

**CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN AND PATTERNS OF
ADJUSTMENT : A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY
IN DELHI METROPOLIS**

**Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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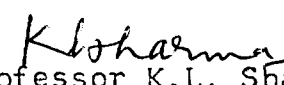
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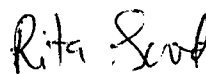
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(RITA SOOD)

CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTERS</u>	<u>PAGE NO.</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	
II. WORKING WOMEN: SOCIAL BACKGROUND	
III. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES - pg (17)	
IV. POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN CONTEXT - pg 47	
V. WOMEN AND HOUSEHOLD.	
VI. OCCUPATION, EDUCATION AND DECISION - MAKING.	
VII. PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT AND POSITION OF WOMEN.	
VIII. ROLE-PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES OF WOMEN	
IX. CONCLUSION	
APPENDIX	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION.

✓ In every society numerous processes of change are operating simultaneously which bring about variations and modifications in its structure and functioning. However the rate and direction of change vary from one society to another. In some societies the rate of change is rapid, whereas in others it is relatively slow. ✓

During the past few decades the traditional society of India has been undergoing a series of changes. Urbanisation, education, migration and other socio-cultural factors are affecting various aspects of traditional Indian society. In Post-Independent India changes have become more pronounced as a result of Constitutional provisions, planned economic development, urbanization, industrialisation, science and technology.

✓ Recently the issue of the changing status of women has received a great deal of attention. Both government and individual efforts have been made to discuss and carry out systematic research to have a deeper understanding of the disabilities and discrimination, consciously or unconsciously practised against women in our country. ✓

✓ Exposure of the women to formal education and participation in paid labour force are the two key

modernisation forces responsible for bringing about change in the role and status of women. These factors have brought about a number of changes in the traditional society and have posed many problems of adjustment for women. Today, women are moving towards a situation where they would be required to take multiple roles and responsibilities. They would be equal partners to men in various respects both individually and socially.✓

Division of labour on sex basis, traditionally consigns the task of home making like cooking, clearing, washing, child-rearing, sewing, entertaining visitors, washing clothes etc. to women, and the role of bread-winner, of holder of authority and power and status-giver to men.

✓The cultural conditioning and customs, rituals, traditions and the very agencies of socialisation, in our society force women to accept that a woman is inferior to a man in diverse ways, and that the prime aim of her life is to bear, rear and look after the home. Her fame would increase as much as she excels in these virtues. It is contemptible for a woman who is expected to be only an affectionate and submissive helpmate of a man, to shirk any of these duties. Also it is considered unbecoming and unmanly of a man to perform any of these 'Feminine tasks'.

As a result even if the wife is a working woman, she still has to perform the same duties at home as are performed by her non-working sisters.

In the transitional period, a working woman has to face a crisis of adjustment as she is torn between the dual commitments of home and work. It has created the possibilities of emancipation of women but has hardly created conditions necessary for its proper realisation.

Hence a working woman has become the victim of conflicting and ambiguous role - expectations in the domestic and professional fields. She has to face the problem of adjustment among her varied role-expectations. She is expected to run the household and bear the major responsibilities of child rearing and other functions destined to her by nature. Again, under the existing cultural norms and values, she must make an adjustment with her husband and other family members who are not expected to make any such adjustment.

She is confronted at the same time with the responsibilities and duties connected with her employment. These circumstances require a redefinition and re-allocation of roles, duties and responsibilities for members of the family. No matter whether out of their own choice or out of economic necessity, they have taken up the dual roles, adjustment between them (role-obligations) is not an easy task.

The Present Study.

Our study is divided into nine chapters, we have in the introductory chapter, we have stated our problem, objectives and hypotheses. We have also explained the techniques used for data collection. In the second chapter, we have given a description of the social background of the respondents.

In chapter three, a discussion on various theoretical perspectives regarding position and status of women is incorporated. In Chapter four, we have given a brief account of the position of Indian Women, explaining the dynamics of their status in ancient, medieval, British and modern India. We have taken up relationship between women and household in relation to their economic and educational background in the fifth chapter. Here we have discussed the size and composition of household existing among various segments of our sample. The questions such as how the working women are managing and performing their household chores, what is their family composition, what obligations they perform have been discussed in this Chapter.

In Chapter six, we have analysed the relationship between occupation, education, and decision-making in the family. The factors which influence the adjustment-pattern of working mothers belonging to different economic strata have been analysed in the seventh chapter. More specifically

We have identified those factors which affected one type of respondents more compared to those who are in other brackets. An analysis of role-conflict and role-congruency is presented in this chapter in the context of problems of adjustment among the working mothers.

In Chapter eight, changes in the role-perception and attitudes of women due to education and salaried jobs have been analysed. The last chapter provided summing up of the study.

Objectives.

- ✓1. To understand the extent to which education and employment help in raising the status of women.
2. To study the relationship between women and household. What is the present existing structure of household prevalent among various sections of society? How the household duties are shared and carried out by women belonging to different social classes? What are the modern labour saving devices used by them?
- ✓3. To analyse the nature and patterns of dominance existing among women particularly emanating from their economic and educational background.
- ✓4. To study the patterns of adjustment or the extent of role-conflict experienced by women belonging to various Social strata.
- ✓5. Finally, to study the extent of change in women's attitudes due to the conflicting roles and the expected nature of adjustment.

Hypothesis

The following hypothetical points can be formulated:

1. Higher the socio-economic status of women, more would be conflict experienced by them.
2. Higher the socio-economic status, more equal^aitarian would be the authority structure within the family. Higher the occupational level of women, greater would be the role in deciding family affairs. Higher the level of occupation, higher will be the level of self-esteem.
3. Higher the educational and economic level, higher will be the status of women in the family and society.
4. Higher the socio-economic level, more liberal will be women in their perception of reality.

Universe of Study

This study is confined to the Jawaharlal Nehru University campus for reasons of academic viability as well as purposive consideration. There is no denying of the fact that the selected institution is a centre of advanced academics in the capital. The campus is a unit in itself as it is residential-cum-office complex. We have examined a cross section of the working women, of which fifty per cent stay at the campus itself. It

was expected that the campus would provide an opportunity to study the adjustment patterns which have been influenced by modern education, mass media, audio-visual devices, composite social groupings, etc. Jawaharlal Nehru University is a mosaic of different ethnic, caste, linguistic and regional groups and cultures in terms of the composition of its students, teachers and Karamcharis.

Sample and Research Tools

For the purpose of our study 258 respondents have been chosen and divided into four categories on the basis of gradations of their occupations, namely, higher, higher middle, middle and lower. In the first category women working as teachers in the University, were included. In the second category, all those working as Research Assistants, Library Assistants, Technical Assistants, Section Officers etc. were included. In the third category, stenographers and typists were included, and in the fourth category all those women working as sweepers and peons were included. The respondents have also been divided on the basis of their educational background.

Data Collection

✓ The data collected for this study belong to two categories : Secondary and Primary. Secondary data

consist of published and unpublished materials in the form of books, reports, journals, and periodicals, related to women. And the primary data was collected with the help of a comprehensive questionnaire-cum-interview schedule. The educated respondents were also given the questionnaire to be filled up by themselves. ✓

The respondents on the whole were satisfied that information sought was exclusively meant for academic purpose. The data for the study were tabulated manually by the researcher.

Limitations of the Study

(During the course of conducting a research one has to constantly guard against biases and subjective expressions). Also one has to take care in selecting the sample and in making observations. However, no study is free from some limitations. The present study happens to be no exception, and in fact, it is replete with instances of problematic situations where some errors could not possibly be avoided.) It may be stated that the study is limited in its scope, and the conclusions arrived at should be seen in terms of its basic premises.

CHAPTER - IIWORKING WOMEN ; SOCIAL BACKGROUND

It is evident from the earlier description that data were collected systematically by administering a questionnaire-cum-interview schedule and by making observations. We present below some basic background data regarding the sample of our study.

Table : 2.1Age Groupings.

Age group	Total Number	Percentage
Below 25	34	13.2
26 - 35	148	57.3
36 - 45	59	22.9
46 and above	17	6.6
Total	258	100.0

The above table present the age composition of the sample under study. It is found from the table that the respondents belong to different age groups and age-ranges from below 25 years to above 46 years. Young, grown-up, experienced and old -all categories of working women are included in the sample. It is evident from the table that the highest percentage of women (~~57.3 percent~~) (57.3%)

are from the age group of 26 to 35 years. The second higher percentage (22.9%) is from the next higher group of 36 to 45 years, 13.2% of the women were of the age group below 25 years and only 6.6 per cent belong to the oldest age group of 46 and above.

Place of Birth

The place of birth and the environment in which a girl spends her impressionable years play an important part in determining her attitude towards life and the pattern of her behaviour. The data collected in this field of investigation are presented in Table 2.2

Table 2.2

Upbringing and Background

<u>Upbringing and Background</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Rural	26	10.1
Urban	232	90.9
Total	258	100.0

The above table shows that majority of the respondents had urban background as 90.9 per cent belonged to urban areas, whereas 10.1 per cent of the respondents had rural background.

Education

(Education plays a vital role in a woman's career. If she is an illiterate, she has very little prospects of enhancement in her occupational status. If her education is liberal, it widens her outlook. If she is specialised in some particular field, it leads to a better placement with higher income and, consequently, a better social and economic status leading to a higher standard of living.)

We wanted to ascertain the educational level of our respondents. The data we collected are given in Table 2.3.

Table: 2,3Educational Qualification

<u>Educational qualification</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Illiterate	44	17.1
Below graduation	28	10.9
Graduation	98	37.9
Post-graduation	38	14.7
Above post-graduation	50	19.4
Total	258	100.0

It is clear from the table that out of the total 258 respondents, 17.1 per cent of the respondents were

illiterate; 10.9 per cent were below graduation, 37.9 per cent were graduates, 14.7 per cent were post-graduates and 19.40 per cent of the respondents of our samples were above post-graduation.

Occupational Status

(The occupation of an employed woman gives us a glimpse not only of her social and economic status but also of her future prospects.) For our purpose we have categorised all our respondents into four categories. In the Category I all the respondents working as Professors, Readers, Assistant Professors and Lecturers were included. And all those working as Librarians, Assistant Librarians, Semi-professionals and Research Assistants were included in category II. In category III all the respondents working as clerks and stenographers and also telephone operator and a nurse were included in this category. Sweepers and peons were included in category IV. The information gathered in this connection is presented in Table:2.4.

Table:2.4

Occupational Status

Occupational gradation	Total No.	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)
Category I	74	28.7
Category II	21	8.1

Table continued...

Table:2.4 continued

<u>(1)</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>(3)</u>
Category III	114	44.2
Category IV	49	19
Total	258	100

As the above table shows that the highest number of respondents belonged to occupational Category III (44.2%), the second highest respondent were of Category I. (28.7 per cent)^{19%} respondents belonged to lowest economic category. 19 per cent of the respondents belonged to Category IV, and 8.1 per cent belonged to Category II.

Marital Status

We next wanted to investigate the marital status of our 258 respondents, namely, whether they were single, married, divorced, separated or widowed. With a view to get a glimpse of their economic status as well as the motive that led them to become wage earners. The data collected in this regard are given in Table:2.5.

Table:2.5

Marital Status

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Unmarried	49	19
Married	197	76.4

Table:2.5 continued

Marital Status	Total No.	Percentage
Widow/Diverced	12	4.6
Total	258	100.0

Table:2.5 presents data regarding marital status. It is evident from the table that 18.9% of the respondents are unmarried, 76.4 per cent are married, and 4.6 per cent are widowed or separated. It means that most of the respondents are leading a married life and only a low percentage is either unmarried or widowed or divorced.

Table:2.6

Pattern of Marriage

Marriage patterns	Total No.	Percentage
Love	44	21.05
Arranged	165	78.95
Total	209	100.00

It is evident that a majority of the respondents followed the traditional arranged marriages.

Table : 2.7Family Composition

Family types	Total No.	Percentage
Nuclear	168	65.1
Joint	90	34.9
Total	258	100.00

Table: 2.7 given above presents the classification of respondents on the basis of the types of the families they live in. It is found from the table that 65.1 per cent of the respondents are living in nuclear families, whereas 35.9 per cent live in joint families. It means that a smaller number of women live in joint families and a majority live in nuclear families.

Table : 2.8Family Size

Family size	Total No.	Percentage
Upto 4 members	123	47.7
5 to 10 members	118	45.7
11 & more members	17	6.6
Total	258	100.0

The above table presents the classification of the respondents as the basis of family size. It is evident from the table that the highest percentage of the respondents of the sample have a family size upto 4 members (47.7%), the table further shows that 45.7% of the respondents live in a family of 5 - 10 members. Only 6.6 per cent respondents were found living in big families with 11 members or more.

CHAPTER - IIITHEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Males domination is an age-old phenomenon. With the growth of interest in roles and statuses of women, there has been a concomitant proliferation of studies. Also, efforts have been made to explain the subordinate position of women in society. A number of interpretations have been advanced to explain the subordinate position of women in comparison to men.

Some people view that the division of labour between men and women has resulted from their physical differences. Woman's role of reproduction is responsible for the earliest forms of the division of labour, and male supremacy flows from this division. Whereas others believe that early societies had egalitarian relations and male supremacy arose with the growth of class societies. Still others assert that the division of roles between male-hunting and female mothering had always included some amount of male dominance.

Thus we have divergent explanations regarding the role differences between male and female. In this chapter, an attempt is being made to review the various theoretical perspectives regarding the subordinate status and role of women. It is hoped that this will provide us a better understanding of the complex problem of "femininity".

Biological Perspective

Proponents of this biological view state that there are some fundamental biological differences which not only distinguish women from men but are also responsible for their secondary status and role in the society.

In primitive times many vital and life sustaining functions such as food gathering, hunting, preservation of meat and other food-stuffs, cleaning and sewing of skins for clothing, child bearing and child rearing, etc. necessitated division of labour. The obvious way out was allocation of duties and functions, keeping in view biological, structural and other physical differences between males and females.

This view follows the basic logic that women because of their child-bearing function and lesser mobility stayed closer to home and assumed domestic roles.¹ Whereas males because of their greater muscular strength assumed the arduous roles such as hunting, farming etc. and soon seized power in the society, over which they have maintained their control till the present time.

1. Sulleret, E. (1971): 'Women, Society and Change', World University Library, London, p. 48.

Society continues to believe that men should have roles outside their homes where they interact with other people, while women should work inside (the home) close to the kitchen and hearth because of their child bearing and rearing functions.²

The male-role has come to be regarded with more value and more power because the only way to achieve political power and authority is the assumption of public roles and interaction with other people. This also explains why the isolated house-bound female role has been devalued and has less power.³

Thus according to this view the division of labour in simple societies is based upon biological differences. Due to the child bearing and child rearing functions, woman is forced to be sedentary. Because during pregnancy, woman is dependent on man for the fulfilment of her requirements. Since during this interval she cannot move freely, whereas, man is always free. He does not have such interruptions.

In other words, the division of labour, in primitive societies, was based upon the needs and biological

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2. Bird, Caroline (1979): 'The Two-Paycheck Marriage', Rawson, Wade Publishers, New York, p. 27.
 3. Rosenberg, B.G. and J.S. Hyde (1976): 'Half of the human experience : The psychology of women', London, D.C. Health p. 29.

factors. Need dictated that labour be divided between the male and female. Freed from biological imperatives the young males could roam out for hunting, to find better caves and shelters. Women foraged too, but they were constrained by the necessities of carrying and nursing babies and travelling at the pace of toddlers and small children. They, therefore, stayed closer to home. At this very early stage, then, the division of labour into the public and a private domain became a human universal. The males, due to their contacts with other bands, became knowledgeable about a larger geographical area, the females due to child-bearing role stayed closer to home and had less contacts with the outside world. The horizons of the woman thus became more limited and seems to have cast the role of female as a member of private sphere, a domestic world, whereas, that of male was a public one open to greater contact with the outside world and its inhabitants.⁴

Stressing the biological differences between man and woman as the basis of the sexual division of labour in society, Murdock⁵ suggests that biological differences,

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4. Kessler, E.S. (1976): 'Women : An anthropological view'. London, Rolt, R.&W, p. 14.
 5. Murdock, G.P. (1949): Social Structure, Macmillan, New York, p. 79.


such as the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women near children, lead to gender roles out of sheer practicality. Given the biological differences between man and woman, a sex based division of labour is the most efficient way of organizing society.

In a cross-cultural survey of 224 societies ranging from hunting and gathering bands, he examines the activities assigned to man and woman. He finds tasks such as hunting, lumbering and mining to be predominantly male roles, and cooking, water carrying and making and repairing clothes to be largely female roles. He states that "men with his superior physical strength can better undertake a more strenuous tasks, such as lumbering, mining, quarrying, houseuilding. Not handicapped as is women by the psychological burdens of pregnancy and nursing, he can range a further field to hunt, to fish, to herd and to trade.

Woman is at no advantage, however, in lighter tasks which can be performed in or near the home, e.g. the gathering of vegetables, the preparation of food etc. woman is involved. Thus, due to her biological function of child-bearing, woman is tied to homebase, because of her physique, she is attached to less strenuous tasks. Murdock finds that sexual division of labour is present in all the societies in his sample and concludes that,

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"the advantages inherent in a division of labour by sex presumably account for its universality".

Parsons⁶ also talks of the sexually determined "instrumental" and "expressive" division of labour. According to him the woman plays the role of emotional (as "expressive") leader in the family, whereas, the husband is the "instrumental" leader. He writes: "in our opinion the fundamental explanation of the allocation of roles between the biological sexes lies in the fact that the bearing and rearing of children establish a strong presumptive primary of the relation of mother to the small child. Thus because mothers bear and rear children, they have a closer and stronger relationship with them".

Thus a woman plays an "Expressive" role which means she provides warmth, security and emotional support. A man (bread winner) spends his working day competing in an achievement oriented society. This instrumental role leads to stress and anxiety. The expressive female relieves his tension by providing the weary bread-winner with love, understanding and consideration. Parsons argues that for a family to operate efficiently as a social system, there must be a clear cut sexual division of labour. In this sense expressive-instrumental roles complement each other. Thus Parsons emphasizes that the

6. Talcott Parsons uses these concepts for the development of a general paradigm of the nuclear family which he considers to be universal. In T. Parsons and F.G. Bales (ed.), Family, socialization and action processes. Glencoe (iii) 1955, pp. 45-47.

biological differences between the sexes provide the foundation on which the sexual division of labour rests.

Thus the physical differences between a man and woman became the basis of building a system of reciprocal role, including the nurturing subordinated her, while the economic function of man is defined as superior and superordinated, and boys and girls are socialized to fulfil these roles.⁷

Apart from child bearing and rearing function of female, superior physical strength of male, is also an important variable in establishing the subordinate position of woman in early development of human society. As J.S. Mill, the nineteenth century advocate of rights for women, holds that reason for woman's submissiveness is the superior strength of man.⁸ Also says Beauvair that when two human categories are together, each aspires to impose its sovereignty upon the other. If both are able to resist this imposition, there is created between them a reciprocal relation, sometimes in amity, sometimes in a state of tension. If one of the two is in some way

7. Oakley, A. (1972): 'Women, Gender and Society.' The Pitman Press, Bales, Templesmity, London, p. 49.

8. Mills, J.S. (1977): 'The subjection of women,' MIT Press, London, p. 9.

privileged he or she has some advantage. Thus one prevails over the other and undertakes to keep it in subjection."⁹

In terms of the body physique there are sex differences between man and woman which are very real and quite visible. Males have greater size and physical power to the comparatively lesser size and physical power of the females. Differences of personality follow the biological differences of sex. Men are more aggressive and independent than women. They are more outgoing and extravert, confident in their own ability to control and manipulate the external environment. Women, on the other hand, are more perceptible in their relationships with others. They are more dependent and are introvert and domesticated and emotionally liable.¹⁰

This being true, man has taken advantage of it and used it for placing woman in the subordinate position. Regarding the role of woman, Simon de Beauvoir in the "Second Sex" says that the original and real cause of woman's oppression is in the biologically given unequal distribution of reproductive function. Because of reproduction and associated childcare burdens, woman has always been restricted to a maintainance role, while man has appropriated the creative role.¹¹

9. Beauvoir, S.D. (1953): "The Second Sex", Penguin, London, p. 89.

10. Simon de Beauvoir (1953): op. cit., p. 89.

11. ibid., p. 89.

Many people have criticised biological theory of division of roles. Critiques of this perspective argue that biological determinism is insufficient to explain the subordination of women as it is based on simple brute strength. It would seem logical that as civilization progressed and physical strength became less important., the position of women should have improved.

Reed¹² observes that biological subordination is not the result of a predetermined biological handicap. She says that child bearing is represented as the external handicap of female, the basis of her status as the second sex. But the child bearing as a disability is relatively a recent conception. It didn't exist in the primitive society. Thus, according to her, attribution of inferior status is false proposition. Simon de Beauvoir says that we must view the fact of biology in the light of anthropological, economic, social and psychological context. The enslavement of female and limitations of her various powers are extremely important facts. The body of woman is one of the essential elements in her situation in the world, but the body is not enough to define her.

Criticising the biological approach, Montague observes that it is an error to assume that the female

12. Reed, Evelyn (1977): "Problems of Women's Liberation", N-Y. Pathfinders Pp. p. 17.

is by nature sedentary, whereas the male is by nature active and superior. Such activity differences do not exist between male and female, and to a large extent these would seem to be secondary differences not primary.¹³ He further says that the division of roles between the sexes is a cultural expression of biological differences.

In some cultures men and women may engage in common activities, which in other cultures are strictly separated along sexual lines.¹⁴ Thus Montague emphasizes that the roles assigned to the sexes are not determined biologically but largely culturally.

The biological differences between the sexes, obviously provide the grounds upon which are based the different social roles which the sexes are expected to play in a society. But the significance of biological differences is often interpreted in such a manner as to convey the appearance of a natural connection between conditions which are, in fact, only artificially connected, that is by misinterpretation. For example, in almost all cultures, pregnancy, birth, and nursing are interpreted by both sexes as handicapping experiences, as a consequence women have been made to feel that by virtue of their biological functions, they have been virtually placed in an inferior position to men. But

13. Montague, A. (1954): "The Natural Superiority of Woman", London - George Allen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 50-51.

14. Ibid., p. 70.

as we know that in modern times these biological functions of woman are only minimal, and not at all handicapping in a significant way.

Criticising this approach, Havelock Ellis¹⁵ says, "the problem of man and woman cannot be a question of the comparative merits of the two sexes. Mankind is one whole, man and woman are the obverse and reverse of one coin - two aspects of one essence. Therefore, the question of the superiority or inferiority of either sex cannot arise, just as it does not arise between mind and matter, or hydrogen or oxygen. However, different they may be, the two sexes are designed for each other and complementary to each other.

Anthropological Perspective

Biological explanation is not enough to provide an adequate answer to the question of inferior status of woman. Our task is to discover how the nature of woman has been affected through the course of history. In this connection efforts made by some anthropologists to explain the inferior position of woman are worth mentioning.

People who believe in the anthropological quest begin with the assumption that human behaviour is largely directed and determined by culture. Thus norms,

15. Havelock Ellis (1946): Quoted in *Feminine Character* by Viola Klein, Routledge, London, P.45.

values and roles are culturally determined and socially transmitted. According to this perspective, gender roles are product of culture rather than biology. Individuals learn their respective male and female roles. The sexual division^f of labour is supported and justified by a belief and value system which implies that gender roles are normal, natural, right and proper. One example is that boys are rewarded for their aggressive physical behaviour and atheletic powers in games, whereas girls are rewarded for being quiet, soft and neat. Girls who are aggressive or 'Tom boyish', i.e. climb trees and whistle (masculine behaviour) are generally disapproved of and punished, wh whereas a boy exhibiting similar behaviour would be rewarded. Crying in a boy is frowned upon as being "sissy" or being 'girlish' (feminine behaviour). Thus it is culture that produces inequality, nor biology".

Speaking of the factors by which the position of woman in society can be measured. Sherry Ortner¹⁶ mentions that it is^{not} biology as such that^f ascribes women to their status in society but the way in which every culture defines it and evaluates female biology. She attempts to provide a general explanation for the "universal devaluation of woman".

16. Ortner Sherry (1974): "Is female to male as nature is to culture?" in 'Women, Culture and Society', ed. by M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford University Press), Stanford.

Ortner argues that in every society, a higher value is placed on culture than on nature. Culture is the means by which man controls and regulates nature. By inventing weapons and hunting techniques, man can capture and kill animals. By inventing religion and rituals, man can call upon supernatural forces to produce a successful hunt or a bountiful harvest. By the use of culture, he can control nature. Thus, man's ideas and technology, that is his culture, have power over nature and are therefore seen as superior to nature.

Evaluation of culture as superior to nature is the basic reason for the devaluation of women. Ortner argues that women are universally defined as closer to nature because their bodies and physiological functions are more concerned with 'the natural processes surrounding the reproduction of the species. These natural processes for which the female body is "naturally" equipped for these natural processes.

[Women's social role as mothers is also seen as closer to nature. They are primarily responsible for the socialization of the young. Infants and young children are seen as 'barely human' as one step away from nature because their cultural repertoire is small compared to adults. Women's close relationships with young children further associate them with nature. Since the mothers

role is linked with family, the family itself is regarded much closer to nature compared to the activities and institutions outside the family. Thus activities such as politics, warfare and religion are seen as more removed from nature and also as superior to domestic tasks, hence, are in the province of men. Finally, Ortner argues that 'woman's psyche', her psychological make-up, is defined as closer to nature. Because women are concerned with child care and primary socialization, they develop more personal, intimate and particularistic relationships with others, especially their children.

Comparatively speaking, men by engaging in politics, warfare and religion, have a wider range of contacts and less personal and particularistic relationships. They are seen as being more objective and less emotional. Since culture is seen as superior to nature, 'woman's psyche' is devalued and once again, men come out on top. Ortner concludes that in terms of her biology, psychological processes and some roles, woman appears as something intermediate between culture and nature. Thus according to Ortner, Culture devalues nature. Females are associated with nature, are considered closer to nature in all cultures,¹⁷ and are thus devalued.

17. Ibid., 8-9. Rejecting biological basis, Ortner says that biological differences "only take on significance on superiority/inferiority within the framework of defined value systems".

While talking about the role of women Levi-Strauss¹⁸ assumes the subordination of women during the process of the creation of society. According to him, "culture began with the exchange of women by men to cement bonds between families, thereby creating society. For him, kinship system does not merely exchange sexual access, geneological statuses, lineage names and ancestral rights, and people, men, women and children are included in concrete systems of social relationships. These relationships always include certain rights for men and others for women. Exchange of women is a shorthand for expressing that the social relationship of a kinship system, specify that men have certain rights in their female kin and that women do not have the same rights either to themselves or to their male kin. In this sense the exchange of women is a profound perception of a system in which women do not have full rights to themselves. Moreover, following Levi-Straus, because it is the men who exchange women, and it is the women who are exchanged, in creating social bonds. Men benefit more than women from these social bonds and this the division of labour between the two sexes is a hierarchial one.

In order to get to the root of the problem and to investigate the connection between the mental traits and biological factors or sex, Margaret Mead¹⁹ has studied

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18. Levi-Straus (1974); 'The Family in Man, Culture and Society', Ed. by Hany Shapiro, London, Oxford Press, 1974.
19. Mead, Margaret (1935): 'Sex and temperament in three primitive societies', New York, Morrow, p. 27.

three different primitive societies - the Arapesh, the Mundugumor^m and the Tchambuli. Her conclusion is that the biological facts regarding sex differences are irrelevant to the social characters of men and women and that these are merely arbitrary constructs.

Both among the Arapesh and the Mundugumor, there is no idea that men and women are different in temperament. Both the sexes are allowed different economic and religious roles, different skills, different vulnerabilities to evil magic and supernatural influences. But any idea that temperament traits of the order of dominance, bravery, aggressiveness, objectivity are inevitably associated with one sex, as opposed to the other, is entirely lacking.²⁰

In the third tribe, the Tchambuli tribe, Mead finds a entirely different culture. In this community, women not only manage domestic affairs but also dominate. They are robust, practical, possessive type, impersonal in outlook and definite in their plans. In contrast, men are delicate and responsive, emotionally different, playful and unpractical, timid in matters of sex and shy of meeting.²¹

The fact that about the Tchambulis suggests that the traits such^w aggressiveness, courage, independence,

20. Ibid., p. 280

21. op. cit., p. 280-

sexual activity, emotionality, passivity and many others, which are considered either "masculine" or "feminine", are "as lightly linked to sex as are the clothing, the manners and the form of head-dresses that a society at a given period assigns to either sex."²²

Thus culture creates a coherent background, a mould into which characters grow and by which they are shaped. According to Mead, "Culture becomes a sort of independent being which at its discretion creates various forms out of the human raw-material as its disposal. Just as a painter distributes colours on his canvas sets a stroke of red here, a point of blue there following only laws of his imagination. So culture in Mead's description arbitrarily distributes temperaments on the huge canvas of human society."²³

In other words, Mead believes that the association of psychological traits with sex is of an accidental nature rather than based on constitutional facts. She considers it impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule as to the effect of a particular social role on the psychological traits of the persons occupying the role. She points out that some of the personality traits, which are found in both men and women in some cultures, are absent in

22. Ibid., p. 280.

23. Ibid., p. 284.

other two cultures. In some societies they are characteristics of men, in others of women. So it is due to the impact of culture on society that the status of male or female is determined rather than any other factor.

Sir Henry Maine²⁴ was one of the early theoreticians, who wrote about the natural superiority of man, and woman's place. His view is that the patriarchal system of authority was the original and universal system of social organisation. The family was the original unit and the eldest male parent held supreme authority in the household. From the family such authority had been extended into clans, from clans into tribes and so on. Almost always men had been the rulers although occasionally, when for some reason or other women had outnumbered men, temporarily matriarchy existed but only as an instable and degrading form of organisation.

To conclude, anthropologists emphasis that culture is the main determinant factor for the unequal distribution of roles among men and women in any existing human society.

Freudian Perspectives

Sigmund Freud is known as the father of psychoanalysis. Freud's view regarding position of women is part of his entire treatises of psychoanalytical explanation,

24. Maine, Henry(1943): "Ancient Law", Penguin, p. 42.

which is based on sexuality. Firestone²⁵ writes that "Freud captured the imagination of whole continent and civilization for a good reason. Freudianism is so changed, so impossible to repudiate because Freud grasped the crucial problem of modern life, namely, sexuality.

The cornerstone of Freudian theory of womanhood is the masculine conviction that a woman is a castrated man. Freud's entire understanding and analysis of feminism is based on one anatomical factor, that is, the lack of penis in women, what he called the "penis-envy". It is in explaining the acquisition of femininity that Freud employs the concept of penis envy and castration. According to him, this envy in women grows out of a feeling of biological lack beginning with the little girls discovery in her early childhood that she lacks something possessed by the little boy, which makes her feel, according to Freud, that she has been castrated.

In Freud's view the development of the feminine character is shaped at the outset by one essential anatomical characteristic namely, the lack of a penis. The difference in external genital is conceived by Freud, as a deficiency on the part of women. All feminine characteristics, interests, emotions attitudes and wishes are reactions in some form or other to the basic "defect",

25. Firestone, Shulamith (1971): The dialectic of sex: The case of Feminist Revolution; New York; Bantam Ltd., p. 19.

the root of all grievances and compensatory mechanisms, the key note, so to speak, to which the entire psychology of women is tuned, is according to Freud, to be found in the early discovery of the girl that she is lacking an essential organ.

Freud mentions about three major consequences of penis-envy. To begin with, a girl after this traumatic discovery may loose her interest in sexuality. Since the clitoris is so insignificant, so inferior that she may become absolutely indifferent to all kinds of sexual activities. Freud observes "the little girl has hitherto lived in a masculine way, has been able to get pleasure by the excitation of her clitoris and has brought this activity into relation with her sexual wishes directed towards her mother, which are often active". Hence, owing to the influence of her penis-envy, she looses her enjoyment in her phallic sexuality. Her self-love is mortified by the comparison with the boys for superior equipment and in consequence she renounces her masturbatory satisfaction from her clitoris, repudiates her love for her mother and at the same time not infrequently represses a good part of her sexual trends in general.

Secondly, she may not be willing to accept the inferiority of the clitoris to penis. Her unwillingness to accept the inferiority of the clitoris leads her to

invite the illusion that in the future her penis may develop. This tremendous will to be like a man keeps her away from all feminine activities. This is what Freud calls the "masculine complex" of women.

Thirdly, she may take the normal path. Since she does not have the penis she intends to compensate it by her wish to have a boy. This is the reason why penis envy is so fundamental in the life of a woman.

Freud says that the super-ego of woman is not very strong. His reasons for arguing this are clear enough. As Freud says, girls need not repress the Oedipus complex in the manner boys do. For boys, this - the repression of the Oedipus complex - has to be accomplished perfectly, because any attachment to the mother is not conducive to the growth of qualities men are generally proud of.

To remain attached to mother seems to be a kind of weakness. And society does not allow man to be weak. This makes it all the more important for boys to internalize the role of the father. This creates a strong super ego as Freud argues, makes man intelligent and rational. For the case is entirely different. The moment she becomes subject to Oedipus complex, she begins to behave like a woman. In other words, for girls, unlike boys, the Oedipus complex allows them to develop qualities society generally approves of.

It can be said that for girl Oedipus complex is not as dangerous as it is for boys. So they need not repress it as strongly as boys do. This is obviously the major reason why their super-ego is so weak. Moreover, in girls the motive for the demolition of the Oedipus complex is lacking. Castration has already has its effect, which was to force the child into the situation of the Oedipus complex.

A basic weakness in this approach is as Kete Millet²⁶ has observed, is its male bias. Freud and his followers have built up a theory of feminine sexuality to account for the differences they observed between the sexes in their own sexually repressed a male dominated society. A host of unsupportable assumptions prop up in this theory of sexuality in females. The assumption that a female child believes herself to be anatomically inferior to the male(or believes the male to be superior); the assumption that while females envy males, their penis, males do not envy females their womb and their maternity; the assumption that the female child blames her mother for failing to provide her with a penis and so on are empirically untenable. Hence, the Freudian is open to attack on many grounds. Not only was Freudian theory developed within the framework of a patriarchal system, it fits only into a culture where masculinity and femininity are defined in a particular way.

26. Millet, K. (1973): "Psycho-analysis and Women", Penguin Books, p. 5.

Thompson²⁷ says that Freud was a very perceptible thinker but he was a male, a male quite ready to subscribe to the theory of male superiority prevalent in the culture. This for Thompson, must have hampered his understanding of experience in the woman's life especially associated with her feminine role.

Freud, because of his patriarchal bias, fails to understand what free women intend to communicate through their rebellion. The moment a woman refuses to remain content with the role society imposes on her she communicates her freedom. Freud instead of understanding her real problems, tends to minimize its importance by arguing that it is simply the manifestation of her masculinity complex.

This shows that man is the model beyond which Freud is reluctant to move his psychoanalysis. It never occurs to him that the reference model for women may not necessarily coincide with that of men. Women may want what men as oppressors and exploiters have never striven for. In Henrik Ibsen's drama "A Doll's House" Nora raises her voice against her husband. She declares "now I shall try to learn, I must make up my mind, which is right society or I". For Freud, as one can easily infer, Nora's rebellion does not have any identity of its

27. Thompson (1973): Quoted in "Psycho-analysis and Women", Penguin Books, p. 92.

own, it is Nora's masculinity complex - her fruitless attempt to be like a man. What Freud forgets is that Nora is not rebelling in order to become another oppressor, her rebellion is motivated with a noble purpose - her wish to become a real living human being.

Thus, Freud because of his patriarchal bias, fails to understand what free women intend to communicate through their rebellion. Their rebellion is neither a neurotic symptom, nor a manifestation of masculinity. This rebellion carries a promise - the promise that a society based on genuine human values is not beyond the reach of humanity. Freud's obstinate refusal to receive the message women's rebellion carries with it shows his extreme pessimism - his inability to think of a society that makes it possible for women to live freely without having any tendency to dominate others.

Criticising Freudian theory Erich Fromm²⁸ observes that Freudian theory has serious limitations that he could not recognize the nature of erotic love, since it is based on male-female polarity, which is only possible if male and female are quite equals and not different. Thus his whole system is centred around sexual but not erotic love. Thus we find that Freudian theory is full of limitations.

28. Fromm Erich (1978): The Crisis of Psychoanalysis, Penguin, pp. 58-9.

Marxian Perspective

Marx as such has not built any elaborate theory of women's emancipation. Of course, one finds only a few vital passages in the works of Marx about family, about changing sex relations and woman's participation in the capitalist production process. Marx had noticed the importance of the females as an economic production unit in the social organisation of society until the emergence of bourgeois society. In the communist manifesto, he and Engels predict the dissolution of the family in its old form, not only of family, but all precapitalist forms of exploitation and oppression and visualise that gradually those who have no access to the means of production will be ruled by the laws of motion of capitalism, i.e. by the labour theory of value. In German Ideology, Marx observe, "The slavery latent in the family only develops gradually with the increase of population."²⁹ This statement is not worked out further and hence cannot be taken as a proof of his definite view on women's question.

While assuming Marx one must be aware that in developing a theory of the process of capital accumulation and exploitation, he is trying to understand the dynamics of an epochal tendency of the capitalist mode of production which hold tremendous potential for accu-

29. Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1942); 'German ideology', Lawrence and Wishart, London.

mulation of surplus and thus expansion of productive forces. Marx was working at the highest level of abstraction and thus trying to eliminate complexities of concrete situations. Therefore, he did not go into the analysis of implications of this process for women.

The so called Marxist theory of women's question was developed by Engels in a later period, of course on the premise built by Marx and by him together for the earlier theorization. Following Morgan, an evolutionist, anthropologist, Engels traced the link between the rise of private property, monogamy patriarchal family and the state.³⁰ This was an attempt to show the origin of subordination of women by men and based on that locating determination of women's subordination analytically.

The main thrust of Engel's work is to oppose the widely prevalent notion of woman's inferiority that she was made so by the creator. Engels refers to the historical process by which woman is transformed from free and equal productive member of the society into a subordinate and dependent wife. The growth of private property in the family is the cause of this transformation.

30. Engel's book, 'Origin of family' private property and the state has been considered as an authority on women's question by all the Marxists all over the world. The work has been written after the death of Marx and based itself in anthropological writings of that period, when the science had started developing and the systematic study of the primitive society had been taken up by some anthropologists like Morgan which was influenced by evolutionary ideas of Darwin.

In the stone age when the land belonged in common to all members of the class, the rudimentary character of the primitive shed and hoe limited the possibilities of agriculture so that women's strength was adequate for gardening. In this primitive division of labour, the two sexes constituted in a way two classes and there was equality between these classes while man hunts and fishes women remained in the home.

Through the discovery of copper, tin, bronze and iron and with the appearance of the plough, agriculture enlarged its scope and intensive labour was required for that man employed another man, whom he reduced to slavery. With this appeared private property and also man became the proprietor of woman also. This was the great historical defeat of the feminine sex.

It is also to be explained by the upsetting of the old division of labour which occurred as a consequences of the invention of new tools. The same cause which had assumed women the prime authority in the house, namely, her restriction to domestic duties, now resulted in the domination of the man for woman's house work henceforth sank into insignificance in comparison with man's productive labour. The latter became everything, the former nothing. Thus material authority resulted in perpetuating authority properly being inherited from father to son and when no longer had any claim over it. Here we see the emergence of patriarchal family.

As Engels pointed out, all societies have rested upon the two pillars of production and procreation. Thus, it was the woman, the producer of both new life and the material necessities of life who became the leaders of their commodities and they were also to accomplish this because they worked together into separate households where each individual was bogged down with the same task for their individual children. They could do so because there was no ruling power standing over them telling them what to do or restrict their efforts. This explains why earlier society was matriarchal in constitution. The productive activities were the source of their power.

This reversal according to Engels is resulted from the just changes in the structure of society and the breakdown of the original communist system. So long as woman retained them in the collectivest system, they could not be overthrown. But with the rise of the new system of private property, monogamous marriage and the family, women were dispersed, each of them to become a solitary wife and mother in an individual home. So long as they kept together they represented a great social force, separated from one another and confined to individual kitchens, they were rendered powerless. Thus introduction of private property and production for exchange led to woman's domestication and subordination.

Borrowing heavily from Engels, says Reed, it was the drastic social changes brought about by the patriarchal class institutions of family, private property and the state which produced the historical downfall of the female sex.

The monogamous nuclear family developed with the emergence of private property, in particular the private ownership of the forces of production, and the advent of the state. The state instituted laws to protect the system of private property to enhance the rules of monogamous marriage. This form of marriage and the family developed to solve the problem of the inheritance of private property. Property was owned by males and in order for them to pass it on to their heirs. They must be certain of the legitimacy of those heirs. They therefore needed greater control over women so that there would be no doubt about paternity of their offsprings. The monogamous family provided the most efficient device for this purpose in Engel's words, "It is based on the supremacy of the man, the express purpose being to produce children of undisputed paternity; such paternity is demanded because these children and later to come into their father's property as his natural heirs."

Thus Engels saw female subordination as a result of the emergence of private property. Monogamous marriage

developed to protect the institution of private property. Male dominated monogamous marriage which involved the economic dependence of the wife upon her husband, provided this control. Engels states that, "The predominance of the male in marriage is simply a consequence of his economic predominance".

Something special about this approach is that it not only explains the downfall of female but also provides us with the solution of this problem in the development of socialist community. Marx and Engels believed that "due equality between the sexes could only be achieved in a socialist society in which the forces of production were communally owned".

But criticising this approach Simon De Beauvoir says that Engels slighted the problem simply by remarking that the socialist community would abolish the female inferiority. Such an observation is an abstract solution.

Thus we find that no individual approach singularly is sufficient and accurate explanation of woman's subservient role in society. But, of course, collectively they do provide us with an understanding of woman's subordinate position in society.

CHAPTER - IV

POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN CONTEXT

To explain and understand the subordinate position of women in Indian society, the narrowly defined female role, the attitude of man towards woman, the low esteem in which women hold themselves etc., we need to look into the past.) Knowledge of past will not only help us in explaining the present but can also provide us a blueprint for understanding of the tomorrow. Therefore, in the following pages a brief resume of the historical background of position of woman is attempted. We are making an attempt to study the status of woman in ancient, medieval, British and modern India.

Status of Woman in Ancient Period

Ancient period, especially the vedic period, is one of the glorious chapters in Indian history. As a matter of fact the vedas contains the seeds and sources from which the Hindu thought has emanated and survived through the ages. Vedas are considered a repository of knowledge from which have grown so many branches representing various aspects of Hindu culture and value system.

(Literary and historical researches have now established beyond doubt that women held a position of equality with men during the Vedic period. The girl as well as the boy were required to undergo Upanyan cere-

mony in order to be initiated to the Vedic studies. In fact, education of women was looked upon as so important that we find in the Atharva Veda asserted that "the success of woman in her married life depends upon her proper training during the Brahmacharya". According to Sarvanukramanika, there are as many as twenty women who composed the hymns of the Rig Veda. Some of the renowned Vedic women are Lopamudra, Viswavara, Sikata, Nivavari and Gosha Gargi.

During this period matrimony was not considered compulsory for a woman. A woman could remain unmarried as "Amajur", if she so desired. S.R. Shastri (1959)¹ mentions that, the word 'Amajur' refers to a girl who grew old at her father's house. There are references about the 'Sumana' festivals as unmarried female rishis like Apala Aitreya, which suggests that matrimony was not compulsory for a woman and that no limitation had been placed on the age of marriage. Girls were regarded as objects of good omen. Ramanayana include a detailed description of the reception of Rama after his long exile by the unmarried girls first and later a religious bath at their hands.

The Vedic women being educated had a voice in the selection of their husbands. Often there were also love marriages - Gandharva Vivaha.

1. Shastri, Shakuntala Rao (1959): "Women in the Sacred Laws. Bombay, Bharatia Vidya Bhavan.

The references in the Rig Veda regarding the life of a widow are very few but it is clear that restrictions and austerities as found in the post-Vedic days were not clearly spelt out in the Vedic period. Re-marriage of widows was allowed. There are a number of references about the custom of Niyoga where a brother of the deceased husband could marry the widow with the permission of the elders. Other variations show that she could marry any person, not necessarily the brother of the deceased husband. As regards Sati, burning of the widow, Shastri writes, "The Rig Veda does not mention anywhere the practice of the burning or burial of widows with their dead husbands".²

Girls were married at a fairly advanced age in the Vedic period. The dowry system did not stand as an impediment in daughter's marriage in the Vedic period.³ One finds references in Vedas regarding royal brides bringing with them the dowry of a husband of cows, or the rich and royal families giving some gifts to the sons-in-law at the time of marriage. But these presents given in the marriage, could hardly be called dowry, for they were voluntarily offered after the marriage, as a token of affection.

2. Shastri, op. cit., p. 17.

3. Altekar, A.S. (1962): "The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization". Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, p. 69.

As regards property rights, according to the Vedic hymns, both husband and wife were joint owners of property. In Rig Veda a daughter retained her right of inheritance and could substitute a son.⁴ Women were permitted to have separate property of their own which came to be designated in the smritis later on as Stridhana.

Passages in the Vedas show that women had other careers open to them apart from a mere literary career. They entered fields of teaching, medicine, business and administration.⁵ ✓

During this period society was patriarchal, and father was the supreme authority in the affairs of the family, the position of woman was also one of the honorable subordination. In the Vedic society we find that wife was treated with utmost courtesy and regard. It was recognised that the wife was the ornament of the house, she herself was the home. The position of a daughter in the family during the Vedic period did not include much authoritative role. Her socialization from childhood involved a high degree of modesty peculiar to Hindu culture.⁶ She was considered an embodiment of tolerance, patience, submission and she identified her

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4. Shastri, S.R. (1959): op. cit.,
 5. Upadhyaya, Bhagwat Saran (1942): "Women in the Rig Veda." Banaras, Nand Kishav Brothers.
 6. Benergee, M.N. (1944-45): "Hindu family and freedom theory." Indian Journal of Social Work, V, 180-186.

Personality with that of her husbands... She, in turn received affection, consideration and regard.)

✓ In religious ceremonies and sacrifices also man and woman took part as equal partners. Religious prayers and sacrifices were offered jointly by husband and wife. In fact, such ceremonies were invalid without wife joining her husband. Dandekar⁷ describes the significance of woman's participation in religious activities very aptly. ✓ "A man's religious life is considered to be essentially deficient without his wife's active participation in it ... Without a wife... the psychological and moral personality of man remains imperfect. She is his constant companion in his religious life, preparing for him his sacred articles used in ownership, accompanying him on pilgrimages, present at all ceremonies... And finally in her role as the mother, woman is regarded as divine, respected many times more than the father and the teacher." It was ordained that the woman whose hand is accepted in marriage should ^{be} treated with respect and kindness and all that is agreeable to her shall be given ^{to} her.⁸ ✓

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7. Dandekar, R.N. (1953); "The role of man in Hinduism" in K.W. Morgan, 'The Religion of the Hindus Interpreted by Hindus', New York; The Ronald Press Co., pp. 140 - 141.
8. Prabhu, P.N. (1958); Hindu Social Organisation, Bombay: Popular Book Depot, p. 67.

In the words of K.M. Kapadia⁹ It is believed that "the wife is her husband's ardhagini, and the marriage ritual seeks to stress and reinforce this conjugal intimacy. The important ties therein, panigrahana (taking the bride's hand) and saptapadi (taking seven steps together) are symbolic expressions of union on the two levels of equality and friendship".

Talking about the status of women in Vedic Society Rameshchandra Dutt¹⁰ wrote "Hindu women held an honoured place... They inherited and possessed property; they took share in sacrifices and religious duties; they attended great assemblies and state occasions; they also distinguished themselves in science and learning at their time ... Considered as intellectual companions of their husbands, as the friends and living helpers in the journey of life of their partners, in their religious duties, and the centre of their domestic bliss, Hindu wives were honoured and respected in ancient times".

In the ancient Indian society a woman enjoyed the status of being the man's companion and not his attendant. She enjoyed to a great extent freedom along with the man and her sphere of relationships was not circumscribed by too many restrictions.

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9. Kapadia, K.M. (1966); Marriage and family in India, Oxford University Press.
10. Rameshchandra Dutt (1986); 'Civilization and Ancient India', in Seminar no. 318, Feb. 1986.

(From about 1500 B.C. started the change in woman's status due to various reason among which the most important was a denial of education. Traces of deterioration are found in all the periods following 1500 B.C., but it became much marked after the beginning of the Christian era and reached its peak after the Mughal invasion in the tenth century.¹¹ Manusmriti, the code of Manu, is the important source of information regarding rights and duties of men and women in this period.)

(In short, the role of women confirmed to the dictum laid down by Manu, the great law giver of second century that "a woman does not deserve freedom", and that her life should throughout be one of dependent of man. Another similar dictum laid down by him was that a woman should be subservient in all stages of her life - "in childhood to the father, in youth to the husband and his elderly kins to the sons when widowed".¹² Among the traditional Hindu families the fate of a woman, especially of the daughter-in-law, was always of subordination to all other members.¹³)

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11. V.V. Prakasa Rao and V. Nandini Rao (1982): Marriage, the family and women in India: Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, pp. 117.
 12. Banerjee, M.N. (1944): "Hindu family and Freudian theory", Indian Journal of Social work V (1944-45) pp 184.
 13. Ward, Barbara (1963): Women in the New Asia, New York: UNESCO, p. 67.

In Manu's code a woman ceased to be man's equal in her own right. In Man's world her position was one of subordination. Manu disapproved Niyoga, widow marriage and inter-caste marriage. He prohibited the practice of Upanayana for a girl.¹⁴ Since girls were not educated early marriages became common; girls were married soon after puberty. But around 200 A.D. some of the dharma-Sastras declared that marriage was a substitute for Upanayana for girls. Altekar writes: "The discontinuance of Upanayanam, the neglect of education and the lowering of the marriage age produced disastrous consequences upon the position and status of women". Gradually, Niyoga and widow remarriage were prohibited. Marriage became an irrevocable union as far as the wife was concerned.

The Smriti writers preached that the wife should look upon her husband as a God. Some of them went to the extent of asserting that she would worship him even if he was a rake. Marriage became an irrevocable union, irrevocable only so far as the wife was concerned. The husband could discard wife for the grave offence of not being sufficiently submissive. The wife however could not take a similar step and marry a second time, even if her husband had taken to vicious ways and completely abandoned her. This differential treatment was due to

14. Altekar, A.S. (1962) p.69.

the simple fact that women were no longer able to effectively oppose Manu's views regarding status of women being uneducated and quite ignorant of their status and privileges in the earlier period.¹⁵

We have realised that all powerful element to which social customs were anchored was religion. Historical events prove that political changes did not affect the people as much as the religion, for that was the channel of communication. Hinduism was never a literary of creed, but a common bond of aspirations, a wide culture to guide the daily life of the people. While kingdoms may have come and gone, social structures stultified and expanded. The foundation of Hinduism was a philosophy based on the Vedic verses that provided the main sustenance, the ethics, the code of civilized behaviour and clothed the people with a sense of self respect.

The social fabric was being progressively tied up in these so called religious practices by the interested social tyrants clad in the sacred garbs. Such a situation gave birth to revolts against the deadly status quo institutions which were invariably religious or semi-religious.

15. Altkear, op. cit., p. 349.

In this respect, Buddhism was most important for it had the greatest impact on women's status. Buddha's compassion and respect for mankind raised the position of women. Buddhism tried to retrieve and restore the position of women in society; they were admitted to the Bhikshunisanglia which opened avenues for their socio-cultural attainment. As Buddhism believed in the individual independence and right to ultimate liberation, women became truly unshackled.

Through the forceful advocacy of Buddha's foster mother, woman also gained entry into the monastic order which attracted some of the finest women of the time. Women assumed equal part in the religious pursuits. Women bhikshunis realised social liberation through the religious path. They showed remarkable creative talent as they were highly inspired and also imbued by a spirit for innovation and change. As marriage was no more compulsory women were free to grow old single, without drawing sideglances.

The other big religious reform movement was Jainism, closely following Buddhism. It offered women the best opportunities for intellectual and aesthetic cultivation.

Medieval Period

By the advent of Islam and Mughal rule in India, women were degraded to an inferior status. So the

code of Manu was emphasised in every sphere of woman's life. They lost an opportunity for obtaining education. Marriage became essential for a girl. Widow remarriage was not favoured. Seclusion of women became more rigorous as a result of the custom of 'purdah' (custom of wearing a veil outside the home) among muslims, and the sense of fear arising from a lack of general security. Due to the attacks of the Turks and Mongols, life became very insecure. Women were forcibly converted to Islam and married. Thus, the purdah system came into practice. Early marriage began to be performed on larger scale. Dowry also came into vogue. Birth of a son was more welcomed than that of a daughter. The latter was treated as a heavy burden on parents. Some families resorted to female infanticide fearing unbearable problem of getting girls married.

Early marriage, dowry system, sati, purdah, were main institutions prevailing among both Hindus and Muslim during this period. In the medieval period, the emperor Akbar attempted to bring about reform in the society.¹⁶ The major reform was regarding harmony among Hindus and Muslims by practicing Dil-i-illahi.

16. Srivastava, A.L. (1967): Akbar the Great, Vol. II, Agra, Sheelal, 1967, pp 269, 317.

But even during the medieval period there were few eminent women who made their mark in different walks of life. Razia became a ruler in the 13th century, Nurjahan practically ruled over India for 16 years. Chand Bibi, the heroic queen of Ahmadnagar, possessed military genius and administrative skill. She had fought and ably defended her fort against the Mughals. In the same era Gulbedan Begum wrote Humayunamah. Mumtaz Mahal excelled in the cultural field.

Among the Hindus also there were women like Rupmati and Padmawati, who brought about significant changes in socio-cultural fields. Lakshmi Devi wrote a law book - Vivid Chandra - in the 14th century.¹⁷ Meera Bai is one of the best known woman. Bhaktas and her inspiring and devotional songs in honour of Krishna won her enduring fame.

But in spite of a few brilliant women here and there, the fact remained that there was steady deterioration in their position and status in the society. Denial of education brought out far reaching effects on the status of women and consequently on the role of women in society. They became nothing more than cattles of men. The subordinate position of women became an accepted cultural norm for the majority section of the population until the beginning of the 19th century.

17. Chattopadhyaya, K. (1957): Women in Modern India, Calcutta. E.C. & Choksi, M. (ed), p.3.

The British Period

It was with the arrival of the British that the conditions of Indian women began to change. When the Britishers came to India, the condition of Indian women was deplorable. They had no individuality of their own and were clearly discriminated as a weaker section of the society. There were several serious backward social institutions and practices prevalent in Indian society like sati, perpetual widowhood, purdah, dowry system, early marriage, incompatible marriage, polygamy, polyandry, devdasi system, illiteracy etc.

With the establishment of British rule in India came the western ideas and new cultural norms and the impact these revealed the weak points of the decadent caste ridden Hindu society and religion. Introduction of western ideas and education in India opened the eyes of the Indian elite to the disgraceful conditions of their own people, especially the position of their women folk.

The British organised an administrative machinery which required educated young men to support it. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first person to see the true potentialities of the English language. He saw that it could be used not only for the participation of the people in the administrative and political life of the country

but to transform the social system which was so much responsible for the unhealthy conditions, Raja Ram Mohan Roy protested against evils like early marriage, polygamy, kulinism etc. He supported female education, widow remarriage and inter-caste marriage. He wanted that women should enjoy the right of inheritance of property. In 1822, he prepared and published a pamphlet entitled as "Brief Remarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Women". He tried to convince the people that widow remarriage was sanctioned by the sastras and by the religion preached in the Vedas and that the Smritis did not sanction enforced widowhood.

Other social reformers like D.N. Tagore, Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, all launched movements for the betterment of women. They made persistent efforts for the introduction of female education, remarriage of Hindu widows, prevention of child marriage and removal of polygamy. Consequent upon these efforts the Widow Remarriage Act was passed by the government in 1856 even in the face of bitter opposition and raging controversy from the orthodox people.

Although, men were the first to take up the cause of Indian women, women too did not lag behind. Among the early reformers the names of Pandita Ramabai, Saraswati, Ramabai Ranade, Anandibai Joshi, F. Sorabji

and Annie Besant deserve special mention. They gave guidelines and direction to a movement which at the time was only in its infancy. Their dauntless struggle against orthodox society became a source of inspiration for many women.

In the 19th century reform movements merged with the national movement. They were inspired by Gandhiji, Tilak and Gokhale for political emancipation of the country from the foreign yoke. Gandhiji realised the plight of the Indian women and thus worked for their emancipation along with political freedom. The national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi provided further necessary impetus towards restoration of position of women in Indian society.

Gandhiji firmly believed in the view that the status of women in a society was a proper yardstick of cultural advancement in that society. His constructive programme also included the emancipation of women from the age old social moorings. He was deeply conscious of the social evils from which Indian womanhood were suffering for the last so many centuries. He disapproved of the practices like purdah, child marriage and ban on widow remarriage. He regarded these as social evils, as curses and calamities from which Indian society particularly the Hindus hadly suffered. When women, whom we call abala (weak) become sabala (strong) all those who

are helpless will become powerful.

This message of Gandhiji to the All India Woman's Conference in 1936 reflects the crucial importance Gandhi gave to the issue of woman's freedom and strength in the struggle to build a humane and exploitation free society. Gandhi saw women not as objects of reform and human consideration, but as self conscious subjects who would, if they choose, become arbiters of their own destiny. In this way, Gandhiji brings out a significant break in the attitude of many of the leaders of the reform movements of the late 19th century, who tended to see women as passive recipients.

Impact of Gandhi's View

However, Gandhiji seems to have been quite influential in moulding the aspirations of many a women, who joined the national movement. His Sita obsession, notwithstanding the message that emerges most forcefully from his speeches, conversations and writings, is that while marriage has to be tolerated as a social necessity, it is neither desirable nor ennobling. He considers many of those women as role models who stepped out of the confines of marriage, like Mirabai, to devote themselves to a higher cause. He evoked the idea of woman, as sage and social regenerator. The idea that singleness can be a more exalted form of existence than

marriage, and celibacy than procreation, worked as a liberating idea to many women who were active in the movement. Many among them chose to remain unmarried and were able to enjoy an unusual amount of freedom and mobility, interacting and working with men as co-servers of the cause. Gandhiji saw no difference between the sexes. To his son and daughters stood on equal footing and any distinction between the two was invidious and unfair. He wanted equal treatment for both. Gandhiji was a staunch enemy of the double standards in society, one for the men and another for women.

He looked upon women as the companion of men, gifted with equal mental capacities and she had the right to participate in every minute detail in the activities of man. Gandhiji asked woman not to consider herself as the object of man's lust. The remedy was more in her hands than in man, including her husband, if she wanted to be an equal partner with man.¹⁸

Mahatma Gandhi's call to women to step out of the confines of their homes, to join the prabhat pheris, satyagrahas and other related activities that had grown as vehicles of political freedom, was one of the first attempts to draw Indian women out of the restricted circle of domestic life.

18. Sharma, R.K. (1981); Nationalism, Social Reform and Indian Women: A study of the interaction between our national movement and the movement of Social reform among Indian Women, 1921-1937, Patna; Janaki, 1981.

Gandhiji's vision of freedom and equality for women heralded the inception of a movement in the early decade of the 20th century. The women's cause found able leaders in women like Sarojini Naidu, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Durgabi Deshmukh, Dhanwati Rama Rao and many others. It also found organised expression in the formation of national bodies like the All India Woman's Conference (founded in 1920), the women's council (founded in 1920), the state level bodies like the Jyoti Sangha (1934) in Gujarat and the Hindu Woman's Rescue Home Society (1927) and the Sri Ratan Tata Institute, etc.¹⁹

The decade between 1917 and 1947 witnessed the emergence of a number of women's organizations in the country. Consequently, the range of the activities of these organisations expanded, the quality of the leadership improved, and these organisations began viewing the cause of women with sensitivity and alertness. Their involvement in the struggle for political freedom had taken women a long way from the position they had reached as a result of the aforesaid, women reformers themselves assumed leadership for their cause, and thus generated a women's movement.²⁰ They had made a bid for equality

19. op. cit., p. 61.

20. Quoted by Chitnis, S.A. Review of the progress made in India towards achievements of the objectives of the International Women's Decade. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

with men. However, the movement had not yet reached the masses. It continued to belong to the upper class elite. Besides, it was not neatly merged with the nationalist movement, that it never really sorted itself out as a separate force. With the lapse of time, the movement shifted from strong and sporadic institutionalised activities to socio-economic and legal efforts.

Status Consciousness among Women in the Contemporary India

Women's role began to change due to emancipation from the clutches of men's domination. The principles of democracy and liberalism also brought out greater emancipation all over the world in the 18th century. During this period only industrial revolution took place in the West, which resulted in a general upheavaling of the system. Women left their homes for work in factories and mines in large number. Migration took place. Hand made commodities were not preferred and used in the face of factory goods. Industrial revolution in the West had its repercussions on the Indian economic and social set up. The setting up of various factories and industries in India provided an opportunity to women for seeking employment outside their homes. However,

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21. Adyenta, N.K. "Women's employment in India", Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, Reprinted from the "International Labour Review", July 1954, p. 2.

it was mainly the women of the lower class and caste who availed of this opportunity because of the still prevailing social taboos regarding the employment of women were not strictly adhered to by them.

During this period only those women came out of their age-old seclusion who did not observe the practices of purdah etc. They defied black laws, faced bullets and courted jails for the sake of motherland. The women of this generation realised the fact that home was not the only centre of their activities.

Thus the growth of social consciousness stretching beyond the needs of a small family or a caste group was most significant achievement of woman's participation in the national movement. The Constitution of independent India further provided opportunity for Indian woman by granting status equal with men.

As declared in the Constitution, "the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place etc".²² Further in the sixteenth Article of Constitution it is mentioned that, "there shall be equality of employment or employment of any office under the state."²³ The Constitution of Independent India also granted franchise to women. The

22. Ibid., p. 2.

23. Ibid., p. 7.

introduction of adult franchise along with the removal of all sorts of discrimination based on sex, religion, caste or creed paved a way for further emancipation of women from strings of male domination.

By the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, monogamy was made a rule and polygamy was declared illegal. Divorce was made possible for both men and women on similar grounds. Inter-caste marriages were to be considered valid and inter-religious marriage had already been given legal status by the Special Marriage Act, 1954. The latter Act governed Indians of all religions and it raised the minimum age of marriage to 18 for girls and 21 for boys. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 however, affected only 88% of the population, giving freedom of divorce and enforcing monogamy among christians and parsees, while Muslim women had to reckon with polygamy since they still came under the Jurisdiction of Muslim Law.

On March, 1956 the Hindu Succession Act and the Hindu Adoption & Maintenance Act, were passed. Under the Hindu Succession Act, limited estate for women was abolished and full ownership on inherited property was granted. The Hindu mother and daughter were given the right to succeed simultaneously and equally with the son over both ancestral property as well as the separate property of the deceased. However, in case of ancestral property belonging to the

Hindu undivided family the old rule continued. The son had the right of birth while daughter could claim an equal share only in the father's interest in such property.

Before the passing of the Hindu adoption and maintenance act, 1956, adoption among the Hindus could only be of a son. Though this Act, women could adopt children of either sex in their own right. If married the consent of both spouses was necessary.

Prohibition of dowry Act prohibits dowry as any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly by one party to the other party in marriage or by parents of either party in a marriage. The Act provides that in case dowry is received by any person other than the bride, the amount so received should be transferred to the bride within a year after the receipt of the dowry and in case the bride dies without receiving dowry money, her heir will be the rightful heir to this money.

Suppression of prostitution and immoral traffic Act, 1958, is to safeguard women against social and moral exploitation. The policy of the Government of India in respect of prostitution provides for abolition as distinguished from regulation. As a signatory to the International Convention in the Suppression of immoral traffic in women and children at Geneva, 1921 the Government undertook

legislation to prevent immoral traffic. The Indian Penal Code was accordingly amended in 1923 to make the procuring of a girl under 18 years of age for immoral purposes and offence. However, as different measures had been in force in different areas like Bombay, Madras, UP, Punjab, Bihar M.P.etc., an all-India Act was considered necessary and the legislation was passed and enforced, in 1958. The 1958

Act prohibits :

- i) running of brothels;
- ii) Living on earnings of prostitution;
- iii) letting out or permitting use of residential accommodation for prostitution;
- iv) seduction of girls in custody; and
- v) public soliciting.

The Act also provided for rescue homes for women recovered from brothels etc. But these arrangements are not considered adequate.

Labour welfare legislations has been enacted to ensure health, safety and welfare of female labour in mines, factories, plantation, industrial and commercial establishments etc. The main rules passed in this field are the Factories Act of 1958 the Plantation Act, Labour Act of 1951 and the Mines Act of 1952. These Acts regulate the working conditions and specify the minimum facilities to be provided to female labourer.

These Acts cover the following points :

- i) the maximum hours of work for a women are fixed at 9;
- ii) employment of women between 7 pm and 6 am is prohibited;
- iii) Provision of equal pay for equal work;
- iv) the employment of women in underground and dangerous operations is prohibited;
- v) fixation of maximum load to be carried by women;
- vi) Prohibition of restrictions on recruitment of women workers ;
- vii) Prohibition of termination of services on grounds of pregnancy;
- viii) provisions for maternity benefit;
- ix) nurshing mothers be allowed to take time off for nurshing babies ; and
- x) the employers employing fifty women or more have to provide creaches for the worker children below 6 year of age.

All these legislative measures which guaranteed equality of women and appointed various fundamental rights to them have remained mostly on paper and have been less in practice. There are few women who have derived benefits from these reformative and protective laws. There is a small section of women who are aware of their new rights. A vast majority of women are illiterate, thus unable to seek legal reliefs.

Though the law provides for equal wages for equal work, in practice, women are paid less than men for the same work. This is more clearly seen in the lesser paid, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. For fear of losing employment altogether women workers desist from demanding their right to equal pay.

These legislative measures, we find do serve purpose in promoting social change but it should be realized that legislation by itself cannot change society.

Report of the national committee on the status of women in India expresses the idea that the Indian Constitution contemplates social revolution, brought about through the use of law as an instrument of direct social change. The attainment of equality of status of women is one of the specific objective which is implicit in the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. According to the Report the impact of constitutional provisions and the legal and administrative measures has not been uniform and thus it is not easy to generalize on the impact of these changes on the status of women.²⁴

In the following pages, we will make an attempt to review some of the studies related to the status of women.

24. Report of the National Committee on the Status of Women in India, Government of India, ICSSR, Delhi 1975. pp. 92.

It will help us in providing with a more elaborate and detailed picture about the position of Indian Woman during the Post-Independent era.

A Note on the Studies of Status of Indian Women.

Several studies on women, either on their status or position in society or on the problems of working women have been conducted. We have divided these studies into two broad categories:

- (i) Studies on the status of women,
- (ii) Studies on working women.

Studies on the status of women have focussed mainly on the changing status of women in different historical stages and also on their status in contemporary Indian Society. Among the Studies the significant ones are those by Altekar, Pannikar, Desai, Hate, Baig, Thomas, Sengupta and Jain.²⁵

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25. Altekar, A.S. (1962); The position of women in Hindu Civilization, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsi Das; K.M. Pannikar, (1961); Hindu society at the cross Roads, Delhi, Asia Publishers. N. Desai (1957); women in Modern India, Vora Publishers; C.A. Hate, (1969); Changing Status of women, Bombay, Allied Publishers; T.A. Baig (1958); Women of India; Delhi, GOI - Publications Division; P. Thomas (1964); Indian Women Through the ages, Bombay, Asia Publishers; P. Sengupta (1960); Women Workers of India, Bombay, Asia Publishers; D. Jain (ed) (1975); Indian Women, Delhi, GIO - Publication Division.

Altekar and Pannikar²⁶ have surveyed the position of Women in the Hindu society from the prehistoric to the modern times. Desai explains the inferior status of Hindu Women in terms of sex-segregated character of the Indian Society, its poverty as well as in terms of value system.²⁷ The works by Thomas and Sengupta leave an optimistic note on the position of Indian Women as they see that the process of emancipation of women already ushered in has resulted in the elevation of women's position in the Indian Society.²⁸ A more recent arrival among these is a compilation of different studies by D.Jain providing a broad perspective on Indian women.²⁹

Although the studies cited above are perceptive and are also valuable, but they are either silent or have only marginally touched on the specific problems of working women in general and the working-class women in particular.

(b) Studies on Women Workers:

The second category consists of the studies on the problems of women workers.

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26. See for example, A.S. Altekar, Op.cit; and K.M. Pannikar, Ibid.
27. See, N. Desai, Op.cit, pp. 14 - 32.
28. See, P. Thomas, Op.cit, and P. Sengupta, Op.cit.
29. D. Jain, Op.Cit.

P. Kapur³⁰ in her study of the attitudes of the educated working women of the urban middle class background followed by her more comprehensive studies on marriage and the working women in India, has highlighted their problems ranging from marital adjustment to the increasing achievement motivation and need for self-expression. The book 'Marriage and the Working Women' provides for the first time a careful analysis of the situation in India. It involves women who represent the part of the population that provides a model for millions of others. The book brings out many factors in marital adjustment, such as educational level of husband and wife, income level, the discrepancy between their occupational status, the kind of marriage, the age of the couple, number of children and family composition etc.

Kapur acknowledges that wife's being employed does make marital interaction a little more complicated and creates more problems in the family and so more efforts on the part of the spouses are required to make adjustment and to achieve marital harmony. With multiplicity of roles her behaviour becomes complex in terms of 'expected' and

30. Kapur, P. (1970); 'Marriage and the Working Women in India', Vikas Publications, Delhi, 1970; and 'The Changing Status of Working women in India', Delhi, Vikas Publishers, 1974.

'actual' roles and she faces the major part of confusion with regard to her status and role.

[P. Kapur notes that the employed woman does not receive any extra rights or privileges by virtue of her engaging in paid work outside the home. Attitudes of husbands or in-laws do not change, while the wife's perception undergoes a change, which results in a state of conflict. She shows that educated working women are being influenced by egalitarian ethos, while the traditional authoritarian and male-dominated set up of the Hindu social structure continues to be basically the same.] This is bound to produce situations of tension and conflict. These can only be avoided if there is harmony between the pace of change in the attitudes of women and that of other members of her role-sets.

C.A. Hate³¹ in her latest study has examined the changes in the status of Indian women resulting from the wider social changes particularly in political, economic and educational spheres with the advent of India's Independence. She attempts a comparison between Indian women and their counterparts in six advanced countries of the world to give an idea of their relative position and the role they play

31. Hate, C.A. (1969); 'The Changing Status of Women', Bombay, Allied publishers; 'Hindu Women and her Feature', (1948); New Book Co., Bombay.

in shaping the destiny of the countries they live in. Her findings reveal a positive though incomplete change in women's status. She finds that the chief motivation for working women appears to be the family support which they receive. The dual role performed by women is still not fully recognised by society. Many working mothers experience role-conflict and live with a feeling of guilt and non-fulfilment.

For her the main problem of the Indian working women is that of 'role-conflict' which stems from their dual responsibilities. She makes a number of suggestions in this regard. She pleads for the provision for creches and for better transfer facilities from the place of residence to the place of work. Part-time jobs can also be extremely useful for a large number of married women who cannot afford to go in for full-time work. In improving the conditions of work and opening of fresh avenues of employment, woman's organisations have to play an important role. She also stresses the fact that educated women on her part must also help this process of change through a series of compromises.

Kara and Sethi have studied the nature and extent of the influence of industrialization and modernisation on the Indian working women. Comparing the Indian and the

Turkish working women Sethi.³² has stressed the value changes among the Indian working woman as resulting from the modernisation process.³²

Maniben Kara's³³ study, however, attributes most of these changes to a narrower aspect of modernisation, namely, the visible impact of industrialisation among the working women in India. Randive and Gulati³⁴ have been concerned primarily with the socio-economic conditions of the working women.

D'Souza's study has focussed on the economic problems of middle class working women.³⁵ Chakraverty and Chatterjee have studied the problems of working women in industries as well as other non-industrial fields and have suggested measures to improve their working conditions.³⁶

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32. Sethi, R.M.(1976); 'Modernisation and Indian Working Women', Delhi, Vikas Publishers.
33. M. Kara, (1971); 'Impact, of Industrialization on Women', Janata, Vol. 26. No. 1-3, pp. 69-71.
34. V. Randive (1975); 'Working -class Women', Social Scientist, No. 40-41, December 1975, pp.146-54 and L. Gulati, (1975); Occupational distribution of Working Women', Economic and Political Weekly, Vol.10 25th Oct. pp. 1693-1701.
35. V. D'Sauza (1975); 'Family, Status and Female Work Participation;', Social Action, Vol.25, No.3, Sept, pp. 267-76.
36. R. Chakraverty (1963); 'The Working Women', Seminar No.52, Dec. PP. 34-37, and K. Chatterjee (1965); 'Women in Industry', in 'Our Cause', Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1965.

Vimla Patil³⁷ writing on women executives observes that a successful women destroys her husband. Having an extra-ordinary career, success for a women is said to be dangerous for married life. The husbands of such women may be holding extremely well paid jobs or engaged in work which brings them power and fame but they are objects of universal sympathy. Such husbands lose their ego. The husband and wife loose each others essential qualities which brought them together. In addition to this, the husband does not find sex appeal in his wife nor does the wife seek financial success in her husband. Marriages among the most intelligent people are either not made or if made, are broken due to financial success of either partner. But this explanation not always true as there are smiling, efficient executives who have immensely interesting and happy marriages.

- Zarina Bhatti points out the problems faced by educated working women in India.³⁸ The women have to leave the children at home in the case of others while they go

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37. Patil, V. (1972); 'In Defence of Women Executives'; Times Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 49, July.
38. Bhatti, I. and Bhatti Z. (1971); 'Demographic Partrait of Professional Women Employed in India', in 'Educated Women in Indian Society Today'. Tata McGraw Hill, Bombay, 1971.

our for work. It is expected that the mother-in-law or servants would look after them. With the joint-family on decline in Urban centres, and servants being scarce, the problem is becoming all the more difficult. Even if the servants are available, the danger is that children's basis education is lowered in quality as the educated mother is replaced by the uneducated servants.

Kala Rani's³⁹ survey of 150 educated, married employed women in Patna city included teachers and others. The majority of the respondents expressed job satisfaction and did not think marriage came in the way. She deduced a low 'commitment' to job, because in the event of any family crisis they were ready to give up their jobs. Their husbands were proud of them and they had a high degree of self-esteem.

✓ Srivastava's⁴⁰ study for understanding attitudes towards female -employment shows that the employed women have a positive attitude but the unemployed women rationalised their status in terms of the family-care which they undertake by remaining at home. Education was also found to

39. Kala Rani (1976); 'Performance of Job-Roles by Working Women,' Indian Journal of Social work, Vol.37, No.3.

40. Srivastava, V. (1978); 'Employment of Educated Married women in India,' New Delhi. National Publishing House, 1978.

be a significant variable in harmonious family ties.

Thus, a clear picture does not emerge regarding interconnection between female-employment, role-conflict and family discords. Harmony in the family depends more upon the family background of the spouses and education and socialization of other members of the family. Role-conflict is a natural consequence of female-employment, but the alternative mechanisms of resolution and adjustment have also been devised. This is why there is greater reference for female-employment today.

CHAPTER-V.WOMEN AND HOUSEHOLD

There is little provision for public welfare in the form of state insurance schemes, pensions, unemployment, benefits and health services provided by the state in India, especially for the women. In crisis such as sickness, widowhood or loss of livelihood, individuals' (both men and women) have to rely on whatever resources the household can provide. Even the external aid and information come to the household depending upon its kinship networks. Neighbours and other contacts take the household into consideration while extending help both social and material to its members in the situation of crisis in particular. The maintenance of social resources is, in the long run, almost as important as the maintenance of material resources such as wage, property, housing, tools and household equipments.

Domestic care has always been the responsibility of women, and in spite of the fact that they were not contributing to it in monetary terms in traditional families, they were considered as economic assets. They are generally not gainfully employed and yet their services in managing household chores, looking after the children, providing comfort to the husband and caring for all the members of the household are highly

valued. These activities can not be measured simply in economic terms and yet provide financial saving to the family. Family is the first loyalty of women and home-making is their primary occupation.

Thus, 'women and household' are closely related, in fact, according to Mies, "One can speak of the social problems of men without involving the family, but we can not speak of women, without dealing with their family functions."¹ Although women have been taking part in the economic life since long, the notion continues to exist that woman's sphere of action is essentially limited by the horizons of small family world. When one speaks of the new public and professional activities of women, these are always seen in relation to her family roles.

The perception which arises out of the studies of women and household refers to the traditional hierarchies associated with men and women. Family with father and mother or husband and wife, and the rituals that have gone into marriage, the rules of behaviour, and the role-allocations that have been spelt out sometimes provide an impossible barriers to inequality between the sexes. Thus it is a common phenomenon all over the world that women wish to find their way and want to enjoy some autonomy

1. Mies. M. (1980): Indian Women and Patriarchy; Concept Publishing Company, p. 3.

for themselves, some freedom to choose and fulfill their individuality. The first institution that begins to crack is the family - as a result of such realization on the part of women. It is understandable that today, women, whether in the first world or the third world, often attack the institution of family as one of the strongholds of female oppression, and want to challenge this and look for emergence of new forms of families.²

These new families would try to have the sense of bending of responsibility, of social security, of even continuity as the old families had, but they would also provide the individuals choices in coming together and binding a relationship on their own terms and not on terms handed to them by antiquity, traditions, ideology - most of which stemmed from patriarchy or male attitudes regarding female capabilities and roles.

Here it is difficult to demarcate, but it is important to note that the household as a concept does not necessarily come under the same form of attack because it is associated with residence. Yet since very often the two are taken as one and the same, and since household is the term used more frequently in economic and statistical analysis, a detailed examination of the dynamics of the household is important.³

2. Jain, Devaki and Nirmala, Benergee (ed.) (1985): Tyranny of the Household: Investigative Essays on Woman's work, G.O. Publications Division.

3. *ibid.*, p. 10.

The Webster's International Dictionary (third edn) defines a household as a "Social unit comprised of those living together in the same dwelling place." The identification of these social units on a systematic basis in India as a whole is a relatively recent phenomenon of the post independence period, beginning with the 1951 census.⁴ Difference between a household and a family arise either because relatives or members of a "family" have to live separately and do not have a common kitchen for whatever reason.

Definitions of Household in the Census and the N.S.S.

Both the 1961 and the 1971 Censuses defined a household as "the entire group of persons who commonly live together and take their meals from a common mess unless the exigencies of work prevent them from doing so". The N.S.S. defines a household as "a group of persons being together and taking food from a common kitchen". If a person lives in one place and eats at another, he is considered a normal resident of the place where he lives."⁵

4. Kumudini Dandekar, 1971: "Size and composition of Households", Census Monograph No. 9, Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi, p. 19.

5. *ibid.*, p. 19.

The 'household' in Shah's⁶ opinion, is one of the several dimensions of the family and should always be viewed in relation to the other dimensions. He suggests that the term "family" refers, on the one hand, to genealogical models without any definite indication of the persons composing the group, as in family in the sense of 'household', and in "joint family" in the sense of property holding groups.

Karve⁷ looks at the joint family as a group of people generally, living under one roof eating food cooked at one hearth, holding property in common and participating in the common family worship, and whose members are related to each other as a particular kind of kindred.

Desai suggests that a household which has a group of parents and their unmarried children can be termed as nuclear. He provides his own definition of the nuclear family: "We can call a household a nuclear family if it is composed of a group of parents and their unmarried children, or of the husband, wife and unmarried children, not related to their kin through or by property or income or of the rights and obligations pertaining to them and as are

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6. A.M. Shah (1973): The Household Dimension of the Family in India (New Delhi:Orient Longmans,)p. 92.
7. Karve, Iravati (1953); Kinship Organisation in India; Poona: Deccan College, p. 953.

expected of those related by kinship.⁸

A household ~~which~~ has a greater generation depth than the nuclear family and the members of which are related to one another, either collaterally or literally by property, income and mutual rights and obligations.⁹

Women in the Household

It is an acknowledged fact that women's role and status to a large extent are determined by the nature of the household itself.¹⁰ In the Indian context, the young married women have a greater decision making power in nuclear households, i.e. households with the married couples and their unmarried children, than in the households with other married couples. Similarly the work-roles of individual women and also the relationship of the married women with their husbands are significantly affected by the nature of the household. In this context, it would be interesting to find out the prevalence of different kinds of households in terms of kinship extensions.

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8. I.P. Desai (1955): "The Joint-Family in India: An Analysis", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 2, September, p. 140.
9. *ibid.*, p. 149.
10. Women and Household (1985), Asian Regional Conference on Women and Household, Indian Statistical Institute, New Delhi, p. 9.

As women have started taking up jobs, they have also realised their economic potential outside their home. The sense of self-expression and gratification has become a part of their life-situation. The educated and employed women in particular are conscious of what is happening around them and are also aware of their role as citizens. In the changed situations a restructuring of perceptions about women has become inevitable because now they are required not only to manage the household but have also stepped out of the four walls of their homes. Women are no more full time housewives. Today their loyalties are divided between their employment expectations and demands at the homefront.

Thus in the present circumstances it may be desirable to know how the working women are managing and performing their household chores, what is their family composition, what obligations they perform etc. In the following pages we would like to analyse all these points taking into consideration the educational and economic background of our respondents. First of all we will examine the relationship between their educational and economic background. Secondly, we will understand the household structure and availability of leisure time to the respondents.

Occupational and Educational StatusTable 5.1.

Educational status	Occupational status				Total
	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	
Illiterate	-	-	-	44 (89.8)	44 (17.1)
Below graduation	-	-	23 (20.2)	5 (10.2)	28 (10.9)
Graduate	-	11 (52.4)	87 (76.3)	-	98 (38)
Post-graduate	25 (33.8)	9 (42.9)	4 (3.5)	-	38 (14.7)
Above post-graduation	49 (66.2)	1 (4.7)	-	-	50 (19)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

On the basis of the above table, it can be said that there is a positive correlation between the level of education and economic status. Higher the level of education, higher is the economic status. Of the 74 respondents of category I, 33.8 per cent are post-graduate, and 66.2 per cent hold degrees above post-graduation, whereas out of 21 respondents of the category II, 52.4 per cent are graduates, 42.9 per cent are post-graduate, and only a small percentage of respondents belonging to this category had above post-graduate degree (4.7 per cent). More than

three-fourth of the respondents of category III were graduates, whereas 69.8 per cent of the respondents belonging to category IV were illiterates.

Occupational Status and Type of Household

While examining the relationship between occupational status and household, it was found that a large majority of respondents belonging to all categories had preference for nuclear household. 78.4 per cent of category I, 66.7 per cent of category II, 52.6 per cent of category III and 73.7 per cent of category IV were found living in nuclear families. Therefore, it can be concluded that irrespective of the economic background, majority of the respondents were found ^{living} in nuclear families. (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Occupational Status and Type of Household

Occupational status	Type of household		Total
	Nuclear	Joint	
Category I	58 (78.4)	16 (21.6)	74
Category II	14 (66.7)	7 (33.3)	21
Category III	60 (52.6)	54 (47.4)	114
Category IV	36 (73.5)	13 (26.5)	49
Total	168 (65.1)	90 (34.9)	258 (100)

Type of Household and Educational Background

Analysing on the basis of educational background it is found that 70.5 per cent of the illiterate respondents, 57.1 per cent having educational ^{level} below graduation, 57.2 per cent educated up to graduation, 78.9 per cent having post-graduate level of education and 68 per cent above post graduate live in nuclear families (Table:5.3).

Table : 5.3

Type of Household and Educational Background

Type of Household	Educational Background					Total
	Illiterate	Below graduation	Graduate	Post-graduate	Above post-graduation	
Nuclear	31 (70.5)	16 (57.1)	57 (57.2)	30 (78.9)	34 (68)	168 (65.1)
Joint	13 (29.5)	12 (42.9)	41 (41.8)	8 (21.1)	16 (32)	90 (34.9)
Total	44	28	98	38	50	258

It can be concluded safely on the basis of Table:5.2 and 5.3 that nuclear family is quite a popular mode of living among all respondents irrespective of their educational and economic background.

Size of Household and Economic Status

In regard to the size of the household and economic status we find that 47.7 per cent of total 258 respondents

Table: 5.4Size of Households and Economic Status

Size of household	Occupational status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Upto 4 members	68 (91.9)	7 (33.3)	43 (37.7)	5 (10.2)	123 (47.7)
5 to 10 members	6 (8.1)	14 (66.7)	57 (50)	41 (66.7)	118 (45.7)
11 and more members	-	-	14 (12.3)	3 (6.1)	17 (6.6)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

live in small size of household, whereas 45.7 per cent live in medium-size household and only 6.6 per cent live in large size families. Thus of the total 14 respondents of category I, 90.8 per cent had small size of household. Medium size of family was prevalent among majority of the respondents of category II, III and category IV. Only 12.3 per cent respondents of category III and 6.1 per cent of category IV lived in large size families.

Size of Household and Educational Status

The figures in Table: 5.5. shows that more than 75 per cent of the illiterate respondents live in medium size of family (79.5%), whereas majority of the respondents belonging to categories below graduation, graduate, post-graduation and above post graduation live in small size

families. Only 11.4 per cent of illiterate respondents and 12.2 per cent graduate respondents lived in big families.

Table: 5.5

Size of the Household and Educational Status

Educational status	Size of the household			Total
	upto 4 members	5-10 members	11 and more members.	
Illiterate	4 (9.1)	35 (79.5)	5 (11.4)	44
Below graduation	16 (57.1)	12 (42.9)	-	28
Graduation	51 (52)	35 (35.7)	12 (12.3)	98
Post-graduation	23 (60.5)	15 (35.5)	-	38
Above Post-graduation	29 (58)	21 (42)		50
Total	123	118	17	258

Economic Status and Number of Hours Spent in Managing the Home.

Women's employment in full time jobs outside their homes naturally implies that most of their day time is spent in extra domestic work. As a consequence of working outside their homes, women find less time for their household chores. We intend to find out how employed women find it compatible to cope up with domestic responsibilities along with their employment. In response to our question as how many hours

every day the women spent in managing their homes, it was found the average women of category III (consisting of clerks), especially the graduate employed women, spent more time than women coming from other economic and educational backgrounds (See Tables:5.6 and 5.7).

Table: 5.6

Economic Status and Number of Hours Spent in Managing Home

Economic Status	Number of Hours spent in managing Home every day.				Total
	2-3 hours	4-5 hours	6-7 hours	More than 7 hours	
Category I	39 (52.7)	31 (41.9)	4 (5.4)		74
Category II	9 (42.9)	12 (57.1)			21
Category III	6 (5.3)	42 (36.8)	59 (51.8)	7 (6.1)	114
Category IV		44 (89.8)	5 (10.2)		49
Total	54 (20.9)	129 (50)	68 (26.4)	7 (2.7)	258 (100.0)

As the above table indicates that on the average 20.9 per cent of the total 258 respondents spend 2-3 hours every day in managing the household whereas 50 per cent spend 4-5 hours, 26.4 per cent spent 6-7 hours and 2.7 per cent spent more than 7 hours in managing the house-hold. Occupational status wise break-up further shows that on the

average 52.7 per cent of upper class, 42.9 per cent of upper middle class, and comparatively only 5.3 per cent of middle class spent 2 to 3 hours daily in managing the household. Majority of the middle class women (i.e. 51.8%) spent maximum time in managing the household chore.

Educational Status and Number of Hours spent in Managing Home

While analysing number of women who spent maximum time in managing the household it was found that majority of the graduate women employee spent maximum time in managing the household as it is evident from the data shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Educational Status and Number of Hours Spent in Managing Home Everyday

Educational qualification	Number of hours spent in managing the household				Total
	2-3 hours	4-5 hours	5-7 hours	7 and more hours	
Illiterate		37 (84.1)	7 (15.9)		44
Below graduation		17 (60.7)	11 (39.3)		28
Graduate	4 (4.1)	38 (38.8)	49 (50)	7 (7.1)	98
Post graduate	18 (47.4)	19 (50)	1 (2.6)		39
Above post graduation	32 (64)	18 (36)			50
Total	54 (20.9)	129 (50)	68 (26.4)	7 (2.7)	258 (100.0)

Childcare Arrangement and Economic Status

The problems of childcare loomed large in the lives of the working women, especially when their employment involved absence from home for long hours daily. There was considerable variety and complexity in the arrangements, which were centred around help from kins, and demonstrated almost a complete lack of institutional facilities for women, both in the neighbourhood and at the work place. An examination of the childcare strategies of working mothers reveals that a combination of pragmatism and a lack of alternatives tends to dictate decisions. As it is clear from the Table:5.8 that either the woman's in-laws or her own mother are the usual caretakers in most of the cases (56.5%) irrespective of class differences. Working women with no access to a wider kin network have to resort to a variety of other strategies. In the case of 30.8 per cent respondents of Category I of our sample, both husband and wife take care of their children in rotation. But such an arrangement is possible in the case of these respondents, due to their short hours of work outside the home. In the case of majority of poor household (59.2%), children have to be left largely to look after younger ones.

The other major alternative available to mothers who do not have kins to assist them is of the paid servants or ayas. But this sort of arrangement is found generally

Table 5.8Childcare Arrangements in the Present and Past and Economic Status

Care-Takers	Cate- gory I	Economic status			Total
		Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Self and husband	20 (30.8)			4 (8.2)	24 (11.5)
Husband's kin	16 (24.6)	4 (30.8)	35 (42.7)	16 (32.7)	71 (34)
Wife's kin	19 (29.2)	6 (46.1)	22 (26.82)	-	47 (22.5)
Children themselves	-	-	2 (2.4)	29 (59.2)	31 (14.8)
Crech	1 (1.5)	3 (23.1)	23 (28)	-	27 (12.9)
Servants & Ayas	9 (13.8)	-	-	-	9 (4.3)
Total	65	13	82	49	209

among the upper stratum of the respondents.

Occupational Status and Domestic Servants

Table 5.9 shows the extent of employment of domestic servants among our respondents. Predictably the households with lowest income employ no servants at all, and as income rises, domestic servants become more common among the upwardly mobile families.

Data in the Table 5.9 shows that 31.3 per cent of the total 258 respondents have part-time and 20.9 per cent

Table 5.9Occupational Status and Employment of Domestic Servants

Occupational categories	Employment of servants			Total
	Yes		No	
	Full-time	Part-time		
Category I	39 (52.7)	32 (43.3)	3 (4)	74
Category II	1 (4.8)	16 (76.2)	4 (19)	21
Category III	14 (12.3)	30 (26.2)	70 (67.4)	114
Category IV		3 (6.1)	46 (93.87)	49
Total	54 (20.9)	81 (31.3)	123 (47.7)	258

have full time servants for domestic help whereas 47.7 per cent of them have no servant at all. 52.7 per cent of category one have full time domestic servants as compared to 67.4 per cent of Category III and 93.9 per cent respondents of category IV who can not afford to employ a servant. Majority of the respondents of upper middle families have part-time servants for their help.

Occupational Status and Household Responsibilities

It was thought that higher the economic status of a person, lower would be her participation in the household activities. To find out this information was collected regarding participation of other members in domestic

activities. It was found that in the case of 97 per cent of the respondents of Category I, along with full time servants either husband's or of some other family member's help was sought in household activities for lessening the burden of working women. But majority of the respondents of Category III and IV had to bear the burdens of household activities all alone without any help from other members except a few who have part time help from the servants or those living in joint families (Table: 5.10)

Table: 5.10

Employment Level and Household Responsibilities of the Respondent

Employment status	Household responsibility			Total
	Whole responsibility	Sharing with relatives/servants	Husband/head	
Category I	2 (2.4)	39 (52.7)	33 (44.6)	74
Category II	1 (4.8)	16 (76.2)	4 (19)	21
Category III	74 (47.4)	37 (26.3)	3 (26.3)	114
Category IV	45 (91.8)	2 (4.1)	2 (4.1)	49
Total	122 (47.3)	294 (36.4)	42 (16.3)	258 (100.0)

As is evident from the above table that modern trend of male members or husband's participation in house-

hold domain is emerging in the case of many families - especially in the case of 44.6 per cent of families belonging to category I.

Now, next we will see the type of families where husbands help women in the household activities.

Families Structure and Husband Sharing in Household Work

Traditionally it is woman's domain to work out under new situations change in men's mind is creeping in and a small percentage of husbands (16%) have started helping wives in household work. ~~44.6%~~^{44.3%} of the husbands help their wives only occasionally and rest (39.5%) never help them. Table 5.11 reveals the influence of family structure on husband's sharing in household work.

Table 5.11

Family Structure and Husband's Sharing the Household work

Family Structure	Sharing of Household Work			Total
	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Nuclear	37 (22)	77 (45.8)	54 (32.2)	168
Joint	5 (5.6)	37 (41.1)	48 (53.3)	90
Total	42 (16.3)	114 (44.2)	102 (39.5)	258 (100)

The table shows that nuclear family structure goes in favour of the equality of husband wife in comparison to joint structure. According to the respondents reasons

for this:

(a) In nuclear families husbands and wife mix freely. They get more opportunity for interaction and communication with each other. It helps in developing respect and consideration for each other and a feeling of mutual cooperation in household work.

(b) Older people don't like their sons working with wives in household work. Since nuclear families are free from their interference it is easier for the husbands to help their wives.

Education of Husband and Wife and Sharing in Household Work

Here an attempt has been made to find out whether difference in the level of education of husband and wife has some implication on husband's sharing in household work. The following table analysis this (Table: 5.12).

Table: 5.12.

Level of Education¹¹ of Husband and Wife and Sharing in Household work by Husband

Level of Education of husband and wife	Sharing in household work by husband			Total
	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Equal education	18 (20.5)	43 (48.9)	27 (30.7)	88
Husband's education is higher than wife	12 (10.5)	29 (25.5)	73 (64)	114
Wife's education is higher than husband	1 (14.3)	6 (85.7)	-	7
Total	31 (14.8)	78 (37.3)	100 (47.8)	209

11. Level of education has been decided on the following basis - All professional degrees (Engineering, medicine) are one level higher than pure science and art degrees. Thus B.Tech or M.B.B.S. is considered equal to MA or M.Sc.

Equal education of husband and wife has been found to have a positive relation with the sharing of household work by the husbands.

Husbands having higher education than their wives are less inclined to help in household work than those with education less than or equal to that of their husbands. When the respondents were asked to express their views on this, they said, "a feeling of superiority in husbands is there. It is more ⁱⁿcases of those husbands who have higher education than that of their wives." This feeling of superiority creates hinderence in their way of helping wives in household work.

Professions of Husband and Wife and Sharing in Household Work

Husbands of some of the respondents are in the same profession. In such cases there is a good amount of cooperation between husband and wife. But when the husband is engaged in a profession of higher status¹² or in a profession different from that of his wife (of a similar status), the cooperation is not as good. It is clear from Table 5.13.

12. Status here has been judged on the basis of income.

Table: 5.13Occupation of Husband and Wife and Husbands sharing the Household Work.

Occupational Category	Sharing in Household work by husband			Total
	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Husband & wife having same profession	25 (29.4)	39 (45.9)	21 (24.7)	85 (40.6)
Husbands having different profession of higher status.	5 (6.3)	14 (17.5)	61 (76.2)	80 (38.3)
Husbands having different profession of almost same status.	1 (2.3)	25 (56.6)	18 (40.9)	44 (21.1)
Total	31 (14.8)	78 (37.3)	100 (47.9)	209 (100.00)

According to the respondents, husbands engaged in a higher status profession have a feeling of superiority, Due to this they try to avoid household work which is considered an inferior or womanly job. Husbands engaged in different professions but of almost equal status find it difficult to help much in house work due to different working hours or due to different nature of work. That work may be more time consuming or exerting or may be requiring different tours.

Leisure Time Activities

An attempt was made to ascertain the activities in which working women indulge during their spare time. According to our convenience we have classified all the leisure time activities into three categories, i.e. feminine, neutral and masculine. Activities like knitting, house-keeping, sewing, cooking, singing, relaxing etc, have been classified as feminine activities. Reading, movies, shopping etc. we have classified as neutral activities. Theatre, gardening, picnic, photography, clubs and out-door games etc. have been classified as masculine activities. Data collected regarding leisure time activities related to occupational status has been presented in the following table.

Table 5.14Leisure Time Activities and Economic Status

Leisure time activities	Economic Status				Total
	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	
Feminine	7 (9.5)	4 (19)	39 (34.2)	9 (18.4)	59 (22.9)
Neutral	46 (62.2)	13 (61.9)	25 (21.9)	-	84 (32.6)
Masculine	53 (71.6)	4 (19)	7 (6.1)	-	64 (24.8)
No leisure	-	-	43 (37.7)	40 (81.6)	83 (30.1)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

As the above table shows that 71.6 per cent respondents of category I are having masculine leisure time activities. Only minor (9.5%) of this category are having feminine leisure time activities. Whereas majority of the respondents of category II are having neutral leisure time activities. Majority of the respondents of middle and lower class do not get any leisure time and those who get leisure time belonging to the category, they enjoy it through feminine activities like knitting, sewing, cooking etc. Thus., from the above table it is very clear that masculine activities are very common among upper stratum of respondents and feminine activities are a common trend among lower occupational categories.

Thus we come to the conclusion that there is a positive relationship between educational status and occupational status. In other words, respondent with higher occupational status also have higher level of education. Secondly, majority of them irrespective of their educational and occupational background were found living in nuclear families. Regarding the size of the household we found that 91 per cent respondents with higher economic status belonging to categories II, III and IV were found living in medium size families. Similarly it was found that majority of the educated respondents lived in small size families. On the average women of category III especially

the graduates spend more time in managing the home everyday, compared to women belonging to other categories.

With regard child-care pattern we found that husband's of the respondents of category I, helped them in taking care of the children, but in majority of the cases either the woman's in-laws or her own mother, usually helped in taking care of the children. Respondents of category I, II and III have either part-time or full-time hired help, whereas in the case of majority of the respondents of category IV, they have to bear the whole responsibility themselves only.

While analysing our data on husband's sharing household duties we found that in nuclear family structure there is more equality in terms of husbands helping their wives in managing household. Equal education of husband and wife was also found to have a positive relation with the sharing of household work. Profession-wise analysis shows that amount of co-operation between husband and wife is best among respondents and their husbands who are in the same occupation.

Data on leisure time activities shows that respondents of category I enjoy their leisure time more through masculine activities. Majority of the respondents of middle and lower class do not get any leisure time activities and those who get they enjoy ~~it~~ through feminine activities like knitting, cooking, sewing etc.

CHAPTER - VIOCCUPATION, EDUCATION AND DECISION-MAKING

Decision making in the family is a critical element in the status of family members, because it involves the allocation of resources and the distribution of roles within the family. According to Edmond Dalhstrom, One of the most important objectives of the feminist movement is removal of various external barriers to ensure equal influence and participation in decision-making by women with men in family as well as public life.¹ Participation of women in the decision-making process in the family is a strong indicator of their position in terms of equality with men.

Joint-Family and Decision Making.

Joint family is one of the basic characteristics of Indian society. The traditional joint family was marked by authoritarian familistic set up. A historical system of authority was distinctly specified. In this hierarchy age sequencer¹ and male domination were most effective ascriptive criteria. The older generation had authority over the younger generation. The eldest male member was the acknowledged head of the family. His authority was absolute. Since authority was vested in him, he made all the important decisions, with or without

1. Dalhstrom, Edmond (1967); 'The Changing Roles of Men and Women', Duckworth, London, p. 189.

consultation of other adult members in the family. His decision was binding and final. The female member was allotted subordinate position to man. She had to serve her husband and the family members. As river merges into sea losing its existence, she was expected to lose her individuality after marriage and had to depend on her husband. She had no say regarding the decisions concerning major family problems, nor had she any power to decide with regard to her own children's welfare. Regarding the authority structure of the joint family and the status of woman A.D. Ross writes, "In the traditional joint family women were theoretically allotted a subordinate position to men... The wife of the eldest male member usually grandmother had a clear position of authority as head of the domestic side of the household. Important household matters were theoretically controlled by the grand father, but day to day routine matters were completely under her control. She administered the household, supervised or did the cooking; and saw that the children were properly cared for."² The status of the other women in the household was determined by the status of their husbands and the length of time they had lived in the family. They were completely under the

2. Ross, A.D. (1961): "The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting", Oxford University Press, India, p. 95.

control and supervision of the eldest female member of the family.

Family, Power and Decision Making.

✓ (With the passage of time this traditional pattern of authority has changed. As the women have started taking up job, it is expected that relatively it will also effect traditional power structure in the family. When a woman works, she presumably increases her ability to sanction or control, because of the financial contribution she makes to the family. Especially, the modern educated woman wants her say to be implemented in the family affairs. She wants to involve herself in decisions, at least regarding children's education, shopping, budgeting and financial matters. Hence, her status improves both with respect of her expected and actual power and authority.) ✓

For our purpose, power is defined as the ability which a person has in evolving process of decision-making. Theoretically speaking, power varies with variations or change in the ability to control others. To quote Max Weber, "Power means the opportunity, no matter on what basis of enforcing one's own will in the context of a social relationship."³ (Power and authority of women would increase with their increased participation

3. From Max Weber (1946); 'Essays in Sociology, Eds. Girth, H.H. and Mills, C.W., New York: Oxford University Press, P. 180.

in gainful economic and occupational pursuits outside their homes. Conversely, if they continue to remain confined to their homes mainly as housewives, they are likely to remain under the spell of male-domination. However, it is not that all women who are employed have attained equality with men and vice-versa.)

In a family, a suggestion such as "What ought to be done" is the usual way of originating a consensus about a decision to be taken. Hence, the number of initial suggestions by either sex become the basis of family decisions. This process indicates the participation of members in evolving a consensus. (If control of resources determines power in the family, then the average working women and particularly engaged in higher occupations have a bigger say than the women engaged in lower occupations. In other words, higher the economic level, greater will be the power to decide important matters regarding self as well as family, and higher will be the level of self-esteem.)

By self-esteem we mean the estimation that an individual reaches and maintains regarding his personal work. It refers to the positive or negative orientation towards one's self. The individual constantly evaluates himself in the context of his society and fellowmen. These evaluations are derived from "the values of the significant others... This exercise is a sort of

constructing a mirror, in which ^{an} individual sees his self-image. Thus, self-esteem is a dynamic aspect of self-image and also its most significant index. This self-definition expresses a judgement of approval about overall ability and worthness. Self-esteem, so defined, is a subjective appraisal by an individual of his own values as a human being.

In order to evaluate the pattern of power relations in the families of different sections of working women, it is essential to assess the influence of the various members of their families in important decisions. It was difficult to get a complete record of all the decisions, however, information was collected regarding some aspects, namely, money matters, key decisions and other important decisions regarding self as well as family. Measures of power structure depend to a large extent on the aspects under consideration. (Nine important aspects were chosen for our purpose which could give us understanding of power structure and dynamics within the family set up. These were as follows:

- ✓(1) Decisions about utilization of money earned by self.
- (2) Family Budgeting
- (3) Major investments and savings.
- (4) Extent of freedom in spending one's own earning or part of it.

- (5) Purchase of consumer items
- (6) Schooling of children
- (7) Career of children
- (8) Pursuit of higher education
- (9) Marriage.

In order to understand money related decision-making power in the family first four items were analysed. And for understanding the other major decisions we have analysed the remaining five items. Respondents were asked to state the practice of decision making in their families on each of these items. Respondents, namely, selves, husbands, parents, etc. in the capacity of decision makers were categorised as follows:

1. Respondents (alone)
2. Both (Respondents and husbands/parents)
3. Husbands/Parents/other family members excluding respondents.

We have distinguished three levels of power structure, namely low, medium and high corresponding with the three categories of decision-makers. Responses to this set of questions helped us a great deal in understanding the extent to which power was attributed to the working women, and the extent to which it was considered to be shared or exclusively wielded by others. With a view to know the power-pattern in the families of working

women, we would discuss below their influence in regard to each of the items taken in this study.

First, we will examine the relationship between women's occupational status and decision making power in the family regarding money, and then we plan to examine the relationship between occupational status and decision-making power of women in the other important decisions in the family.

Decision Regarding Utilisation of Money Earned by Self:

Development expenditures are expressive of creative home making because they provide each member of the family with what he or she needs for education, recreation and individual development. The supreme value of good health should be the guiding factor behind expenditure of food, clothes and shelter. There are, however, other expenses necessary for the maintenance of good health such as vacations and many other forms of recreation. Expenses are, therefore, influenced in travel, games, theatres, music and musical instruments. Development expenditures also include cost of books and magazines, hospitality and gifts and individual allowances for each member of the family.

All this is possible only where correct decisions are made in time. The woman who earns is a part and

parcel of a family, whether it is the family of her parents, if she is unmarried, or her husband. The decision making on how her earnings are to be spent may rest jointly with wife and husband or daughter and father, or it may be invested only in the husband or the father in his capacity as the head of the family, or it may rest with the employed women herself. Table 6.1 indicates the number and proportion of person or persons responsible for deciding the utilization of the employed woman's money, according to their economic status.

Table 6.1.

Utilization of Money Earned by Self and Economic Status

Decision makers	Economic Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Self	74 (100%)	12 (51.1%)	30 (20.3%)	1 (2.1%)	117 (45.3%)
Both (Respon- dents and Husbands/ parents)	-	5 (23.8%)	61 (53.5%)	13 (26.5%)	79 (30.6%)
Husbands/ parents/ others excluding Respondents	-	4 (19.9%)	23 (20.2%)	35 (70.4%)	62 (24.1%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

As it is evident from the above table that majority of the respondents of categories I and II have greater degree of control over their self earned money, whereas women of category III have moderate decision making power; 71.4 per cent respondents of the category IV have much less influence on the decision making power. Thus the table reflects, modern trend of self or joint decision making in the case of majority of the women, especially among the women with higher educational and economic status, compared to 21.1 per cent women, majority of them with lower educational and economic status, who continued to follow traditional pattern of leaving the decisions entirely on their husbands or parents.)

Family Budgeting:

We queried our respondents whether as working women, they have any say regarding family budgeting. It was found that majority of the respondents, irrespective of their economic status have moderate decision-making power, as it is evident from Table:6.2

The data shows that in the families of 71 per cent respondents, women have moderate decision making power, as most of the decisions are taken jointly. Majority of the respondents belonging to Category IV have minimal role in decision making. A small percentage of women are having the minimum power to decide regarding

Table 6.2

Decision Making Regarding Family Budgeting and Economic Status

Decision makers	Economic Status				Total
	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	
Self	12 (14.3%)	1 (4.76%)	3 (2.63%)	1 (2.04%)	17 (6.6%)
Both (Respondents and Husbands/parents)	62 (83.8%)	17 (80.9%)	91 (79.8%)	13 (26.5%)	183 (70.9%)
Husbands/Parents others excluding respondents	-	3 (14.3%)	20 (17.5%)	35 (71.4%)	58 (22.5%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

the family budgeting (about 7 per cent in our sample). Out of these majority of these women are unmarried girls or those women in whose families there is no one else to make the decisions.

Major Investments and Savings:

Regarding major investments and savings it was found that most of the respondents had moderate role in decision making except 2.5 per cent unmarried respondents who make such decisions for themselves.

Table 6.3Decision regarding Major Investments and Savings and Economic Status

Decision makers	Occupational Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Self	22 (29.9%)	-	4 (3.5%)	-	26 (10.1%)
Both (Husbands/ Parents and Respondents)	52 (70.1%)	19 (10.5%)	83 (72.8%)	23 (40.9%)	177 (68.6%)
Husbands/ Parents/others excluding respondents	-	2 (9.52%)	27 (23.6%)	26 (53.1%)	55 (21.3%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

Major investments and savings for the family is one of the most important item of decision making in the family. As it is clear from the above table that in majority of the cases irrespective of occupational status, joint decision-making regarding major investments and savings is the general practice, but among lower class respondents, most of them don't have any say regarding major investments and savings. 53.1% respondents of this category have minimal role in decision making in this context.

Extent of Control Over Family Income:

Another aspect of the status of women in the

family is the extent of their power in the management of the economic resources of the family. There was no economic function assigned to women. Employment of women would have contributed to some changes in the traditional norms regarding decision-making and in the increase in women's power in the decision making in the family and hence in their status. A woman's contribution to the family income would enable her to have a say in the spending of the income and she would receive greater co-operation and respect from other family members.

However, earning money and its contribution to the family income, may not necessarily increase a woman's status, nor the actual decision-making may contribute to change in the status unless she enjoys real power in managing the family resources, namely, spending income.

Thus, the question essentially is how far the employment of women really help to bring about a change in the economic power structure of a family in favour of women.

(Thus, the question essentially is how far the employment of women really help to bring out a change in the economic power structure of a family in favour of women. The hypothesis here is that employment of women outside their homes increases their status and power in the family.)

The assumption is that money is an important basis of economic power and the control over the spending of money leads to overall power of the people. An independent basis of earning would enable the working women to exert influence on the male members of the family. The greater social interaction as a result of working outside may lead to an increase in the development of social skills and self confidence which may result in the use of money more carefully and intelligently.

We have found a close association between the nature of employment and degree of freedom (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4

Degree of Freedom in Spending the Family Income and Occupational Status

Decision makers	Occupational status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Respondents	13 (17.6)	1 (4.8)	-	-	14 (5.4)
Both (Respon- dents and hus- bands/parents)	61 (82.4%)	16 (76.2%)	62 (54.4%)	18 (36.7%)	157 (60.9%)
Husbands/ Parents/others excluding respondents		4 (19.04)	52 (45.6%)	31 (63.3%)	87 (33.7%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

As it is evident from the above table that only

5.4 per cent respondents out of total 258, enjoy maximum freedom regarding spending family income, whereas 60.9 per cent enjoy moderate decision making and 33.7 per cent have the lowest decision making power in this regard. The control of the husband or in-laws over the working wife's income is so complete in many instances of women belonging to lower middle and lower category families that many of these women speak of a sense of being enslaved as it is reflected in the views of Mrs X.

Mrs. X is a typist. Her income is Rs 2,800 a month. Out of which she is given only Rs 200 each month by her husband. "I have to take care of my personal needs, my five-year old daughter's needs and cannot ask for a paise more. She says, any extras she makes from overtime she puts away secretly". "I don't feel guilty at all. If my husband can be so insensitive I can indulge in this little deception". She says, "I find I often need a little extra such as when a colleague in the office gets married or when my daughter's shoes wear out. As for my own needs I often have to manage with the two new sarees. I am allowed to buy each year and I keep my old clothes nicely re-cycled who will believe that I am earning around three thousand^p."

Purchase of Consumer Goods and Economic Status:

On the basis of information regarding purchase of consumer goods it was found that majority of the respon-

dents irrespective of class distinctions, had higher degree of decision-making power (see Table:6.5).

Table: 6.5

Purchase of Consumer Goods and Economic Status

Decision makers	Occupational categories				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Respondents	57 (77%)	20 (95%)	93 (82%)	32 (65%)	202 (78.3)
Both (Respon- dent and husbands/ parents)	15 (20%)	1 (5%)	12 (8%)	5 (10%)	33 (12.0%)
Husbands/ Parents/others excluding respondents	2 (3%)	--	9 (10%)	12 (25%)	23 (8.9%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

Decisions Regarding Schooling and Career of Children

The child must be protected as far as possible ~~for~~ from all infavourable influences. He must be provided with all conditions necessary for physical and mental health and strong independent growth. He must be given recognition as a unique individual. He is to be treated in such a way that he may remain secure and free from feelings of inferiority. There must also be a willingness to allow the child to meet difficulties in order that he may develop self-reliance and learn to adjust

himself to reality. For this reason, parents must never do for the child what he can do for himself. Both father and mother are needed as the child's companions and as interpreters of life.

These are some of the important areas where decisions are most meaningful. Who takes such decisions determines the source of authority in the family. If decisions are made jointly by both parents or by the grown up children themselves, the influence is that there is a democratic set up in the family. The data collected in this sphere of study are given in Table:6.6.

Table 6.6

Schooling and Career of Children and Economic Status



Decision makers	Economic Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Respondents	7 (10.8%)	3 (23.1%)	9 (11.8)	4 (8.2)	23 (11%)
Self and husband	53 (81.5%)	9 (69.2%)	68 (82.9%)	16 (32.6%)	146 (70%)
Husband/others excluding respondents	-	-	5 (6.1%)	29 (59.2%)	34 (16%)
Children themselves	5 (7.7%)	1 (7.7%)	-	-	6 (03%)
Total	65	13	82	49	209

The above table shows that majority of the families (about 70 per cent) follow an democratic lines as regards important decisions relating to children. Since the welfare of innocent lives concerns not on one but both parent they weigh carefully the pros and cons of a particular point before arriving at a decision. 16 per cent were not confident of their decisions, so they left the decision for husband or any other person wiser than their own. 11 per cent decided for themselves. Majority of these women are those who are either separated or widowed or because they were fond of making their own decisions. Only 3 per cent women with grown up children considered it best to leave the decision making to children themselves. Thus it is evident that most of the respondents have moderate decision-making power.

Decision Regarding Marriage and Economic Status

The personal and social independence of women has developed new attitudes, so that the declaration that "women are specially made to please men" no longer holds true. The rigid joint family system is crumbling before the onset of new forces. It was upheld by authority and that authority is departing with the new economy. The joint family system was deeply rooted in the social structure of feudal times, when the voluntary dissolution of the individual family was rarely possible

and for the women particularly there was no refuge outside the family. As social status was essentially the status of the family, the family not only faced the world as a unit but also toiled enjoyed and suffered as a unit. With the emergence of the modern family, the members of the family, children as well as parents, establish more individual contacts with the world outside the home.

In the joint family, the adjustment of the partners was imposed by economic necessity and social pressure, but today the necessity and pressure have decreased. As regards women, economic conditions in the past made the unity of the family a forced union, but in our times the partial economic independence of women is a determining factor in their attitude towards the family. It is possible that the process, which has brought about this change may advance further.

We asked our married respondents whether their marriage had been arranged by their parents or it is of their choice. The data collected in this field of investigation are given in the following table.

As the above table shows that out of 209 married respondents 21.1% made decisions for themselves regarding marriage whereas 18.9% respondents left this decision for their parents. One thing is clear from the above table ^{below}

Table 6.7Decision Regarding Marriage and Economic Status

Decision makers	Economic Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Self	24 (36.9%)	4 (30.8%)	16 (19.5%)	-	44 (21.1%)
Parents	41 (63.1%)	9 (69.2%)	66 (80.5%)	49 (100%)	165 (78.9%)
Total	65	13	82	49	209

that higher the economic status higher is the rate of self decision-making regarding marriage as 36.9 per cent respondents of Category I compared to 30.8% respondents of Category II and 19.5 per cent respondents of Category III decided themselves.

The respondents were asked to mention at least three decisions which they would take independently and the other three which they decide by mutual consultation. It was found that the majority of the respondents except the upper class one's took decisions in consultation with their spouses except, the decisions regarding some purely personal consumables like dress etc. The most of the respondents of upper class were found confident enough to make any decision regarding themselves or their family.

Resentment at Husband's/Father's Power

The power of the husband or the father is never resented if it is not misused. In fact, the husband or the father is traditionally considered to be a repository of power, and the wife or daughter is expected to carry out his will. But power gain by the husband is resented by his wife if it is used injudiciously. It is resented by the daughter if her father uses it in such a manner that it clashes with her interest. When the husband is power intoxicated, the earning wife or daughter is likely to wish that his intoxication should be over soon. Earning hands are conscious of their economic independence, whether partial or total, and are not prepared to tolerate the dictatorship of power.

The data collected in this area of investigation are presented in Table:6.8.

Table:6.8

Resentment of power Gained by Husband/Father and Economic

Status

Do you resent

	<u>Economic status</u>				Total
	<u>Cate- gory I</u>	<u>Cate- gory II</u>	<u>Cate- gory III</u>	<u>Cate- gory IV</u>	
Yes	72 (97.3%)	11 (52.4%)	25 (21.9%)	7 (14.3%)	115 (44.6%)
No	2 (2.7%)	10 (47.6%)	89 (78.1%)	42 (85.7%)	143 (55.4%)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

The data shows that about 44.6 per cent of the respondents resented the power gained by their husbands or fathers. These respondents were those who endowed with an independent nature, had been brought up in the modern educational environment where there is emphasis on democratic ideals. Added to this was the power acquired by them through their own independent income. Moreover majority of these were not accustomed to be bossed over unnecessarily due to the independent nature of their job. It is therefore, natural for a daughter to resent the power gained by her father or for the wife to resent the power gained by her husband when the power is used unilaterally or indiscriminately, and not shared with grown-up earning hands.

About 55.4 per cent working women in our sample followed the path of the least resistance.

In order to find out the relationship between self-esteem and the nature of decision making power, respondents were asked one more specific question such as : If decision is made against your wishes how do you feel about it? The responses are given : Table 6.9.

Those who felt that there should be freedom to complain against the decisions which were taken without consulting them belonged to upper stratum and had a high level of self esteem, than those who felt a little

Table 6.9

Responses Regarding Decisions Taken Against Respondents'Desires and Economic Status

Responses	Occupational Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Favours making complaint	72 (97.3)	13 (61.9)	15 (13.2)		100 (38.8)
Feels uneasy making complaint	2 (2.7)	8 (38.1)	70 (61.4)	15 (30.6)	95 (36.8)
Desires not to complain			29 (25.4)	34 (69.4)	63 (24.44)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

(Figures in parentheses are percentage)

'uneasy', and the latter had a moderate level of self-esteem. And those who thought 'not to complain' were at a low level of self-esteem. Thus, 97.3 per cent respondents of upper class were having higher level of self-esteem, whereas majority of people engaged in lower occupations were also having lower level of self esteem. The respondents enjoying higher economic status also had higher level of education. Thus, we could conclude that the respondents with higher level of education also had higher level of self-esteem.

In this chapter we have examined (the extent of changes in the position of women, in terms of change in the authority structure of the family in other words, it was assumed that higher educational and economic status of women will result in better authority of women in family as well as money related important decisions in the family. It was found, that due to the new roles, there is a definite change in the status of women. Compare to the past women have better say in the decision making structure of the family. And higher the economic status of women, greater is her say in the family decisions.)

With regard to money related decisions it was found that majority of the respondents especially belonging to category I and II are having maximum control over their self earned money but so far as family budgeting, major investments and savings are concerned, majority of the respondents, except women belonging to category IV are having moderate decision making power. This indicated that with regard to money centred decisions majority of the respondents are consulted but the final authority rests in the hands of husband as very few women, in an sample, have the maximum authority of making final decisions regarding money related matter.

CHAPTER-VII.PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT AND POSITION OF WOMENAdjustment defined:

'Adjustment' is used here to refer to a situation in which a woman is required to adjust herself ^{to a situation} which is new or indifferent to her. Thus, if her parents do not allow her to work, she adjusts, if she goes to live with orthodox in-laws, she adjusts to their ways. In doing so, a woman adopts rationalizations which help her to accept her fate. Adjustment also takes the form of a highly developed sensitivity towards the needs and wishes of others. The most artful women become master minded in manipulating other's impressions about themselves. They learn to wait for proper time, circumstances and issues on which they can express their own point of view. As soon as married the young bride is expected to look up to her husband as lord and master, anticipate his "will and wish", and cater to his needs and obligations to her in-laws. Her socialization has taught her the art of bowing before the elders. In effect, she practices the same art of adjustment that she learned.

According to some scholars adjustment is a value-neutral concept. According to others, it is a value loaded concept. Schneiders writes: "Adjustment by itself is neither good nor bad; it is simply an organism's

individual, peculiar way of reacting to inner demands or external situations. In some instances, this reaction is "efficient", wholesome", "satisfying" and so on, and we say that it is good adjustment. In others, the reaction is disabling, ineffective, or pathological and we say that adjustment is bad... since adjustment in itself is neither good nor bad, we may define it more simply as a process, involving both mental and behavioural responses, by which an individual strives to cope successfully with inner needs, tensions, frustrations, and conflicts and to effect a degree of harmony between these inner demands and those imposed on him by the objective world in which he lives".¹

In contrast to this Symond writes: "Adjustment can be simply defined as a satisfactory relation of an ~~organism~~ ^{organism} ~~adjustment~~ to its environment".² The crucial word in this definition is "satisfactory", which connotes value. Thus, according to Symond, the concept of adjustment involves value. He further writes "Environment consists of all surrounding influences or forces which may influence an organism in its efforts towards maintenance.

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1. Schneiders, A.A. (1960): Personal Adjustment and Mental Health, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, p. 51.
 2. Symond, P.M. (1940): Dynamics of the Human Adjustment, D. Appleton Century Company, p. 1.

The environment may be three fold: The physical and social and the self..."³

According to Symond, the self is a part of the environment to which an individual has to adjust to the self. Thus our conception is not diametrically opposed to Symond, but in part it overlaps, and in part, it complements one another.

Individual's adjustment has been defined by Fairchild as "the process by which an individual consciously modifies a socially acquired characteristic in order to make it conform to a desired standard or norm".⁴ According to Gates and others, "Adjustment is a continued processes by which a person varies in behaviour to produce a more harmonious relationship between himself and his environment. Thus, ^{here,} adjustment shows the extent to which an individual's personality functions efficiently in a world of other people."⁵

In the present chapter an attempt is being made to study the problems of adjustment faced by urban working women. Almost a sort of revolution of far-reaching effects has come to affect the position and role of women.

3. Ibid.,

4. Fairchild, H.P. (ed.)(1944): Dictionary of Sociology, Philosophical Library, New York City, p.152.

5. Gates, C.H. et. al (1950): Educational Psychology, The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 104.

The degree of adjustment in performing a role assigned by a society to a particular position depends upon the clarity with which such a role is defined. The degree of clarity is determined by the extent to which the definition of roles incorporates reciprocal behaviour expected from role-performers.

Clarity of definitions of role is reduced, firstly, by discrepancies between what is given verbally and what is demonstrated in 'practice'; and secondly, by the inconsistency in the response to and expectation from the actor on the part of other individuals in the counter positions. Thirdly, where a society assigns or permits more than one role to a particular position, the degree of adjustment of the incumbent to the roles varies with the compatibility of the roles. Finally, when incompatible roles belong to a given category of roles, the degree of adjustment varies directly with the extent to which techniques for resolving or minimizing conflicts are available.

The degree of adjustment varies in terms of the discrepancy between the capabilities of the actor and the demands of the holders of the counter positions. The resolution of conflict is the most perfect when the technique used is compatible with the prevailing norms, traditional setting and values and customs.

Problems posed by multiple Roles

It is important to mention here that for the purpose of analysis in this chapter, we have taken only married working women because it was expected that the married women who have family responsibilities have more adjustment problems than unmarried ones.

Employed women face the problem of adjustment because of their varied role expectations. They are required to perform multiple and at times conflicting roles. A woman is expected to perform roles of a homemaker, wife, mother, employee etc. at the same time. Being simultaneously confronted with the multiple demands at home and outside, women have to face the problem of adjustment. At home, in addition to biological functions, there are other duties, which they have to perform because of the prevailing cultural norms and values. They are required at the same time to perform the responsibilities, duties and certain commitments connected with their employment. These emergent circumstances require a redefinition and reallocation of the roles, duties and responsibilities of every member of the family.

Difficulty arises because often divergent and conflicting roles make demands on the women without taking into consideration their physical capacity, energy, endurance and time, which are certainly finite. A

satisfactory fulfilment of these roles requires qualities of different and diverse kinds such as Co-operation and self sacrifice by all the members of the family. Even the employed women have to develop capabilities for meeting out situations which are poles apart, for example, efficiency, courage, determination, intelligence, sense of reality, responsibility, independence etc. In some other areas women are expected to act in a fair and business like manner, they have to be straight forward and non-sentimental. And at home a woman has to be a wife also, a humble pretty, sweet, soft, sensitive, submissive, adaptable, gentle, unassertive, good humoured, domesticated yielding and in most cases, not too intelligent-person with whom no one finds any difficulty in adjusting in the family.

Since the role-expectations are poles apart, a sort of conflict arises normally between an employed women and her husband and in-laws. Theoretically speaking such a problem could not arise if employment and home were considered as two mutually exclusive fields of life. With the erosion of the traditional ideas the problem of adjustment of working women becomes more serious. A typical woman is dedicated to her family additionally by earning money. But due to the diverse role-expectations she often wonders whether the additional money which she earns by working may not be worth the sacrifice which she is making by taking up the job. Hence, job is considered, at times, as a hurdle by working women.

Therefore, the focus in the present Chapter is on multiple roles creating feeling of guilt, anxiety, strain and tension among the working mothers. In this context we wish to understand the factors which influence the adjustment pattern of working mothers or more specifically, identify those factors which differentially affect one category of respondents compared to those in other categories. Some create role-conflict and others bring about role-congruency. A comparison has been made between these two factors and conditions which help or hinder adjustment among working mothers.

As discussed above, a working woman has to strike at a balance between her domestic and official obligations. The imponderables on the home front as well as those at the work place could neither be ignored nor wished away, However, each set of obligations have to be fulfilled. A question was, therefore, addressed to the respondents asking them if they found it difficult to combine their duty at work place with their domestic obligations. The data collected in this regard has been presented in the following Table (Table 7.1).

The data shows that there is difference in the perception of performance of multiple roles among the respondents. The respondents belonging to different

Table;7.1

Occupational Status and Performance of Multiple Roles

Occupational Category	Performance of Multiple Roles		Total
	Satisfactory	Dissatisfactory	
Category I	59 (90.8)	6 (9.2)	65
Category II	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	13
Category III	50 (61)	32 (39)	82
Category IV	31 (63.3)	18 (36.7)	49
Total	150 (71.8)	59 (28.2)	209

occupational class categories have experience of both role-conflict and role-congruency. It appears from the above table that out of the 209 respondents majority of them performed their roles satisfactorily as compared to 21.5 per cent who were notsatisfied with their performance of dual role and felt feeling of role-conflict. As it is very clear from the above table that majority of the respondents of Category I, have experienced highest degree of role congruency, whereas role-dissatisfaction is highest among respondents of Category III in our sample.

As is evident from the data that even women belonging to Category I, inspite of attaining highly skilled and technical jobs and inspite of holding responsible

positions, are still suffering from role conflict. The reason for this are their over consciousness about their duties and obligations at home - duties towards parents, husbands and children - and cannot avoid thinking that they have not been able to do justice to their family and household duties. This creates a problem of inner conflict and tension which they experience, particularly if they are very keen to run both their homes and career extremely efficiently and are desirous of playing equal attention to their home and work.

Thus on the basis of foregoing discussion we can conclude that though there is some relationship between the occupational status and adjustment pattern in some instances but we can not always say that there is a positive correlation between the two as adjustment is also determined by many other factors like role-perception of a woman etc.

Occupational Status, Primary Reason for Work and Adjustment Pattern

It was expected that primary reason for work will affect the pattern of adjustment among the respondents of various occupational categories.

Respondents were asked to state three reasons (in order of priority) for their working. Among the reasons stated, the highest percentage (58.4 per cent) have been

found to have recorded that they are working mainly or solely for gross economic necessity or to supplement the husbands insufficient income or to raise the standard of living of the family. The rest have cited other factors as their primary reason for working. The percentage distribution of these reasons is as follows: to make use of higher education or professional training (18 per cent); to be economically self-sufficient (12 per cent); because of their liking for or charm of a peculiar job (1 per cent); because they are used to working (2.5 per cent); to get the freedom of mixing with people which they do not get otherwise (0.7 per cent); because of an ambition of a career (2.3 per cent); to utilize plenty of spare time (1.5 per cent) and to be away from the unhappy atmosphere of the home (2.2 per cent).

For the convenience of analysis all these categories have been arranged into two groups - one group consists of those persons who are working primarily for economic need, to help their family; in these cases their own satisfaction is not the primary reason. The other group consists of those women who are working for non-economic reason, for some kind of personal satisfaction - emotional, intellectual or social and to whom financial gain is only secondary.

It was assumed that respondents belonging to upper stratum are more likely to work for non-economic reason and will be well adjusted compared to respondents belonging to lower stratum who are more likely to work for economic reasons. The data collected in this regard also substantiates this assumption (Table:7.2).

Table:7.2.

Occupational Status, Reason for Work and Adjustment Pattern

Occupational status	Reason for work		Adjustment pattern		Total
	Economic	Non-economic	Satis- factory	Dis- satis- factory	
Category I	2 (3.1)	63 (95.9)	59 (90.8)	6 (9.2)	65
Category II	1 (7.7)	12 (92.3)	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	13
Category III	75 (91.5)	7 (8.5)	50 (61)	32 (39)	82
Category IV	47 (95.9)	22 (4.1)	31 (63.3)	8 (36.7)	49
Total	125 (59.8)	84 (40.2)	150 (71.8)	59 (28.2)	209

It is clear from the Table:7.2 that majority of the respondents of category I and category II are working for non-economic reasons, whereas 91.5 per cent of category III and 95.5 per cent respondents of category IV are working for economic reasons. Similarly the extent of dissatisfaction is also more among respondents of category

III and category IV. i.e. 39 per cent among the respondents of category IV as compared to 9.27 per cent respondents of category I. Thus, we can conclude on the basis of above table that economic reason is one of the primary reason among majority of the women going for work. Secondly higher the economic status lower is the number of women going for work for economic reason and lower the economic status, higher is the rate of number of women going to work for economic reason. Thirdly, women going to work for non-economic reasons are comparatively well adjusted than women going to job due to sheer economic reason. Thus higher the economic status, lower is the rate of role-conflict, and lower the economic status, higher is the extent of role-conflict. The reason for this may be that women who go out to work for non-economic reasons, work not due to any compulsion but for their personal satisfaction. Since they don't have any financial problem, they can afford to keep part-time or full-time servants for their domestic help and can also afford to buy modern gadgets to reduce their burden and can, thus, minimize their extent of role-conflict and can be well-adjusted. On the other hand working for economic need is compelled by the circumstances, by the needs of others to work. She may or may not be in a position to afford help from modern gadgets and be in a position to take help from part-time servant. Thus the extent of adjustment is positively related to the primary reason for work.

Occupational status and Role-Conflict Between Spouse

One can not ignore the social situation, handed down to the present generation, which seeks to justify the view that the husband is an object of veneration, entitled to unquestionable authority over the household and specifically on the wife, endowed with absolute discretion in all matters, including those affecting marital relations.

This, the working women face the problem of their identity. In other words, when they perform duties of a specific nature involving decision-making and discretion to exercise authority as working women, they need to be identified as independent role-performers. But as wives and mothers they are made to comply with the husbands words and also to follow the directives of in-laws. Such a situation inevitably creates role-ambiguity and role-conflict. Just as they would normally not desire to impose their personal whims and fancies over their official subordinates, they would not take authoritarian decisions and impositions of husbands and in-laws. An imbalance of this equation normally creates marital discord. Ignoring of the primacy of obligations affects adversely the domestic and marital happiness, hence male-adjustment. The issue, therefore, is not one of superiority and independence of spouse, it is primarily a matter

of mutual adjustment and maintenance of harmony.

We have tried to know whether employment of women has led to marital adjustment or maladjustment. 80 per cent of respondents of category I, 53.8 per cent of the Category II replied in the negative, whereas 53.7 per cent of category III and 71.8 per cent of category IV also replied in the negative. According to the majority of respondents marital harmony is a matter of mutual adjustment and reciprocity of relations (Table:7.3).

Table:7.3

Occupational Status and Role-Conflict

Occupational categories	Adjustment Pattern		Total
	Negative	Positive	
Category I	52 (80)	13 (20)	65
Category II	7 (53.8)	6 (46.2)	13
Category III	44 (53.7)	38 (46.3)	82
Category IV	35 (71.4)	14 (28.6)	49
Total	138 (66)	71 (34)	209

34 per cent respondents out of 209 perceived role conflict due to job. The reason for this mal-adjustment due to job are various, i.e. when there is no adjustment or realisation of the difficulties by the husband, conflict

arises in the minds of working women, as is reflected in the views of following respondent.

Mrs. S. is a clerk and livds in a nuclear family. She reports, "I try my best to carry out both my roles at home and job properly. I finish all my household duties before I come to the job. I prepare breakfast and lunch, wash children's cloths. At the same time I have to clean my house. To finish all these tasks I have to get up early in the morning. While returning from job I make purchases for the household, I never let my job role suffer. Though due to bad health I have to face many difficulties, but my husband would never appreciate my efficiency in carrying out the dual role. This makes me mentally disturbed and causes conflict".

Thus when there is no adjustment or realisation of the difficulties by the husband, conflicts arise in the minds of work^{ing} woman and if the husbands of working women suffer from a feeling of neglect, it may also lead to unhappiness, as is reflected in the case of Mrs. K. Mrs. K. is an assistant professor. She narrated her experience. "My husband is of demanding nature. He wants that I should look after his personal work. He would pick up my mistakes and attributes them to my being in job. If a button is missing in his shirt, he would blame me, if due to official work sometime, I .

have to stay there till late or at times due to overburden of official work, I fail to accompany him for outing, he will start feeling neglected and will at times start pressurising me for leaving the job as due to job, according to him, I am not being able to take proper care of the home front."

Thus, when the husband is not willing that his wife should go out for gainful employment but has even then allowed her to do so due to certain reasons, he will develop a feeling of neglect due to his wife's job.

When a woman is an "earning wife", she expects from her ~~husband~~ likewise employed husband an equal amount of domestic work or the appointment of servants. When, in the face of these demands, the husband or the in-laws insist that domestic work is the exclusive duty of the wife, open tensions cannot be avoided. 20 per cent of total 71 maladjusted respondents of our sample suffered (especially majority from category II and III). This type of conflict. Here the demand of a wife that the husband should help is a direct attack on his privileged husband-status; for to serve the husband gladly and without hesitation is the highest duty of good Hindu wife. Since majority of the husbands, who are still not ready to accept this changing reality, results in a state of role-conflict.

Occupational Status and Neglect of Children

It is believed that the children of a working woman gets neglected, hence produces adverse psychological consequences affecting the children and leaving working women isolated and disturbed. Our respondents were asked whether their job results into neglect of their obligations to their children and consequent upon that feeling of guilt and the data collected in this regard has been presented in Table.7.4.

Table.7.4

Occupational Status and Neglect of Children

Economic status	Neglect of children		Total
	Yes	No	
Category I	7 (10.8)	58 (89.2)	65
Category II	3 (23)	10 (77)	13
Category III	50 (61)	32 (39)	82
Category IV	4 (8.2)	45 (91.8)	49
Total	64 (30.6)	145 (69.4)	209 (100)

My observation shows that working woman has very successfully and systematically organised her child care functions; so as to do the maximum for them in the minimum time she can devote to them. i.e. 69.4 per cent

respondents of our sample are fully satisfied with their child care arrangements. Time is her scarce resource which she allocates to various fields and the children also gets the faire share from it (may be a lëttle less than what they generally share). Zwing has painted a very true pen portrait of the working mother, "A married woman specially with small child who goes out to work is, in most cases a healthy, strong woman, disciplined in herself, with a strong sense of will power and determination to get on with her work. She has a strong sense of duty and responsibility; she rarely complains about difficulties. She can manage all right. She has a strong flow of energy and a strong spirit. She would not whine or weep. She thinks beforehand and plans out her work. She has a 'system' in running her house".⁸ This onser-
 vation of Zwing would most appropriately apply to my own sample of working women, who, to all intents and purposes, have worked out a fair formula for adjusting their work and their home care.

As the Table:7.4 shows that in contrast to 69.4 per cent respondents who are well adjusted, 30.6 per cent are those who suffer from a feeling of guilt. But there is no definite relationship between the feeling of guilt

8. Zewing (1952): Woman's life and labour, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, p. 20.

and occupational status as the percentage of respondents of upper class suffering from this feeling of guilt is almost the same as that of the respondents belonging to lower class. The reason for this may be that the extent of feeling of role-congruency or role-conflict in these cases is determined by the acceptance of new roles of new bread winners, over the traditional role. In other words, those who have accepted the new roles and accordingly have changed their way of thinking are well adjusted, whereas those who still consider child-rearing as their primary role, experience a feeling of guilt.

Family Composition and Role-Conflict.

The composition or pattern of family also influence adjustment of the working mothers in a nuclear family, a working woman has to make adjustment with her husband and children only, who are expected to be cooperative and considerate. In the extended families, the wife is to live and adjust with her husband's relatives who may not be so cooperative and considerate. Thus, persons living in the nuclear families are likely to be more adjusted and happy than the persons living in the joint-families. The distribution of working mothers in terms of the composition of their families is given in the Table 7.5.

Table 7.5Family Composition and Role-Conflict

Type of family	Experience of role-conflict		Total
	Yes	No	
Nuclear	32 (18.9)	137 (81.1)	169
Joint	32 (80)	8 (20)	40
Total	169	40	209

Thus it is clear that 80 per cent respondents living in joint-families experience role-conflict as compared to 18.0 per cent living in nuclear family. Majority of those living in nuclear family wanted more independence hence did not relish having the in-laws with them. This type of view is very much reflected in the views of Mrs X. For her one has to adjust to another's convenience in a joint family. If I have to go for anything or even visit my parents, I have to get prior permission from my in-laws. My husband also has to abide by the wishes of his parents, otherwise there is likely to be chaos in the house? Thus many of the respondents living in nuclear family become narrow in their outlook and viewed joint family as a source of conflict for them.

Occupational Status and Performance of Job-Role

It was expected that occupational differences will

affect the role-satisfaction of the respondents. Higher occupation, which means higher income, favourable working conditions will help women of this class adjust better than those working at lower levels. But it was found that there is no definite relationship exists between the two (Table 7.6)

Table 7.6

Occupational Status and Performance at the Work Place

Occupational category	Performance of work roles		Total
	Satisfactory	Dissatisfactory	
Category I	59 (90.8)	6 (9.2)	65
Category II	10 (76.9)	3 (23.1)	13
Category III	50 (61)	32 (39)	82
Category IV	31 (63.3)	18 (36.7)	49
Total	150 (71.8)	59 (28.2)	209

As it is very clear from the table that majority of the respondents belonging to various class categories are highly satisfied with their role performance at their place of job.

Job-

Occupational Status and Commitment

An effort was also made to find out how committed were the respondents to their jobs they were asked whether

they would like to continue their jobs, if they ^{or} are their husbands were separated by transfer (Table 7.7)

Table 7.7

Occupational Status and Job Commitment

Occupational status	Commitment to job		Total
	Committed	Not committed	
Category I	40 (61.5)	25 (38.5)	65
Category II	6 (46.2)	7 (53.8)	13
Category III	15 (18.3)	67 (81.7)	82
Category IV	4 (8.2)	45 (91.8)	49
Total	65 (31.2)	144 (68.9)	209 (100)

Thus it was found that majority of the respondents of category I are highly committed to their work, as compared to 39 per cent of category I; 53 per cent respondents of category II; 81 per cent of category III and 92 per cent of category IV who are not committed to their job at all.

On the basis of foregoing analysis we come to the conclusion that majority of the respondents do not find any clash in the performance of their two roles, domestic role and job role. Secondly, it was found that there is

a positive relationship between primary reason for work and pattern of adjustment i.e. it was found that higher the economic status higher is the level of adjustment and lower the economic status lower is the level of adjustment.

It was also found that in majority of cases there was no role conflict between spouses due to job but at the same time, it was found that husband's attitude is very significant. Husband's positive approach inspite of non-sharing of the household chores, considerably satisfies working women.

Regarding child-care responsibilities also it was found that majority of the women feel that they are performing their role as mothers successfully. Regarding the performance of job role and commitment to work it was found that majority of the respondents were quite satisfied with their job performance, but most of them were not highly committed to their jobs.

CHAPTER - VIII.ROLE-PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES OF WOMEN

The study of changing role-perception and attitudes of women is very relevant in the present context. It is expected that women can be an elemental force in the process of change with change in their role-perception and attitudes. Especially a working women with education can set in motion a new ripples in the sea of passive complacency and resignation in their day to day life. They can challenge the old values, declare war upon the age old tenets, abandon the traditional problem of behaviour, spell out role and introduce change in the entire fabric of the society, whether it be the matter of altering the structure of the family or developing an appropriate environment for the socialization of children. Thus due to the change in their way of perceiving and thinking, they can be the harbingers of a new awareness, a new vision, a new aspiration and a new breath of life.

According to Rammers,¹ attitudes of a person or a group of persons have a far reaching effect on their overt and covert behaviour, for attitudes are theoretically a component of all behaviour both overt and covert. Since the attitudes of a person are central to his subjective

1. Rammers, H.H. (1954); 'Introduction to opinion and attitude measurement', New York, Harper and Brothers, p. 3.

life and largely determine his thoughts, feelings, and behaviour, it is very significant to know the attitudes of a person and more so, the changes taking place in their attitudes, if one wants to study the social change or the direction towards which the society is moving.

So, in order to study the changes in the role-perception and attitudes among working women, due to their exposure to the world outside their home, a study of the role perception and attitudes of working women has been attempted in this chapter. It is expected that change in role-perception and attitudes would lead to the acceptance of modern values, which point to the equality of men and women. The traditional value system of our society supported subordination and dependence on the part of women in their relation with men. Submissiveness and obedience to men were considered as virtues. But modern values point towards equality of status for women (equality, independence and individuality). How far the notion of equality with men has made inroads into the psyche of men in particular? What is the opinion of women regarding their own status and role in the society? Are they positively oriented towards themselves? Does their orientation towards the self determine the behaviour patterns? For seeking answers to all these questions we should know about the attitude of women belonging to various social and economic groups. The attitudes can be characterised

broadly in terms of tradition-oriented expressions and aspirations for achieving modern values.

Respondents of this study were asked to react to specific questions bearing upon some major social issues related to family (joint/nuclear), marriage (love/arranged), performance of roles, role preference, role-perception as a working women, as a mother and wife, equality of status etc.

Family

Specific questions were asked to the respondents related to their views regarding preferable family type. It was assumed that higher the economic status of a woman, more she will prefer to live in a nuclear family, to have better say and authority regarding personal and domestic affairs, whereas women belonging to lower economic status will be quite orthodox in their views and will have preference for traditional type of joint family. Therefore, respondents were asked whether nuclear family leads to better development and the information collected has been presented in Table:8.1.

As it is very clear from the table that 83 per cent respondents favoured nuclear family whereas 17 per cent had negative attitude towards nuclear family. 85 per cent respondents of category I, 90.5 per cent respondents of Category II, 83.3 per cent respondents of Category III

Table 8.1

Nuclear Family and Economic Status

Economic Status	Attitude towards nuclear family that it leads to the development of individual		Total No.
	Yes	No.	
Category I	63 (85.1)	11 (14.9)	74
Category II	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21
Category III	95 (83.3)	19 (16.7)	114
Category IV	37 (75.5)	12 (24.5)	49
Total	214 (83)	44 (17)	256

and 75.5 per cent respondents of Category IV supported the view that nuclear family leads to development of the individual. Majority of the respondents (169 out of 258) live presently in nuclear families. This explicitly indicates that majority of the respondents approved of nuclear family. It is perhaps due to the fact that in a joint family a woman living with in-laws, does not enjoy freedom and she is required to carryout instructions of her elders and even junior-in-laws, employed women find the general atmosphere in a joint-family intolerable. 83 respondents clearly expressed their disliking for joint family as it created difficulties in proper socialization of their children.

Marriage

Information was also collected regarding respondents attitude towards preferred type of marriage and information has been presented in the following table (Table; 8.2).

Table: 8.2Occupational Status and Attitude Towards Type of Marriage

Attitude towards marriage	Occupational Status				Total
	Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV	
Love marriage	27 (36.5)	3 (14.3)	59 (51.8)	14 (28.6)	103 (39.9)
Arranged marriage	5 (6.8)	3 (14.3)	48 (42.1)	35 (71.4)	91 (35.3)
Uncertain	3 (4.1)	6 (28.6)	7 (6.1)	-	16 (6.2)
Neo love and new-arranged marriages	39 (52.7)	9 (42.8)	-	-	48 (18.6)
	74	21	114	49	258

Traditionally marriages in India are arranged by parents. However, in the last few years, there seems to have been a trend in favour of self-arranged marriages. It was expected with the increase in education and occupational achievements, self-choice marriages will

be more popular among working women. It was found that our respondents supported this view. Majority of them i.e. 39.9 per cent of them favoured love marriages. Majority of those who favoured arranged marriages, belonged to category III and IV, those with lower level of education and economic status. However, 18.6 per cent respondents were in favour of neo-love or neo-arranged marriages, where both parents and children are involved in deciding about marriage. It is significant to note here that majority of the respondents with higher education and higher occupational status were not in favour of arranged marriage. Most of them supported either love marriages or neo-love or neo-arranged marriages. Secondly, 28.6 per cent respondents with lower educational background also supported self-choice marriages as the preferred types, which shows prevalence of new trend among lower class people. This may be due to their interaction with higher class people. Interaction with higher class people might have affected their way of perceiving reality.

It should be made clear here that some of the respondents were of the view that type of marriage makes hardly any difference, if life after marriage remain happy and contented.

Occupational Status and Marital Choice

As suggested by M.J. Levy² that higher education enables a girl to become aware of alternative to marriage. Logically this alternative is pursuing a career and in all probability a successful one, therefore, it is assumed that higher the education and economic status greater will be the number of women viewing career as a possible substitute for marriage. Respondents were asked to express their views regarding this. Information in this regard has been presented in Table:8.3.

Table 8.3Occupational Status and Marital Choice

Occupational status	Attitude towards career as an alternative to marriage		Total
	Yes	No	
Category I	24 (32.4)	50 (67.6)	74
Category II	13 (61.9)	8 (38.1)	21
Category III	11 (9.6)	103 (90.4)	114
Category IV	1 (2)	48 (98)	49
Total	49 (19)	209 (81)	258 (100)

2. Levy, Marion J. Jr. (1949): *The Family Revolution in Modern China*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, p. 82.

It is clear from the Table:8.3 that only 19 per cent of the respondents are of the view that career is an alternative to marriage, whereas, 81 per cent of the respondents' are of the view that career and marriage are two separate domains of life. They are not substitutes for each other. 12 per cent respondents of total 209, were of the view that marriage can be a substitute to career but not vice-versa because for a woman, in their view, home role is more important than any other role. Whereas, the percentage of respondents who supported career as a substitute for marriage, belong mainly to category I and II. Thus, we can safely conclude that higher the educational and economic status, higher is the percentage of respondents who believe in career as a substitute for marriage, whereas lower the educational and economic status, higher is the number of those who believe in marriage as a substitute for career.

Role-Perception of Working Women

In order to determine importance of role, respondents were asked a question that which role is important for a woman - job role or home role? In reaction to this majority of the respondents of Category I and II viewed that both the roles are equally important for a woman (Table:8.4).

Table 8.4Economic Status and Attitude Towards Job and DomesticResponsibility

Attitude towards job and domestic responsibi- lities	Economic Status				Total
	Cate- gory I	Cate- gory II	Cate- gory III	Cate- gory IV	
Domestic responsi- bilities	7 (9.5)	2 (9.5)	65 (57)	30 (62)	104 (40.3)
Salaried job role	19 (25.7)	5 (23.3)	-	2 (4)	26 (10.1)
Both	48 (64.8)	14 (66.67)	41 (36)	15 (30.6)	118 (45.7)
Uncertain			8 (7)	2 (4.1)	10 (3.9)
Total	74	21	114	49	258

It is clear from the above table that 64.8 per cent respondents of category I and 66.7 per cent of the category II are of the view that for a woman both roles are equally important, whereas a small percentage 9.5 and 9.5 per cent are of the opinion that domestic role is more important for a woman in comparison to 25.7 per cent of category I and 23.3 per cent of category II, who expressed job role as important for a woman. Whereas majority of women of category III and category IV were of the opinion that domestic role is a primary role for a woman and if her circumstances are favourable than she should not go out to work.

Working Women and Their Attitude Towards Role Performance

A question was addressed to the women that how far a working women can perform both roles satisfactorily? It was found that 69 per cent of the respondents were of the view that a working women can perform both the roles satisfactorily. Whereas 31 per cent felt that a working women can not do justice with either of her role - her home role and her work role. Majority of those who were of the view that a working women can not perform both her satisfactorily belonged to category III and IV (Table 8.5). Thus we can conclude safely that women with higher education and occupational status are highly satisfied with their role performance compared to women with lower economic and educational status.

Table 8.5Occupational Status and Attitude Towards Role-Performance as Working Women

Occupational status	Attitude towards role-performance as working women		Total
	Satisfactory	Dissatisfactory	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category I	73 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	74
Category II	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21
Category III	57 (50)	57 (50)	114

Table 8.5 continued...

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category IV	29 (59.2)	20 (40.8)	49
Total	178 (69)	80 (31)	258 (100)

Role - Preference Role

When asked if choice given which role they would prefer 78 per cent respondents of the Category I preferred job role out^{of} their homes, whereas 69 per cent of the respondents of Category III and 92 per cent of Category IV expressed their liking for home role. Thus, it is clear from the Table 8.6 that higher the economic status, greater is the liking for job role and lower the economic status higher is the preference for home role (see Table:8.6)

Table 8.6

Attitude towards Role Preference and Economic Status

Economic Status	Liking for Home Role	Liking for Job Role	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category I	16 (21.6)	58 (78.4)	74
Category II	4 (10.1)	17 (80.9)	21

Table 8.6 continued...

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category III	79 (69.3)	35 (30.7)	114
Category IV	45 (92)	4 (10)	49
Total	144 (55.8)	114 (44.2)	258 (100)

Attitudes Towards Socialization of Children

To find out respondents attitude towards traditional sex roles we asked our respondents whether boys should also be trained like girls to take care of home. It was found that most of the working women except few from the category IV were of the view that boys should be trained like girls to take care of home (see Table 8.7)

Table 8.7

Economic Status and Attitudes Regarding Socialization of Children

Economic Status	Attitude towards equal socialization of children		Total
	Yes	No	
Category I	74 (100)		74
Category II	19 (90.5)	2 (9.5)	21
Category III	106 (93)	8 (7)	114
Category IV	28 (57.1)	21 (42.9)	49
	227 (88)	31 (12)	258 (100)

As it is very clear from the table that 88 per cent of the respondents were in favour of equal socialization of their sons and daughters whereas 12 per cent, out of which 52.9 per cent of Category IV were of the view children that boys and girls should not be trained equally.

Status Equality

To know how far the notion of equality is found among working women, various questions were asked about the relative status of women as compared to men. It was hypothesized that higher the occupational and economic status, women, would believe more in the equality of status of man and women. Thus the respondents were asked "Do you think that women enjoy equal status with men in real life?" Out of the 258 respondents, 154 (59.7 per cent) respondents replied that they enjoy equality with man, whereas 40.3 per cent felt that it did not exist in reality. (Table:8.8)

Table:8.8

Economic Status and Attitude Towards Equal Status of Women

Economic Status	Attitude towards equal status of women		Total
	Positive	Negative	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category I	59 (79.7)	15 (20.3)	74
Category II	16 (16.2)	5 (23.8)	21

Table 8.8 continued...

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category III	46 (48.4)	68 (59.6)	114
Category IV	33 (67.4)	16 (32.6)	49
	154 (59.7)	104 (40.3)	258 (100)

Attitude Towards Superiority of Men

Customarily, male sex is treated as superior. From childhood onwards, the female child is asked to admire the male sex and treat him as superior. She is brought up bearing with the superiority of men. But with the education and employment, it was expected that there will be change in the traditional thinking. Therefore the respondents were asked whether they believe in the natural superiority of males as ~~earning~~ ^{earning} women? Information gathered in this connection has been presented in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9

Economic Status and Attitude Towards Superiority of men

Economic Status	Believe in superity of men		Total
	Yes	No	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category I	33 (44.6)	41 (55.4)	74

Table:8.9 continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Category II	16 (76.2)	5 (22.8)	21
Category III	81 (71.9)	32 (28.1)	114
Category IV	47 (95.9)	2 (2.1)	49
Total	175 (68.2)	80 (31.8)	258 (100)

As it is very clear from the table:8.9 that 68.2 per cent respondents still believe in the natural superiority of man over woman, in other words, man is superior by nature and he is more intelligent than woman. Only 31.8 per cent, especially majority with higher education did not believe in this.

From the analysis of the foregoing discussion we find that majority of the respondents are holding modern attitude towards all the above factor. Majority of them irrespective of class differences hold the views which are favourable to the concept of equality of women with men. But it was found, with regard to the question of natural superiority of man, majority of the women considered their husbands or fathers, comparatively more intelligent and superior to them which indicates that though the working women due to their economic independence are quite liberal and advance in their attitude,

and to a great extent consider themselves equal with men still they do accept the superiority of men. Thus to conclude we can say that inspite of their rational thinking,working women do accept partially superiority of men. Thus, employment of women do creates in woman new attitudes but not total or overall change in the attitudes of women.

With regard to equality of status with men due to job majority of the respondents were of the view that their economic role has earned them equality of status, but three fourth of the subjects reported that economic status had not earned them any relief from household duties.

CHAPTER - IXCONCLUSION

✓ Status of women has changed all over the world due to some basic structural changes and women's movements for their uplift. Since India became independent, position of women has improved due to the provisions made in our constitution regarding equality, liberty and employment on equal basis for both men and women. Specific provisions for women's education have immensely contributed towards a new level of consciousness and self-esteem among the traditionally underprivileged sections. The traditionally exclusive domains of activities for men and women have become today more common to both. There are a few areas left having masculine and feminine activities today because of equalising effects of modern education, migration, mobility and equalitarian ideology.

Role- Conflict and role-ambiguity certainly were natural off-shoots of such a situation of equalitarian values and activities in the initial phase, but these have been reduced to a large extent due to macro-structural and ideological factors and specific conditions of a given place and situation at a given point of time.

The main assumption of our study is that in the traditional society there was a great deal of congruence between roles performed by men and women. The values which were the basis of division of labour, status hierarchy

and differential distribution of family resources based on sex provided stability and coherence. Modern education means of communication and equalitarian ideology have threatened the traditional summation of statuses and roles. These deviations from the traditional pattern could be understood in terms of the emerging patterns of status and adjustment of working women. ✓ With this point in view we thought of studying the patterns of status-determination and adjustment among the working women of Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. ✕

The main objective was to find out (the role of education and employment in raising the status of women. These two factors together could take out women from their traditional strings of control and domination by in-laws and husbands. Since more avenues and opportunities are being made available to women in these two spheres, women are likely to become more equal with men than before both at home and outside.) Relationship between women and household in terms of allocation of duties and responsibilities vis-a-vis class back-ground of the households, patterns of dominance consequent upon economic and educational changes, role-conflict and patterns of adjustment and change in attitudes of women towards the emerging patterns of relations within their households have been discussed in the present study.

We have examined a couple of hypothetical points based on our data. ✓ One of these points is that higher socio-economic status of women might lead to more domestic conflict. At the same^{time}, higher socio-economic status of women might produce more equalitarian relations and transform the traditional authoritarian system of family. X Working/women with modern education may have greater say in decision-making. Their level of self-esteem and consciousness would also go up. In general, status of women goes up due to changes in their educational and economic background. ✓

We have selected the women working in Jawaharlal Nehru University both residing on its campus as well as outside it in the metropolis of Delhi. JNU, as it is known popularly, is a mosaic of different linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups drawing students, teachers and Karamcharis from all parts of the country. About fifty percent of the women employed in the university live on its campus itself. We approached all the working women (approximately 270) for the purpose of our study, and were able to elicit information from 258, which is extra-ordinarily a large number. The four categories of working women included are - (i) Teachers, (ii) Research staff, library assistants, section officers etc; (iii) Ministerial staff (Stenographers and typists), and (iv) Class four workers, namely, peons, helpers, and safaiwalas. Besides

grouping the respondents into these four occupational categories we have given a description about their age, rural-urban background, education, marital status, family size and composition etc. X

X In the present study we have also given a brief account of various perspectives regarding status of women with a view to understand better the problems of adjustment of working women in a given organizational setup in Delhi.

✓ A common belief is that male dominates over female because of his biological superiority in terms of the bodily differences between the two. Allocation of duties and responsibilities, division of labour, migration and mobility and ultimately power were all determined by superiority of male over female based on sexual differences. Superiority of male over female cannot be ascertained in scientific terms, but it is a general belief of both sexes that males are superior to females and the two have distinct domains of activities. It is this cultural legitimacy rather than biological differences which has kept the two sexes separate in cultural, social, economic and political spheres of our life. Biological inequality between the two is unreal as one remains incomplete without other in regard to progeny and other basic needs.)

(Alternatively, human behaviour and all artifacts are a cultural product and transmitted from one generation to another. Sex segregation is, therefore, cultural rather than

biological. It is the culture of a society that grants legitimacy to gender roles as normal, natural and proper.) There are some unchangeable roles for man and woman. A man can't bear children, he cannot feed a child or become a mother. Logically a woman alone can bear a child etc. There are some differences between the two sexes **whibh** have been taken as indicators of "masculinity" and "femininity" in terms of "superiority" and "inferiority" of male and female. (Culturally determined inferior status of woman, though scientifically untenable, is a universal phenomenon.) Psyche of male and female are, thus, partly determined by the physiological differences and partly by the values attached to them. However, this is not true about materilineal and matriarchal societies in which males enjoy and inferior status.

Contrary to the culturological explanation and akin to the biological view is the Freudian view about position of woman. For Freud woman is a castrated man, a half-man. A woman's psyche is shaped by her envy with man in terms of what he possesses and what she is deprived of. The super-ego of woman is weak compared to that of man. A man becomes strong because of his anatomical superiority over woman, and therefore, he enjoys power ~~and~~ privileges which are normally not available to woman. Male-bias in Freudian psychoanalysis has strengthened sex-segregation, patriarchy and bio-physiological deter~~min~~ism in socio-cultural relations.

Marxian theory provided clues for understanding woman's position in the modern capitalist society. The position of woman is subordinate to man not because of anatomical inferiority of her organs. The reason is her inferior position in the system of production, and hence it is comparable with the status of the proletariat. The institutions of private property, patriarchy and state are controlled by man, which in turn suppressed woman. Woman has been transformed by forces and relations of production, from a free and creative productive unit into a subordinate and dependent member.

✓ The dynamics of status of woman in India show a multilinear direction from an equalitarian system of relations between man and woman to dependency of woman upon man and again emancipation of woman from man's hegemony. ^{mistaken}

We have provided a brief survey of these dynamics in the fourth chapter. The position of honour enjoyed by women in ancient India could not be retained in the medieval period. The rigidities regarding marriage, family life and caste/ varna differentiation which ^{emerged} ~~enjoyed~~ in the smriti period became further stronger in the medieval period. Seclusion of women from public view, "Purdah", sex-based subordination, early marriage, dowry, sati etc. became quite strong and popular institutions. The pathetic plight of Indian woman began to change with the advent of British rule in India. Western ideas in the form of equality, liberty and justice

brought about a new form of consciousness among people, particularly among the suppressed sections of our society such as women, minorities and lower caste and class people.

✓ The evil institutions of child-marriage, female infanticide dowry, sati etc were discouraged by several social reformers of this era. Even social legislations were promulgated to this effect for ensuring an honourable life for women. Female education, intercaste marriages, widow remarriage are some of the changes which we witness today as a result of these efforts initiated about 200 years ago. Women are not only educated today, they have been taking up salaried jobs along with menfolk. A new identity is being sought by woman today in India. Women also actively participated in India's struggle for freedom. Today a feminist wake in India is a product of this historical legacy. Mahatma Gandhi, Tagore and others have raised Women's place^{to} new heights. Women's organizations have come up in a large number to take up their first cause for emancipation from the traditional bondage and male chauvinism. Education, migration and employment have become as much a part of women's existence as that of men in the present day India. ✓ A study of working women representing social and structural ramifications of Indian society can provide us an understanding of change in their state and patterns of adjustment. ✓

Despite all the macro-structural changes in the status of women household management continues to be ^{the} responsibility of the fair sex. Management of household cannot be brushed aside as a non-economic activity as it is said to be in a general way. Women and household are closely related aspects of our social life. Child-bearing and child-rearing remain women's activities within their household, and this itself imposes upon them certain domestic responsibilities. Working women can perform these responsibilities to a limited extent only and perhaps to a much lesser extent than the housewives or ~~unemployed~~ women.

(Employment of women has not only made them economically independent, it has also minimised male-domination and household responsibilities, shouldered earlier by the womenfolk. Self-expression and realisation of identity as a member of family and wider society are logical consequence of this change in modern India) in general and the metropolis like Delhi in particular. (An employed educated woman) in particular does not think simply in terms of wife ^{of} her husband, of of mother of her children or of daughter-in-law of her in-laws, she (thinks of herself as a citizen, a voter, an employee, a member of her family like her husband and in-laws)

Some of these changes could be considered as deviations from the traditional patterns of family life. Their loyalties are today divided between their home and office/factory. }

Demands of their employment hinder fulfilment of their expectations at home. Our study of 258 working women aims at the understanding of the nature of role-conflicts, patterns of adjustment and change in the status of women, due to these new forces in our society. We have found a positive correlation between higher education and higher economic standing (see table: 5.1). About 30 per cent of the respondents who had high education also belonged to the first and second categories. The respondents in the fourth category were mainly peons, sweepers and helpers, and hence their jobs did not demand higher education. It is also interesting to know that people belonging to all the four categories lived in joint-families. However, in general more people lived in nuclear families. This was perhaps due to constraints of modern urban life. Education and employment did not reduce jointness in a perceptible manner. Women of the categories one and two spent less time in managing their households, and took out more time for leisure activities than the women belonging to the categories three and four. However, women of all the four categories were found attached to their domestic chores despite heavy responsibilities of their employment.

The most acute problem in all the families was of child-care during the absence of mothers from their houses for employment. In most families child-care was taken up by in-laws or by employed women's mother. However, in the case of one-third of our respondents child-care was shared by both the parents particularly in the households of

category one. In case of categories three and four generally younger members in their families were asked to shoulder this responsibility. Keeping a domestic servant, except in case of the women of category four, was quite a common practice. Husbands extended maximum help to their wives in managing their households in category ^{one} four. However, such a help was still more there in the nuclear families than the joint families. X

These findings have immediate as well as far-reaching effects on our society in general and family life in particular. Working woman become a distinct entity when we compare them with the non-working housewives. (The families of working women are economically better off, and men have less of economic burden). Children and other members could see its impact in terms of better education and standard of life etc. The far-reaching effects could be realised by way of women's emancipation from traditional strings of bondage, her autonomy, identity and self-expression. Society would have an egalitarian, discrimination free relations as a result of equality of men and women. Employment of women in Indian situation has been a liberating factor for them. ✓

Another crucial aspect of our study of the working women is the understanding of the pattern of power relations by analysing the process of decision-making in their families. We collected some information regarding money-matters, key decisions and other decisions related to the working woman

roles for them. New role-structures have emerged due to ^{the} ~~the~~ employment of women, without evolving corresponding normative standards and adaptive mechanisms. Such a situation of ambiguity and conflicting roles disorients working women. But it is not that new avenues for women create only role-conflict. Some advantages in terms of equality and justice, a new form of consciousness and emancipation from traditional stringent controls are much more ameliorating than the situation of role-conflict. Employment of women has provided economic relief besides elevation of women's position in our society. Some women in our study also expressed the view that they worked for their emotional satisfaction rather than due to economic necessity.

Finally, we have analysed role-perceptions and attitudes of women to understand equality, their own status and role, their views regarding self-identity etc. Their attitudes towards specific institutions like family, marriage, role-allocation and status hierarchy were analysed. Despite inequalities based on income, occupation and education women belonging to all the four categories prefer to have equality of women with men. However, some women believed in natural superiority of man over women. Economic dependence of women upon men has lessened considerably in the case of working women, but their household responsibilities have not been reduced in the corresponding manner.

Thus, despite differences in regard to occupational status, economic standing and education working women in general enjoy relatively more autonomy and freedom than the non-working women. Among the working women expression of self-identity and consciousness depends upon the level of education, nature of job and economic standing. All working women have witnessed role-conflicts and obstacles in adjustment with the new situations. Alternative values and norms and mechanisms of resolution of conflicting roles have not emerged. (Superiority of husbands continues to be there inspite of the fact that wives are also earning in the same measure. There are both immediate and long-term positive results of the change in the position of women. A new value system is in the making expressions of women's identity is taking place. Notions of equality and justice are replacing sex-based segregation and discriminative devices. Working women are not a monolithic lot. Their ramifications could be analysed in terms of their differences based on occupation, income and education. However, attitudinal changes are quite distinctly observable among the working women of all segments of society as seem in our study.)

APPENDIX - IInterview Schedule.

Dear Madam,

The questions included in this schedule seek answers to understand the problems of working women in Jawaharlal Nehru University. Since the present study is being conducted for my doctoral thesis, information collected through this schedule and other channels will be kept confidential.

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PART - IRole- Relations in the family:

1. In your family who makes the final decisions about the following:-
 - i) Family Budgeting
 - ii) Purchase of Consumer items.
 - iii) Schooling of Children.
 - vi) Carrer of children.
 - v) Marriage of children.

2. Are you allowed to spend your income without any restrictions?

3. How do you manage the following household responsibilities:
 - 1) Cooking and serving food.
 - ii) Washing clothes and utensils.
 - iii) Cleaning the house.
 - iv) Care of children.
 - v) Care of the sick.
 - vi) Help the children in their studies.

4. What are the routine duties of male, female, and children members in your family?
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
 - c) Children.

5. Apart from your family members who are the persons who are staying with you?
From father's/~~s~~Husband's side.
Mother's/Wife's relation.
6. Do you have any financial obligation? If so, in what way or towards whom ?
7. In your opinion, what duties does a woman have towards her husband ?
8. What rights she has ?
9. What was your career-aspiration for taking education ?
10. What was your parents aim in giving you education ?
11. Is it an usual practice among your women relatives to go to work ?
Yes/No
Why ?
12. How do you utilise major part of your earning ?
13. Have you any modern gadgets in your house ?
Yes/No
If yes, which ones.
14. Do you have any leisure activities, recreation, hobby ?
Yes/No.
If yes, mention some.

15. If you have/had any problem in finding a partner because of your education and work ?
Yes/No.
16. In the selection of your partner who made the choice ?
17. Do you keep good health ?
Yes/No.

Role-Relations in Relation to work :

18. How long have you been working ?
19. Why are you working ?
20. If the financial condition of your family is comfortable would you still work ?
Yes/No
If yes, why ?
21. Would you like to continue to work after you get married ?
Yes/NO.
If yes. give reasons.
22. If you have to make a choice between pursuing a career and getting married, what would you choose ?
23. Are you satisfied with the working conditions of your job ?
yes/No.

24. Are you satisfied with the opportunities for advancement existing with your present job ?
yes/No.
Why ?
25. Do you ever face problems because of your male colleagues and bosses ?
Yes, No.
If yes, How ?
26. If your women colleagues and bosses creat problems to you ?
Yes, No .
If yes, in what way ?
27. Do you find your job tiring ?
Yes/No
28. How do you feel after returning home from work ?
29. Do you get any appreciation for your work from your work place ?
Yes/No .
30. Are your hours of work suitable to your needs ?
Yes/No.
31. Is there any opportunity of scope to use your ideas/ immagination or your creative faculties in your job ?
Yes/No.
If yes, mention three occasions.

32. Do you wish to remain in the present job or to give up in favour of something else if available ?
Yes/No.

Attitude towards sex-roles :

33. Do you think that in general women would like to stay at home and care for their children and husband ?
Yes/No.
Why ?
34. Do you think that women in India should be encouraged like men to think seriously in terms of having a job-career ?
Yes / No.
Why ?
35. Do you think that boys as well as girls should learn to take care of the home ?
Yes/No
Why ?
36. Do you think that women in general should not occupy responsible positions ?
Yes/No.
Why ?

37. Give three reasons in order of priority for your being in job ?
38. Do you think that a woman's employment raises her status in the family or society ?
Yes/No.
If yes, How ?
39. Do you believe in natural superiority of men ?
Yes/No.
Remarks.

PART - II

For Married only :

40. Were you working before marriage ?
Yes/No.
If yes, Why ?
41. Do you agree that the family gets neglected if the woman takes up a job ?
Yes/No.
Why ?
42. Do you agree that a working mother feels guilty of neglecting the children ?
Yes/No.

43. Do your working hours suit to your family ?
Yes/No.
44. Do you agree with the view that it is not possible for married woman to work with full devotion ?
Yes/No.
Reasons.
45. How satisfactorily do you manage your two roles as a housewife and as a working woman ?
i) Very satisfactorily
ii) Satisfactorily,
iii) Not satisfactorily.
46. In your opinion which role is more important for a woman-domestic role or professional role ?
Why ?
47. How often fatigue due to strains of your job create difficulties for you in managing your household affairs satisfactorily ?
i) Almost always.
ii) Frequently.
iii) Occasionally.
iv) Rarely
v) Never.

48. Do you think that most of the employed women are frustrated in life ?

Yes/No.

Why ?

49. Has your work any effect on your temperament ?

Yes/No.

If yes, in what way ?

50. Do your husband and in-laws approve of your being in employment ?

Yes/No.

51. Are you divorced or seperated from your husband ?

Yes/No.

If yes, give reasons .

52. On reaching home from work, does your husband expect you to look after him ?

Yes/No.

53. Do/Did you and your husband have misunderstanding or quarrels over the use of your money ?

Yes/No.

54. To what extent is/was your being in employment the cause of quarrels between you and your husband ?

61. What type of relationship would you like to have with your husband ?
- a) Husband's absolute superiority.
 - b) Husband's Superiority.
 - c) Co-Partnership
 - d) Wife's Superiority.
 - e) Wife's absolute superiority.

PART - III

62. Name of the respondent ?
63. Educational Qualification.
- Self
- Father's/Husband's
64. Job Designation
- Self
- Father's/Husband's
65. Total Family-income from all sources.
66. Sources of income other than your own income ?
- i) _____
- ii) _____
- iii) _____

APPENDIX - II

Population trends in India from 1901 to 1981.

Census year	Population			Sex ratio (females per 1000 males	Decadal Variation (percent)	Annual Average Potential growth (o/o)	Urban Population as o/o total Population
	Persons	Males	Females				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1901	23,83,96,327	12,07,91,301	11,73,58,672	972			10.84
1911	25,20,93,390	12,83,85,368	12,37,08,022	964	5.75	0.56	10.29
1921	25,13,21,213	12,85,46,225	12,27,74,988	955	-0.31	-0.03	11.18
1931	27,89,77,238	14,29,29,689	13,57,88,921	950	11.00	1.04	11.99
1941	31,86,60,580	16,36,85,302	15,46,90,267	945	14.22	1.33	13.86
1951	36,10,88,090	18,55,28,462	17,55,59,628	946	13.31	1.25	17.29
1961	43,92,34,771	28,62,93,201	21,29,41,570	941	21.51	1.96	17.97
1971*	54,81,59,692	28,40,49,276	26,41,10,378	930	24.80	2.20	19.9
1981*	68,51,84,692	35,43,97,884	33,07,86,808	933	25.00	2.25	23.31

Source : Census of India 1981, Series-I India, Paper 2 of 1983, Key Population Statistics
Based on 5 Per cent Sample, Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India,
New Delhi, 1983, pp. 4 and 6.

APPENDIX - III

Progress of literacy by sex in India from 1901 to 1981.

Census year	Percentage of literates to total population		
	Males	Females	Persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1901*	9.83	0.69	5.35
1911*	10.56	1.05	5.92
1921*	12.21	1.81	7.16
1931*	15.59	2.93	9.50
1941*	24.90	7.30	16.10
1951**	24.95	7.93	16.67
1961	34.44	12.95	24.02
1971	39.45	18.72	29.46
1981***	46.89	24.82	36.23

Note : Literates refer to those who can read and write with understanding, Children in the age group of 40-4 years are treated as illiterates.

*Fore undivided India

**Excludes Jammu and Kashmir

***Excludes Assam

Source : (i) 1941 data from : Census of India 1981, Series-I, India Paper-I of 1981, Provisional Population Totals, Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India, New Delhi, 1981, p.43
(ii) Census of India 1981, Series-I, India, Paper-2 of 1983, Key Population Statistics Based on 5 per cent sample Data, Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India, New Delhi, 1983, p.15.

APPENDIX - IV

Literacy rates by age and sex in India (rural, urban & total) in 1971 & 1981.

Age group (in years)	Area	Literacy rate					
		1971			1981		
		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
5-9	Rural	22.76	13.54	18.29	30.09	19.63	25.03
	Urban	47.09	42.62	44.93	53.35	48.36	50.93
	Total	27.27	18.90	23.21	35.05	25.79	30.56
10-14	Rural	54.89	29.83	43.16	62.42	36.44	50.16
	Urban	80.85	70.97	76.18	82.35	73.39	78.09
	Total	60.06	38.16	49.79	66.90	44.85	56.59
15-19	Rural	57.41	28.31	43.67	60.36	33.66	43.67
	Urban	82.75	69.42	76.68	82.15	70.40	76.68
	Total	63.48	37.66	51.39	66.12	43.28	51.39
20-24	Rural	53.17	20.03	36.10	59.53	27.16	43.41
	Urban	81.19	58.89	71.09	82.93	65.16	74.71
	Total	60.70	28.69	44.70	66.54	37.18	52.02
25-34	Rural	42.74	12.47	27.29	53.06	19.64	36.25
	Urban	74.05	46.59	61.52	80.22	56.98	69.50
	Total	50.15	19.29	34.76	60.72	28.96	45.10
35 and above	Rural	31.23	6.47	19.40	37.96	8.62	23.17
	Urban	64.47	30.18	49.33	69.42	35.91	54.25
	Total	37.97	10.75	25.16	44.61	14.44	30.18

contd..

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Total(all ages)	Rural	33.76	13.08	23.69	40.79	17.96	29.65
	Urban	61.24	42.05	52.37	65.83	47.82	57.40
	Total	39.52	18.70	29.48	46.89	24.82	36.23

Source : Census of India, 1981, Series-I, India, Part-II Special, Reports and Tables Based on 5 percent Sample Data, Registrar General & Census Commissioner for India, New Delhi, 1983, p.78 (Report)

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