

**WOMEN IN MEDICINE AND TEACHING :  
A TREND ANALYSIS**

**A Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment for the Degree of  
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY  
(SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION)  
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NEW DELHI-110067  
April 1979**

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the dissertation entitled  
"Women in Medicine and Teaching : A Trend Analysis"  
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fulfilment of eight credits out of a total requirement  
of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of  
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We recommend that this dissertation be placed  
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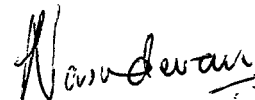
## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor Dr. (Mrs.) Karuna Ahmad, for her invaluable guidance and constant encouragement. Without her support, it would have been difficult for me to complete this study.

I am grateful to Professor Tapas Majumdar, Chairman of the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies and all the members of the Faculty for the interest shown in my work.

My sincere thanks to my family and friends for their unfailing help and encouragement throughout the period of this study.

Lastly, I am obliged to the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies for awarding me the Centre fellowship, which made it possible for me to undertake this study.



Jayshree Vasudevan

### List of Abbreviations

A	-	Arts
Ag	-	Agriculture
C	-	Commerce
C.G.E.	-	Colleges for general education
C.O.E.	-	Colleges for other education
C.P.E.	-	Colleges for professional education
D/C	-	Diploma/Certificate
E	-	Education
E/T	-	Engineering/Technology
G	-	Graduation
I.D.U.	-	Institutions deemed to be universities
L	-	Law
M	-	Medicine/Men
No.	-	Number
O	-	Others
P.G.	-	Post Graduation
R.E.S.	-	Research
S	-	Science
U.G.	-	Under-graduation
V.Sc.	-	Vetinary Science
W	-	Women

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## INTRODUCTION

The present century is sometimes referred to as an era of enlightenment, owing to man's prowess in accomplishing tremendous feats through the breakthrough in technology and the consequent knowledge explosion. Yet, unfortunately, they have been unable to keep the same pace in other areas which are more humanitarian and fundamental, such as, redeeming or lifting of certain sections of humanity from the shackles of their own systems of oppression. The matter is not really neglected as it were. In fact, the last two decades have reflected a growing awareness of such inequities present within the system and efforts are being made toward that direction in order to remedy them. As a majority of humankind, women constitute very easily the largest group in the world and their oppressed status has emerged today as one of the fundamental issues in human development.

Together with race, class and caste, sex also serves as one of the basic reference points around which any society is organized. Our biological differentiation has led to the imposition of certain societal values which, to a large extent determine the emotions we are taught to cultivate, the personality traits we develop, our vocational inclinations, the goals we can aspire to,

the way we relate to our peers and authority, the responsibilities we expect to assume in the world which consist of two most important spheres, that of bread winning and home making, and above all the way we define our individual identity. If today, it is important to probe, how poverty or caste affects a person's life-chances, it is also important to understand how sex-related attributes are intertwined with social structure so as to understand how they pattern our daily options and activities.

In the twentieth century where the aspiration toward the realization of an egalitarian society has become a strong social as well as a political force, the attainment of equality is envisaged as a stepping stone towards maximum participation within a society by all the oppressed sections and women are no exception.

#### PROBLEM

Keeping equality as the main focus, the problem intended to be studied is 'the comparison of the positions of men and women within the professions of medicine and university teaching, the emphasis being on doctors and university teachers'.

The choice of professions as opposed to occupations is deliberate, since the former is backed by a

greater body of specialized knowledge and academic training than the latter. Greater academic training is of utmost significance here, since this study is largely undertaken to discuss whether higher education for women and their consequent entry into professions has resulted in an equality of status as compared to the men within the same profession. Hence, the accent is a doctors and university teachers rather than on nurses and school teachers. Also, by way of the criteria of what constitutes a profession, a subject which has been given an exhaustive treatment in the third chapter, both nursing and school teaching are considered to be semi-professions.

b) The preference shown, for the professions of teaching and medicine vis-a-vis others is a matter of convenience, since these two professions have a greater representation of women than others, hence it yields greater comparability with the men in the same professions.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of the study is to compare the position of men and women in a work situation where both men and women are competing with one another since both of them are professionally qualified and trained to meet its challenges.

The main objectives of the study would be to find out the answers to the following questions :

- a) Other things being equal, do men and women enjoy an equal status in these professions? (in terms of equal pay, promotion chances, distribution in positions of authority and their representation in all levels of discipline and specialisations).
- b) In case inequalities exist then, what are the factors responsible for it? (is it due to lack of career orientation and commitment, prejudice and discrimination, less staying power of women in relation to men, sex-stereotyped occupations, role socialization and role conflict etc.).
- c) Even though women are working, has there been any change in the role perception of men and women in these professions?
- d) Do the women experience any role conflict? If so, does it affect their status in the professions?

#### SOME TENTATIVE HYPOTHESES

- a) Other things being equal, women enjoy an equal status with men in these professions.
- b) In some specialisations or departments, women are more preferred than men.
- c) Men have higher professional commitment and staying power than men.

- d) Professional commitment and staying power being equal, men enjoy a higher status than women.
- e) Within these professions men are concentrated in areas which enjoy a higher status.

Although, this is the problem intended to be studied exhaustively, most of this would be taken up only at the Ph.D level. At present, given the limited amount of time and the absence of any primary data which would throw some light on the problems posed, a trend analysis has been undertaken on an All-India basis for a decade starting from 1965-66 to 1975-76, concerning - a) the enrolment and out-turn of men and women at the higher education stage, b) the employment trend of university teachers and doctors for the same period.

The analysis has been done at three points of time starting from 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76.

#### METHODOLOGY

All the material made use of in this dissertation are from secondary sources. The first two chapters which provide the theoretical framework, have relied heavily on ideas from many published material in the

form of books and articles. The third chapter which is devoted to the trend analysis, relies mainly on certain raw statistical data obtained from two main sources. They are -a) Certain Statistical Reports published by the Ministry of Education, and as well as certain unpublished data concerning enrolment trends from the University Grants Commission, b) Unpublished statistics from the Indian Medical Council. The sources are discussed in detail in chapter three.

#### GAPS IN THE STUDY

Due to the absence of any statistical reports or even compiled data regarding the out-turn statistics of students for the year 1975-76 as well as the employment of university teachers, no analysis could be done regarding out-turn and the employment of university teachers for that year.

Although a break up of the number of teachers at the various ranks within the universities, such as Professor/Assistant Professor/Lecturer/Tutor Demonstrator etc., was given in the publication of the Ministry of Education - 'Education in India', the absence of any sex-wise break up, rendered it useless for our purposes. Similarly the absence of any sex-wise data regarding the distribution of doctors in the

various specializations was frustrating since one could not gain even a faintest idea about the way both men and women distribute themselves in the various specializations within medicine. But, for the Indian Council of Medicine which collected a sex-wise break up of doctors registering every year, all the other medical associations had no sex-wise information concerning doctors.

Having stated the problem and also briefly the methodology, I shall briefly give below an outline of the chapters that follow.

The first chapter deals with certain biological, psychological and sociological theories which serve to justify the existing position of women today. In the final analysis the most difficult barriers facing women are invisible. For instance, the unadmitted prejudices, unthinking assumptions and outdated myths, which subtly oppose the full development of women as individuals. The really tragic aspect of these myths is not only that men believe them, but women also do as a consequence of their very early education in the form of socialization. But, it was not always like this. Anthropological accounts have identified the existence of matriarchy in the early days where women

enjoyed a very high status and continue to do so even today in certain parts of the world among certain tribes and communities. This chapter also takes up certain accounts which serves to destroy and refute the myth of women as being subordinate, a belief which was generated and reinforced under the strong influence of patriarchal values.

The second chapter, is an attempt to understand, what the concept of equality actually means, as also what it has meant for women. Historically speaking, the idea of equality has always meant procedural rights rather than substantive sharing of resources. In theory at least, this concept offered the promise that each person could have an equal chance to advance or develop his or her maximum potential in a society which could be free of any rigidity imposed on class, caste, religious or sex lines. If injustice existed, it could be remedied by ensuring the aggrieved equal rights under the law and thereby equal access to opportunity structure. But, as always, theory and practice continued to be treated as two discrete spheres, where the gap remained unabridged. Although the concept of equality continued to be given all the theoretical recognition it deserved, the failure to realize this objective in practice no doubt created disenchantment



and the dissatisfied voices were heard once more, this time assuming a substantive connotation. Apart from a general discussion on equality and the women's movement, this chapter also deals with the freedom movement in the context of India, a movement which was peculiar because the cause of the women received a great support from men and along with the nation both the men and women were restored their civil liberties and fundamental rights.

*Conclusion* The history of any movement for improving the status of any section of a society all over the world, has always emphasized education as being the most significant instrument for changing their position and the more education one has, the better are one's chances of rising within the society. The third chapter in this dissertation is an attempt to discern certain trends in enrolment, and out-turn in higher education for both men and women for a decade starting from 1965-66 to 1975-76. The analysis being conducted at three points of time namely 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76. Also, a similar trend analysis has been done concerning the employment of men and women as university teachers and doctors, for the same decade and analysed from the same points of time.

The dissertation concludes with some observations regarding the position of women in the professions. It also points out some of the issues that are crucial in such a study. Lastly, it outlines the areas which need to be researched indicating that these may be taken up at the doctoral level.

## CHAPTER - I

### SEX ROLE THEORIES

All social analysis begins with assumptions about the basic nature, and the inherent characteristics of human beings. As far as the discussion on women goes, their social differentiation has been largely justified on the grounds of their biological and psychological differences. Recently however with the rise of modern anthropology, the related anthropological evidence have opened new grounds for women, thereby questioning certain old established theories. Given below are certain popular theories fostered by the disciplines of biology and psychology alongwith the recent anthropological evidence which contradicts the assumptions held by these two approaches.

### DATA ON BIOLOGY

The starting point for the study of sex differences is biology. In terms of body physique, there are sex differences between men and women which are both visible as well as standard in our society. The more muscular physique occurs less often among girls which makes her on the whole shorter and lighter, consequently her skeleton is more delicate and her muscular strength much less. This being true, most societies have taken advantage of the existing secondary characteristics within the male and female, and have placed her in a

subordinate position by disqualifying her with the help of a yardstick measuring sheer superiority of physical strength.

But what has been conveniently overlooked in this respect is the fact that both height and weight are also determined by certain social factors which outweigh sex differences and much of it can be attributed to nutrition. In many societies, the male traditionally takes the greater share of available food. "In Nigeria, for example, most of the severe malnutrition cases seen by one British doctor in the period following the Biafran War in 1970 were female children. This doctor according to Natkins wrote that "if food is scarce, the boys are given what little there is, leaving the girls to starve. It was not uncommon to see whole families of girls with severe Kwashiorkor (a protein deficiency disease) whilst the son and heir was fit and well."<sup>1</sup> However, the males were not always the favoured ones among all tribes. Margaret Mead<sup>2</sup> describes that among the Mundugumors, women were as

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1. Quoted in A. Oakley, 1972, Sex Gender and Society, Temple Smith, London, p.28.

2. Mead, M., 1935, 'Sex and Temperament in three Primitive Societies', William Morrow, New York.

tall as men because they were used to having equal food. They did all the fishing and ate any amount they chose to before bringing the food supply to the men of the village.

Apart from food and nutrition, exercise is also an important factor which helps to develop the body. The kind of games both girls and boys are encouraged to play in our society, produce the desired social personalities. Very often, the boys are encouraged to play games which exercises the body more. On the other hand, girls are encouraged to play very passive games which hardly contribute anything to physical growth and development.

Granted that apart from nutrition and exercise which to a great extent contribute to body development, there are still certain other internal factors which result in a different physical growth for men. Yet, the breakthrough in technology has in some measures minimised the differences in physical strength and made it easier for women to participate with greater ease in many more spheres, apart from the domestic sphere. But, ironically, now, they stand to be excluded on the grounds of intellect, backed by the findings of many psychologists and psychoanalysts.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC POINT OF VIEW

Freud, who was known as the father of the popular doctrine of psychoanalysis, never showed much concern with the destiny of woman. He simply adapted his account from that of the destiny of man. The cornerstone of the Freudian theory of womanhood is the masculine conviction that a woman is a castrated man and hence she feels penis envy. Freud's theory of women is part of his entire treatise on psychoanalysis based on sexuality and like Firestone puts it : "Freud captured the imagination of a whole continent and civilization for a good reason. Freudianism is so charged, so impossible to repudiate because Freud grasped the crucial problem of modern life : sexuality."<sup>3</sup>

However, there are other facets to personality, apart from sexuality, which follow from everyday observation of men and women in society. In 1936, Terman and Miles<sup>4</sup>, attempted to establish scientifically the norms of masculinity and femininity. The test was a pencil and paper test in a questionnaire form consisting

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3. Firestone, S., 1970, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution, William Morrow, New York, pp. 48-49.
  4. Terman, L.M. and Miles, C.C., 1936, 'Sex and Personality', McGraw Hill, London.

of 910 items. The purpose of the test was to measure the extent to which a subject's responses disregarded or accorded with the average for his or her sex on these items to which the sexes responded differently. Resulting scores showed that females tended to choose words for articles of dress, personal adornment, ideas, aesthetic appraisal, domestic things and happenings and words indicating a 'kind' and 'sympathetic' social orientation. Conversely, the male preference was for words describing outdoor phenomena, activity and adventure, science and machinery, politics, business and commercial enterpriss. Sections of the test which enquire into information possessed by males and females about specific items, show that the key masculine quality is 'the aggressive, advenferous, enterprising, directed disposition, and the tendency to pugnacity and self assertiveness. The outstanding feminine traits are 'the activity sympathetic, the inwardly-directed disposition, the maternal impulse and tender feelings, concern with domestic affairs, to make judgements that are more emotional and less objective than the males signifying an introvertive response, to be more emotionally expressive in general, to prefer 'ministrative' occupations and domestic incidents in literature, while

the male chooses external adventure.<sup>5</sup>

These differences suggest that they are not so much moulded in biology as they are in the process of cultural learning. Some of the social learning theories have come up with findings which undermine the psychological constructs. Mischel<sup>6</sup> claims that "masculinity and femininity represents nothing more than stereotype." He recommends that if we are interested in what people actually do as opposed to what others think that people do, we should abandon the search for generalized trait differences such as masculinity and femininity and search instead for the determinants of specific behaviour. Individuals in a culture are presumed to learn through observation behaviour appropriate to one's sex role. If such behaviour is reinforced then it will be adopted. Social learning theorists also emphasize that behaviour appropriate to opposite sex is also learned through observational processes, hence cross sex-typed behaviours are also in the repertoire of the individuals and would be more readily manifested if they are positively reinforced. But, to distinguish

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5. Ibid.

6. Quoted in T.S. Mednick, S.S. Tangri and L.W. Hoffman (ed.), 1975, Women and Achievement : Social and Motivational Analysis, Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, London.



more clearly between the cultural causes of sex differences, we must look beyond our own society. How do other cultures define personality differences by sex? Do they make a distinction between male and female and if so, do they make the same distinctions as our culture does?

Some years ago, Mead<sup>7</sup> set out specifically to study the variation in masculine and feminine personality types in different cultures. She describes the three New Guinea tribes : the Arapesh, the Mundugumor and the Tchambuli. Amongst the Arapesh, the ideal adult has a gentle, passive cherishing nature and resembles the feminine types in our culture. The Arapesh recognize no temperamental difference at all in the relationships between the sexes including the overtly sexual, neither is the initiator or the aggressor.

The accentuation of parenthood and of femininity in the personalities and roles of both sexes is reversed among the Mundugumor where both sexes approximate to the masculine pattern. The women are as assertive and vigorous as men, they detest bearing and rearing

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7. Op. Cit., 1935.

children and men in turn detest pregnancy in their wives. Both sexes are reared to be independent and hostile and both boys and girls have very similar personalities.<sup>8</sup>

The third tribe, the Tchambuli, did show a differentiation of personality by sex. The males approximated to our stereo-types of femininity and the females to our masculinity. Mead reports the women to be self-assertive, practical and managing whereas adult males are "skittish, wary of each other, interested in art, in theatre, in a thousand petty bits of insult and gossip." The men wear lovely ornaments whereas the women shave their heads and are unadorned. The former also do the shopping, carve, paint and dance. Mead comments that "this is the only society in which I have worked where little girls of ten and eleven were more alertly intelligent and more enterprising than little boys." The minds of small males, teased, pampered, neglected and isolated, had a fitful fleeting quality, an inability to come to grips with anything.<sup>9</sup>

One detailed study of child rearing investigated the differences and similarities between six cultures

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8. Op. Cit., 1935.

9. Op. Cit., 1935.

ranging from Kenya to Mexico and from Philippines to New England. In this study, twenty four children aged from three to ten were picked from each of these six cultures and studied by trained field workers. The results indicated that boys are more likely than girls to engage in physical aggression in all six cultures, while the girls have a greater tendency to act affectionately and responsibly. These sex differences were associated with differential child rearing practices. Where boys and girls differed in the display and kind of aggressive behaviour, parents usually distinguished between them in the expectations about aggression and their handling them through positive or negative reinforcement. For example, in the Kenyan community, the greater aggression of the boys contrasts with greater sociability and succourance of the girls. However, among the Mexico children, boys are significantly more sociable and dependent than girls.<sup>10</sup>

Sears et al. discuss sex differences in parental treatment of children which were clearly evident in their sample of 379 five year olds. The area in which they found the greatest and most consistent differences

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10. See Oakley, Op. Cit., p. 60.

was that of aggression, both in the children's behaviour and in the parental expectations and treatment of aggression. Boys were allowed more aggression in their relationships with other children and aggression in girls was discouraged. The authors comment that "the mothers' own reaction to biological maleness and femaleness in terms of sex differential expectation, reward and punishment, made up a learning experience for the child, the influence of which is difficult to discount."<sup>11</sup>

It also used to be a tradition among anti-feminists that the smaller size of the female brain was proof of woman's inferior intelligence, but it has been found that the head circumferences has nothing to do with intellect. If at all, we want to investigate the relationship between intelligence and sex, then we must discard the idea of intelligence as a single quality. Because the existing tests of general intelligence has been standardized to minimise the known sex differences in composite abilities. They are verbal ability, numerical ability, spatial ability, creativity and analytic ability.

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11. Sears, R.E., Maccoby, E.E. and Levin, H., 1957, Patterns of Child Rearing, Harper and Row, London.

Verbal ability is a feminine speciality particularly in the years before formal education begins. Detailed studies of verbal ability show that the female advantage can be precisely located. In tests of verbal comprehension and verbal reasoning the sex differences are negligible, but in word fluency and language use girls are distinctly better.<sup>12</sup>

In number ability, there appears to be no sex differences in the early years. Gesell's<sup>13</sup> observations tend to show a slight superiority among the girls but later in school life, boys do better than girls on tests of numerical/arithmetical reasoning though on tests of computation the girls are better. After the age of eleven however the male's ability to perform well on tasks of arithmetical reasoning becomes consistent and marked.

Sex differences in creativity differ according to how the term 'creative' is defined. One meaning of 'creativity' has been investigated by a test which asks children to think of ways in which toys could be improved. Upto about seven years, children of both

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12. See Oakley, Op. Cit., p. 80.

13. Gesell, A. et al., 1940, The First Five Years of Life, Harper & Row, London.

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sexes serve better on toys appropriate to their own sex, after seven, boys are able to think of more ways of improving both masculine and feminine toys.<sup>14</sup>

A more fundamental meaning of creativity involves the ability to 'break set' or re-structure a problem in a new way, allowing the subject to show his or her originality. This is closely related to some components of analytic ability as also arithmetical ability. In tests, measuring this type of analytic ability, the care with which a subject breaks set has been found to be associated with the kind of spatial orientation he or she has. In particular, it is associated with the presence or absence of field dependence. Males tend to do better at this test than females. In general, females show more field-dependence than males. This perceptual trait is a relatively stable one and so is the sex difference co-related with it.<sup>15</sup>

The superiority of males in areas of spatial ability, creativity and analytic ability according to Sherman<sup>16</sup> is the result of the emphasis in differential practice in activities plausibly related to the

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14. Ibid., p. 80.

15. Ibid., p. 82.

16. Quoted in Mednick et al., Op. Cit.

development of spatial skills. These activities are blocks, model construction, working with machines, aiming games and activities and courses in mechanical drawing and analytical geometry. There is considerable evidence that practice improves spatial perception and the more the children are encouraged to indulge in these kinds of activities, regardless of their sex, the more likely they are to develop these skills.

A fascinating explanation of the importance of cross-sex identification in the development of analytic ability has been given by Lynn.<sup>17</sup> He takes it as axiomatic that the development of masculinity and femininity in children is achieved by the process of identification. He says that the female's identification with her mother is equivalent in terms of learning a lesson, while that of the 'male' with his father is a 'problem'. The two are different because the environment in which children are brought up is sexually asymmetrical. Both sexes are reared by the mother while the father is absent at work for much of the time. The little boy, thus has to 'break set' to discard his dependence on females and identify with

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17. Lynn, D., 1962, "Sex role and parental identification", Child Development, No.33, pp. 555-64.

the relatively external masculinity which his work-absent father represents. Lynn explains "The little girl acquires a learning method which primarily involves - a) a personal relationship, b) imitation rather than re-structuring the field and abstracting principles. On the other hand, the little boy acquires a different learning method, which primarily involves - a) defining the goal, b) re-structuring the field, c) abstracting principles. Although Lynn does not suggest that girls too may develop their problem solving abilities through identification with their fathers, yet the possibilities are that even sex identification may result in developing similar skills. In getting beyond the relationship with the mother and cultivating in themselves aspects of the father's role, both sexes make themselves independent of their immediate perceptual field.

Measured IQ is one thing and demonstrated intellectual achievement is another. Initially at school, girls achieve better results than boys and generally do better than boys. But, generally, female underachievement begins from the time around puberty. Homer<sup>18</sup> successfully exposed this

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18. Quoted in B.R. Kundsinn, (ed.), 1974, Women and Success: The Anatomy of Achievement, William Morrow & Co., New York.



de-acceleration in intellectual achievement of girls through her research on achievement motivation in women by postulating and demonstrating an avoidance motive called the motive to avoid success (M-S). This psychological barrier to intellectual achievement is defined as "the expectancy or anticipation of negative consequences as a result of success in competitive achievement situation". In the case of women, the specific negative consequences may be social rejection by men, loss of affection, friendship or one's dateable or marriage quality.

In the Indian context, the prospect of educating a girl is in itself considered problematic since the fear prevalent among the adults is that it may be difficult to find a groom to suit the girl's specifications.

The general controversy about whether sex differences in personality and behaviour are innate or learned will probably rage fiercely for years to come. But, for the time being, it is obvious that culture plays an important part in the shaping of male and female personality, as is clearly demonstrated in the cross-cultural evidence. To quote Anastasi, "From all that is said, it is apparent that we cannot speak of

inferiority and superiority, but only of specific differences in aptitudes and personality between the sexes. These differences are largely the result of culture and other experiential factors... the overlapping in all psychological characteristics is such that we need to consider men and women as individuals rather than in terms of group stereo-types."<sup>19</sup>

#### SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Among the sociological theories, two theories that deserve considerable attention, are the structural-functional theory and the marxist theory.

The basic perspective of the structural-functional point of view emerges in its prime emphasis on society and on the inter-relations of the institutions rather than on the individual or groups such as the family. Hence most societies have developed an elaborate and segregated network of roles of each sex, with little or no interaction between the two. The division of labour in most societies particularly our own, assigns to the women the role of the home-maker and the rearer of children, and a passive partner in emotional relationships. Whereas the male is assigned the role of the breadwinner, conferring upon him a great deal of

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19. Quoted in G. Green, 1970, The Female Eunuch, Paladin, Frogmore, p. 102.

authority, as a consequence of which he makes all the major decisions.

Roles in this context are prescribed patterns of behaviour that are thought to be essential to the functioning of an organization. "In their purest form, roles are behaviour abstractions divorced from the personalities of the role incumbents and as such are important control instruments because they improve the predictability of human behaviour in the organizational setting and contributes to organizational stability."<sup>20</sup> Similarly, social roles can be seen as culturally prescribed patterns of behaviour designed to constrain and shape the actions of individuals in a social setting. Thus, social roles, the culturally prescribed patterns of behaviour for adults differ from those of children, leaders from these of followers and those of men from those of women. The culturally prescribed roles, differentiating the behaviour of sexes, are seen to be leading to efficiency and harmony within a society. However, this in turn gives rise to sex stereotypes, carrying with it, the unpleasant undertones of discrimination as well as retardation in the all around development of the human being. The flaw

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20. See Mednick et al., Op. Cit.

of the structural-functionalists is that, their entire theory has a strong androcentric bias. To begin with, their argument centres around the division of labour and allocation of roles which contribute towards maintaining societal equilibrium. Yet, we know for a fact that all roles are not of equal importance, and much less equally distributed among the various members of the society. This an obvious conclusion which flows from the fact that the nature and magnitude of rewards are so different for each role, as also the fact that all the important roles carrying with it both money and prestige are often allocated to men than women. This being true, the structural-functionalists are justifying the existing position of women and are guilty of taking advantage of the existing biological differences between men and women to justifying existing social differences.

For the marxist theorists, the woman's question dates back to the early history of mankind, which takes us into the field of anthropology. Engel<sup>21</sup> highlighted the sharp contrasts between primitive classless society and the present class society and drew the full

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21. Engels' F., 1972, Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, Pathfinder Press, New York.

sociological conclusions from the materials gathered by anthropologists.

Evelyn Reed<sup>22</sup> has borrowed heavily from Engels and points out the fact that contrary to the popular belief that women are by nature the inferior sex or that they are inferior because of their child bearing functions, she argues that the discovery of the leading positions occupied by women in primitive matriarchal societies has challenged this capitalist myth. Savage women bore children and yet they were free; independent and right in the centre of social and cultural life. This involved not only the 'woman's question' but also the sacred family and the contrast was aggravated by the fact that along with all other equalities and freedom, there were also free sexual relations for women as for men. This is in sharp distinction to the rigid sexual restrictions imposed upon women in a male dominated society as ours. Another interesting feature of the early society was the fact that primitive people did not know or care about the individual parentage of any child. All adults in a class community regarded themselves as the social parents of the children providing for them equally.

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22. Reed, E., 1970, Problems of Women's Liberation, Pathfinder Press, New York.

During the period when men were occupied as full time hunters and warriors, women developed most of the basic tools, skills and techniques at the base of social advancement. From food collecting they moved on to simple horticulture and then to agriculture. Out of the great variety of crafts they practised, which included pot making, leather making, textile making, house building etc. they developed rudiments of botany, chemistry, medicine and other branches of scientific knowledge. As Engels pointed out, "all societies have rested upon the twin pillars of productivity and procreation."<sup>23</sup> Thus, it was the women, the producers of both new life and material necessities of life, who became the social leaders and governesses of the communities. This perhaps explains why the early society was matriarchal with women occupying the central place in it. Their productive activities were the source of their social power. This then, was the part played by women in history, which was quite different from that of a later patriarchal era. The question before us now is "how did this drastic reversal come about"? According to Hegel, it began with great changes in the structural societies

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23. Ibid., p.20.

and the break down of the original communistic system. With the rise of the new system of private properties, monogamous marriages and the family, women were dispersed to become wives and mothers in individual homes. Separated in this manner, they no longer represented a great social force as they did earlier.

If women were to be brought back to enjoy the position they held earlier then the only answer is to have community ownership as they did in the earlier tribal societies and continue to do so even today among certain tribes which are untouched by capitalism. The answer lies in a common struggle of both men and women to achieve complete transformation of our society into a socialist one, for in the present class ridden society women as well as men are the victims of exploitation.

The marxist theory not only explodes the myth of women's inferiority, but also gives a solution to this problem in the form of socialism. Both Engels and Lenin saw women's participation in modern collective forms of production and the disappearance of individual household work as a condition for equality and liberation of women.

Today countries like USSR, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria and

Rumania have half their women working and most of them work in 'conventional masculine' occupations such as medicine, chemistry, economics, and pharmacy, although the latter two professions have been re-defined/which is a peculiar phenomena witnessed in most countries once women start entering these professions. These countries provide facilities such as childcare institutions, packed lunches and the like, which are directed towards making household tasks few and manageable. Yet, despite all this, one noticeable fact which comes to surface is that all these countries have managed to combine their famitial and occupational roles through social arrangements without demanding or bringing about a redefinition of the husband and wife roles.

On the other hand, take the Scandinavian countries especially Sweden, they have a lesser number of working women particularly married women and though the society provides some nursery schools, and childcare institutions, these are not enough for all working women. Again, there are no societal arrangements for meals etc. But, what probably facilitates the working role of married woman is an increasingly radical redefinition of the marital roles. As a part of the sex role movement in Scandinavia, especially in Sweden, the



roles of husbands and wives have been so redefined that they both equally must share child rearing and household tasks.

The answer to women's equality does not necessarily lie in any political ideology, nor in the economic sphere alone, although both these are important facets of social reality. If equality for women has to be realized fully, then the problem has to be tackled at the very roots, the family which is the most fundamental unit of analysis and the respective roles of men and women within it. At the Ph.D level, this would be one of the areas which would be probed.

## CHAPTER - 2

### WOMEN AND EQUALITY

In this chapter, an attempt is made to find out what the concept of equality means to women. The accent is on women because, although they comprise the largest oppressed group in the world, yet they are divided along the lines of other considerations such as caste, class and race. This simultaneous oneness and diversity, have confounded almost everyone, who has tried to study them as a group. But they are left with no doubts that whatever the confusion might be, this group also happens to be a part of the oppressed section which is largely denied the application of this noble ideal in all its dimensions. "As the new bourgeois man held the torch up against absolute tyranny and argued for freedom and equality, the new bourgeois woman wondered, why she was being left out"? "If all men are born free, how is it that all women are born slaves"?<sup>24</sup>

The concept 'equality' was first introduced as one of the highest of ideals to be realized in the new society's ideology in revolutionary England of the

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24. Quoted in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (ed.), 1977, The Right and Wrongs of Women, Penguin, London, p. 387.

seventeenth century. The notion of equality reached further heights in the era of enlightenment in the eighteenth century with the French Revolution. Almost a hundred and eighty-nine years have passed since then. The world has not stood still, it has witnessed a great deal of transformation, the greatest being another revolution in the form of technology which has taken human kind into dizzying heights. A number of political ideologies have also been born, namely, democracy, socialism and communism, each seeking to come closer to the utopia sought by mankind. But none have succeeded in realizing this concept of equality which seeks to cut across barriers of religion, caste, class, race and sex.

"Among the definitions of "equality" provided by the Oxford English dictionary, are the following three :

- (i) The condition of having equal dignity, rank or privileges with others.
- (ii) The condition of being equal in power, ability, achievement or excellence.
- (iii) Fairness, impartiality, equity due proportion, proportionateness."

Although, all of them are consistent in common usage, they are not entirely consistent with one

another. It is only, if men are in fact equal in power, ability and excellence that equity preserves a condition of equal rank. But, in fact, men are not equal, there are natural differences in the form of sex, colour, character traits, natural endowments and institutional variations such as citizenship, religion, social rank etc. Other properties are common to all but varying in degrees. They are, age, strength intelligence, possessions, power etc. To claim that all men are equal in some respects can only mean that resemblances are in some way more significant than the differences. It is thus that Hobbes states that "nature hath made men so equal in the faculties of the body and mind that the weak can kill the strongest and no man can outwit the other."<sup>25</sup>

"There is a sentiment, inchoate, yet profound that no matter how unequal men may be in their abilities, yet in some deeper sense all men are equal merely by virtue of belonging anatomically to the species of homo sapiens and can speak a language, use tools, live in societies, can interbreed and despite racial, religious and sex-difference they are also alike in

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25. Quoted in D. Sills, (ed.), 1968, The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, McMillan & the Free Press, U.S.A., p. 102.

certain other respects which are more likely to be forgotten. These aspects are notably the capacity to feel pain both from immediate physical causes and from various situations represented in perception and thought; the capacity to feel affection for others and in consequence of this, connected with the frustration of this affection, loss of its objects etc."<sup>26</sup> The assertion that men are alike in the possession of these characteristics, is while indisputable, may even be necessarily true. But definitely not trivial. Yet, there are certain private and societal arrangements, that systematically neglect these characteristics in the case of some sections of humanity, while being fully aware of them in the case of others. They may well recognize the presence of these characteristics in the worst treated section, but claim that in the case of that section, the characteristics do not give rise to any moral claim, the group being distinguished from other members of society by virtue of some further characteristic such as, race, religion, and sex, which may be cited as the ground for treating them differently. •

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26. Williams, B., in Laslett, P. and Runciman, W.G., (ed.), 1969, Philosophy, Politics and Society, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, p. 112.

"The division of society into classes or strata, which are arranged in a hierarchy of wealth, prestige and power is a prominent and almost universal feature of social structure which has always attracted the attention of social theorists and philosophers."<sup>27</sup> - says T.B. Bottommore. In addition, to the division of society into classes or strata, sex has always been a primary determinant of the social structure. Society, in its preliminary organization has always distinguished the sexes as social groups in many different ways - hence it would be shortsighted to ignore the analytical potential inherent in the concept of sex roles.

One would tend to agree with Bottommore, when he adds that "for the greater part of history, this inequality among men has been generally accepted as an unalterable fact."<sup>28</sup> It is when people see certain of these inequalities as unjust and alterable that equality as an ideal becomes a potent force in political and social life. The birth of feminism and the early suffrage movement can be viewed as a

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27: Quoted in Rees, J., 1971, Equality, Pall Mall, London.

28. Ibid.

protest, attempted at changing social reality, under the pressure of the existing social and political conditions.

The suffrage movement was a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. The Seneca Falls conference to issue a declaration of sentiments occurred in 1848. Although the women's question was discussed as early as the Elizabethan period, this talk did not develop into an organized movement. In 1792 Wollstonecraft's<sup>29</sup> writings marked the conscious beginning of the struggle for women's rights. This book was a direct reflection of her sympathies with the French and American revolutions, a demand that women's rights be included in the rights of men for which the revolutionaries were fighting.

However, it was in America that the women's question first developed into an organized movement, springing directly from the abolitionist movement. Women, who started to plead for the slaves found that they were not allowed to plead. Rather they were ridiculed when they appeared on the speaker's platform. Within a short time, most of the prominent women in

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29. Wollencraft, M.,  
of Woman.

Vindication of the Rights

abolitionist circles spoke for their own rights too, although a formal organization advocating complete legal equality and suffrage was not formed for another twenty years. Fifty eight years have passed since the American women got their right to suffrage, many western and eastern countries have followed suit and India is one of them. In India, the national freedom movement restored civil liberties not only to men but also to women. Though social reform movement set free forces for the emancipation of women through their participation in other spheres of activity, yet the position of women continues to be inferior.

However, the implications of the changing educational and employment opportunities crucially affected women. Other than teachers, social work, and nursing, women were never given the chance to become traditional intellectuals, administrators, Members of Parliament, lawyers, etc. The expansion of higher education for women, also served to further their discontent, since, they always found themselves in positions of work, which gave them very little job satisfaction in terms of the intellectual stimulation they had hoped for. All this only strengthened their effort for equality in all walks of life, not just legally but to seek equality of opportunity in the



educational familial, occupational, social and political spheres of life.

Alice Rossi talking about sex equality, says that "a group may be said to suffer from inequality if its members are restricted in access to legitimate valued positions or rewards in a society for which their ascribed status is not a relevant consideration." She goes on to say that "there are several other forms of inequality in addition to legal statute : corporate or organizational policies and regulations and most importantly, those covert social pressures which restrict the aspirations or depress the motivation of individuals on the ascribed grounds of their membership in certain categories. Forms of inequality therefore range from explicit legal statute to informal social pressure."<sup>30</sup>

Type of inequality, also adds a second dimension namely, the area of life in which the inequality is evidenced. "There are inequalities in the public sector as citizens, employees, consumers on students and there are inequalities in the private sector as family,

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30. Rossi, A., in Thompson, M.L. (ed.), 1970, Voices of The New Feminism, Beacon Press, U.S.A., p. 61.

organization or club members. Throughout history, the gains made for either racial, caste, or sex equality, have always been based on constitutional protection of individual rights in the public area of inequality as citizens, students and workers. But precisely because of constitutional protection of privacy of home, family and person, it is more difficult to remove inequalities rooted in the private spheres of life. We have yet to devise a means to compensate for the influences of parents who depress a daughter's aspiration to become a physician, while urging a son to aspire beyond his capacity or preference."<sup>31</sup>

The discussion on the concept of equality, as far as women and other oppressed groups are concerned, is basically centered around the lack of opportunities or equality of opportunity. Husen throws light on what is meant by equality or opportunity. According to him, "from the point of the individual, 'equality' can be conceived of in three ways (i) as a starting point, (ii) as a treatment, (iii) as a final goal or as a combination of these three."<sup>32</sup> Now to elaborate,

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31. Ibid., p. 62.

32. Husen, T., 1975, Social Influences on Educational Attainment, OECD, p. 17.

each of these three aspects separately. Firstly, although everyone is not equal from the genetic point of view, yet theoretically one can think of a state of affairs where everyone is given exactly the same living conditions from the day of their birth.

"Secondly, equality can be thought of as applied to treatment. Everybody irrespective of his genetic equipment and social origin, could be thought, to be treated equally in various ways."<sup>33</sup> To begin with everyone could be equal before the law, but this does not produce the desired consequences, because it cannot cancel out the effects of the covert pressures exerted on the child during the period of socialization.

Finally, equality of opportunity could be regarded as a goal or a set of guide posts, in the sense that framing and implementation of any policy, be it social, economic, political or educational, should introduce measures that would contribute to an increased equalization in both professional and personal attainment. This would in turn, lead to greater socio-economic equalization in terms of economic status and participation in decision-making processes that concern all citizens.

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33. Ibid., p.17.

Rossi has extracted three potential models from the writings of many sociologists, who have studied immigrants and their children, and puzzled about the eventual shape of society. These models are considered to be useful in sketching the alternate goals not only for the relations between ethnic groups, but also between races and sexes. They are "the pluralist model, which anticipates a society in which marked racial, religious and ethnic differences are retained and valued for their diversity, yielding a heterogeneous society in which it is hoped cultural strength is increased by the diverse strands making up the whole society. In the case of sex, the pluralist model posits the necessity of traditional sex role differentiation between the sexes on the grounds of fundamental physiological and hence social differences between the sexes. This is the perspective subscribed to by most behavioural scientists, clinical psychologists and psycho-analysts, despite the fact that the women they have studied and analyzed are the products of a society that systematically produce such sex differences through child-bearing and schooling practices."<sup>34</sup>

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34. Op. Cit., pp. 67-68.

"The Assimilation model, anticipates a society in which the minority groups are gradually absorbed into the mainstream by losing their distinguishing characteristics and acquiring the language, occupational skills and life style of the majority of the host culture. The feminist assimilation model, has an implicit fallacy, of expecting an equitable distribution of women and men in the top strata of business and professional occupations. This is something which seems highly improbable, but nevertheless continues to be a Utopia sought after by many educated women."<sup>35</sup>

"Lastly, the Hybrid model of equality rejects the both/traditional psychological assumptions and institutional structure, we have inherited."<sup>36</sup> It anticipates a society in which the lives of men in terms of the roles played will be different.

"Because, the institutional changes it would require, involve restructuring, to bring the world of jobs and politics closer to the fulfilment of individual human needs for both creativity and fellowship."<sup>37</sup>

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35. Op. Cit., pp. 67-71.

36. Op. Cit., p. 72.

37. Op. Cit., p. 72.

After having traced the background of what equality has meant to women in the world in general who have channelized their protest in the form of women's movements, let us now come down to the specific context of India.

Any attempt to assess the position of women today in any society should ideally start from a social framework. When we say that inequality flows from the social structure, we have in mind several factors such as religion, caste, kinship and family structure, all of which operate singly or collectively to justify and reinforce the existing social structure.

Religion in India has always played and continues to play an important role in defining the status of women through beliefs about their inherent character, natural strengths and weaknesses and their rights and obligations towards men, society and God. The fact that India hosts several major religions, each with very different myths, ideologies, beliefs and ritual practices, also suggests that the status of women would vary according to religion.

In Hinduism, which comprises of several phases, the vedic period is said to have witnessed a high status for women, where they had the right to study

the vedas and offer sacrifices and enjoy considerable freedom in marriage. There was also no bar on widow re-marriage or women remaining unmarried. Later, when the ascetic sannyasi ideal became very dominant, the status of women deteriorated. Altekar, sees the period of 500 A.D. to 1800 A.D. as one of progressive deterioration in the position of women in society. The Upanayana rite for girls was completely abandoned and the age of marriage was increasingly lowered; child marriage became a common practice precluding any formal education for girls as also the possibility of remarriage of widows.<sup>38</sup>

Buddhism, on the other hand, recognized broad parity between man and woman in matters of religion and both sexes were charged alike with the duty of upholding Dharma. Nirvana was possible for both men and women. Thus, Buddhism as a liberal reaction against orthodox Brahmanism elevated the status of women. However, the ideal propounded for women in a society is not materially very different from the one held up by the orthodox Hindu view. She has to serve

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38. India, Government of, 1974, Towards Equality, Report of the Committee on the Status of Women, p. 40.

the man.<sup>39</sup>

As a way of life, Jainism lays great stress on self denial, restraint of passion and a life of renunciation for both men and women. However, wherever Jainism has been adopted in a patrilineal community, the boys have been claiming superiority over girls in respect of the right to inheritance and succession.<sup>40</sup>

In Sikhism, there is no difference between men and women for the purposes of devotion. In social life, however, Sikhism does not concede equality for women. On the contrary a woman's kinship and domestic roles have been emphasized.<sup>41</sup>

The myth of creation in Christianity which says that Eve was created after Adam to act as his companion and helpmate accords a second place to woman in social and domestic life. Also, the mythical image of Eve as a temptress and a seducer has given the right to the husband to control his wife. Polygamy is strictly forbidden. The establishment of monogamy along with the security of home and the certainty of not being separated from her children, she also has to be

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39. Ibid, p. 47.

40. Ibid, p. 46.

41. Ibid, p. 48.



subjected to the husband's authority and is deprived of legal rights and independent existence. In India, although the Christian girls were the first to benefit from education and employment, yet the basic notion of inferiority was not softened. Rather, education was largely imparted in order to make women better housewives and mothers.<sup>42</sup>

### CASTE

There are a number of factors related to caste in India which affects the position of women in our society. Both Srinivas and Beteille suggest that among the poor and the low castes the relationship between men and women is more egalitarian than among the higher castes and that whenever the lower castes try to raise their status through sanskritization, this brings about lowering of the status of women and making them subordinate to men in moral, economic and ritual terms. Stokes in her study of a Bihar village found Harijan women more open, expressive, joking and willing to mix greatly than the upper caste women. One of her informants, a Dai or a midwife, expressed

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42. Ibid., p. 45.

very little envy of upper caste women, who according to her, have nothing to do except fight with one another.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the general concept of the relative freedom enjoyed by women in the caste structure, special mention ought to be made of the existing forms of descent within a caste system. The overwhelming majority of the Indian population follow the patrilineal systems of descent, where the boy is the perpetuator of the patriline and by contrast, a girl is of no use in this respect. Her contribution, in this sphere being sought in her husband's house, where although she is ceremonially welcomed as a symbolic expression of her future role as a contributor of prosperity and fertility, she continues to be an inferior partner having no legal rights over her property nor children. Yet, there are interesting regional variations regarding the modes of descent. A very interesting example of how these may differ within a particular region is the case of the Nayars and the Namboodiris of Kerala. In a traditional society, Nayars maintained a matrilineal system of descent whereby status and property were

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43. Stokes, O., in Jain, D. (ed.), 1975, Indian Women, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, p. 218.

inherited through the maternal line and they also practiced natal local residence. This gave the women greater influence and dignity since she did not gain her status from her husband and had full right over her property and her children. By contrast, within the same region, the Namboodri Brahmins maintained a strict patrilineal system with inheritance passing through the male line and patrilocal residence where only the eldest son was allowed to marry and inherit the property.

#### FAMILY STRUCTURE

Whether or not, a woman lives in a joint family, may have important consequences for her position in society and the opportunities that are open to her. There is no doubt that in many cases joint family living restricts the freedom of women. Especially younger women with regard to movement outside the home, decision making in financial matters or running of the household. But the nuclear family has its own problems in India. When geographical mobility necessitates the establishment of a neolocal residence, the joint family may continue to be the ideal, carrying with it the necessary obligations. This, combined with the lack of other members of the family to share domestic chores

and child rearing responsibilities, may be far more limiting in the end than joint family living. It sometimes happens that joint family living frees women for employment who would otherwise find it impossible to handle both an outside job and domestic and child rearing responsibilities. In a Madras study conducted by the Madras School of Social Work, it was found that "half of the women who had once worked, withdrew from employment later due to increased childcare and household responsibilities."<sup>44</sup>

The above mentioned factors have been operating in the Indian society throughout the ages and if the impact of the influence of these factors are felt less now as far as women in India are concerned, it is largely due to the struggle for independence and the consequent freedom movement.

The coming of the British imprisoned the status of both men and women alike and the national freedom movement restored to the citizens irrespective of their religion, caste or sex, their basic civil rights. "The preamble to the Constitution of India resolved

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44. Madras School of Social Work, 1956, Working Mothers in White Collar Occupations, Madras.

to secure to all its citizens justice - social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation."<sup>45</sup>

Indian women are the beneficiaries of these rights in the same manner as Indian men. "Article 14 ensures 'equality before law' and Article 15 'prohibits any discrimination', Article 16(1) guarantees 'equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state' and Article 16(2) forbids 'discrimination in respects to any office under the state' on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any one of them."<sup>46</sup>

"The directive principles of state policy enunciated in part iv of the Constitution embody the major policy goals of a welfare state. They concretize together with the chapter on fundamental rights, the

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45. See ICSSR Report, Op. Cit., p. 12.

46. Op. Cit., p. 1.

constitutional vision of a new Indian socio-political order. Directive principles concern women directly and have a special bearing on their status. These include "Article 89(a) the right to an adequate means of livelihood for men and women equally, Article 89(d) equal pay for equal work for both men and women and Article (42) just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief."<sup>47</sup>

The story of Indian feminist movement is unique only because the cause for women's freedom was first expressed by enlightened males who had imbibed liberal ideas. Social reformers in India whether they were modernising liberals or revivalists also emphasized the crucial importance of education of women to improve their status in society. Although, initially education for women was regarded as a means to improve their status within the family, yet, ironically for them, the problem of reaching education and health services to the women of this country led to the realization of the need for women teachers and doctors. Since, this was not possible without training women in these professions, the importance of these two

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47. Op. Cit., p. 2.

vocations outside the familiar roles had to be incorporated in the programmes for women's education, and this gave the first impetus for women to enter into professions. The encouragement women got in these two areas is perhaps one reason why we find a larger number of women concentrated in these two professions even today.

While it is true that the status and discrimination of women constitute a problem in all societies and has now emerged as a crisis in human development, yet sex equality cannot in reality be differentiated from the variety of social, economic and cultural inequalities in Indian society. The inequalities inherent in our traditional structure, as has been earlier mentioned, based on caste, community and class have a very significant influence on the status of women in different spheres. Socially accepted rights and expected roles of women, norms governing their behaviour and of others towards them vary among different groups and regions. Therefore, it would be misleading to make broad generalizations regarding the status of women.

Today in our society, the structural changes in the economy as a result of commercialization, expanding

markets and technological change in the methods of production combined with the growth of urbanization and education has managed to arrest some of the increasing inequalities between the sexes. Just as the post World War I witnessed the growth of the phenomena of the working women in U.S.A. and U.K., the post independent era has witnessed the emergence of the educated Indian women. The stress is on the word educated, because working women as such are not a new addition to the Indian scene since the lower class women have worked from time immemorial on the agricultural land. The difference now is that the domestic economy has given way to industrial economy and the accent has shifted to paid labour in terms of wages. Also, the fact that women have started getting educated have posed another problem in the form of a growing restlessness to utilize their education and seek employment rather than involve themselves in domestic work. Education and sometimes economic necessity has created a vacuum within the educated women, which cannot be sufficiently filled by giving way to domestic chores. In many ways, the kind of feeling she experiences, is close to one of Betty Friedan's respondents in her book who wondered "Just what was this problem that has no name? What were the words women used when they tried to express



it?" Sometimes a woman would say "I feel empty somehow... incomplete" or she would say "I feel as if I don't exist."<sup>48</sup>

In a way, it is this kind of emptiness, which made many educated women seek work. Yet, economic independence did not solve all their problems. Instead the working women began to face new problems. Consequently, several studies have been focussed on working women, both married and unmarried, dealing with their socio-economic conditions, ambitions, achievements, motivations for taking up employment and problems of adjustment and role conflict. Some of the studies that deal specifically with these problems are the following : Cormack's <sup>49</sup> study is a portrayal of women of India and examines the persistence of tradition and change. The informants were women under graduates of the Columbia University coming from educated urban, middle and upper class backgrounds representing the various geographical areas. Most of the women were Hindu, but the group included a Muslim, Sikhs and a

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48. Friedan, B., 1963, The Feminine Mystique, Dell Publishing Co., New York, p. 16.

49. Cormack, M.L., 1963, The Hindu Woman, Columbia University Press, Colombia.

Christian. It was found that Hindu women by and large are tradition-oriented and accept social customs and values that are widely accepted by the society. While responding to society's changing needs they continue to selectively adhere to their traditional roles and the value system. The most serious limitation of the study is that it is based primarily on the information supplied by only ten women undergraduates who did not represent India's women cross-sectionally.

Sengupta's<sup>50</sup> study contains valuable information about women workers. Its scope is vast as it includes women working in factories, mines, plantations and agriculture and in a variety of other services, trades and professions. The survey and analysis of the available secondary data on the working women came from various agencies, institutes and government and other reports. The author traces the development of women workers in various jobs, occupations and professions in a historical perspective, and analyses the factors that led them to enter various kinds of out of home jobs. She also puts forward the case of all working women, emphasizing the idea that women must combine

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50. Sengupta, P., 1960, Women Workers in India, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

their household roles with their outside interests and work, if they are to keep up with an advancing world.

Hate's<sup>51</sup> study is an attempt to assess the magnitude as well as the direction of change in the status of women after independence. The study is based on a sample selected out of four towns, Bombay, Poona, Nagpur and Sholapur and it focusses on the working as well as non-working middle class women. The data for the study was collected through three types of questionnaires administered respectively to (i) educated group, including working and non-working women, (ii) their families, and (iii) the officers and employees under whom women were working. This survey attempts to study the change in the various facets of woman's social and moral life, namely career, employment and motherhood. The study concludes that the woman's status has undoubtedly changed but not fully. In principle although she has the status of equality but in day to day life she is far away from this ideas particularly the women of the lower middle class. The factors which appear to be responsible for change

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51. Hate, C.A., 1969, Changing Status of Woman in Post-Independence India, Allied Publishers, Bombay.

are education, gainful employment or economic independence and legal and political rights.

Another book which deals with a segment of urban women is by Rama Mehta.<sup>52</sup> This study was undertaken to discuss the complex and far reaching impact of western education and influence on Indian society, and also to find out to what extent traditional customs and values are still operating in the Indian society. The study starts with the assumption that the impact of alien influences on the Indian women, greatly undermine their faith in traditional norms and values and has effectively changed the attitudes of the elite of the country. The sample comprised of Hindu women from different castes and from different provinces in India, having a minimum educational qualification of B.A. degree from an Indian University and having received education from an English medium school. The results show a limited change in the basic attitudes of western-educated Hindu women towards traditionalism vs modernity. The respondents indicate change to the extent of their being no longer committed to the traditional institutions, but it also shows that they

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52. Mehta, R., 1970, The Western Educated Hindu Woman, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

continues to be intellectually committed to the traditional value system. In the process of mobilization they do favour change but on the foundation of their cultural values. A need for synthesizing of the old with the new and modern was emphasized.

Ranade and Ramachandran's<sup>53</sup> study is a compilation of the reports of two pilot studies, one concluded at Delhi, by the Delhi School of Social Work and the other at Bombay by the Ministry of Education. The main purpose of this study was to ascertain the attitudes of women towards employment, particularly, towards part-time employment. The sample consisted of educated women : who were working, were seeking employment, were not employed and were not seeking employment. The data was collected through pre-tested structured interview schedules and the findings show that a large majority of respondents did not want part-time employment mainly because it does not provide enough income. Preference for part-time employment was more pronounced in the Bombay sample than in the Delhi sample. It also refutes many popular beliefs regarding antagonism in middle class families towards

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53. Ramachandran, P. and Ranade, S.N., 1970, Woman and Employment, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Series No. 20, Bombay.

women's employment. Since no mention of simplifying techniques were used, it is difficult to say that its conclusions are accurate. Nevertheless, it is commendable work as an exploratory study in the area of attitudes of urban women.

Taking up of gainful employment by the middle and upper class married woman and getting into various kinds of remunerative occupations and professions is comparatively a recent phenomenon. This emerging social trend has given rise to much speculation regarding its effect on marital and family relationship of these women. Kapur's<sup>54</sup> study explores the sociological as well as the psychological dimensions of this phenomenon. Her study aims to examine how successfully the educated working women have been able to make adjustments in their married life. Her sample includes 300 educated working women, whom she personally interviewed on the basis of a pre-tested structured interview schedule. One of the interesting findings is that although the wife's employment in itself does not affect her marital relationship adversely, yet the husbands are not prepared to make the much needed

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54. Kapur, P., 1970, "Marriage and the Working Women in India", Vikas Publications, Delhi.

adjustments both at the expectational and behavioural levels in the changed situation, and this generates tension which might later result in marital disharmony.

A study dealing with the similar theme emphasizing on Role conflict was done by Kalarani.<sup>55</sup> The study was conducted in Patna and the 150 respondents were mainly married and educated working women. The minimum educational qualification taken into consideration was Matriculation. The most popular jobs women were seen to be attached were teaching, medicine and telephone operators. The vast majority of husbands of working women were seen to earn enough to meet the expenses of the household, although this opinion was seen to vary according to status. The conclusions of this study were, that, most women took up jobs to make use of high or professional status and despite the fact that most of their husbands approved of their taking up jobs, yet 60 per cent of the respondents felt guilty that they could not pay as much attention to their husbands as they would have liked to. Conflict was seen to be a result of high perception of the two roles held by the women. At the methodological level the study

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55. Kalarani, 1976, Role Conflict in Working Women, Chetana Publications, Delhi.

revealed that in a work of this kind the data could be collected only through interviews and observations since the questionnaire would not yield the kind of intimate details needed.

The Educated Woman in Indian Society Today<sup>56</sup> attempts to draw attention towards the educated women of India. It is divided into two parts. Part I of this book is devoted to study the factual position regarding the educated structure within which the educated women of India have grown up and the dimensions of employment which have so far been achieved by them. It examines in detail, four professions - teaching, social work and medicine including surgery and nursing, where large number of men have been employed.

Part II of this book consists of considered expert opinion on various facets of the development of educated Indian women, the enlargement of their employment - potential and the extension of their productive use in the nation's economy.

Goldstein's<sup>57</sup> study represents an attempt to empirically investigate urban middle class women who

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56. The Educated Woman in Indian Society Today, 1971, Muriel Wasi (ed.), Tata McGraw Hill Co., Bombay, New Delhi.

57. Goldstein, R., 1972, Indian Woman in Transition - A Bangalore study, The Scarecrow Press, New Jersey.



had recently graduated from universities in India. It probes into some of the important issues centering on the development of new roles fostered by university education when made to mesh with traditional family centered female roles and how these educated women perceive the effect of higher education on their lives and their perception of female roles. A sample of 97 young women graduates and post-graduates was selected from Bangalore and a questionnaire was administered personally. The conclusions suggest that education is seen to be an asset in the marriage market rather than a job, although in the event of arranged marriages, this is seen to have a negative influence since the girl's requirements for a husband became more difficult. Employment is viewed as less advantageous in its effect on marriage, since they recognize the continuing processes against those who work. On the other hand, they are also more aware of the opportunity to help their husbands. The employment problems found most pressing by this sample of educated women are the lack of available jobs suited to their educational attainments. The college educated women voice a preference for jobs as teachers, bank clerks or research workers and most of the working women in the sample were teachers. Medicine was also seen as a youthful aspirations for some.

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Finally, the National Committee on the Status of Women,<sup>58</sup> which was set up by the government of India in September 1971 brought out a very comprehensive report which is one of the most exhaustive accounts dealing with the status of women both in pre and post-independence India. The study traces the historical background of the Indian women, the impact of the freedom which resulted into a transformation of socio-economic, political and legal status for her. Chapters 5 and 6 are of particular importance since it deals exhaustively with the growth of educational development and the opportunities for economic participation for women since independence.

One very important fact which emerges from all the books named above is the persistence of traditional values despite the changes that are occurring in terms of modernization. The working woman is caught between the pulls of tradition and modernity and experiences role conflict. She experiences tension largely because now she has to handle two domains of work instead of one. Singh<sup>59</sup> while referring to the family structure

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58. Indian Council of Social Sciences Report, Op. Cit., 1974.

59. Menfee Singh, A., in De Souza, A.(ed.), 1975, Women in Contemporary India : Traditional Images and Changing Roles, Manohar, New Delhi.

within the Indian context, felt that in the Indian setting a joint family would perhaps be more feasible as well as realistic in the case of working women, since it would reduce her responsibilities towards household chores. However, this suggestion has to be approached with caution since we cannot take it for granted that the older people in the house would approve of a woman working and would be willing to share her domestic responsibilities. The alternative would be a modification or a less rigid definition of the roles of a husband and wife, which would result in a sharing of the domestic workload as well. The Madras study is seen to have observed that husbands of working women are more conducive to helping in the household chores than those of non-working women.

The persistence of such traditional images and norms regarding working women is perhaps one reason why women are seen to be concentrated in certain professions such as teaching and medicine. Together with the possibility of easy access, these two professions may be seen to not generate more social and psychological tensions since both the teacher and the doctor are looked upon more favourably and are attributed greater humanitarian rather than mercenary values.

The social approval centering around these two professions might have been advantageous for women in the years following independence. But, the fact that women still continue to be clustered in these two professions, is definitely an undesirable trend, since they ought to be given greater opportunity now to move into diverse fields.

Also, as mentioned earlier, economic independence should not be looked upon as the sole factor in achieving equality between sexes and less so, when they are seen to be segregated into certain occupations and professions. If equality in the economic sphere is to succeed, it ought to be accompanied by equality within the domestic sphere also. While economic activity should not be considered a man's prerogative, domestic activity should not be considered woman's responsibility.

## CHAPTER - III

### ENROLMENT, OUT-TURN AND EMPLOYMENT

One of the strongest forces of recent social history all over the world has been the belief that the more education one has, the greater are one's life chances for prestige and success. For a long time economists have come to look upon the process of education as reflecting an investment decision of those being educated as well as for society as a whole. From the sociologist's point of view, in addition to the direct monetary outlays, the influence of education is seen to be persisting over an entire life time, reflected in factors such as time of marriage, choice of marriage partner, family size, consumption and saving allocation, socio-political attitudes and values, use of leisure time, leisure choices etc. In short, education is not only seen as affecting occupational status and life-time earnings, but is inextricably linked with the values of a modernizing society, where education and achievement attempt to cut across barriers of caste, race and sex and thereby strive towards a more egalitarian society.

This chapter is mainly an attempt to analyse certain trends regarding the enrolment and out-turn of both men and women among the various faculties in the

universities. The accent on the university and higher education is deliberate, since higher education is looked upon as a necessary condition to enter into any profession. The word profession rather than occupation has been deliberately chosen, since it is attempted to adhere closely to the definition given by Parsons. Profession, as Parsons defines it "depends on the notion of university as an institution of the intellectual. The modern university with the emphasis on teaching and research, provides both training and intellectual tradition, but, in some measure incorporates also the legitimizing structure of authority and competence."

More specifically, the professionals acquire their power from the formal academic training, i.e., the study of the objective and descriptive elements. Combined with this are the elements of socialization and initiation into the wider class ideology of the professional group.

To date, there is no complete agreement on what is actually meant by a profession. But Etzioni's<sup>60</sup> concept of a continuum on which professions could be

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60. Etzioni, A. (ed.), 1969, Semi Professions and their Organization : Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers, The Free Press, New York.

placed, could perhaps clarify as to what is meant by a profession. Along this continuum are represented two important types of professions. They are (1) the fully-fledged profession, (2) The semi-profession. There are certain distinguishing factors which differentiate the semi-professions from the fully-fledged professions. They are :

- a) a higher proportion of female members who are employed largely in bureaucratic organizations.
- b) a shorter period of training.
- c) a less legitimized status.
- d) a less specified body of knowledge.
- e) less established rights to privileged committee.<sup>61</sup>

From the above criteria listed, one very important fact that emerges is that all professions are backed by a considerable amount of academic rigour and training. This becomes very important when we consider the growth of professionalism among women because the occupations, wherein women are seen largely to be clustered, lack the kind of academic training underlying most professions. It is for this reason that an attempt is

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61. Ibid.

undertaken to analyse the trends regarding the enrolment and out-turn of both men and women among the various faculties at the university level. For the purposes of this chapter higher education has been defined as education which is composed of graduation, post-graduation, research and diploma/certificate.<sup>62</sup>

#### SOURCES

The entire data on enrolment and out-turn have been compiled from three kinds of reports published by the Ministry of Education. They are as follows :

- a) University Development in India - Basic Facts and Figures, 1967-68 to 1973-74 (annual).
- b) Education in Universities in India, 1965-66 (annual).
- c) Education in India, 1965-66 and 1970-71 (annual).
- d) Certain unpublished data regarding the enrolment statistics for the year 1974-75 and 1975-76 were also obtained from the U.G.C.

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62. This definition is not original. It is the definition adopted by the University Grants Commission.



The tables presented in the dissertation have all been compiled from the raw data obtained from the above mentioned sources.

### METHODOLOGY

The enrolment figures have been collected for a decade starting from 1965-66 to 1975-76. But, they have been analysed only from three points of time, namely 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76. But the figures on out-turn for the year 1975-76 have not yet been compiled and published in any statistical reports so far, therefore, they could not be obtained for analysis. Hence, the out-turn trends have only been done for the year 1965-66 and 1970-71.

### SECTION - I

#### ENROLMENT

The faculty-wise analyses have been carried out from two angles (see Table 1).

- a) One sets to find out the trends in the distribution of women and men to total women and men enrolled in the faculties.
- b) The second sets out to find the proportion of women and men to the total enrolment in the faculties.

**Table 1**

**The percentage enrolment of men and women within the Faculties for the years 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76**  
( in per cent )

Faculty	1965 - 66				1970 -71				1975 - 76			
	The per-centage of men to total	The per-centage of women to total	The per-centage of men to total enrol-ment	The per-centage of women to total enrol-ment	The per-centage of men to total	The per-centage of women to total	The per-centage of men to total enrol-ment	The per-centage of women to total enrol-ment	The per-centage of men to total	The per-centage of women to total	The per-centage of men to total enrol-ment	The per-centage of women to total enrol-ment
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Arts	35.7	64.14	67.14	32.8	36.9	64.9	66.7	33.2	38.2	66.0	63.6	36.3
Science	27.5	21.8	82.2	17.7	27.4	22.1	81.3	18.6	19.6	18.7	75.9	24.01
Commerce	12.9	.71	98.5	1.49	16.2	1.79	96.6	3.03	21.5	4.62	93.3	6.63
Education	2.65	5.15	65.3	34.6	2.37	4.82	63.4	36.5	2.59	5.05	60.7	39.2
Engineering/ Technology	7.29	.36	98.6	1.36	5.67	.20	99.0	.99	5.23	.34	97.8	2.14
Medicine	5.61	6.42	76.1	23.8	4.53	4.75	77.1	22.8	4.78	3.22	81.7	18.2
Agriculture	2.68	.03	99.6	.39	1.77	.03	99.4	.54	1.65	.07	98.5	1.43
Vetinary Science	.68	.01	99.3	.60	.40	.01	99.2	.71	.35	.01	98.5	1.42
Law	4.17	.65	95.9	4.08	4.46	.60	96.2	3.71	5.48	1.18	93.2	6.68
Others	.62	.63	78.3	21.6	.20	.65	52.8	47.1	.41	.70	63.9	36.0
Total	99.8	99.9			99.6	99.85			99.79	99.8		
Percentage of proportion	78.55	21.44			77.9	22.0			75.0	24.9		
The number of women per 100 men		27.3				28.2				33.1		
The percentage increase					86.8%	93.2%			17.6%	382%	119.90%	167%*

Source : University development in India, Basic facts and figures 1970-71.  
Education in Universities in India 1965-66.  
Some unpublished statistics regarding enrolment in 1975-76 from the  
University Grants Commission.

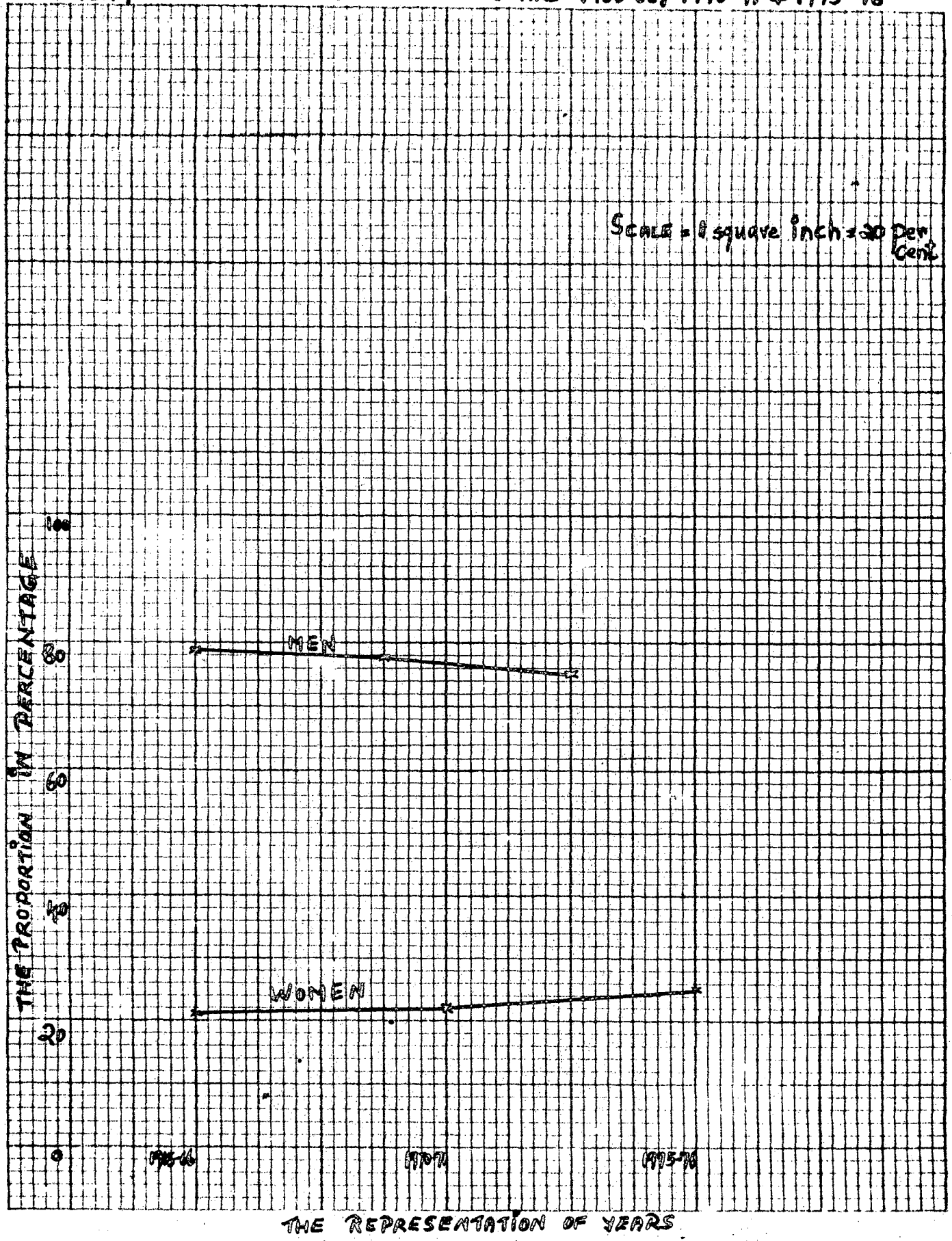
\*Percentage increase since  
1965-66 till 1975-76

Looking at the general trend in the enrolment of women, all faculties inclusive, we find that at the end of the decade under consideration, there has been a marginal increase of 3.5 per cent in the proportion of women enrolled to the total number enrolled. On the other hand, if we are to calculate the percentage increase for women basing it on their increase in absolute numbers from the beginning of the decade to the end, we find that their increase has been 167 per cent as compared to 119.9 per cent for men. The percentage increase being 47.1 per cent higher for women. (See graph 1 on the following page and Table 6 in Appendix A).

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN TO TOTAL WOMEN AND MEN ENROLLED IN THE FACULTIES

As far as the distribution here goes, we find that there is a tendency for women to be concentrated in large numbers within the domain of Arts, Science and Education as opposed to others. However, the latter half of the decade has witnessed a slow increase within the faculty of commerce and a corresponding decrease within the faculty of medicine.

**GRAPH - I** THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TO TOTAL ENROLMENT FOR THE YEARS 1965-66, 1970-71 & 1975-76



Their percentages here, over a decade have been as follows :

Table 1a  
( in per cent )

Faculty	Year 1965-66		Year 1970-71		Year 1975-76	
	M	W <sup>63</sup>	M	W	M	W
Arts	35.7	64.1	36.9	64.9	38.2	66.0
Science	27.5	21.8	27.4	22.1	19.6	18.7
Commerce	12.9	.7	16.2	1.8	21.5	4.6
Education	2.7	5.5	2.4	4.8	2.6	5.0
Engg/Tech.	7.3	.4	5.7	.2	5.2	.3
Medicine	5.6	6.4	4.5	4.7	4.8	3.2

Although the earlier mentioned faculties are the ones where women are seen to be largely distributed, a few salient points have to be pointed out. They are :

- a) There has been a decline or fall of almost 3.10 per cent in the distribution of women within the faculty of medicine.
- b) A decline of almost 3.4 per cent has been observed within the faculty of science also since the year 1970-71.

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63. See list of abbreviations.

- c) Their distribution in the arts faculty is seen to be on the increase throughout.
- d) There has been an encouraging trend in the distribution of women within the faculty of commerce, since at the end of the decade they had registered an increase of almost 4 per cent.

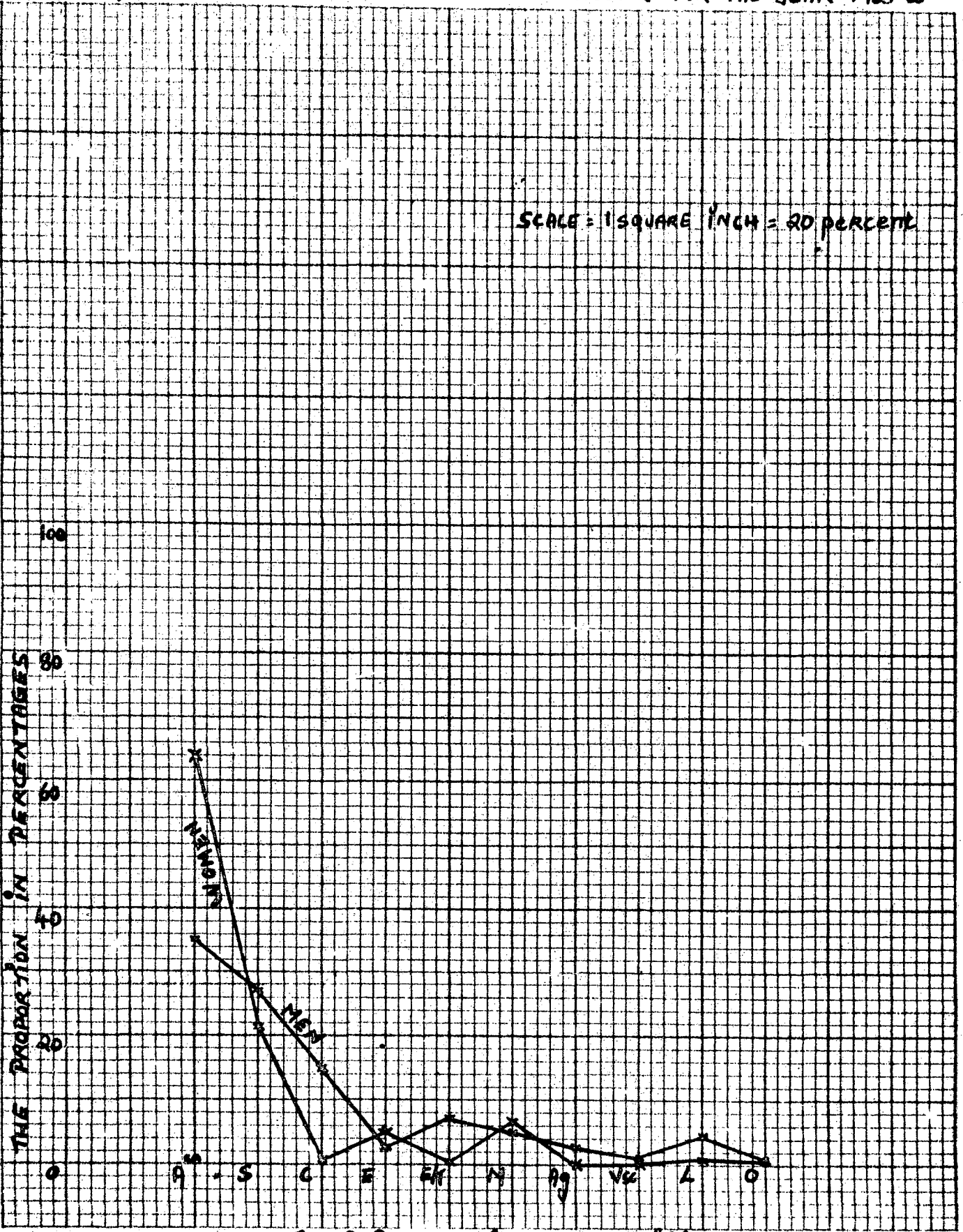
Their proportion having increased from .7 per cent in 1965-66 to 1.8 per cent in 1970-71 and finally to 4.6 per cent in 1975-76.

On the other hand, although the men are also seen to have Arts and Science as the two faculties where they are largely distributed in high proportion, this similarly extends no further. This is because they are distributed in considerable proportions in other faculties too. These are commerce, engineering and technology and medicine. Also, unlike women, their distribution are seen to be less sharp and more even. From Table 1 it is obvious that :

- a) Very similar to the trend followed by women there has been an increase in the distribution of men in the faculty of arts.

- b) Like the women there has also been a decline in the percentage of men distributed in the faculty of science. The decrease was to the tune of 7.8 from the year 1970-71 to 1975-76, while it was 3.4 per cent for women for the same period.
- c) Just as the women have witnessed a decrease in the faculty of medicine since 1965-66, a similar trend is observed concerning men in the faculty of engineering and technology. Their decrease was 2.06 per cent during the decade. This percentage of decrease however has been much less than that of women in the faculty of medicine.
- d) Like the women, the men too have witnessed an increase in their distribution within the faculty of commerce. Their increase here have been 8.9 per cent, which somewhat, offsets their decrease within the faculty of science.
- (See also graphs 2, 3 and 4 on the following pages).

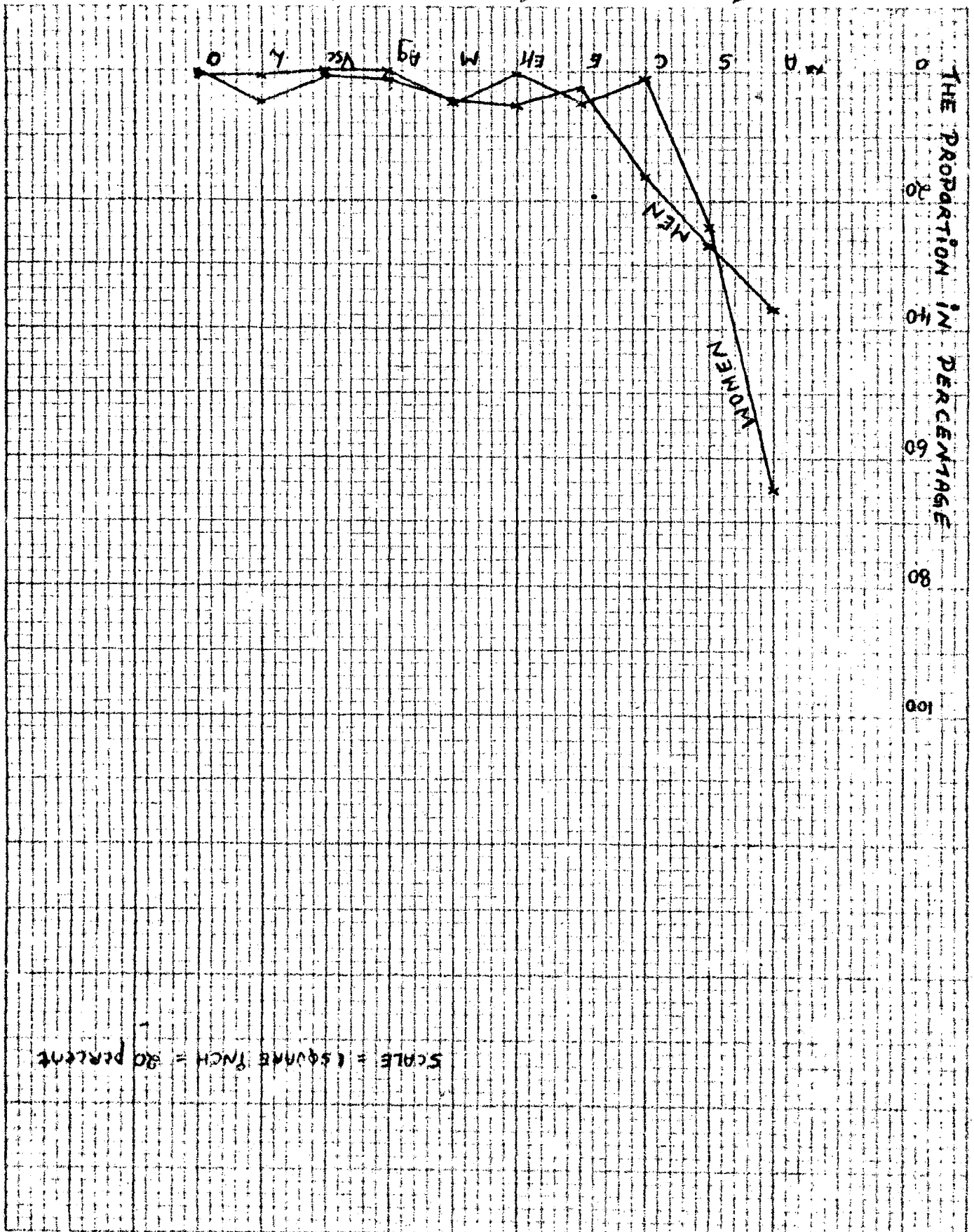
GRAPH-2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS TO TOTAL ENROLMENT MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1965-66



See list of ABBREVIATIONS



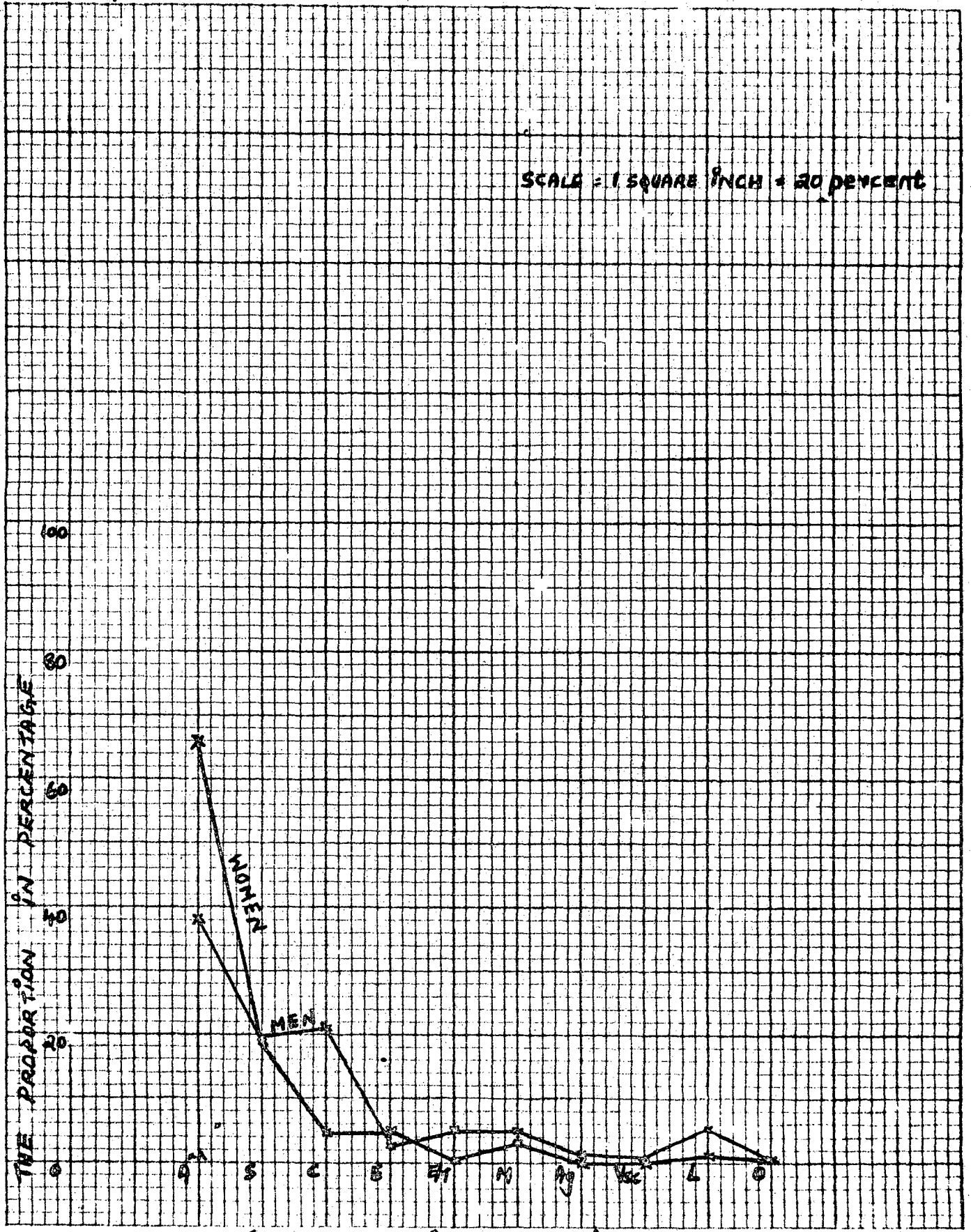
GRAPH-3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1970-71 ENROLLMENT



SCALE = 1 SQUARE INCH = 30 PERCENT

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES  
 A SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GRAPH-4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS TO TOTAL ENROLLMENT MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1975-76



THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES  
\*\* SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE FACULTY-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN TO  
TOTAL ENROLMENT

In all the faculties, the men always make up the greater proportion. However, a slight increase has been registered for women in almost all the faculties since the beginning of the decade with the exception of medicine. In the case of the latter, there has been a drop in their proportion from 23.8 per cent in 1965-66 to 18.2 per cent in 1975-76. The decline has been greater in the latter half of the decade, since from 1970-71, there has been a decrease of 4.6 per cent from 22.8 per cent in 1970-71 to 18.2 per cent in 1975-76. The faculties which have registered a substantial increase in proportion are as follows :

Table 1b

( in per cent )

Faculty	Year 1965-66		Year 1970-71		Year 1975-76	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
	Arts	67.1	32.8	66.7	33.2	63.6
Science	82.2	17.7	81.3	18.6	75.9	24.0
Commerce	98.5	1.49	96.6	3.03	93.3	6.6
Education	65.3	34.6	63.4	36.5	60.7	39.2

This shows that the tendency for women to cluster in a few subjects is on the increase, while one would

have expected the reverse to have happened over the years (See graphs 12, 13 and 14 in Appendix B).

STAGE-WISE ANALYSIS

Table 7a  
(in per cent and numbers)

Stage	Year 1965-66			Year 1970-71			Year 1975-76		
	M	W	W per 100 M	M	W	W per 100 M	M	W	W per 100 M
Graduate	78.4	21.5	27.3	78.3	21.6	27.7	75.0	24.9	33.2
Post-graduate	78.1	21.8	27.8	74.2	25.7	34.6	75.0	24.9	33.2
Research	86.9	13.0	15.0	79.3	20.6	25.9	75.0	24.9	33.1
Diploma/ Certi- ficate	76.9	23.0	29.8	76.6	23.3	30.4	76.0	23.9	31.4

It is clear that over the decade, there has been an increase in the proportion of women to total number enrolled in all the three stages, particularly within the latter half of the decade since a higher increase has been registered there. The latter half of the decade has also registered an increase in the number of women per hundred men, particularly at the research stage. The decade has witnessed here a steady increase from 15 women per hundred men at the beginning to 33.15 women per 100 men at the end. Also, in terms of a percentage increase worked out on the basis of an

increase in absolute numbers for men and women, we find that over the last decade there has been an increase of 62.8 per cent, 61.19 per cent, 62.2 per cent and 56.3 per cent among the stages of graduation, post-graduation, research and diploma/certificate respectively. (For enrolment figures in numbers see Table 7 in Appendix A). On the other hand, the percentage of increase for men have been 54.9 per cent, 53.7 per cent, 16.8 per cent and 54.1 per cent for the same stages. (See graphs 15, 16 and 17 in Appendix B).

Table 2

The percentage out-turn of men and women for the years  
1965-66 and 1970-71

Faculty	1965-66		1970-71	
	The percentage of men passed	The percentage of women passed	The percentage of men passed	The percentage of somwn passed
Arts	54.7	62.5	60.0	88.2
Science	53.15	71.0	55.1	68.3
Commerce	55.3	55.9	57.7	62.6
Education	83.9	84.7	88.3	87.4
Engineering/ Technology	79.5	79.8	79.0	80.0
Medicine	47.0	58.2	51.8	64.7
Agriculture	71.7	71.4	78.3	93.0
Vetinary Science	73.7	66.6	40.7	66.6
Law	58.6	51.8	63.3	5.4
Others	29.0	43.3	88.2	81.5
Average percentage of pass	60.6	64.52	66.2	69.7

Source : Lducation in India, Ministry of Education publication, 1970-71.  
Lducation in Universities in India, Ministry of Education Publication,  
1965-66.

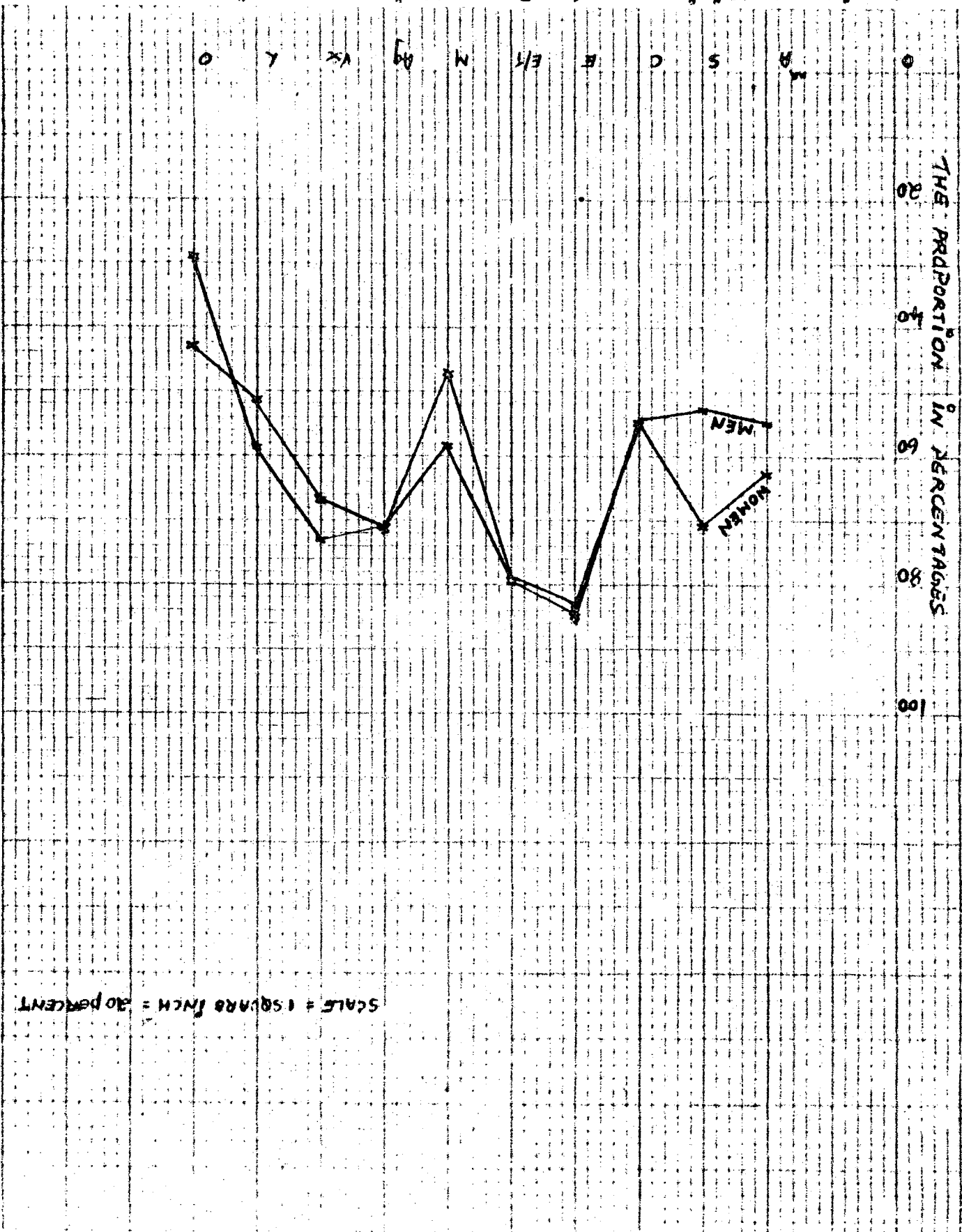
OUT-TURN (See Table 2)

The out-turn statistics for both men and women for the years 1965-66 and 1970-71 indicate that there is a higher percentage of pass for women in almost all faculties, with the exception of law. Here, their percentage of pass was only 5 per cent as compared to 63.3 per cent pass for men in 1970-71. However, what is really noteworthy is the fact that even among those faculties which are predominantly male-dominated such as commerce, engineering and technology, agriculture etc. women have registered a fairly high percentage of pass.

For instance, their pass percentage in engineering and technology was as high as 79.8 per cent as compared to 79.5 per cent for men in 1965-66 and 80 per cent as compared to 79 per cent men in 1970-71. This stands to contradict certain theories regarding the inability of women to grasp spatially oriented skills. On the whole also, the average pass percentage of women is greater than that for men. Their average percentage of pass being 64.5 per cent and 60.6 per cent respectively for the year 1965-66. The percentages for 1970-71 were 69.7 per cent and 62.2 per cent respectively. (See graphs 5 and 6 on the following pages).

THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXAMINATION RESULTS FOR MEN  
AND WOMEN BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1965-66

SCALE = 1 SQUARE INCH = 20 PERCENT



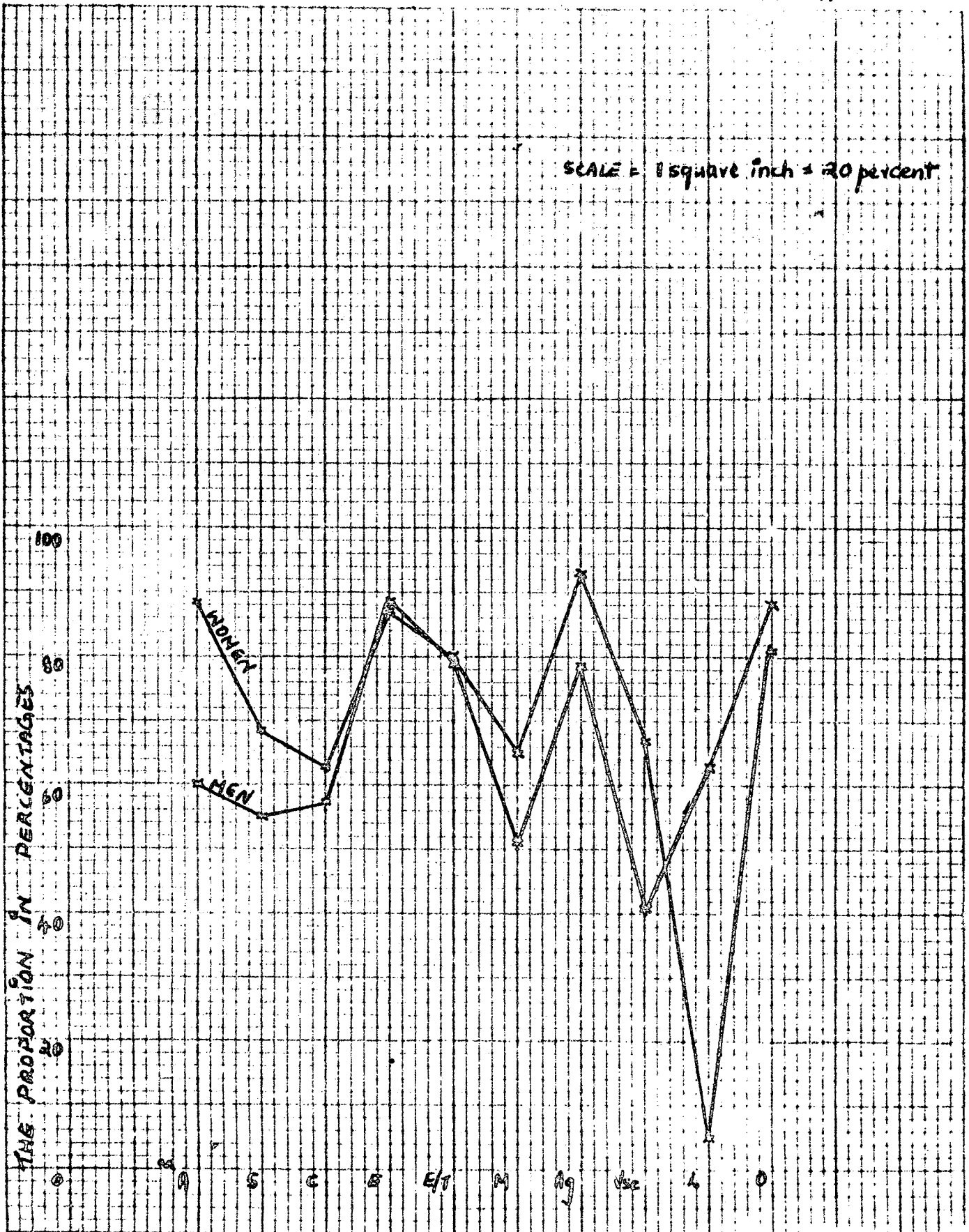
AS SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS  
THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES



GRAPH-6

THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXAMINATION RESULTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1970-71

OUT-TURN



See list of ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES

CONCLUSION

As far as the enrolment trends go, we find that the decade under consideration, has not witnessed any spectacular changes, in the pattern of distribution of men and women in various faculties. We find that women continue to concentrate in faculties which are traditionally feminine such as arts which has more than half the women enrolled in higher education followed by science, education and medicine. The latter faculty, however, has witnessed a considerable drop in the enrolment of women over the decade which is disconcerting.

Although we find that the highest proportion of men students are enrolled in the faculties of arts and science compared to the other faculties, a similiarity which they share with women, this similiarity goes on further. Because, apart from arts and science, the pattern of distribution that men follow are more profession oriented, such as commerce, engineering and technology and medicine. The alarming trend regarding the drop in the proportion of women in the faculty of medicine, is indeed of great concern. Although there has been an increase in the number of women here from the beginning of the decade, we find that after an

initial increase in numbers till 1970-71, the latter half of the decade has witnessed a drop in the enrolment of the women even in numbers (See Table 6 in Appendix A). Also in terms of their proportion, we find that there has been a decrease of 5.6 per cent in their proportion at the end of the decade. Among the faculties directly related to professions, we find that the faculties of medicine and education were the only ones which had a sizeable representation of women, hence, this trend in medicine has been particularly disheartening.

What has been really encouraging has been the increase in enrolment of women in commerce, both in terms of numbers as well as their proportion, their proportion having been increased by 5.14 per cent within the decade (For numbers, see Table 6 in Appendix A).

On the whole, we find that the latter half of the decade has witnessed a greater increase in the enrolment of women both in terms of numbers as well as in their proportions. The increase, however, has been really very marginal in almost all the professional faculties to be able to make any real impact.

Another faculty which has registered a little more than a marginal increase has been the faculty of

science where the proportion of women have increased by 7 per cent, along with their increase in numbers. As for the other professional faculties, although the increase may have been marginal, it has not to be ignored in any way especially since these faculties were considered traditionally to be male-oriented, hence any change however small can be thought of as a step towards breaking down certain rigid attitudes concerning the education of women within these disciplines.

The latter half of the decade, has also been seen to favour the enrolment of women in the various stages of education. All the four stages have registered a greater increase in enrolment in the latter half of the decade, particularly the enrolment in research. This only goes to show that although more women are beginning to seek higher education, their proportion has not increased in comparison to men. This has implications in view of the coefficient of equality. Strangely enough, the total number of women enrolled in all the faculties is less than the number of men enrolled in one faculty, i.e., the arts faculty throughout the decade.

The fact that women have a higher rate of pass percentage among almost all faculties and particularly

in certain professional faculties clearly disproves any notions regarding their inability to perform well in these particular disciplines which have been largely considered to be the domain of men.

Despite all the changes we have seen during this decade, in terms of an increase in the enrolment for women, there is much to be desired. Because, we are still far from having a more balanced distribution of women among the faculties. In terms of the total enrolment of women also, we are yet to achieve a more even proportion, the end of the decade having witnessed only an increase of 3.5 per cent in their proportion from 21.44 per cent in 1965-66 to 24.9 per cent in 1975-76. Also we find that the number of women per hundred men have increased only marginally since the beginning of the decade. All this prompts us to conclude by saying that if we are to work out the co-efficient of equality, we are almost where we were at the beginning of the decade.

## SECTION II

### EMPLOYMENT

If certain broad generalizations could be made on the employment opportunities, based on the enrolment

and out-turn trends of women, we should be able to say that, given the fact that their enrolment has increased in faculties such as arts, science, education and commerce, it is only natural that we would find more women in the corresponding professions.

For the purposes of this dissertation, since we are largely concerned with higher education, we would restrict ourselves to a trend analysis in the employment of women and men as doctors and teachers. No doubt these professions are prestigious extensions of nursing and school teaching, but, the fact that they are prestigious and have a greater representation of women in any other profession, has also been an incentive to analyse the trends of employment of women professionals here.

The national classification of occupations adopted by the Census of India, 1971, has given the ratio of women in relation to men in certain selected occupations. These are :

Physicians and Surgeons	- 7.1 per cent <sup>64</sup>
Lawyers	- 1.2 per cent

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64. India, Government of, 1974, Towards Equality : Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, p.206.

Teachers	- 30.3 per cent
Nursing and other medical and health technicians	- 72.2 per cent
Scientists	- 10.9 per cent

Within teaching, primary school teaching accounts for about 71 per cent of the women teachers, followed by secondary schools which account for 21 per cent. From this data, it is obvious that although women are seen to cluster in the area of medicine and teaching, their representation as doctors and university teachers are quite marginal. The proportion of women as university teachers are not given within the same classification, but, the University Grants Commission had indicated that the proportion of women teachers at the university was only 15 per cent in 1970-71.

#### SOURCES

The data on doctors have been obtained from the yearly records of men and lady doctors and licentiates maintained and collected from the Indian Medical Council. The data has been obtained for a decade starting from 1965-66 to 1975-76. It would be worthwhile to point out here that the data on doctors received from the Indian Medical Council has both graduate and licentiates lumped together till the year

1969. But, since 1970, they began to register graduates and licentiates separately.

The data on university teachers have been obtained from :

- a) A statistical report published by the University on Education, called 'Education in India' for the years 1965-66 and 1970-71.
- b) The Indian Council for Social Science Research report on the status of women published in 1974.

The trends in the employment of women as doctors and university teachers have also been attempted from the three points of time, as was done for enrolment and out-turn. It is regrettable however, that with the exception of the data on doctors which was available for an entire decade, the data on teachers could only be obtained till 1971.



Table 3

The proportion of men and women graduates and licentiates for the  
years 1965 to 1976

( in per cent )

Year	Graduates		Licentiates		Graduates and Licentiates	Graduates and Licentiates	Number of women per 100 men
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
1965					52.8	47.1	89.17
1966					53.0	46.9	88.5
1967					53.3	46.6	87.3
1968					53.5	46.4	86.8
1969					55.5	44.4	80.0
1970	82.0	17.8	92.7	7.2	82.5	17.4	17.4
1971	81.4	18.5	92.7	7.2	84.4	15.5	18.4
1972	79.4	20.5	92.0	7.9	82.4	17.5	21.3
1973	79.0	20.9	92.0	7.9	81.9	18.0	22.0
1974	78.7	21.2	91.9	8.04	81.4	18.5	22.7
1975	78.7	21.5	91.9	8.08	81.0	18.9	23.4
1976	78.5	21.4	92.1	7.8	80.8	19.19	23.7

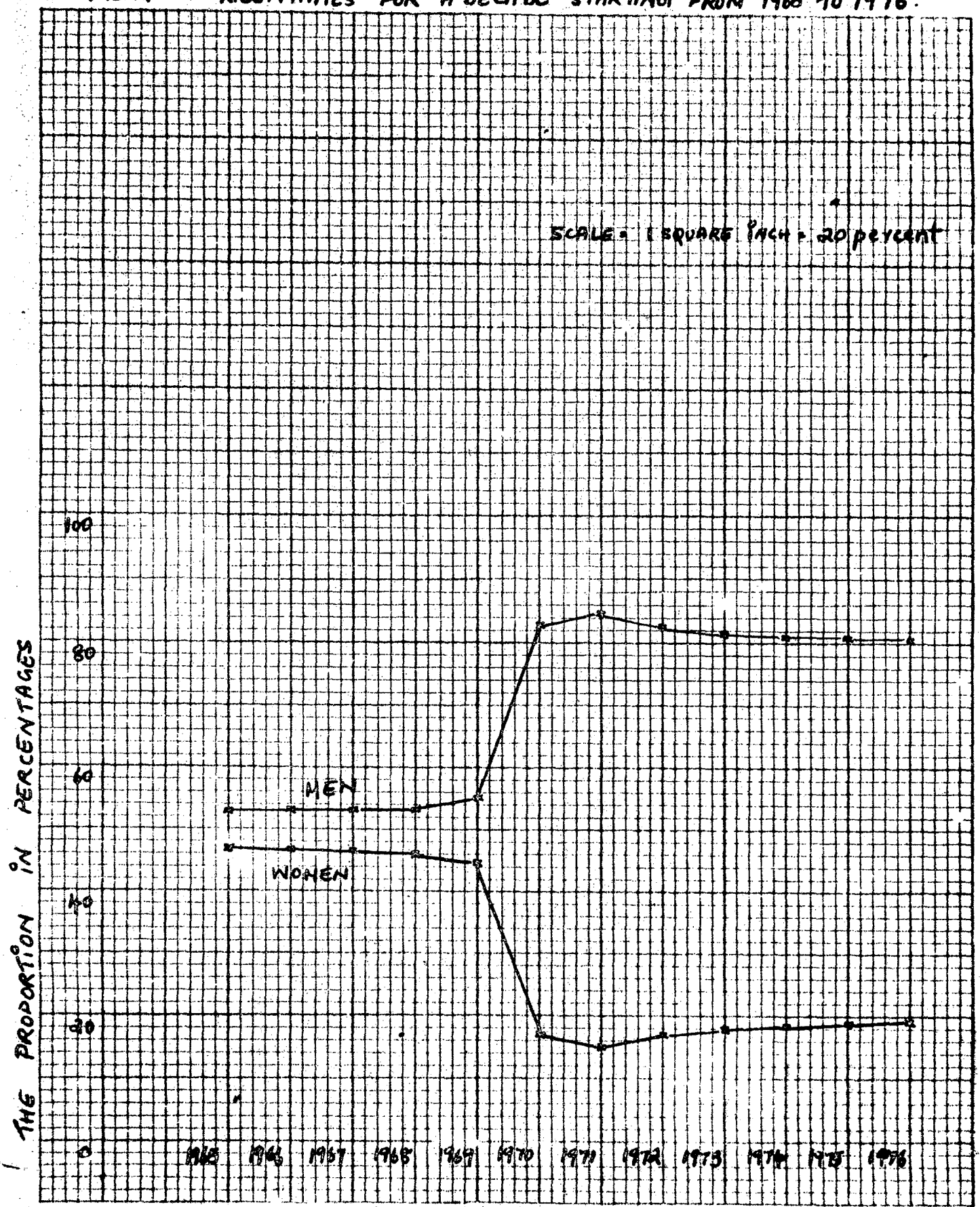
Source : Indian Medical Council.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AS DOCTORS

The proportion of the women graduates and licentiatees seem to have steadily declined since the year 1965-66, where they comprised 47.1 per cent of the total percentage. (See Table 3). After that there has been a gradual decline and almost a sharp fall within one year from 44.4 per cent in 1969 to 17.4 per cent in 1970. This trend continued for one more year where the percentage of women further dropped to 15.5 per cent in 1971. After that, there has been a gradual increase, but it has been very marginal. So that, at the end of the decade they represented only 19.19 per cent of all registered doctors. (See graphs 7 and 8 on the following pages). Thus, there has been a decline not only in the enrolment of women in medicine but also in their proportion of doctors. This is applicable whether we look at the figures in numbers or in percentages. For instance, their strength has decreased by 43572 in absolute numbers also. (See Table 9 in Appendix A), and this no doubt explains the drop by 28 per cent in their proportion by the end of the decade. Also, the number of women per hundred men has been steadily decreasing from the beginning of the decade. There were 89 women per hundred men at the

**GRAPH 7**  
**EMPLOYMENT**

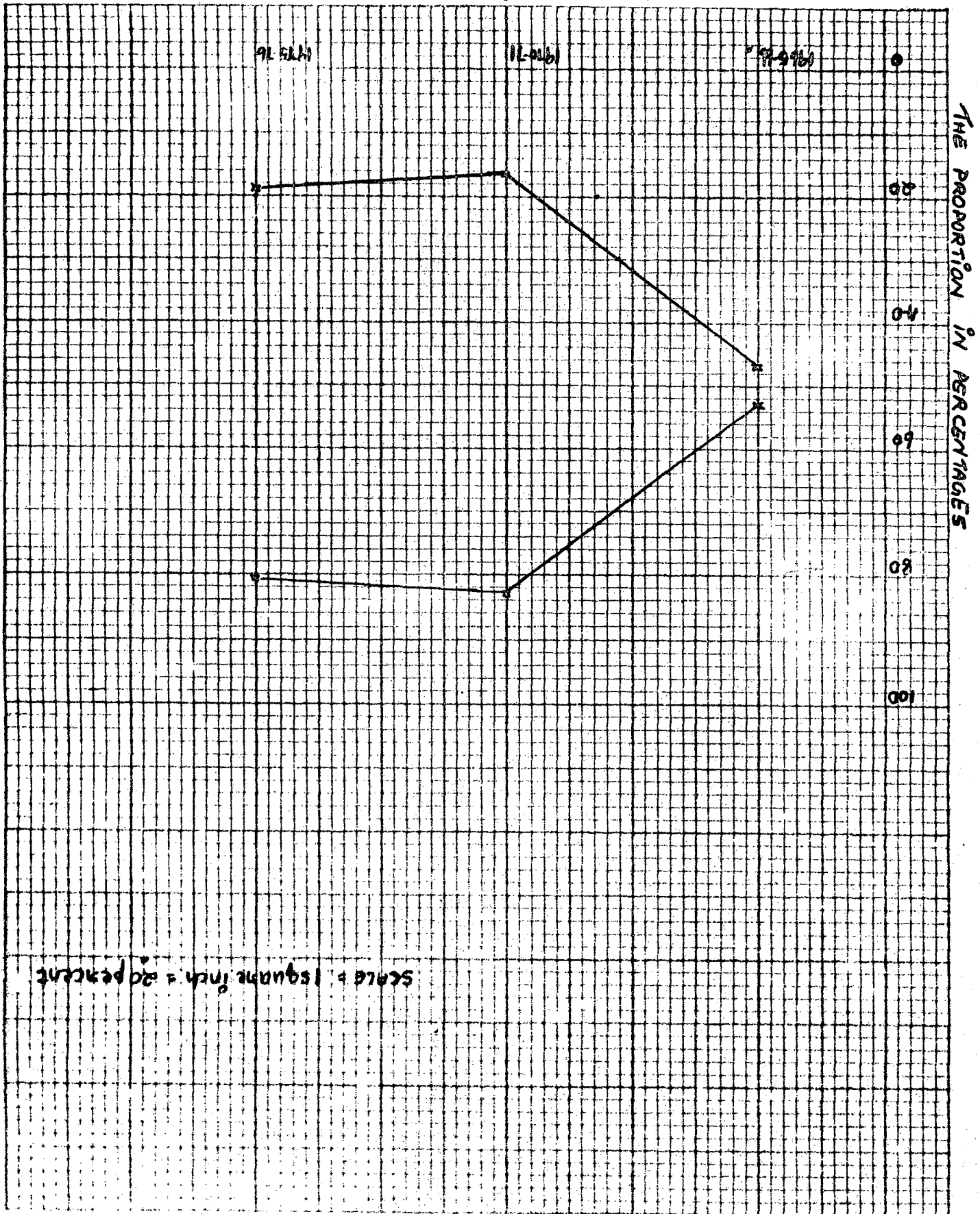
**THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN DOCTORS AND  
LICENTIATES FOR A DECADE STARTING FROM 1965 TO 1976.**



**THE REPRESENTATION OF THE YEARS**

GRAPH 8

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN DOCTORS AND  
EMPLOYMENT LICENTIATES FOR THE YEARS 1965-6, 1970-71 and 1975-76



Scale: 1 square inch = 20 percent

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE YEARS

beginning and suddenly there was a sharp fall by almost 72 numbers in 1970, which meant that then there were only 17 women per hundred men. After this, there has been a gradual increase in the numbers so that at the end of the decade we find almost 24 women per hundred men.

On the other hand, we see from the above table that the representation of men doctors have been steadily increasing both in their number as well as in their proportion. For instance, their proportion has increased from 52.8 per cent to 80.8 per cent during the decade showing an increase of nearly 28 per cent.

If we recall the enrolment figures, we find that there too there was a gradual decline in the proportion of women during the decade. All this raises serious questions as to whether this trend is the outcome of a natural disinclination among women to opt for medicine or are there any other factors involved which are responsible for this negative trend.<sup>65</sup>

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65.- Having observed this negative trend regarding the drop in proportion as well as in the numbers of women doctors, we went back to the Indian Medical Council, to find out whether they could throw any light on this problem. But, unfortunately even they could not provide any explanations.

The picture that emerges from the figures since 1970, when the break up of both graduates and licentiates were made available separately is that there has been a gradual increase in both the numbers as well as the proportion of women graduates and licentiates. But, since similar data were not available for the earlier years, it is difficult to say at which level, the graduate or the licentiate, did the decline take place, which had brought down the proportion of women to men doctors from 47.1 per cent in 1965 to as low as 17.4 per cent in 1970. However, one thing which is very obvious from this data is that contrary to popular beliefs regarding the edge women have in the profession of medicine vis-a-vis other professions, we find that the proportion of women in medicine has decreased tremendously within the last decade. This certainly is not a healthy trend.

**Table 4**

**The percentage enrolment of men and women teachers in the various institutions for the years 1965-66 and 1970-71  
(in per cent)**

	1965 - 66					1970 - 71				
	The per- centage of men to total men enrolled	The per- centage of women to total women	The per- centage of men to total en- rolment	The per- centage of women to total enrol- ment	Women per 100 men	The per- centage of men to total men enrolled	The per- centage of women to total women	The per- centage of men to total en- rolment	The per- centage of women to total enrol- ment	Women per 100 men
	Men	Women	Men	Women		Men	Women	Men	Women	
Institutions deemed to be universities	7.8	3.5	93.3	6.7	7.2	7.5	3.9	92.0	8.0	8.6
Research institutions	.33	.08	96.2	3.8	4.0	.34	.10	94.9	5.1	5.3
Colleges for general education (U and P.G.)	40.9	58.7	81.4	18.6	22.9	40.6	60.5	80.0	20.0	24.9
Colleges for professional education (U and P.G.)	20.8	15.4	89.5	10.5	11.8	31.9	26.1	87.9	12.1	13.7
Colleges for general education (U.G.)	1.56	3.47	97.9	2.18	35.4	3.56	4.82	96.7	3.3	22.7
Colleges for professional education (U.G.)	22.5	17.8	73.9	26.1	12.6	12.1	3.6	81.8	18.2	5.12
Colleges for other education	5.89	.82	88.8	11.2	2.2	3.7	.76	94.9	5.1	3.3
Total	99.78	99.77	86.2	13.8		99.7	99.78	85.7	14.3	

Source : 'Education in India', Ministry of Education, 1965-66, 1970-71.

TEACHING

It is seen (from Table 4) that the colleges and institutions taken up for analyses are divided in seven categories. These are :

1. Institutions deemed to be universities.
2. Research institutions.
3. Colleges for general education : graduation and post-graduation (G and PG).
4. Colleges for professional education : graduation and post-graduation (G & PG).
5. Colleges for general education for undergraduation (UG).
6. Colleges for professional education for undergraduation.
7. Colleges for other education.

With the exception of colleges for professional education for (U.G.), where both men as well as women were seen to have suffered a set back, there has been an increase in both the numbers as well as in the proportion of women in almost all these colleges in the first half of the decade.

However, the increase has been very marginal and the basic pattern of distribution continued to be the same.

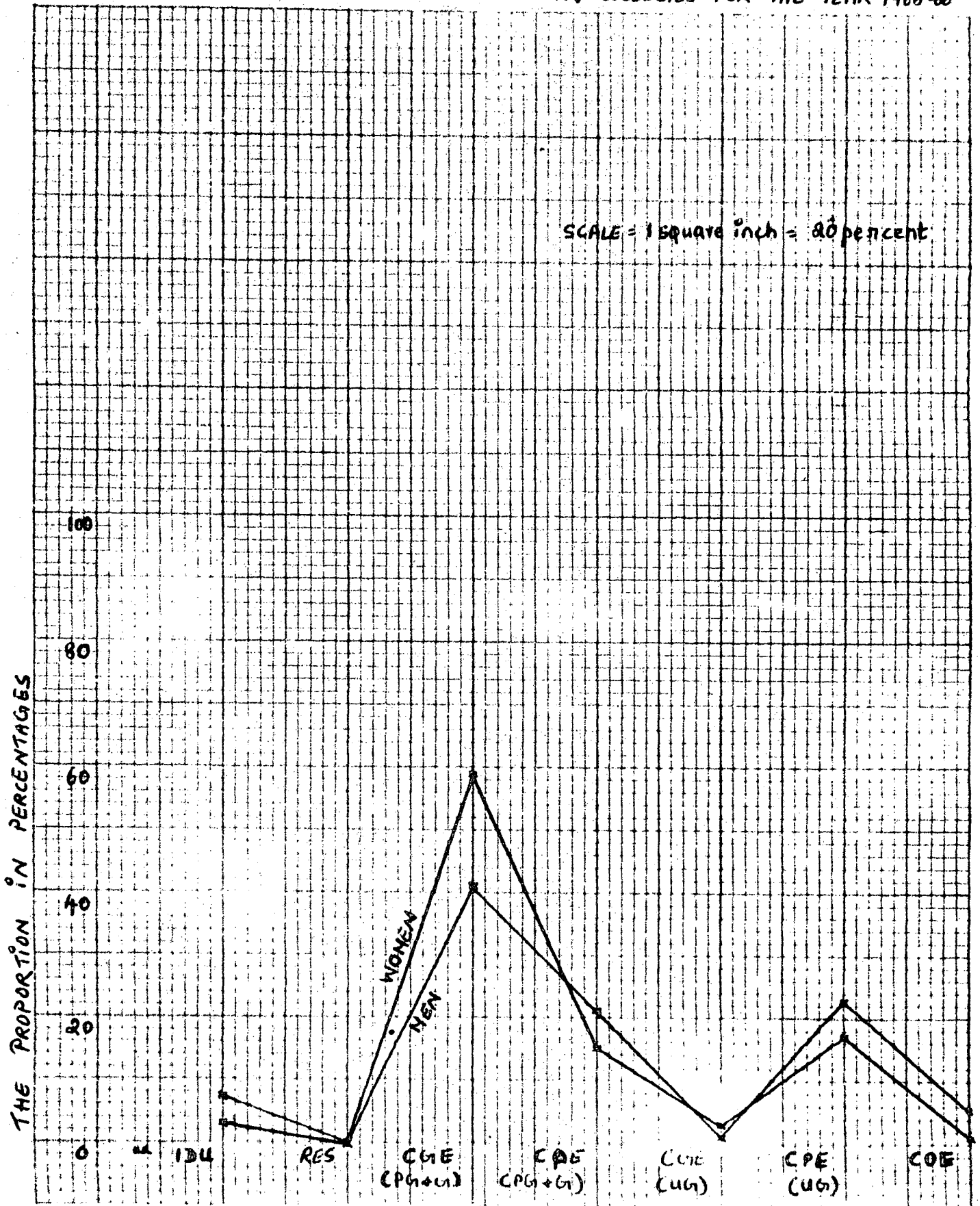


The women continue to be clustered in two types of institutions, namely, the colleges for general education (G and PG) and colleges for professional education (G and PG). For instance, of all the women teachers in higher education, 74.1 per cent were teaching in these colleges in 1965-66. The comparable figures for men were 61.7 per cent. The figures for women teachers increased to 86.6 per cent in 1970-71, while 72.5 per cent men teachers were located in them. Again, of these a large proportion (58.7 per cent and 60.5 per cent in 1965-66 and 1970-71 respectively) were teaching in colleges for general education (see graphs 9 and 10 on the following pages). Although, our data show that men too are clustered in these colleges, yet their distribution is somewhat more even. The situation was somewhat similar in enrolment also.

The clustering for both men and women and particularly the women within the colleges for general education might be an outcome of the general enrolment trends. Earlier, we had seen the tendency for women to enrol for education in general faculties such as arts and science, a tendency which they share with men also and which perhaps explains the reason why the largest number and proportion of men are also concentrated in colleges for general education.

**GRAPH 9**  
EMPLOYMENT

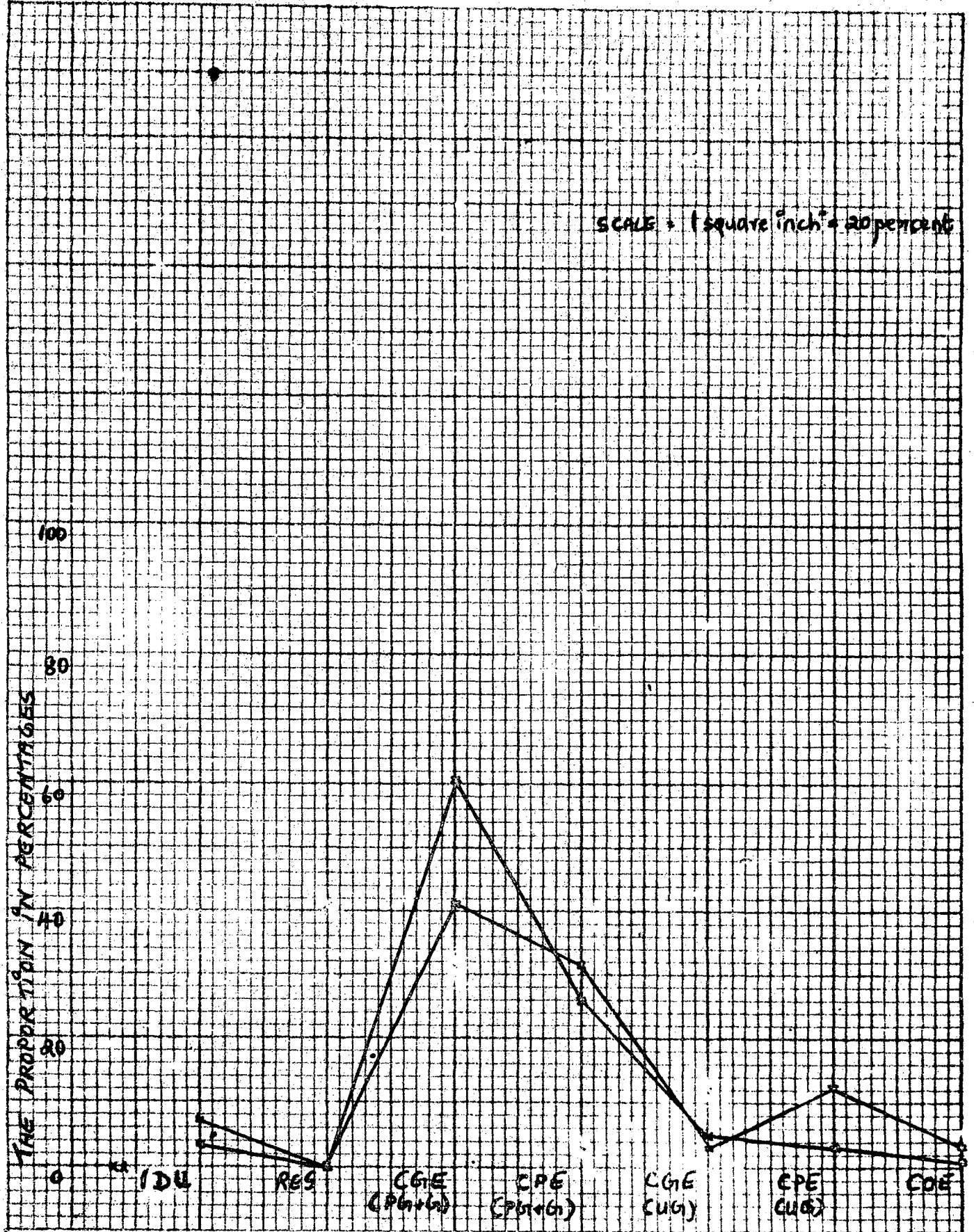
THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO TOTAL MEN AND TOTAL WOMEN TEACHERS BY COLLEGES FOR THE YEAR 1965-66



See list of abbreviations

THE REPRESENTATION OF COLLEGES

GRAPH 10 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO TOTAL MEN EMPLOYMENT AND TOTAL WOMEN TEACHERS BY COLLEGES FOR THE YEAR 1970-71



See list of abbreviations

THE REPRESENTATION OF COLLEGES

Even though a large proportion (for numbers see Table 10 in Appendix A) of all women teachers are clustered in some colleges, their representation in comparison to men is not very significant. For instance, in colleges of general education (G and PG) they formed 18.6 per cent and 20.0 per cent of all teachers in 1965-66 and 1970-71 respectively. This also shows that the increase in their proportion to men has been marginal. This trend is reflected in other colleges too. For example, in colleges for professional education (G and PG), women formed 10.5 per cent in 1965-66 and their proportion went up to only 12 per cent of all teachers in these institutions in 1970-71. Their representation in the elite institutions of higher education, namely, research institutions and institutions deemed to be universities is negligible. Women teachers formed 3.9 per cent and 6.7 per cent respectively in these institutions in 1965-66. Their proportion increased to 5.1 and 8.0 per cent respectively in 1970-71. (See graphs 18 and 19 in Appendix B).

As mentioned at the very beginning, there has no doubt been an increase both in the proportion as well as the number of women teachers within the colleges. The percentage increase for both men and women based on their increase in absolute numbers are as follows :

Table 4a

	Percentage of increase for men in <u>1970-71</u>	Percentage of increase for women in <u>1970-71</u>
Institutions deemed to be universities	66.4	98.0
Research institutions	74.0	133.0
Colleges for general education (G and PG)	70.7	86.1
Colleges for profess- ional education (G and PG)	162.0	205.0
Colleges for general education (UG)	290.0	150.0
Colleges for profess- ional education (UG)	7.65(minus) <sup>66</sup>	62.6(minus)
Colleges for other education	10.6	67.1
Total	71.9	80.5

From this table, it is obvious that as far as the percentage increase is concerned, the women have had a greater percentage of increase, their maximum percentage of increase being at colleges for professional education (G and PG). Also, their average percentage increase is higher than that of men. Yet,

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66. Minus indicates a decrease in percentage.

despite all this we find that there has not really been a noticeable increase. For example, if we look at the number per hundred men at 1970-71, we find that the highest number of women per hundred men is at colleges for general education, where there are only 24.9 women per 100 men. In all the other colleges this number is even lower. Unfortunately, we are unable to get any data regarding their distribution for the year 1975-76. Because, if we had, then perhaps we could have found out whether the latter half of the decade had been more progressive regarding the employment of teachers, as had been the case in the enrolment of women for education. Where, the latter half of the decade had favoured a greater increase in both the number as well as the proportion of women among the faculties.

We shall now analyze the data regarding the distribution of men and women teachers among the various faculties for the year 1970-71 (see Table 5).

Table 5

The distribution of men and women teachers within the Faculties  
for the year 1970-71

( in per cent and numbers )

Faculty	Men	Women	The per- centage of men to total Men	The per- centage of women to total Women	The per- centage of men to total enrolment	The per- centage of women to total enrolment	Number of women per 100 men.
Arts	41315	10136	37.9	52.2	80.3	19.7	24.5
Science	34185	5381	31.4	27.7	86.4	13.6	15.7
Commerce	6866	227	6.3	1.17	96.8	3.2	3.3
Education	2942	924	2.7	4.7	76.1	23.9	31.4
Engineering/ Technology	7574	92	6.9	.47	98.8	1.2	1.2
Medicine	9409	2236	8.6	11.5	80.8	19.2	23.7
Agriculture	3217	49	2.9	.25	98.5	1.5	1.5
Vetinary Science	1107	18	1.01	.09	98.4	1.6	1.6
Law	1428	173	1.31	.89	89.2	10.8	12.1
Others	826	154	.75	.79	84.3	15.7	18.6
Total	108869	19390	99.77	99.76			
Percentage of proportion	85%	15%					17.8%

Source : 'Towards Equality : Report of the Committee on the Status of Women',  
Ministry of Education, 1975.

Table XIII University Grants Commission for 1970-71.

Note : The figures for men have been tabulated on the basis of the available data  
on women teachers obtained in Table XVII.

If we look at the proportion of women teachers to the total number of women teachers, we find this distribution very similar to that of their enrolment trends for education within the faculties. We find that an overwhelming majority of women teachers are located within the faculties of arts, science, medicine and education, while men teachers are seen to be spread over the faculties of arts, science, medicine, commerce and engineering and technology. (See graph 11 on the following page). The fact that we see a similiarity in both the enrolment and employment trends in various faculties is self-explanatory.

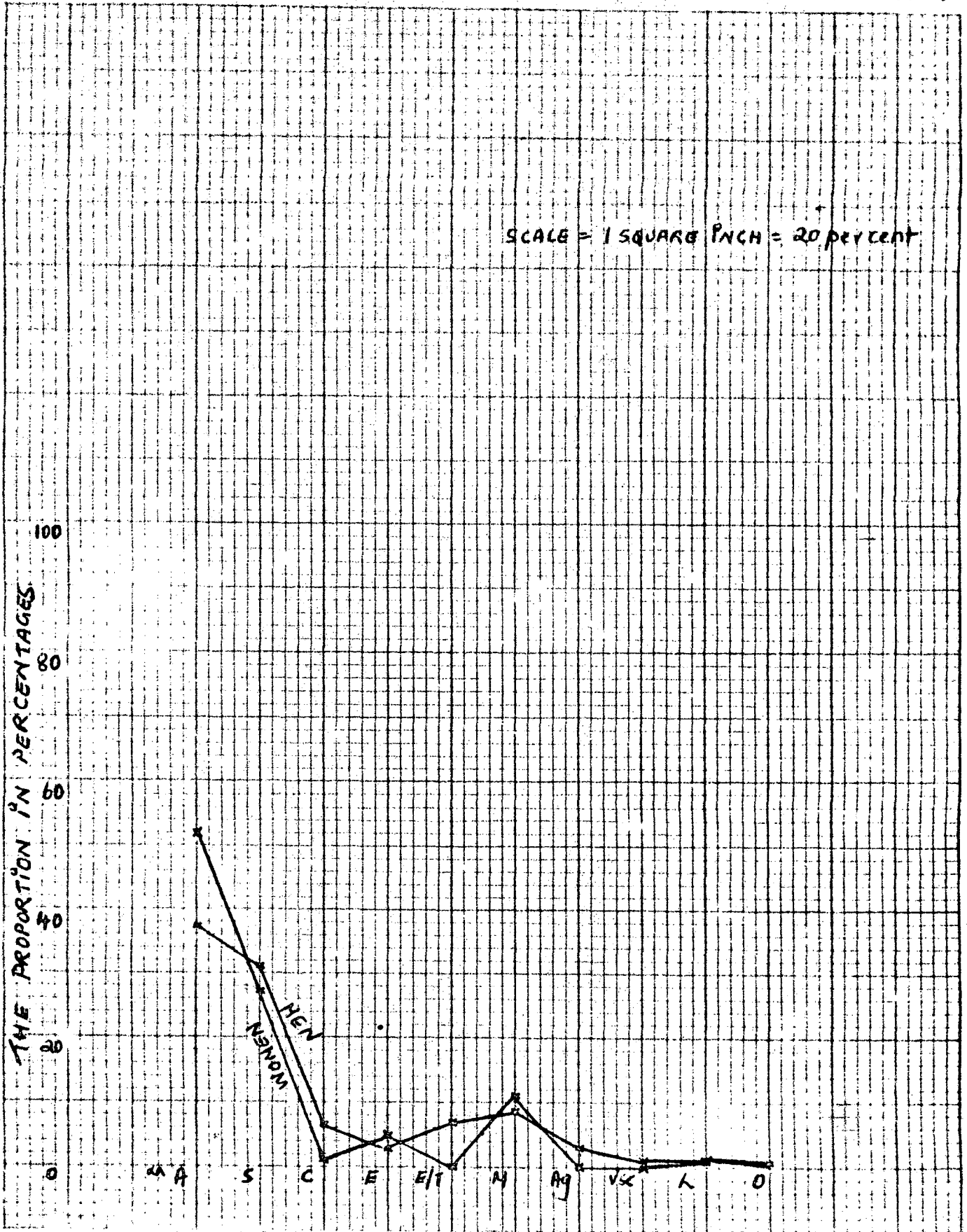
Similarly, we find that like the enrolment trends, here too, the men make up the larger proportion in all the faculties. The only point of difference we find here is that surprisingly within the law faculty, the proportion of women is 12.1 per cent which although is not large by any standards is significant. Because, if we were to go by their enrolment trend in the faculty of law, we would not expect to find such a large proportion in the teaching profession for the same. Hence, one wonders at the probability of women making unsuccessful lawyers.

We cannot really make any generalizations for future trends basing our observations from this table,



**GRAPH 13**  
**EMPLOYMENT**

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO TOTAL MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1970-71**



See list of abbreviations

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES

since we are unable to get similar data for the previous years as well as the latter. The picture that emerges regarding the position of women, from this table is of course far from encouraging. If we were to look at the number of women per hundred men, we find that the largest number of women is in education, where their number is a mere 31.4 per hundred men. From the previous tables also (Table 4 and 4a in the text and Table 10 in Appendix A), we discovered that despite a higher percentage of increase for women, their increase in proportion has been marginal. Since, we have no data regarding the employment of teachers after 1970-71, we are unable to predict any future trends. But, if we were to comment on the progress shown in the first half of the decade, we feel that their progress has indeed been so slow that we are almost tempted to say that no change has taken place.

If we were to cluster the so called 'male dominated' subjects together, we find that the representation of women teachers here is very insignificant. These are commerce, engineering and technology, agriculture and veterinary science. On the other hand, women teachers in general education (i.e. arts and education) and medicine are found in more substantial proportions i.e., 24.5, 31.4 and 23.7 women per

100 men respectively. However, science and law seem to be exceptions in so far as there are 15.7 and 12.1 women per 100 men in these faculties.

So far as trends in the employment of women are concerned, they seem to correspond with those of enrolment i.e., the tendency for women to cluster in certain subjects, their marginal representation in the so-called 'male dominated' highly professional faculties, the decline in the representation of women in medicine starting at the enrolment stage, a substantial decrease in women doctors (from 89.1 women doctors per 100 men doctors in 1965 to 23.7 in 1976) and their negligible representation in the faculty of engineering and technology.

## CONCLUSION

If education and employment are important indicators of equality, then the progress shown by women as regards both enrolment in higher education as well as their employment in the fields of teaching and medicine within the decade, leaves much to be desired.

### WOMEN IN TEACHING AND MEDICINE - A TREND ANALYSIS

The enrolment trends in higher education call firstly for an increase in the total number of women students. Since at the end of the decade, they only made up a quarter of the total number enrolled. Secondly, there is a need for women to move away from faculties which are traditionally women oriented ~~and where~~ they are seen to be concentrated. Instead, they ought to achieve a more balanced distribution. If we look back at the enrolment trends, we find that women have not achieved any spectacular increase in any of the faculties which are profession oriented and could offset their decrease both in proportion as well as numbers, within the field of medicine. Hence, this decline witnessed in medicine ought not to be neglected. Because if this continues, we would find that the representation of women in the faculty of medicine would also become as marginal as in the other professional subjects.

As regards their employment in the professions of teaching and medicine, we find that despite the fact that these two professions have a greater representation of women than other professions, yet their proportion here too is not significant. For example, in the middle of the decade (1970-71), the percentage of women teachers to total was only a mere 15 per cent, and they were largely seen to be concentrated in colleges for general education, which no doubt, is a direct outcome of the enrolment trends. We cannot expect to find women teachers to be equally distributed in professional colleges, unless they are seen to be enrolled in adequate numbers in profession-oriented faculties while seeking education. Hence, if we desire women to diversify themselves within the profession of teaching, the change would have to be made at the earlier stages of education.

The progress shown by women for a decade, within the profession of medicine, dispels certain happy notions regarding the comfortable place women have carved out for themselves in the field of medicine. The fact that the proportion of women doctors have fallen by 28 per cent during the decade is indeed cause for deep concern. Since, the Indian Medical Council could not provide any explanation for this peculiar

trend, we assume that this could be an outcome of a natural disinclination among women to opt for the field of medicine while entering into other professional fields. But as we know this has not happened, some other factors may be operating at the stage of enrolment which go against women. These may be - a) a preference for men as opposed to women, b) certain recruitment policies which disqualify women at the stage of enrolment.

These are of course certain speculations which have to be investigated.

#### IMPLICATIONS

One very discouraging and frustrating trend noticed while collecting data on the statistics of women teachers and doctors, was the almost total absence of sex-wise data regarding the positions and specializations where they are seen to be distributed. In the absence of such kind of data, it would be impossible to assess the position of either men or women and we are unable to discern the areas of disparity. Hence, it is imperative that data ought to be collected on these lines also.

So far, all the studies done on women have been largely conducted keeping in mind the women's point of

view. Such studies, although they are valuable in terms of what the women think about their position, have their limitations in so far as they do not relate her existence and position to her social context. The fact that we cannot ignore the co-existence of the two sexes, makes it necessary to include what the other half thinks about the position of women. Hence, at the Ph.D level, when a detailed study would be undertaken in order to find certain answers to the problems posed at the outset, we would include an equal sample of men and women.

Finally, to reiterate our position, equality for women will never be realized in totality, unless an attempt to change the position of women within the family or household is made. To borrow from the structure-functionalists, if we are indeed to believe that a society is made up of inter-relationship of institutions. Then we find that all institutions are but an extension of the most fundamental of them all, the family. This being true, the roles we learn to play have also their beginnings within the family. Hence, any protests at stereo-types ought to be first sounded here.

#### PROPOSAL FOR PH.D

Therefore, for the doctoral work, I shall begin with the family of the working woman. The unit of

study will be the working woman and her close relations - males and females - particularly, parents, husband, and in-laws. I would like to explore how the popular feminine and masculine stereo-types are ingrained in the minds of men and women. The questions that I would like to ask are :

1. What are the role-expectations of these people from the working women and vice-versa?
2. What are the role-perceptions of the working women?
3. Assuming that most, if not all, working women experience role-conflict, what, according to them, are the reasons?
4. What are the role-perceptions of others about their own roles vis-a-vis the working women?
5. Do these women perceive any inequalities? If so, where or in what areas and in what ways?
6. How far do they think their husbands and others can help to resolve the role-conflict?

In the specific work-situation in which they are placed, we would like to test the following



hypothesis mentioned earlier in the Introduction.

These are :

- a) Other things being equal, women enjoy an equal status with men in these professions.
- b) In some specialisations or departments, women are more preferred than men.
- c) Men have higher professional commitment and staying power than women.
- d) Professional commitment and staying power being equal, men enjoy a higher status than women.
- e) Within these professions men are concentrated in areas which enjoy a higher status.

An indepth study of a few working women will be undertaken to highlight the areas of discrimination. Our contention is that women are being discriminated against at all levels beginning from enrolment in educational institutions, particularly at the higher level. Not only has their proportion in relation to men not increased over the years, they are continuing to cluster in general subjects. These subjects rule out the possibility of these women going in for highly selected professions. Further, their enrolment in the prestigious faculty of medicine has substantially declined, both in numbers and in proportions. This is

very disconcerting and needs to be investigated. We may try to explore this by interviewing doctors who have been working for the last 10-15 years and were working during 1970-71. Did they notice the sharp decline? If so, how do they explain it?

Looking at the out-turn figures, we find that the girls' pass percentage is higher than that of boys in practically all faculties. Therefore, there is no question about the poor performance of girl students being responsible for keeping them out of the job market. What could explain their continued clustering in a few occupations which are mainly low-status and also low-salaried. The explanation that school teaching fits in with their traditional role since it involves handling children and also, in most cases, keeps them away from men, is not very convincing. This is particularly so, when one finds a large proportion of these women in the clerical and related jobs where both these conditions, namely, handling children and lack of contacts with men, are missing. In fact, the tendency for more and more women to take up school-teaching and clerical and related jobs is on the increase. Therefore, it is difficult to accept these explanations any more. Our case studies should be able to throw light on the recruitment and promotion policies of various organizations on the basis of first hand data.

A P P E N D I X - A

Table 6

The enrolment of men and women within the Faculties for  
the years 1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76

( in numbers )

Faculty	1965-66			1970-71			1975-76		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Arts	292238	142995	435233	562460	279702	842162	686953	393087	1079990
Science	225012	48720	273732	417742	95601	513343	352128	111713	463841
Commerce	105405	1600	107005	246853	7719	254572	387395	27551	414946
Education	21652	11486	33138	36123	20799	56922	46531	30110	76641
Engineering/ Technology	59521	822	60343	86387	870	87257	94006	2061	96067
Medicine	45814	14329	60143	69090	20479	89569	85932	19208	105140
Agriculture	21931	88	22019	27047	148	27195	29728	432	30160
Vetinary Science	5631	34	5665	6142	44	6186	6286	91	6377
Law	34078	1453	35531	67992	2626	70618	98438	7053	105491
Others	5133	1415	6548	3166	2821	5987	7444	4205	11649
Total	816415	222942	1039357	1523002	430809	1953811	1794841	595461	2390302
The number of women per 100 men		27.3			28.2			33.1	

- Sources :
- i) University Development in India: Basic Facts and Figures, 1970-71.
  - ii) Education in Universities in India, 1965-66.
  - iii) Some unpublished statistics regarding enrolment in 1975-76 from the University Grants Commission.

Table 7

The sex-wise enrolment by Level and by Faculty for the years  
1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76

Faculty	<u>1965-66</u>			<u>1970-71</u>			<u>1975-76</u>		
	<u>G R A D U A T E</u>			<u>G R A D U A T E</u>			<u>G R A D U A T E</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>T</u>
Arts	240418	124558	364976	485827	243837	729664	589162	346286	935448
Science	204348	44294	248642	382562	86701	469263	312530	99795	17116
Commerce	96750	1535	98285	229698	7284	236982	356960	26168	383128
Education	19152	9787	28939	33027	18708	51735	41588	26821	68409
Engg/Tech.	53886	782	54668	79911	734	80645	83715	1632	85347
Medicine	40530	13013	53543	61827	17964	79791	74828	16908	91736
Agriculture	20936	44	20980	22305	49	22354	23486	309	23795
Vetinary Sc.	5130	30	5160	5324	38	5362	5272	72	5344
Law	32688	1360	34048	66128	2532	68660	94424	6782	101206
Others	503	263	766	638	996	1634	2888	1486	4374
Total	714341	195666	910007	1367247	378843	1746090	1584853	526259	2111112
Proportion of percent- age	78.4	21.5		78.3	21.6		75.07	24.9	

Table 7 - contd.

The sex-wise enrolment by Level and by Faculty for the years  
1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76

Faculty	<u>1965-66</u>			<u>1970-71</u>			<u>1975-76</u>		
	<u>POST-GRADUATE</u>			<u>POST-GRADUATE</u>			<u>POST-GRADUATE</u>		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
Arts	39753	15631	55384	59461	30426	89887	81445	39487	120932
Science	17116	3701	20817	31272	8041	39313	34054	10308	44362
Commerce	8200	60	8260	14670	333	15003	26635	1104	27739
Education	1081	448	1529	1641	1014	2655	2477	1311	3788
Engg/Tech.	2722	24	2746	3567	36	3603	4460	96	4556
Medicine	3571	856	4427	3375	1185	4560	6873	1391	8264
Agriculture	283	36	319	3778	73	3851	4519	74	4593
Vetinary Sc.	409	3	412	571	6	577	688	15	703
Law	1029	84	1113	1274	64	1338	2487	164	2651
Others	2130	432	2562	238	338	576	1364	874	2238
Total	76294	21275	97569	119847	41516	161363	165002	54824	219826
Proportion of Percent- age	78.1	21.8		74.2	25.7		75.06	24.9	

Table 7 - contd.

The sex-wise enrolment by Level and by Faculty for the years  
1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76

Faculty	1965-66			1970-71			1975-76		
	R E S E A R C H			R E S E A R C H			R E S E A R C H		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
Arts	6938	1161	8099	4580	1951	6531	5441	2944	8385
Science	2996	445	3441	3533	651	4184	5035	1299	6334
Commerce	318	5	323	453	9	462	520	43	563
Education	107	35	142	195	58	253	209	117	326
Engg/Tech.	250	8	258	534	18	552	647	21	668
Medicine	140	15	155	114	20	134	87	26	113
Agriculture	496	8	504	868	26	894	1463	41	1504
Vetinary Sc.	32	1	33	157	-	157	229	3	232
Law	59	2	61	98	6	104	98	10	108
Others	146	47	193	26	4	30	75	73	148
Total	11482	1727	13209	10558	2743	13301	13804	4577	18381
Proportion of percent- age	86.9	13.07		79.3	20.6		75.0	24.9	

Table 7 - conold.

The sex-wise enrolment by Level and by Faculty for the years  
1965-66, 1970-71 and 1975-76

Faculty	1965-66			1970-71			1975-76		
	<u>DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE</u>			<u>DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE</u>			<u>DIPLOMA/CERTIFICATE</u>		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
Arts	5129	1645	6774	12592	3488	16080	10905	4320	15225
Science	552	280	832	375	208	583	509	311	820
Commerce	137	-	137	2029	96	2125	3280	236	3516
Education	1312	1216	2528	1260	1019	2279	2257	1861	4118
Engg/Tech.	2663	8	2671	2375	82	2457	5184	312	5496
Medicine	1573	445	2018	3774	1310	5084	4144	883	5027
Agriculture	216	-	216	96	-	96	260	8	268
Vetinary Sc.	60	-	60	90	-	90	97	1	98
Law	302	7	309	492	24	516	1429	97	1526
Others	2354	673	3027	2264	1483	3747	3117	1772	4889
Total	14298	4274	18572	25347	7710	33057	31182	9801	40983
Proportion of percent- age		76.9	23.01	76.6	23.3		76.0	23.9	

Source : (1) University Development in India : Basic facts and figures,  
1965-66, 1970-71 (2) Some unpublished statistics in  
1975-76 from the University Grants Commission.



Table 8

The out-turn of men and women from the various  
Faculties for the years 1965-66 and 1970-71

( in numbers )

Faculty	1965 - 66				1970 - 71			
	The No. of men appeared	The No. of men passed	The No. of women appeared	The No. of women passed	The No. of men appeared	The No. of men passed	The No. of women appeared	The No. of women passed
Arts	170145	93072	64406	40274	280760	168590	85458	75442
Science	82390	43795	13486	9577	164637	90717	30647	20959
Commerce	43909	24310	486	272	84192	48648	2048	1283
Education	20733	17395	10540	8934	37477	33095	17474	15281
Engg./Tech.	19542	15548	149	117	27872	22030	145	116
Medicine	13715	6542	2927	1705	14851	7693	3378	2186
Agriculture	9073	6510	35	25	9953	7796	47	40
Vetinary &c.	1354	9999	9	6	2540	1034	6	4
Law	14947	8765	440	272	20698	13118	10747	585
Others	3694	1072	1017	441	391	345	179	146
Total	379502	277918	93495	61623	643371	150129	150129	116042

Source : Education India, Ministry of Education Publication, 1970-71.

Education in Universities in India, a Ministry of Education  
Publication, 1965-66.

Table 9

The number of men and women graduates and licentiates from the year 1965 to 1976  
( in numbers )

Year	Graduates Men	Graduates Women	Total	Licent- iates Men	Licent- iates Women	Total	Graduates and Licen- tiates Men	Graduates and Licen- tiates Women	Total
1965	-	-	-	-	-	-	97165	86644	183809
1966	-	-	-	-	-	-	102663	90873	193536
1967	-	-	-	-	-	-	108694	94981	203675
1968	-	-	-	-	-	-	115761	100498	216259
1969	-	-	-	-	-	-	125697	100610	226307
1970	69375	15068	84443	31317	2465	33782	100692	17533	118225
1971	75538	17249	92787	31434	2467	33904	106972	19716	126688
1972	97354	25156	122510	34522	2996	37518	131876	28152	160028
1973	106513	28206	134719	34808	3010	37818	141321	31216	172537
1974	116031	31298	147329	34605	3026	37631	150636	34324	184960
1975	125477	34474	159951	34650	3049	37699	160127	37523	197650
1976	146108	39956	186064	34407	2916	37323	180515	42872	223387

Source : Indian Medical Council.

Table 10

The enrolment of men and women teachers in the various institutions for the years 1965-66 and 1970-71

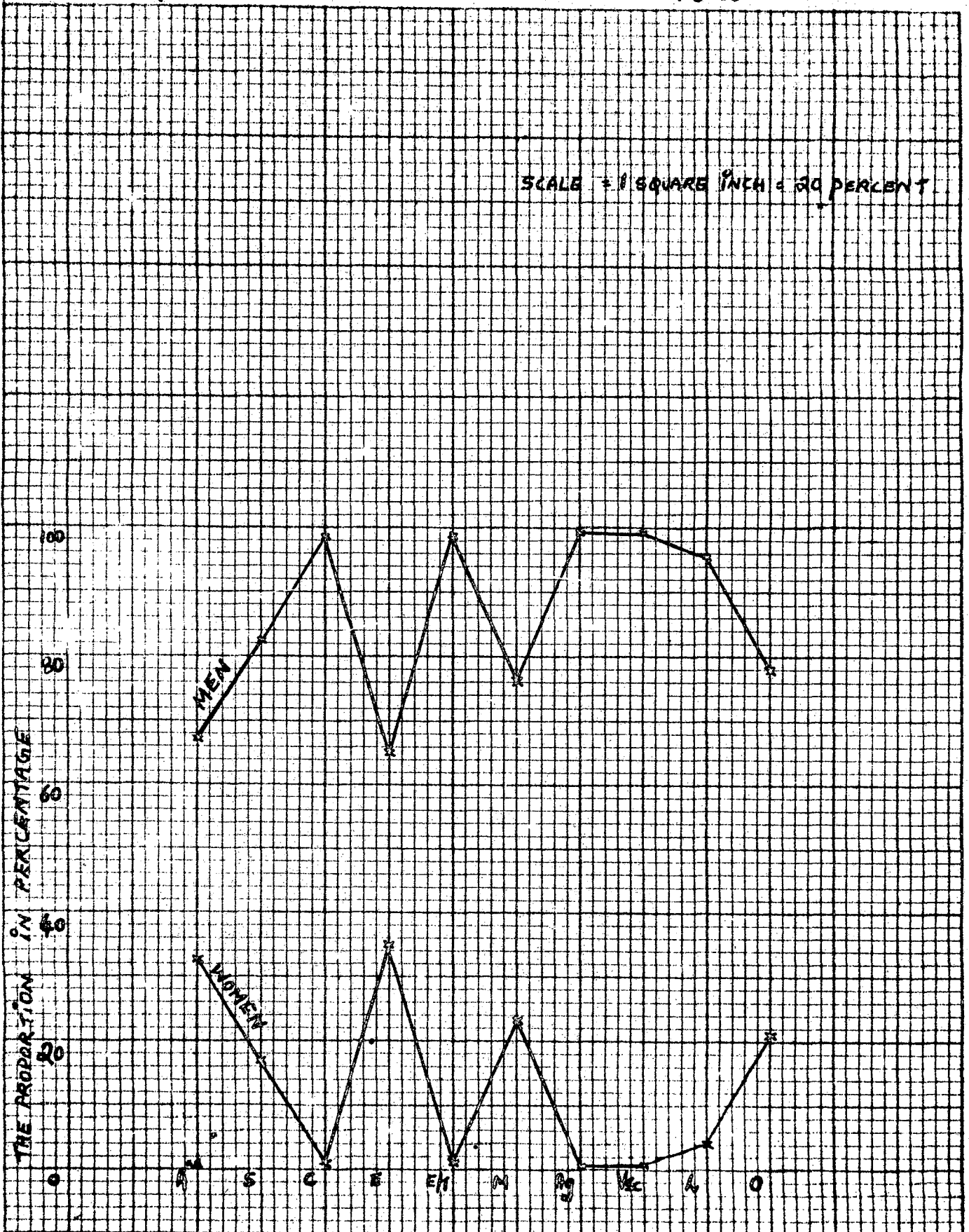
( in numbers )

	1965 - 66			1970 - 71		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Institutions deemed to be universities	8642	629	9271	14382	1246	15628
Research institutions	374	15	389	651	35	686
Colleges for general education (G & PG)	45315	10390	55705	77381	19342	96723
Colleges for professional education (G & PG)	23115	2736	25851	60787	8355	69142
Colleges for general education (UG)	1737	615	2352	6790	1542	8332
Colleges for professional education (UG)	24961	3160	28121	23049	1181	24230
College of other education	6529	146	6675	7227	244	7471
Total	110673	17691	128364	190267	31945	222212
Percentage of proportion	86.22	13.78		85.7	14.3	

Source : 'Education in India', A Ministry of Education Publication, 1965-66; 1970-71.

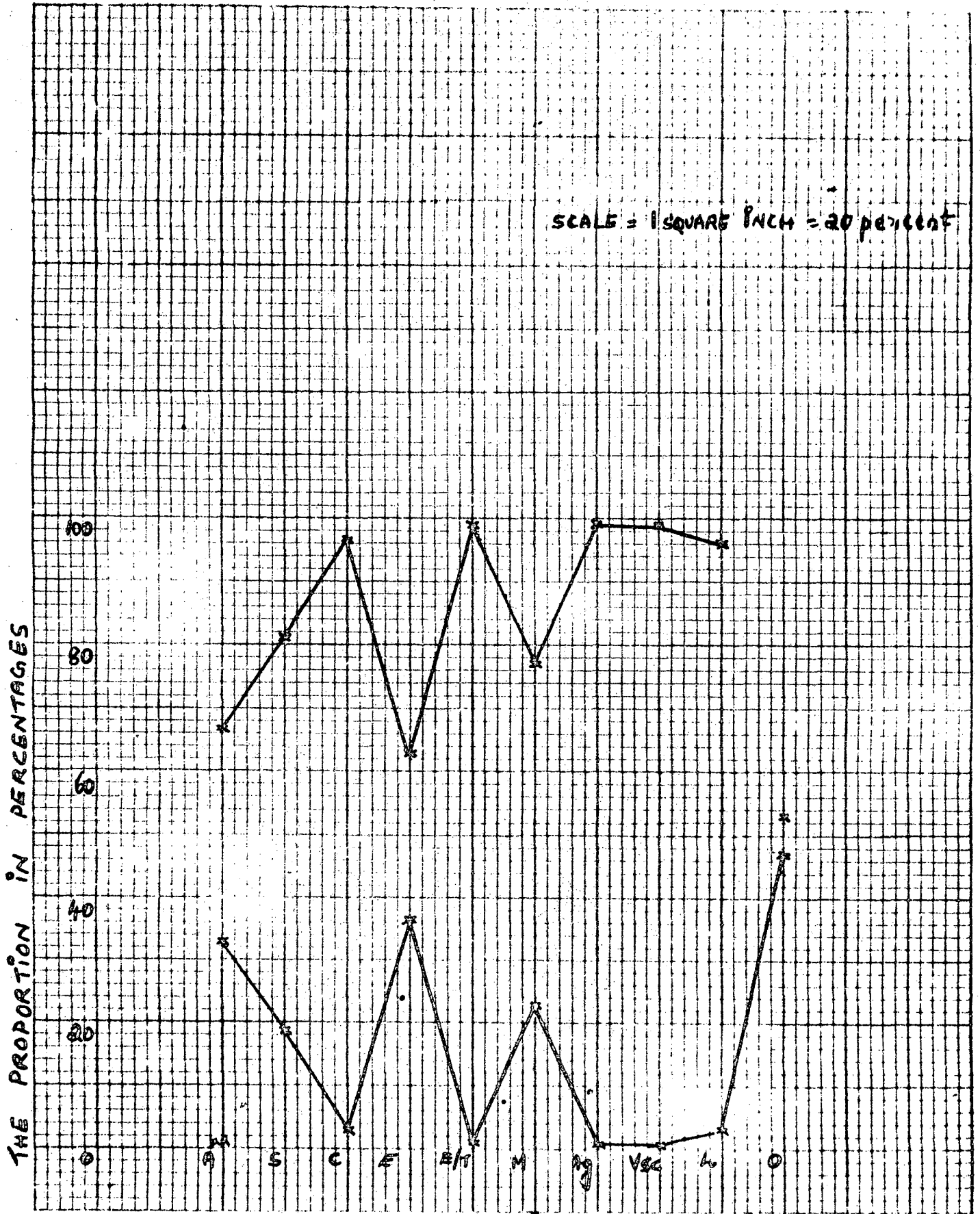
A P P E N D I X - B

**GRAPH 12 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TO TOTAL ENROLMENT BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1965-66**



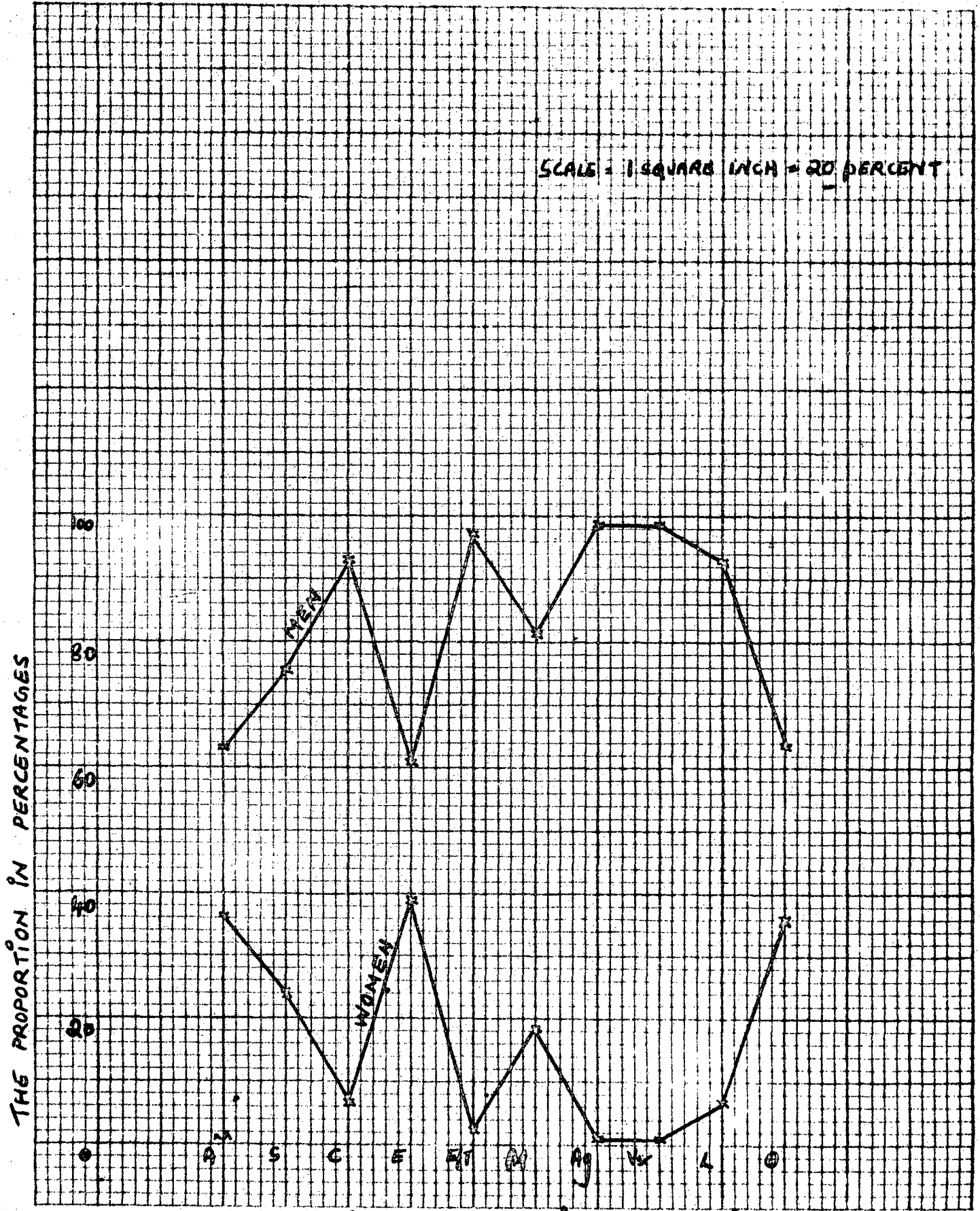
THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES  
 AS SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**GRAPH 13** THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TO TOTAL ENROLMENT BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1970-71



SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES

**GRAPH 14 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TO TOTAL ENROLMENT BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1975-76**

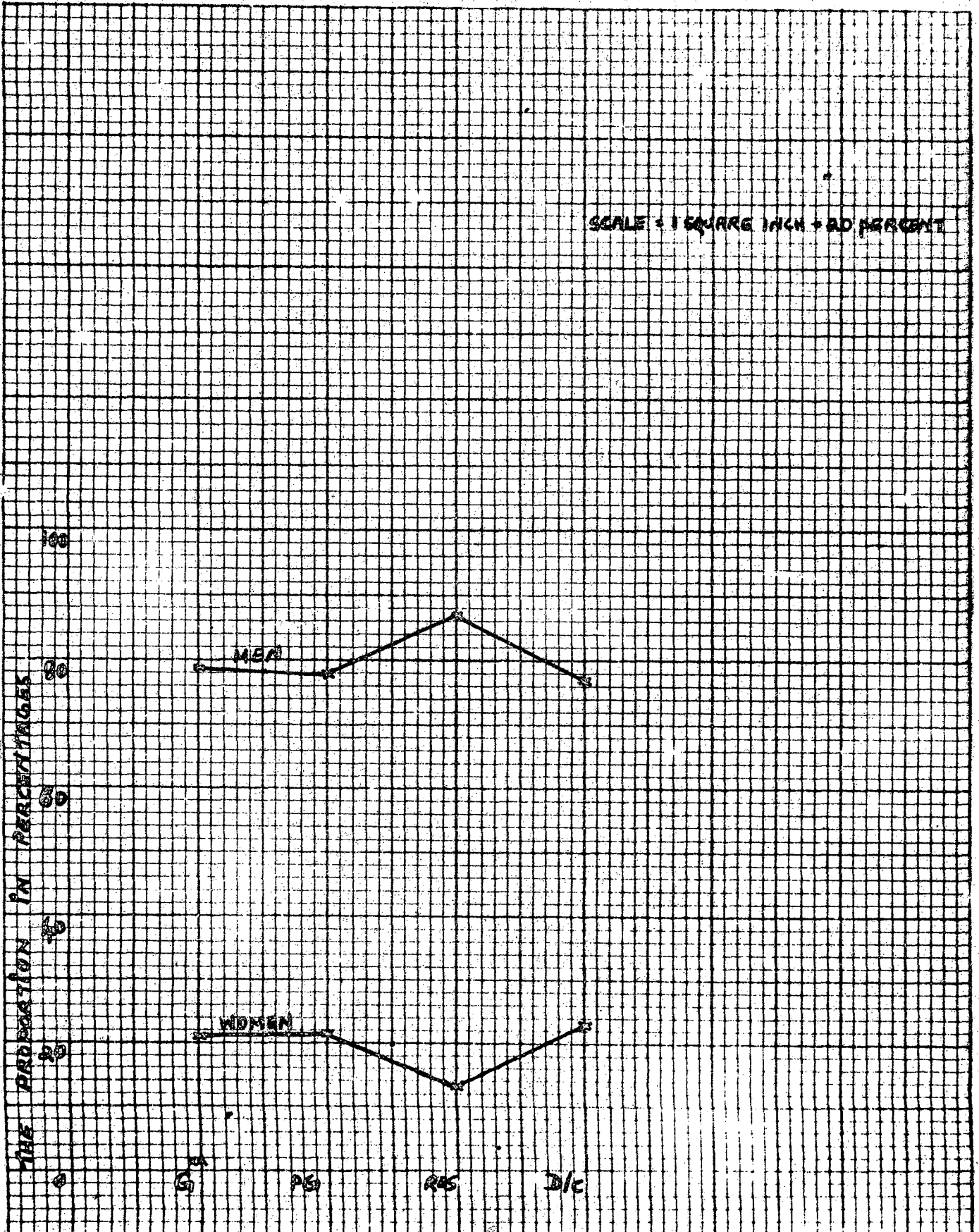


A S C E FT M Ag W L O

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES

**GRAPH 15**  
**ENROLMENT**

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS**  
**BY LEVEL FOR THE YEAR 1965-66**



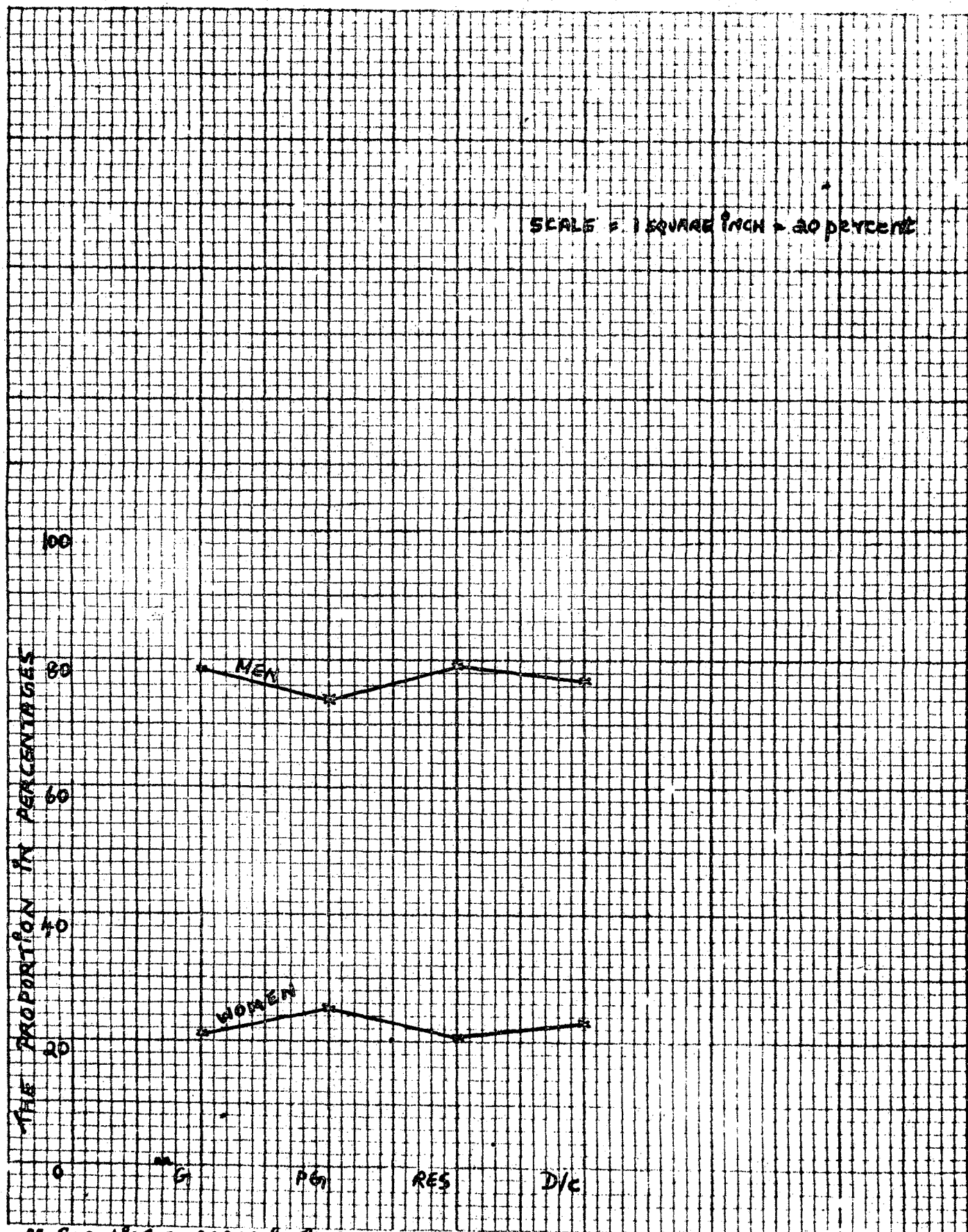
AA SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF LEVELS



**GRAPH 16**  
**ENROLMENT**

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS**  
**BY LEVEL FOR THE YEAR 1970-71**

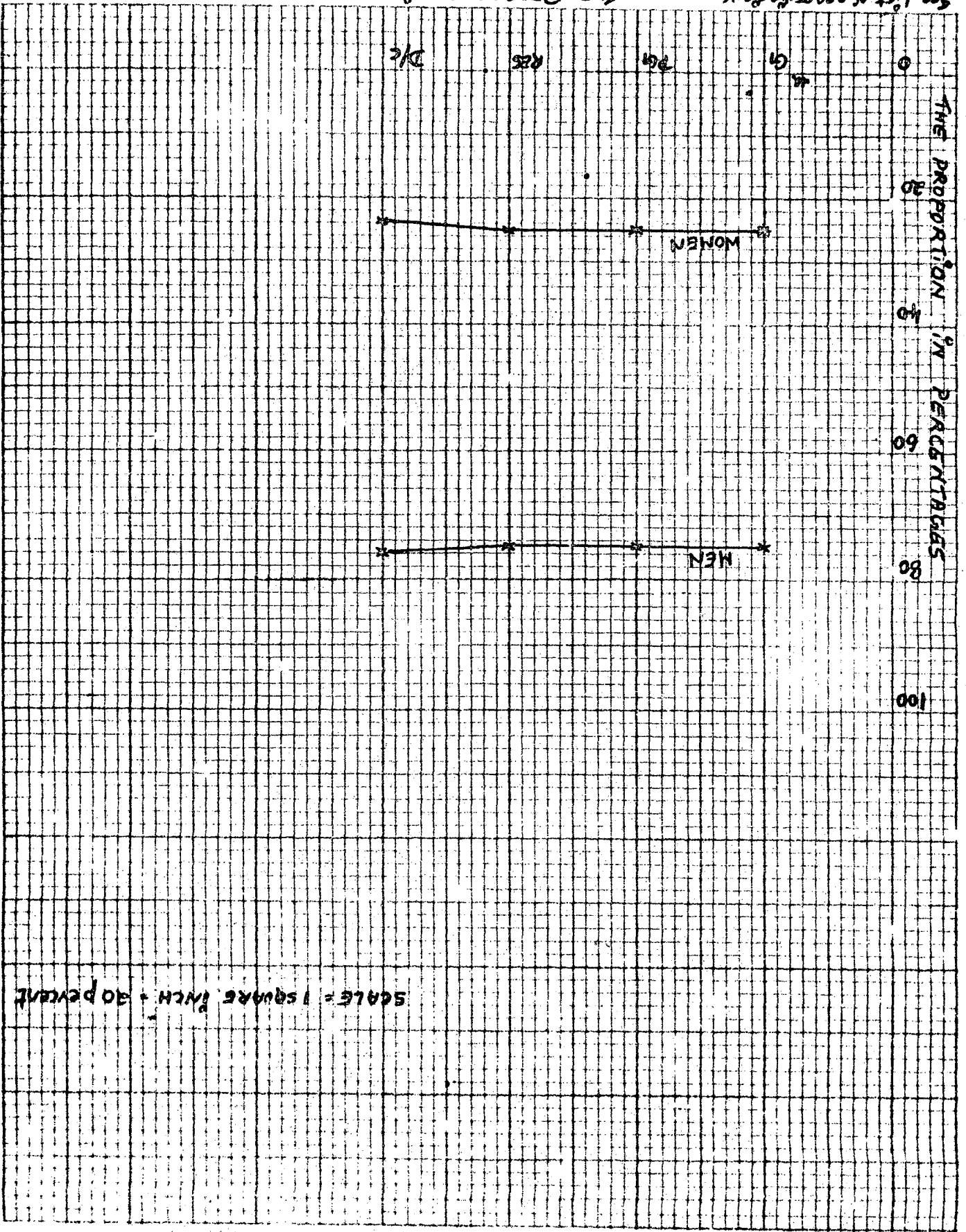


SEE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF LEVELS

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS BY LEVEL FOR THE YEAR 1975-76

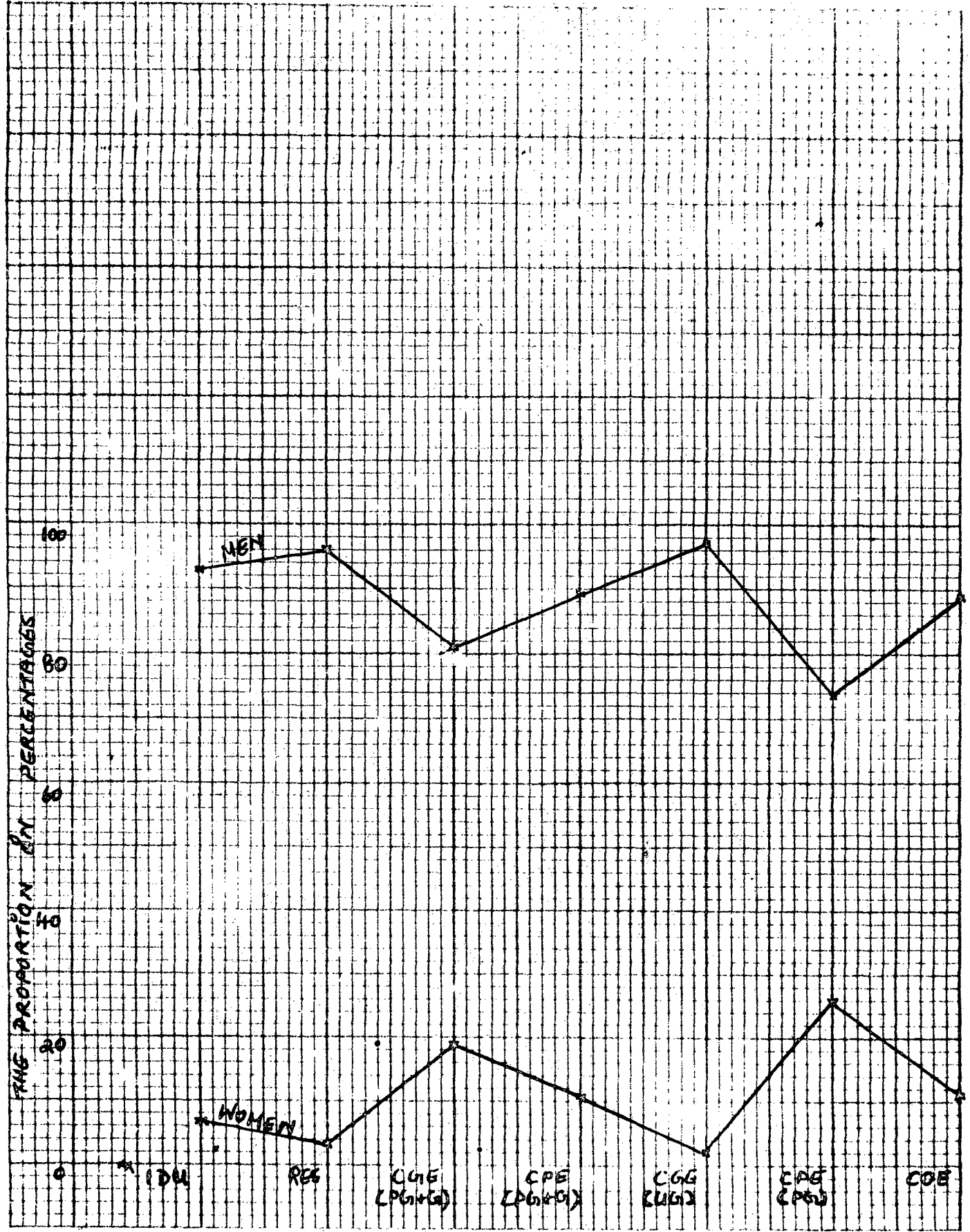
GRAPH 17 ENROLLMENT



See list of abbreviations THE REPRESENTATION OF LEVELS

**GRAPH 18**  
**EMPLOYMENT**

**THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO ALL TEACHERS BY COLLEGES FOR THE YEAR 1965-66**

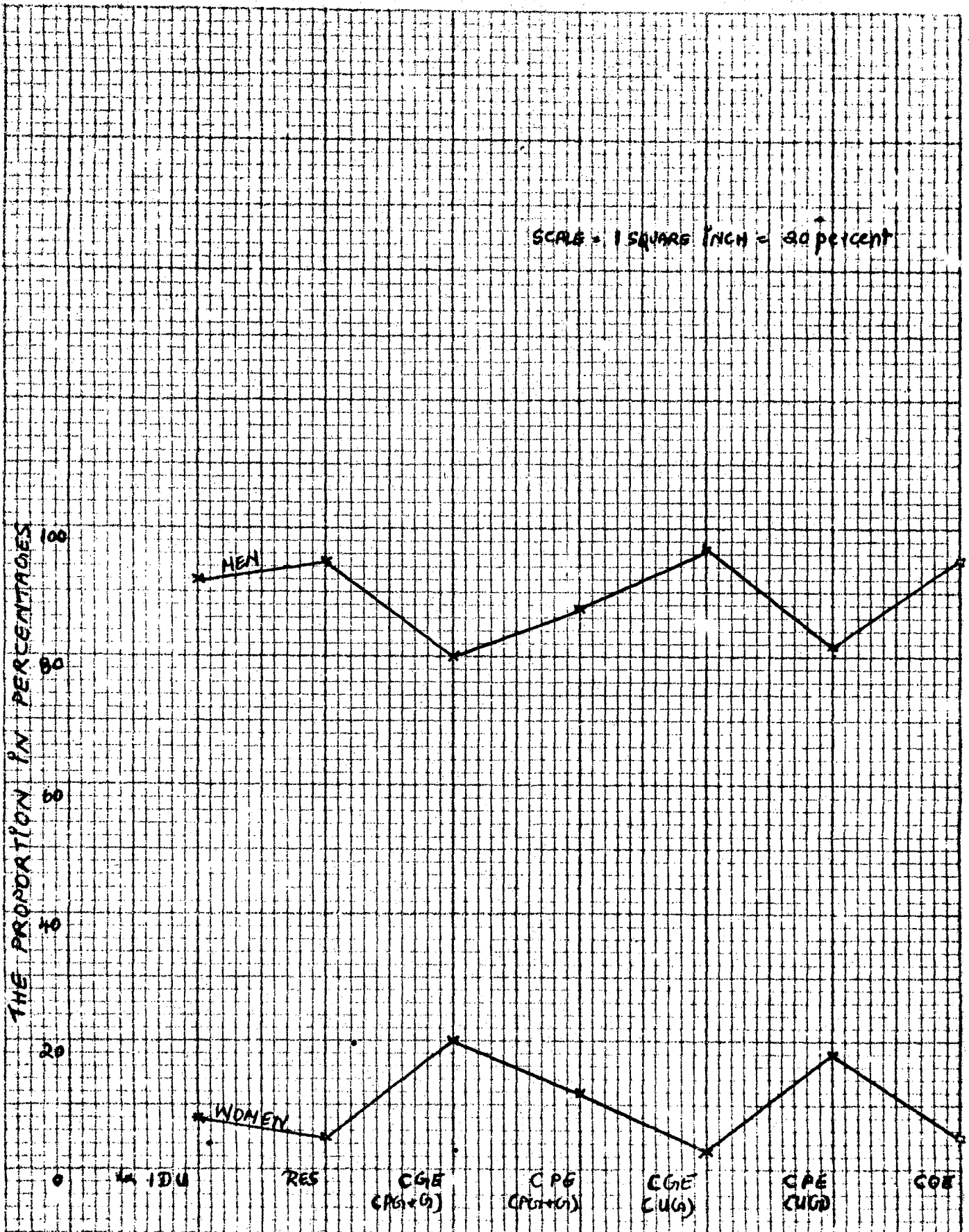


\* See list of ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF COLLEGES

GRAPH 19

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO ALL EMPLOYMENT TEACHERS BY COLLEGES FOR THE YEAR 1970-71



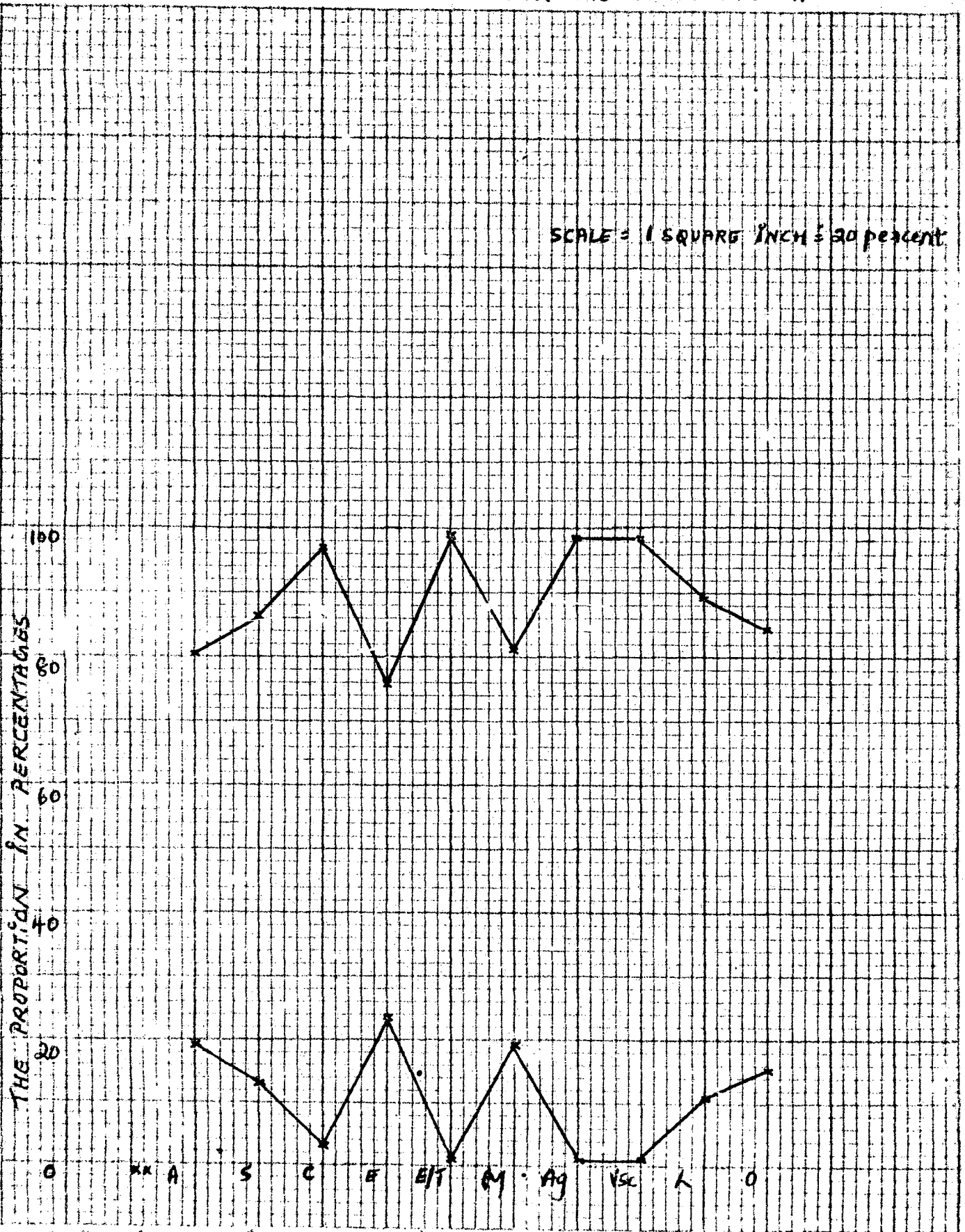
See list of ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES

GRAPH 20  
EMPLOYMENT

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS TO TOTAL TEACHERS BY FACULTY FOR THE YEAR 1970-71

SCALE = 1 SQUARE INCH = 20 PERCENT



\*\* See list of ABBREVIATIONS

THE REPRESENTATION OF FACULTIES



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