasons other than economic. Therefore, they hardly view their employment as a career.

To appreciate this apparently aberrant attitude of these husbands it is important to know two factors - (1) In India, for various historical and cultural reasons, the white-collar service has been considered not only as a source of earning a livelihood but also as a symbol of prestige and power. Landing a white-collar government job is the cherished dream of educated youths. A Government job at once gives them a feeling of fulfilment, a feeling of being "someone" in the society, a feeling of participation in the governance of the country. And this is also true of their families. A family one of whose members has landed a government job is the family which has "arrived". Its social standing is enhanced. The feeling that it has one of its own men in the corridors of power acts as a tremendous morale booster. Therefore, no stone is left unturned to get a government job for a son after he acquires a degree. And once he lands a job, he just hangs on to it without exerting himself too much to make a career of it. He becomes a drifter.
The general atmosphere of laxity and unaccountability that pervades the administrative machinery of the Government, semi-Government and public sector institutions like banks, schools, colleges and universities makes the survival of such 'drifters' possible. This fact has been noted by Gunnar Myrdal (1969 p.211). Elaborating the concept of 'soft-state', he writes, "The underdeveloped countries are all, though in varying degrees, 'Soft-States'. This stands out as a significant feature among other conditions that together make a country underdeveloped. Without more social discipline, development will meet great difficulties and, in any case, be delayed".

The term "soft state" is understood to comprise all the various types of social indiscipline which manifest themselves by: deficiencies in legislation and in particular law observance and enforcement, a widespread disobedience by public officials on various levels to rules and directives handed down to them, and often their collusion with powerful persons and groups of persons whose conduct they should regulate.

In a way such non-careerist drifters have the best of both the rural and urban worlds. They have a fairly good job suited to their qualification which not only ensures the perks and perquisites that go with a white-collar job, but also ensures them all the benefits of living in an urban area. They also have lands in their native villages which assure a source of steady income.
When we asked the drifters who come from fairly well-to-do agricultural families whether they considered their present social position as an ascent or descent in relation to their paternal status in the village, they unequivocally said that their present position definitely marked an improvement over that of their fathers'. What is important to note here is the fact that even some of the white-collar husbands who held relatively inconsequential jobs like clerks, stenographers, school-teachers, cashiers, claimed their present position as an improvement over the position of their fathers engaged in traditional occupations like agriculture, trade, commerce etc.

This was especially true of those white-collar husbands who came from rural areas. Many of them said that in the eyes of the villagers even a lowly white-collar job was looked up with more respect than an excellent performance as an agriculturist, carpenter, blacksmith which ensured them more income. In fact, many of them dread going back to the villages after completing their education in the cities. The changing scales of values of assessing social status have made educated youths going back to their family occupations of say agriculture, carpentry, blacksmithy, an indicator of failure. Indeed, a graduate returning to his village to take up his family occupation is held up for ridicule in the village.

Another compelling reason why the non-careerists hang on to their white-collar jobs is the fact that the white-collar job is used by
them to prop up and reinforce the social standing back in their native villages. The relatives of the white-collars workers back in the villages never let go of an opportunity to brandish the fact that one of them is a government employee, in their jostle for local status and power.

Before winding up discussion on this issue, we have to answer another question. If the non-careerist drifters are so well to do as to hold on to their jobs for reasons other than economic, why then do they send their wives for jobs? Does not the general disapprobation of sending women for salaried jobs outside home hurt their self and social esteem? We did not have to probe long to find an answer to this question. All the wives of the 19 non-careerist drifters have the following characteristics:

1. They are all from the urban areas.
2. They are fairly well educated with graduate or post-graduate degrees. They feel that their education should be made good use of in a suitable job.
3. All of them were employed before they got married.
4. All of them feel that a wife should not be over dependent on her husband and that if exigency demands, she should be in a position to fend for herself without the help of her husband.
5. All of them feel that their jobs are important in giving them a social status.
Therefore, we got the impression that these wives have prevailed upon their husbands to acquiesce in their decision to take up jobs outside.

The following is a typical case of a non-careerist drifter that illustrates similar ones.

Mr. K, who is 53 years old is a Reader (Associate Prof) in a local college. His wife Mrs. R, is field officer in the Life Insurance Corporation. Mr. K, comes from the class of feudal lords locally known as "Desaies". Though the recent land legislation has taken away much of the land from them, they still retain quite a sizeable landed property in their native village, which is about 15 kilometres away from Dharwad. Mr. K, like most young men, set out to become a doctor or an engineer. But having failed to score the required number of marks to get admission to either a medical or an engineering college, Mr. K. did his M.Sc. in Chemistry. After the completion of his post-graduate education and with no prospect of landing a good job, the logical step would have been to return to his village, apply his skill and knowledge in cultivation of the vast family lands in a more scientific manner and lead a very cosy life in the village. But no. Going back to the village with an M.Sc. degree would be demeaning which would have haunted him all his life. Therefore, he never thought of returning to his village. Instead, after a prolonged search and wire-pulling he managed to get the post of a demonstrator in a local college.

Launching upon a teacher's career as a demonstrator in a college is no mean start. In fact, a number of professors
and heads of the university departments began their career as demonstrators and working their way up the ladder through dint of hard and sincere efforts. But this was not the case with Mr. K. He thought that landing a demonstrator's job in Dharwad, which assured him a fairly good status and enabled him to be near his native place, was achievement enough. So the work in the college was just a job for him and not a career. He never really strained himself in the job. In the existing system one need not strain either. Getting into a job is like getting on an escalator. You have only to stand and the escalator will take you up. This was true of Mr. K. After some years of service he was promoted to the post of lecturer and after some more years as a Reader.

Mrs. R, his wife, is a native of Dharwad. A post-graduate in Zoology she applied and got the job of community worker in the Life Insurance Corporation. When they were married 22 years ago, both of them were employed. Though Mr. K, would have very much liked his wife to resign her job and be a full-fledged housewife, Mrs. R would not agree. She was ultimately successful in persuading her husband to permit her to continue in her job. The couple have three college and school-going children and lead a very comfortable life.

Berger has classified families into three categories:
(i) Traditional (ii) Non-Traditional (iii) Egalitarian. Most of the dual-worker couples in our sample seem at first sight, to fit into the "traditional" category, where the wife is prepared to subordinate her interests (including making the most difficult and painful decision
of resigning her job) to that of her husband's. Indeed, to the specific question whether they were prepared to give up their job in the interest of the career of their husbands, 58 per cent of the wives said that they were prepared to make all sacrifices including giving up their jobs if it helped the career advancement of their spouses, as is indicated in Table 6.1.

**TABLE 6.1**

Attitude of the Spouses towards each other's Career

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Giving up of job in the interest of the career advancement of the spouse</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. NO</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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But soon we found that this was more of bravado. The wife's "readiness" to sacrifice her job for the advancement of her husband's career was easier said than done. The forces of job market, the fear of unemployment, the threat of losing an important source of steady income loomed large and cast a long shadow between precept and practice, forcing the traditional couples to become egalitarian. When faced with such a difficult situation, the couples stretched their
adjustability to extra-ordinary lengths and were prepared to put up with great inconvenience to retain the jobs of both the husband and wife. Hence the more consistent pattern is the one of egalitarian category in which the working couples try to put up with inconveniences and make adjustments between themselves. We came across cases where husband and wife lived away from each other for years together and yet continued to have a 'family life', just to retain their jobs.

Mrs. S. and Mr. S. decided to get married when they were working as research scholars in the post-graduate departments of a university. They were both hoping to get jobs in the Karnataka University so that they could set up their home at Dharwad. But this was not to be. While Mrs. S succeeded in landing a job as a post-graduate teacher at Dharwad, Mr. S, did not. After marriage, Mr. S, continued his research and kept looking out for a suitable post. Ultimately he was successful in getting a job in the Goa University at Panaji. Now it is over six years that the husband and wife are living away from each other-- Mrs. S at Dharwad and Mr. S, at Panaji, Goa. Both of them are fervently trying to find jobs suited to their qualifications in one place so that their dream of living together in the same home would be realised. But the job market being what it is, their dream is not likely to materialise in the near future. Both of them are aware of this harsh fact of life; and yet neither is prepared to give up his/her job.

We also came across cases where the couple set up their house in Dharwad where one of the spouses has a job and the other shuttles to and from the place of work travelling a long distance everyday.
Mrs. R., is a high school teacher. She lives in Shreenagar, (a housing colony near the suburb of Saptapur in Dharwad) with her husband and three children, two of whom— a son and a daughter— are in college and the third son in the high school. Mr. R., is an officer in the Life Insurance Corporation. Recently Mr. R., was transferred to Gadag, a place about 60 Kms. away from Dharwad, on promotion. The promotion and the new posting of Mr. R., ensured him not only a substantial rise in his salary but also in perks and perquisites, like rent-free quarters, travel allowance, commission etc. The sum total of enhanced salary and perquisites were such as to compensate the loss of salary if Mrs. R., were to resign her job and join her husband at Gadag. Therefore one would have expected Mrs. R., to readily give up her job and join her husband at Gadag, his new place of work. But this has not happened. Instead, the couple decided that Mrs. R., should stay back in Dharwad with the children and Mr. R., should shuttle between Dharwad and Gadag. As a result, Mr. R., travels to and from Gadag every morning and evening.

During our conversation with the couple, we posed the specific question as to why Mrs. R. did not give up her job which would not have very adversely affected their family income. Though the couple agreed that Mr. R.'s promotion had indeed increased the family income, they were not prepared to take the risk of sacrificing the job of Mrs. R., which not only ensures a steady life-long income but also a permanent set up in a place like Dharwad, where their children are pursuing their higher studies. Therefore Mr. R. was prepared to put up with all the inconveniences of long travel instead of asking his wife to give up her job.
There were also cases where one of the spouses who had a job outside Dharwad, and found shuttling costly (or inconvenient) living in the place of work and visited the family at Dharwad at week-ends and during long holidays.

Mrs. I, is a lecturer in Statistics in a local college and her husband is working as an Accounts Officer in government office at Bagalkot—a place about 110 kms away from Dharwad. At the time of marriage five years ago, while Mrs. I, had just then joined her new post as a lecturer, Mr. I, had been working as a junior officer at the head-office at Bangalore. When they decided to marry, they reached an understanding that after marriage, Mrs. I, should give up her job in Dharwad and join her husband at Bangalore and look after for a job in a local college there. But as luck would have it, things did not turn out the way they expected. Within months of marriage, Mr. I, was transferred from Bangalore to Bagalkot and the couple had to decide whether Mrs. I, should give up her job at Dharwad to stay with her husband at Bagalkot, a place which, unlike Bangalore does not offer job opportunities suitec to the qualifications of Mrs. I. Hence the couple decided that Mrs. I, should continue to live in Dharwad and Mr. I, at Bagalkot. This arrangement has continued for over five years now. The couple have a child who is staying with the mother and Mr. I, is an occasional visitor to the family once a month or sometimes even after longer gaps of two months of long holidays.

In fact, there were also cases where the couples had set up their house in Dharwad, left their school/college-going children in the care of an elderly relative, and attended to their respective jobs at different places of work.
Mrs. P, is a lady doctor working at the Karnataka University Health Centre on deputation from the government. Her husband, Mr. P, is a Divisional Manager of the Bank of Baroda at Belgaum. The couple has their own house in Dharwad, which Mr. P inherited from his father. They have two children studying in the local schools. Since both of them hold transferable jobs, they have decided to make Dharwad their permanent abode so that their children's education is not interrupted by the periodic transfers of both the husband and wife. For a number of years Mrs. P managed to stay at Dharwad with her children by working in the various government hospitals and health departments through local transfers. But this strategy could not work for long. A time came when a transfer out of Dharwad became unavoidable. Faced with this situation, the couples deliberated for long whether Mrs. P. should give up her job and set up private practice in Dharwad so that she could be with her children. But the uncertainties of private practice and the ever-present fear of losing a lucrative and prestigious job of a government medical officer stared in their face. Ultimately the couple decided that Mr. P. should continue with her job even though it meant leaving the children at Dharwad under the care of one of their elderly relatives. Very recently Mrs. P, was transferred to a place far away from Dharwad and Mr. P, continues with his job at Belgaum. Now the P's family is broken into 3 units, Mrs. P, at one place, Mr. P, at another and the children at Dharwad.

It may be noted from Table 6.1 that while 99 per cent of WCHs are in the traditional category, there was only one case of a WCH which could be brought under the non-traditional category. We were interested in knowing the details of this case. The details are as follows:
Mr. & Mrs. A, with their two children lived in the official quarters meant for the employees of the State Bank. They got the quarters by virtue of the fact that Mrs. A, is a bank employee, with a managerial post. Mr. A, is presently working as an engineer with a private contractor. When they were married ten years back, Mr. A, was working as a junior engineer in the Public Works Department of the Government, and Mrs. A, had completed two years of probation as a bank officer. The small family, which had a smooth sailing till then, faced a crisis situation when Mr. A, was informed of his transfer to a remote place far away from Dharwad. The couple was faced with a difficult choice as to whether or not Mr. A, should go on transfer to report at his new place of work along with his wife and two young children. It would not have been difficult for Mrs. A, to get herself transferred to the place where her husband was posted since there was a branch of the State Bank there also. But the transfer of Mrs. A, from Dharwad, where she was working as a junior officer in one of the main branches, to a remote place, where the bank had only a small office, would have entailed a break in her career upwards to the higher rungs. Faced with this problem and after a long discussion the couple decided that Mr. A, should sacrifice his job for the career of his wife. Another factor that seems to have weighed in favour of this decision was the question of schooling. Taking their children out of a good school in Dharwad to a remote place was found unwise. Hence after lengthy deliberation and with great reluctance, Mr. A, resigned his post in the government and launched upon a new career as a private contractor. But soon he found that he was not made for the challenges and uncertainties of private contract work. Therefore after a couple of years of struggle as a private contractor he
gave up the idea and took up a job as an engineer with a private construction company at Dharwad.

When we interviewed the couple, Mr.A appeared to be not very happy about his decision. In the course of our conversation he harped repeatedly on the point that had he continued in his original job in the P.W.D., he would, by now, have reached a high and powerful position.

However, the "traditionality" of the dual-worker families, as noted in chapter IV, is seen in their attitude towards work at home. Though the husbands seem to be adjusting to the new role of provider-householder, the essence of the traditional gender-based division of household work seems to be retained. There could be two reasons for this: (1) the deeply ingrained male-superior, female-inferior ethos, and (2) the traditional man-woman role sets.

Though the men are increasingly sharing the household chores with their wives, they appear to be reluctant to give up totally some of the traditional prerogatives. For instance, they still feel that there are certain household chores such as cooking, washing, baby-sitting which are non-masculine and demeaning. What is significant is the fact that most women themselves believe that compelling their husbands to participate in the feminine chores of household work would be just as much a negative reflection on the wives as it would be on the husbands. As a result, domestic work has not only remained firmly within the female domain but its feminine nature is also perpetuated.