

WOMENMANAGERS INHYDERABAD
A Sociological Study

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of The Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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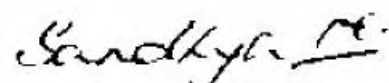
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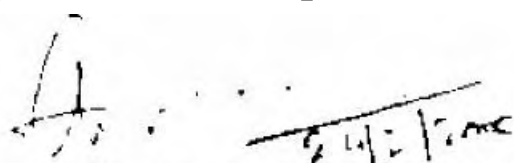
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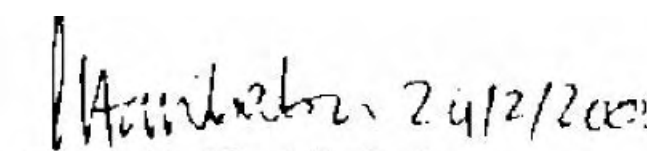
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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Management studies have usually ignored women's labour participation that contributes to the dialectics of continuity and change in society. Post-colonial India is witnessing women in various areas of public labour, professions being one among them. Management (of the public as well as the private corporate sectors) is one of the very recent professions, which has harnessed women's labour to the needs of capital. The capitalist market on the face of it, makes the process of women's entry in the labour market and into the management profession seem as a liberal - democratic act and as the proof of equality in the labour process. But, how far do feudal and patriarchal mechanisms like segregation, discrimination and harassment have a strong presence, and are inescapable? Have women become the prey to the dynamics of the capitalist market as well as to the public and private patriarchy structured on 'gender'? This is one of the main foci of enquiry in the present study

If we look into the history of management profession, it is seen that it developed as 'ownership management' during the initial stages of capitalism. But through a period of time, with the rise in joint stock companies and further development of corporate sector, a shift occurred in favour of 'professional management' to work on behalf of capital. These professional managers are not the owners or shareholders of capital, but they are 'employee managers' who work on behalf of the owners of capital.

The 'employee managers' were initially hired by the owners of capital either through their family affiliations or based on the individual's skill to manage the enterprise. With the development of capitalism, enhanced knowledge, skill and training, it has become necessary not only to reduce

the uncertainties of the enterprise's external environment (particularly the market), but also to plan, monitor and control the activities and efficiency of the internal process. Therefore, new businesses as well as management schools have been established in the recent decades to train men and women for the acquisition of the necessary managerial skills in various branches like Human Resource Development (HRD), Marketing, Industrial Relations, Personnel Management, Finance, etc., based on one's interest and capability. These professionally trained managers from various branches are considered 'professional employee managers'.

The major focus of this dissertation is the study of women professional managers. Though there have been growing employment opportunities for women in the management profession, certain issues of sociological concern like the nature of employment and/or the terms and conditions under which women managers are employed in these emerging industries and corporate sector have not been focussed properly.

It is to be noted that the words 'Corporate' and "Company" have been used interchangeably. A 'Corporate' is a formal organization, established for the purpose of business and profit and incorporated under the commercial law of the land in the Indian context, a Corporate or a Company is that, which has been incorporated under the Indian Companies Act, 1956. Further, a 'Corporate' or a Company' is a business enterprise comprising share-holders whose liability to the Company is restricted only to the unpaid amount on the shares held by them, hence the concept of 'limited liability'. Another important feature of a Corporate or a Company is that it is considered to be an artificial person in the eyes of the law and can sue or be sued in its own name. In Law, the owner of the Company is the Company itself and not its shareholder.

In India, the growth of management profession as compared to the western developed countries, is still in a nascent stage and the participation of

women in this profession has been very nominal. A comprehensive study of women's unequal participation in management is not available yet. Neither there are comprehensive survey and governmental reports regarding the status of women in the management profession in India, nor are there adequate number of empirical studies available, which could unravel the nature of women's unequal participation in this profession. The present study ought to be considered therefore as an attempt in this direction.

WHY IN HYDERABAD?

The site for empirical research of the present dissertation is the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. These cities are today rapidly becoming the destination for global and Indian business. Traditionally, Hyderabad has been home to Indian public sector. In the contemporary period however, investment in the private sector has registered a significant increase. These investments were also remarkable for the diversity of businesses that they have spawned. Thus, apart from engineering, the businesses that have been established include software, Pharmaceuticals, and a host of service enterprises such as hospitals, hotels, consultancies, as well as private banks and non-banking financial corporations.

The location or relocation of business establishments in the twin cities is also witnessing consequently, the emergence of a well-trained managerial work force both local and migrant. Indeed, the latter tend to show a marked preference for twin cities compared to locations like Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai and even Bangalore. These are due to economic as well as personal reasons. While the sedate life of Hyderabad and Secunderabad is an appealing factor, other major reasons include reasonable cost of living, salubrious climate, commendable infrastructure; standard medical care, and so on. An important factor is also that Hyderabad is strategically located in the country, well connected by road, rail and air. Most importantly, the

state government has been displaying a remarkable business friendly approach.

OBJECTIVES

The study, situating women managers in the context of their personal sociological background, attempts to analyse their employment in the 'public' sphere. It examines their public career as professional managers with the following objectives:

- 1 to investigate how 'Gender' operates in the management sector which has negative consequences for women, especially the concept and practice of 'patriarchy'
- 2 to explore the nature and extent to which organizations entrust professionally trained women managers with functions and duties befitting their capacities
- 3 to map the diffused manner in which women managers experience oppression
- 4 to understand whether and in what manner women managers possess a collective consciousness, and how they intervene in order to better their social and professional conditions

METHODOLOGY

The study has been undertaken in three stages initially, a pilot survey was conducted, the sample being eight women and eight men managers respectively. The pilot survey revealed that the management profession as held by management as well as organization theories is not gender neutral, but it is, very much gendered in its nature. The sample for the second stage, based on 'Purposive Sampling Method' (Goode & Hatt, 1952) comprised of sixty women and men managers respectively (hereafter,

referred to as 'respondents'). Male respondents were also included in the study to understand and bring home the stark contrast between men and women in the managerial profession. The respondents were administered a structured questionnaire containing closed as well as open-ended questions. The third stage involved informal interviews with the respondents, which were of an elaborate nature. On an average, each respondent was interviewed for a maximum of 4 - 5 hours comprising 4 — 5 sessions. Further, these techniques have been supplemented by direct observation, participation / observation in managerial seminars and other meetings.

In course of the survey, sixty (60) organizations were visited in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. In only thirty six out of the above sixty organizations, women were found to be in managerial strata. Since there is presently no academic or research organization having data as per the requirements of the present study, such a survey had to be undertaken, which however, has proved to be extremely beneficial.

STRUCTURE

This Dissertation consists of FIVE Chapters The introductory Chapter - I outlines the context of this study, objectives, methodology and chapterization

Chapter II is concerned with a conceptual understanding of 'Gender' and 'Work'. It is a theoretical investigation of 'Gender' in the social sciences, including feminist theory, Sexual division of labour, women's participation in the labour force and occupational segregation based on sex This chapter attempts to provide an overall theoretical framework on gender and work

Chapter III, titled 'Gender in Corporate Management: A Review in Theory', traces gender in the literature on management, bureaucracy and women. An attempt has been made to critically review the literature examining the scope and manner in which gender has been understood- This chapter examines the development of the profession of corporate management and analyzes how a shift has historically come about from 'ownership' or 'entrepreneurship management' to 'professional (employee)management'.

An attempt has also been made to understand the question of gender and women managers from all the major perspectives. Firstly, the review of Marxian perspective, has brought out the various mechanisms of capitalist exploitation. But it is found that several of the writings in this perspective were blind to 'gender' Secondly, management theories that seek to analyze the organization, allocation and functioning of various organizations have also been completely indifferent to the question of gender Thirdly, the 'sex role' theories flowing from the liberal (i e, non-Marxist) tradition do not expose the modes of exploitation in their *entirety* They lack the historical appreciation of sexual division of labour and the new forms in which it finds continuity Finally this chapter takes up a discussion on gender and bureaucracy showing how the Weberian approach to bureaucracy is also not illuminative as regards gender Certain alternatives to bureaucracy, such as Androgynous management, Neo Bureaucracy, and Femocracy, proposed by various feminists have been discussed

Chapter IV, 'The Empirical Study', has been organized in two parts. The socio-economic and cultural background and allied details of the respondents have been described in Part I Part II is devoted to the analysis of data on women in the management profession. The intimate linkage of the 'public' sphere of the respondents with their 'private'

sphere (detailed in Part I) has been appropriately taken into consideration in the course of the analysis

In the concluding chapter, Chapter V, the findings of the study are discussed in a comprehensive manner.

Chapter II
GENDER AND WORK : A CONCEPTUAL
UNDERSTANDING

Chapter 11

GENDER AND WORK : A Conceptual Understanding

Gender plays a dominant role in the historic process of the sexual division of labour. The contemporaneous phenomena of women's participation in the labour market and the occupational segregation based on gender, are discussed in this chapter,

Gender can be considered to be to feminist theory what 'Class' and 'Production' are to traditional Marxism and what the 'the unconscious' and 'repression' are to psychoanalysis (Benhabib, 1989) The difference between the concepts of *sex* and *gender* is that the former refers to biological sex or the *sex category* into which people are placed at birth and the latter refers to the result of that differential treatment in the socio-cultural realm (Lorber and Farrell, 1991) The concept of *gender* focuses on the social construction of sexual difference, which in turn serves as a constitutive element of all social and economic relationships

Scott (1986 1987) defines *gender* as

"The integral connection between two propositions: gender is a constructive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and the gender is a primary way signifying relationships of power".

Acker (1991) holds that an organization, or any other analytic unit is gendered meaning that the advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine Gender is not an addition to on-going processes, conceived as

gender neutral, rather it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender (Council, 1987),

Scott (op. cit.) holds that gendering occurs in at least five interacting processes, which though analytically distinct, are in practice parts of the same reality.

- a. In the construction of division of labour, of allowed behaviors, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour markets
- b. The construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce or sometimes oppose those divisions. These symbols and images have many sources or forms in language, ideology, media etc
- c. Interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all the patterns that enact dominance and submission
- d. These processes help to produce gendered components of individual identity, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender such as, in organizations, choice of appropriate work, language used, clothing and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization.
- e. Gender is implicated in the fundamental, on-going processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures. Gender is obviously a basic constitutive element in family and kinship, but less obviously, it helps to frame the underlying relations of these structures, including complex organizations.

Organization logic appears to be gender neutral; gender neutral theories of bureaucracy and organizations employ and give expression to this logic. However, both in theory and practice gendered substructure is reproduced.

According to Elson and Pearson (1984: 26) "*For women, unlike men, the question of gender is never absent*". Gender ascriptive relations are clearly the fundamental sites of the subordination of women. They serve to maintain the differences, between men and women and through such differences the subordination of women takes place. The ideology of gender provides rationale for patriarchy. Patriarchy, as McDonough and Harrison (1978) argue, is a universal structure through which the oppression of women can be understood without reference to history. Therefore the concern here is to see how patriarchy by determining the nature of social relations between men and women controls the economic and material position of women

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

Sexual division of labour is exhibited in all societies. As societies undergo economic change, concomitantly the nature of work and its distribution between men and women gets reorganized. An understanding of sexual division of labour in any society requires a close examination, of not only the jobs what men and women do, but also the relations under which they perform them. Though the established phrase *sexual division of labour* is used, what is meant here is the division of labour based on gender, which is the root cause for women's subordination

In social sciences, much work is currently under progress towards the knowledge of the sexual division of labour in the private as well as public

spheres. It focuses on various approaches to look at the sexual division of labour. Some writers focus on biological differences whereas others view it as a functional necessity. There are arguments, which locate it as a cultural practice and finally certain center round the material relations of production as a matter of gender inequality. These diverse approaches are often viewed as conflicting, competing or incompatible, but there is also a substantial implicit convergence, which brings out various dimensions of gender stratification.

Murdock (1949) views that sex differences and dependence make efficient cooperative unit. He holds that (1949 7)

"While man has the advantage of superior physical strength woman is handicapped by physiological burdens of pregnancy and nursing. All known human societies have developed specialization and dependence between the cleavage".

Tiger and Fox (1972) holds the similar view that human beings act according to their Biogrammer which implies a genetically based programs These determined functions predispose mankind to behave in certain ways

Levi-Strauss (1956) suggests that the division of labour between the sexes is the mechanism that enforces a reciprocal state of dependency between the sexes and that the economic interdependence of the sexes serves as the basis for the conjugal (nuclear) family This interdependence does not so much arise from actual sex differences as from culturally imposed prohibitions that make it impossible for one sex to do the tasks assigned to the other

He considers the division of labour as

"...a device to make sexes mutually dependent on social and economic grounds, thus establishing clearly that marriage is better than celibacy".
(op.cit :227)

Malinowski (1943) suggests that women owing to their docility are forced to such work. According to Malinowski (op.cit.: 287)

"division of labour is rooted in the brutalization of weaker sex by the stronger".

On the contrary, Mead (1949:164) argues that

'Women have a capacity for continuous monotonous work that man do not share, while men have a capacity for the mobilization of sudden spurts of energy followed by a need for rest and reassemblage of resources '.

The above approaches adhere to the fact that gender based division of labour is universal in human history. But it is not at all clear why this division is Typically hierarchical or why the rewards of specialization are more equitably distributed between the sexes at some stages of economic development than at others Even if men's superior physical strength has contributed women's inferior position, to understand sexual subjugation solely in terms of biology may be unhelpful (Amsden, 1980)

According to Mies (1988 69), the central assumption of male dominance is because of their biology that presumes men as superior. The analysis used, the tools of analysis, the basic concepts and definitions that are employed are colored by biological determinism Therefore it is essential to have the knowledge of different approaches which discard the universality of sexual division of labour, accounting that there is no clear cut division between the sexes to perform certain tasks

Oakley (1974) criticizes Murdock by arguing that the sexual division of labour is not universal, nor are certain tasks always performed by men and others by women. She finds Murdock's interpretation as biased because he looks at other cultures through both western and male eyes. Oakley opines that not only is the division of labour by sex not universal but there is no reason why should it be. Human cultures are diverse and endlessly variable. They owe their creation to human inventiveness rather than invincible biological forces.

Ortner (1974) analyses that social attitude towards female biology, not biology itself, explains the apparently unchanging nature of woman's social subordination and pattern of allocation of tasks. The universal evaluation of culture as superior to nature is the basic reason for the devaluation of status of women and her work. She thinks that culture is evaluated to be superior just because it is man's creation and equips him to control nature by endowing systems of thought and technology. As woman is considered close to nature, subordination of woman becomes a pan of man's control mechanism.

Parsons (1964) views the division of labour along lines of sex as a functional necessity. Parsons tried to analyze the division of labour conceived mainly in terms of sex roles in the family, particularly the distinction between 'expressive' (concerned with the relations with the family) and an 'instrumental' role (mediating between the family and the outside). Parsons characterizes woman's role as expressive where she provides warmth, security and emotional support and man's role as instrumental which leads to stress and anxiety relieved by 'expressive female'. Parsons argues that for the family to operate efficiently as a social system, there must be a clear-cut sexual division of labour. In this

sense, the instrumental and expressive roles complement each other. The entry of married women into the market is considered as undesirable as it might lead to competitive strain in the marital relationship. He maintains that the sex stratification of the labour market is necessary to maintain order in wider society.

The conflict approach to sexual division of labour deals with the operation of gender relations in relation to the process of production and reproduction as understood by historical materialism. The pioneers of this conflict approach are Marx and Engels. Marx himself did not undertake a thorough investigation of women's situation under capitalism. Engels (1985) briefly examines the sexual division of labour under capitalism, but devotes much attention to the women's situation in the pre-capitalist societies. His major focus is on the position of women in relation to the historical changes in the modes of production

Writing about sexual division of labour, Marx and Engels (1970: 51) assume that every society has been characterized by a sexual division of labour "*...which was originally nothing but the division of labour in the sexual act*". They maintain that the physiological sex differences led, from the beginning of human history, to an elementary division of labour between the sexes, Marx for instance writes (1967 351):

"Within a family, and after further development within the tribe, there springs up naturally a division that is consequently based on a purely physiological foundation".

Engels (1985) claims that there was a "natural" division of labour, with men specializing in producing the means of subsistence while women worked in the household. Each sex was dominant in its sphere and since

the work of both was vital to survival, women's status was at least equal to that of men. Engels holds that women's supposed supremacy was destroyed by developments in the sphere of production.

Simon de Beauvoir (1977; 85) explains about Engels' idea of the old division of labour that,

"It is to be explained by the upsetting of old division of labour which occurred in the consequence of invention of new tools. The same cause which had assured to woman the prime authority in the house, namely, her restriction to domestic duties — this same cause now assured the domination there of the man, for woman's house work henceforth sank into insignificance in comparison with man's productive labour - the latter was everything the former a trifling auxiliary".

Engels (1985) writes that the determining factor in history is ultimately the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is of a two-fold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools and on the other hand, the production of human beings themselves, that is the propagation of the species - has led to a consideration of the extent to which women might occupy a specific role in the reproduction of the forces and relations of production. In spite of all this women are oppressed.

Engels views that this oppression among women is different based on their class. He views that women of capitalist class are more oppressed than working class women. The entry of working class women into the labour market made them independent of men in a way, unlike bourgeoisie women.

Saffioti (1978) points out that the working class women face economic marginalization in class society which flows from the inability of capitalist economy to employ all potential workers, and its need for a reserve army

of labour that can be utilized during economic urgency. The fundamental thrust of Saffioti's analysis is that the fight against women's oppression and the struggle for socialism are inseparable.

Engels view on the centrality of production and the family in determining the position of women and in constituting the form of family as a historical question has a prominent hold. His analysis is, however, deficient in a number of respects, as contemporary critics have pointed out Delmar (1976: 275) criticizes Engels thus:

- a. That he fails to recognize the role of the woman's domestic labour in reproducing labour power within the family.
- b. That he does not regard the sexual division of labour as problematic and therefore requiring explanation.
- c. That he does not analyze the role of the State in reproducing the position of women within the family, and in circumscribing the forms of employment available to women.
- d. That he fails to analyze the ideology of domesticity, which is involved in reproducing a particular form of family and the relations of male domination and female subordination.
- e. That he uncritically presumes that the monogamous family would disappear among the working class as women were drawn into social production.

Beechey (1987:55) suggests that

"The inadequacies of Engels's account of the application of the development of modern industry for the position of women stem not only from his failure to analyze the patriarchal family, but from his failure to analyze the ways in which the changing capitalist labour process structures the organisation of wage labour, creating divisions within the working class".

Beechey (op. cit) analyzes the specificity of the position of female wage labour based on Marx's analysis of the labour process. She argues that Marx's analysis of the general tendencies within capitalism provides the foundation for the analysis of female wage labour. She opines that Marx's specific, and extremely fragmentary allusions to the position of women are unsatisfactory because he, like Engels, does not adequately analyze the relationship between the family and the organization of capitalist production.

It is argued that all the work which women presently do, that is, child-care, nursing etc. must come within the sphere of public production. Thus women's liberation requires the functions performed by the family to be undertaken by the State which could happen only in socialism, according to Marxist feminist thinkers.

The above mentioned approaches give a multi-dimensional view of the sexual division of labour. The sexual division of labour in society appears to express, embody and furthermore to perpetuate female subordination.

OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION:

Occupational segregation by sex in the labour market is an expansion of the division of labour by sex. Any knowledge of sexual division of labour without an understanding of occupational segregation is considered incomplete. Since 1960's there has been a growing focus on this area by economists, sociologists and feminists. Theories on occupational segregation discard various socially constructed view points and ideologies which position women into subordinate position and try to present a new angle to look at women's problem.

The term *Occupational Segregation by Sex*, according to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1981:38) is used to refer to the fact that,

"Men and women are concentrated in different occupations (the "horizontal" component of occupational segregation) and that even when women occupy the same occupation they are often employed at different levels of responsibility and allocated different tasks than men (the "vertical" component)- The labour market is largely divided into segments which are broadly self contained, to which access is limited and between which there is usually little mobility, except at a lower level of skill".

The segregation is of special policy importance because the labour market segments in which women are concentrated, tend to be disadvantaged in terms of skill, status, security and earnings. Indeed a large proportion of the labour market segments dominated by women are found in what many labour economists and industrial sociologists referred to as the "secondary labour market" characterized by low skills, low wages, high turnover and low status. An analysis of segregation is fundamental to any study of the different needs of men and women with regard to education and training, the question of earnings differential by sex.

According to the writers who focus their analysis on 'dual labour market', the subordination of women is to be situated within an analysis of the labour market which is stratified into primary and secondary sectors, thus linking this segregation to the structural features of the labour market

Bergman (1973) holds that the exclusion of women from the primary market, "crowds" them into secondary sector occupations thereby inflating the supply of labour and reducing the level of earnings below normal level. Two key assumptions accompany this model are: that workers perfectly substitute one another although they have differing ascriptive characteristics, and that it is the demand side conditions that are responsible for overcrowding, i.e., tastes of employers. Bergman fails to explain the considerable degree of occupational segregation between men and women within each sector and he also fails to provide a precise analysis of the causes and mechanisms of labour market segregation. It is argued by some economists that the operative degree of occupational segregation is at the level of the establishment, rather than at the national level.

Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1977) advance the more radical 'labour market segmentation' analysis. They hold that the political and economic forces of capitalist system have given rise to segmented labour markets. One of the patterns for labour market segmentation is, segmentation by sex. Occupational segregation and discrimination with low wages and 'serving mentality' are the major characteristics. They hold that these characteristics are encouraged by such institutions as family and schools. They suggest that not much can be done to improve the employment conditions for women in the small numbers of job categories in which they are concentrated without thoroughly transforming the economic system.

Economists involved in the analysis of sex segregation of labour market (Blau et.al. 1977) argued that women get lower pay for similar work and to some extent, are occupationally segregated by sex because of a combination of factors enumerated below:

- a. Some economists say that women have lower skills, but this situation arises because of the fact that investment in human capital for women is much lower when compared to men.
- b. It has been pointed out that they have high turnover rates. This point should be discussed in the context of familial responsibilities (child bearing and rearing) and domestic work.
- c. It is considered that women are relatively immobile regarding their jobs. But this argument has been severely attacked and disproved on the grounds that women have greater ability to move in and out of the labour market (Blau et.al. 1977).
- d. It is argued that when compared to men, women are less efficient in discharging their duties, but this argument has been totally disproved by innumerable studies in the area of women and work (Griffiths and Newman, 1976).

Hartmann (1977) observes that Marxist categories are useful for analyzing production but unable to explain the specific situation of women within capitalist forms of labour process. She argues that industrial capitalist societies consist not of one structure but of two: patriarchy and capitalism.

According to Hartmann (1977:84)

"Capitalism grew on top of patriarchy: patriarchal capitalism is stratified society par excellence. If non-ruling class men are to be free, they will have to recognize their co-optation by patriarchal capitalism and relinquish their patriarchal benefits. If women are to be free, they must fight against both patriarchal power and capitalist organization of society".

Hartmann points out that even though capitalists' actions are important in explaining the crucial aspects of sex segregation, labour market segmentation theory over-emphasizes the role of capitalists and ignores the actions of male workers. Male workers prevent the encroachment of, or even to drive out, cheaper female labour, thus increasing the benefits to their sex, which help in perpetuating segmentation.

Hartmann (op cit: 84) puts it as,

"The present status of women in the labour market and the current arrangement of sex segregated jobs is the result of a long process of interaction between patriarchy and capitalism".

Esienstein (1979) crystallizes an approach that came to be called 'dual systems theory'. The basic comprehensive systems of social relations, namely, capitalism and patriarchy meet and interact. The present form of their interaction is the social order, which Esienstein calls "capitalist patriarchy". Understanding the contemporary world requires the simultaneous analysis of its class and gender structures. Esienstein views the analysis of gender requires in principle an intrinsic theory logically independent of the theory of class.

Griffiths and Newman (1976) observe that women are often given different job descriptions and titles for the equivalent nature so that the lower pay for women can be rationalized. She holds that women receive

an unequal share of the benefits from labour due to the discrimination they suffer under the 'justification' that men, not women are bread winners- She points out that many women are bread winners. Significant proportion of women workers are single, divorced, widowed, separated or with husbands earning less pay. If society wishes to give equal treatment to 'bread winners', then women should have the same opportunities as men in the labour market

Reskin (1991) describes that one of the most enduring manifestations of sex inequality in industrial and post-industrial societies is the wage gap. In 1986, as in 1957, among full time workers in the United States, men earned 50% more per hour than women did. (This disparity translated to \$8,000 a year in median earnings, an all time high bonus for being a male.) Most sociologists agree that the major cause of the wage gap is the segregation of women and men into different kinds of work (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). Whether or not women freely choose the occupations in which they are concentrated, the outcome is the same; the more female oriented an occupation is, the lower is its average wage (Trieman and Hartmann, 1981).

Boserup (1975) holds that a sudden increase in supply of labour for given occupation exerts a downward pressure on wages. Men, who consider themselves as the superior sex, begin to find these occupations less attractive and leave the field open to women who are seen as 'the inferior sex'. The downward pressure on male jobs, in occupations invaded by women would not occur, if women could avoid flocking to a few occupations and be ready to enter *to* and be trained for a whole range of economic activities. The segregation is also a result of the fact that there

are some occupations which are mere extensions, may be more professionalized and skilled versions of women's traditional roles.

A survey of the economic position of women in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) nations in the wake of the recession of the early 1980 concluded:

"Labour market bias against 'women persists and this, in combination with the recession, has resulted in greater economic insecurity for them and those who depend wholly or partly on their earnings. Inequality in the education system, in training, in employment and in the tax and social security systems, along with the domestic division of labour have combined to perpetuate occupational segregation and women's greater vulnerability to poverty and dependence (Lowe: 1987).

The provisional agenda of the 'World Plan of Action' (Glazer, 1977) called to fight for 'equal pay for equal work' and against occupational segregation, Reagan and Blaxall (1976) claim that even if 'equal pay for equal work' in the real sense is achieved, equality of opportunity will not occur simultaneously. This is because occupational segregation of sexes results from the interaction of well-entrenched and complex set of institutions that perpetuate the inferior position of women in the labour market.

Hanna Papanek (1976) observes that, occupational segregation must be studied on an internationally comparative basis, so that these nations which are just beginning to industrialize can learn from the experience of the industrialized countries with respect to segregating women in the market place.

She notes that many of the new opportunities for women in the industrialized countries tended to be in occupations where 'traditional

men's jobs' have turned into 'women's occupations' with relatively low wages. This serves to reinforce the women's subordinate position and condition the type of skills that women may acquire. This sex segregation of occupation is an extension of sexual division of labour in the household to labour market.

Heam and Parkin (1987) write that the gender segregation of work, including divisions between paid and unpaid work is partly created through organizational practices and understanding these processes is necessary for understanding gender inequality,

NATURE OF WOMEN'S WORK:

The concept of 'Work' is important to understand the dynamics of the social structure. Many a social scientists were gender blind in their analysis of the concept of work as they overlooked the domestic activity done by women. Joyce (1989) locates the need to look beyond the economic and production realms since the work is essentially a social construct. Marxist feminists focused on the domestic work's contribution towards the accumulation of capital whereas Socialist feminists stress the need for the payment of wages to women for the labour shed at domestic sphere.

According to Boserup (1990; 34) women's work and women's role in the family and in society at large are radically changed by and along with the changes in the economy. To understand this, it is important to view these changes in women's position not as isolated factors, but rather as part of general changes that come about as human societies slowly develop from subsistence economies to high technology economies.

Tilly and Scott (1978) defined 'work' as productive activity for household use or *for* exchange. Domestic work done by women is often called by economists as 'use value' and the market labour as 'exchange value'. To public knowledge any mention of women's work reminds of her employment status since her domestic work is considered as a natural part of her life.

Women's participation in the labour market took place especially, after industrial revolution. This led to a historic separation of the domestic sphere and non-domestic sphere. This separation is viewed by Political Economy of Women Group (PEWG) as crucial to her subordination under capitalism.

Braverman holds that (1974; 271)

"The capitalist mode of production takes over the totality of individual, family and social needs and, in subordinating them to the market, also reshape them to serve the needs of capital".

Braverman argues that the family loses its role as a social institution and as an agency of production in the period of monopoly capitalism and retains the sole function of an institution for the consumption of commodities. Even its role in consumption has become individualized, as all family members are involved in wage labour.

On the contrary, Tilly and Scott (1978) provide, though not in Marxist categories, a historical account of women's labour force participation. They show the replacement of family wage economy and how the household's need for wages determine the productive activity of women. They point out that, at the most general level, the interplay between

society's productive and reproductive systems within the household influences the supply of women available for work.'

They hold that family provided a certain continuity in the midst of economic change. Values, behavior and strategies shaped under one mode of production continued to influence behavior as the economy changed. The members in the family continued the household roles and relationships. Though industrialization deprived the family's function as productive unit, the family still continues to influence the economic activities of its members.

According to Beechey (1987) with the development of the capitalist labour process (and in particular the emergence of modern industry, when capitalist domination of the labour process becomes direct) the family *appears* to have become separated from the capitalist mode of production. In reality it is divorced only from the labour process and continues to play a vitally important role in the organization of production as capitalist accumulation develops.

Kuhn (1978:44) holds that the root cause for women's subordination lies in the family. She maintains that:

"Family is constantly referred to, or deferred to, as the crucial site of the subordination of women, and its absence or dissolution, it is implied, would pose a threat to property relations both patriarchal and capitalist and even to the psychic relations through which, it is argued, social relations are mapped into relations of subjectivity".

Mackintosh (1984) holds that woman's work, unpaid as well as paid, has certain advantages for capital. Women form one of the cheapest and most vulnerable parts of the wage labour force; and are thus open to a high level of exploitation. Furthermore the material division which emerges in the

work force between men and women, that is difference in pay, competition for jobs in situations of unemployment, lessens the strength of workers as a whole, allowing capital to divide and rule and thus to increase profits at the expense of wages.

This kind of gender subordination means that when a Labour market develops, women, unlike men, are unable to take on fully the classic attributes of free wage Labour. *"A man can become a free wage labourer"*, as Marx (1976: 273) holds, *"...in the double sense that as a free individual he can dispose his labour-power as his own commodity and that, on the other hand, he has no other commodity for sale... he is free of all the objects needed for the realisation of his labour-power"*.

A woman is never 'free' in this way. Her obligations towards domestic labour and struggle to obtain her subsistence from men, in exchange for personal services of a capitalist labour process. It is this gender difference which gives women a 'secondary status' in the Labour market. This secondary status arising from women's subordination as a gender, means that women workers are peculiarly vulnerable to super-exploitation; their labour-power is exploited, either on a daily or a generational basis. It also means that women tend to get lower wages than men, even when such lower wage contributes to the support of several other people (Elson and Pearson, 1984).

According to Marx (1974) the object of capitalist production is the extraction of surplus value by capital through the employment of labour power in the capitalist labour process. In the surplus-value producing process, the wage labourer sells her/his labour power to the capitalist in exchange for a wage. The wage, however, does not represent payment for

the entire tone worked, but rather corresponds to what Marx calls the value of labour power. This is equivalent to the costs of reproducing the worker. The domestic labour done by women, labouring at home without remuneration, and outside the direct domination of capital, produces use values for the reproduction and maintenance of the male labourer and his family.

The recognition of the role of domestic labour in the reproduction and maintenance of labour power has required a modification of Marx's definition of the value of labour power. Political Economy of Women's Group (1976: 10) argues that

"The value of labour power is therefore defined as the value of commodities necessary for the reproduction and maintenance of the worker and his family. This implies that the value of labour power is not synonymous with the labour-time embodied in the reproduction and maintenance of labour power once one takes account of domestic labour (and the State)".

This is because domestic labour is itself involved in the reproduction of labour power as a commodity.

The demand for female labour in modern industry, as suggested by Beechey (1987:60), can be advantageous to capital in three ways:

- a. In reducing the value of labour power overall. The tendency of capital to reduce or force down the value of labour power arises as a countertendency to the tendency for the rate of profit to fall.
- b. Because female labour power has a lower value than male labour power.

- c. Because women can be paid wages at a price which is beneath the value of labour power.

In the latter half of the seventies, a number of writings reflected on Marxist approach of the labour process. Beechey (1987) tried to broaden the classical Marxist framework in order to take account of women's position in the labour market. Beechey holds that women had a distinctive position in capitalist forms of labour process — cheap, unskilled workers and act as a potentially disposable industrial reserve army* of labour, Beechey opines that Marx had recognized this, but only inadequately. She argued that the reasons why women constituted a distinctive kind of labour force did not lie in 'natural differences of strength and skill, but in the sexual division of labour within the home' because women are dependent on the family economy, and specifically on the male wage, for part of the costs of producing and reproducing their labour power, Beechey argued that, women's labour power puts pressure on the value of labour power, and it is this, which makes them a preferred labour force for capital.

Hartmann (1977) holds that 'our central problem of analysis is or should be, the relation of women to men, not to capital or other economic forces'. She proposes that one has to go beyond the bonds of Marxist analysis, since the object of study of Marxist theory is production or production relations, a different object of analysis from that of feminists.

Hartmann (1977) argues that for women in industrial capitalist societies it is not only the capitalism, but also patriarchy that subordinates their position. Patriarchy, which was established before capitalism, was carried over into capitalist forms of labour process by men, through trade unions.

offender ideology, whereby the reproduction of existing relations of production takes place. Ideology is inculcated by the dominant class ('bourgeoisie ideology'), seen as a more or less coherent value system of the capitalist culture. These are imposed on the dominated class through various apparatuses such as school, family etc., in the interest of the dominant class.

Hirst (1976) argues that ideology functions to reproduce the class relations of production, and becomes simply a vehicle for the transmission of representations of those relations, and the family is one among a number of sites for that transmission. Presumably, to the extent that patriarchy is a structure of dominance, ideology can likewise be seen as a means by which representations of sexual relations of production are transmitted, and the family can be seen as the arena of such transmission.

Althusser (1971) views that ideology is a reflection (in ideas) of a determining economic base. He locates ideology as a practice enjoying relative autonomy from the economic level. He stresses ideology as 'lived experience', as representing 'the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence, and emphasizes that individual subjects are constructed and reproduced in ideology. Althusser's view of ideology redefines the classical Marxist view of ideology.

Barrett (1980) points that, the gender ideology is a crucial determinant of women's oppression and discussed a variety of ways in which ideology operates in the economic realm, not only in the definition of skill, but also in the more general division between women's and men's jobs. She gives two possible alternative assumptions about ideology. Firstly, ideology is absolutely independent of the economic relations of capitalism, and

secondly that ideology is grounded in material relations. What Barrett insists is that ideology should be disassociated from economic relations.

Kuhn (1978) observes that patriarchy tends to be understood either as a structure informing social relations, relations of production and private property in the sense argued by Engles, or as an alternative position it is seen as a structure informing psychic relations, subject positioning and symbolic structure. What Kuhn wants to suggest is that these two positions are not necessarily alternatives. The psychic relations can be seen as the site and expression of the symbolic operation of social and property relations, and that such a way of posing this relationship involves a rethinking of the nature of family relations and reformulation of the question of Ideology.

Barrett (1980) writes that the liberation of women would require,

- a. re-dividing of labour and responsibilities of child care;
- b. the actual or assumed dependence of women on a male wage (or capital) would need to be done away with;
- c, the ideology of gender would need to be transformed.

Therefore the need of the hour is that

"It is necessary to resort to direct cultural action in order to develop a specifically feminist consciousness in addition to transform the economic base" (Ehreinrich as quoted by Jaggar, 1970: 264).

As Marx (1963: 147) himself remarks, ***"All history is nothing but a continuous transformation of human nature"***.

In summary, gender has to be understood as a socially constructed ideology on the basis of which, differentiation is made between men and women based on their biology. This ideology has historically exercised its

influence on work in society, as a common and enduring feature in all the modes of production. In the capitalist mode of production, gender makes its presence felt in gross and subtle manner at the sight of social production. It combines patriarchy with the capitalist social structure and divides society into private and public spheres, operating in both these areas,

A critique of the capitalist mode of production which is at the same time not a feminist critique, usually either glosses over gender or underplays its existence. While this is generally true in the (larger) case of women and their labour (both public and private) it is especially so in the area of women in management strata in corporate organizations. Here, 'Management', 'Bureaucracy' and other institutions are allegedly gender neutral. Indeed this is conventional wisdom. This is precisely the objective of the present study to enquire whether and how Gender operates in Management.

The present chapter has sought to provide a theoretical understanding of gender and its presence in the world of work. This has been done with reference to the copious literature that has been generated in the recent period. While this review goes to provide an overall framework of understanding, the next chapter is concerned with a discussion of earlier studies on Gender in Management.

Chapter III
**GENDER IN CORPORATE MANAGEMENT: A
REVIEW OF THEORY**

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GENDER IN CORPORATE MANAGEMENT: A Review of Theory

The Origins of Management

During the initial stages of capitalism, the capitalist himself used to perform the dual roles of the owner as well as the manager. In course of time, the general decline of traditional family-owned firms and the rise of the joint stock company led to the distinction between the owner of capital and the manager of capital Marx (1967: 387-88) observes,

"Stock companies in general - developed with the credit system - have an increasing tendency to separate this work of management as a function from the ownership of capital, be it self-owned or borrowed. The mere manager who has no title whatever to the capital, whether through borrowing it or otherwise, performs all the real functions pertaining to the functioning capitalist as such, only the functionary remains and the capitalist disappears as superfluous from the production process".

Wright (1979) holds that the concentration and centralization of capital growing out of accumulation process and technological change led to the partial separation of economic ownership from possession. With the expansion of capitalist enterprise, it was less feasible for the capitalist to be equally involved in both functions, which led to the rise of professional managers to deal with specific aspects of production and to coordinate production as a whole,

Braverman (1974) opines that while the managerial stratum continues to be drawn from among those endowed with capital, family connections and other ties within the network of the class as a whole, it is not closed to some who may rise from either social classes, not through the acquisition of wealth on their part, but through co-optation of their talent on the part of the capitalist organization which they serve. The operating control is vested increasingly in a specialized management staff for each enterprise. Since both capital and professional management - at its top levels - are drawn, by and large; from the

same class, it may be said that the 'two sides of the capitalist, owner and manager, formerly united in one person, now became aspects of the class.

Though the managerial stratum is small in the total population, this stratum has become very large in comparison with the pre-monopoly situation. Today the institutionalization of capital and the vesting of control in & specialized stratum of the capitalist class correspond chronologically to an immense growth in the scale of management operations. Today the management process is subdivided among functional departments, each having a specific aspect of the process for its domain: personnel management and training; planning, marketing etc. (Braverman, 1974),

The management function is exercised not just by a manager nor even by staff but by an organization of workers under the control of staff of managers, assistant managers, supervisors etc. Thus the relations of purchase and sale of labour power, and hence of alienated labour, have become part of the management apparatus itself. Taken together, this becomes the administrative apparatus of the corporation. Management has become an administrative apparatus, which is a labour process conducted for the purpose of control within the corporation, and it is conducted as a labour process exactly analogous to the process of production, although it produces no product other than the operation and coordination of the corporation (Braverman, 1974),

Salaman (1982) views that the main thrust of Braverman's overall analysis, and his analysis of management in particular, is the relationship between the organization of enterprise and the requirements of capitalism. According to Braverman (1974), the new, expert and crucial management function not only attempted to reduce the uncertainties of the enterprise's external environment particularly the market, it was also concerned to monitor and control the activities and efficiency of internal process. 'Management', according to Braverman (1974:267)" is a labour process conducted for the purpose control within the corporation'. In other words; management represents a distinct class

(capitalist) interest, serves explicit class functions, and constitutes a major element in the oppression of working class employees.

According to Salaman, Braverman's analysis of management also relates closely to recent attempts by writers such as Carchedi, Wright and Poulantzas to establish the class position of 'intermediate class groups', including management. Despite their important differences, writers like Braverman, seek to establish 'class boundaries' and hence 'class locations' in terms of the functions performed by a class of capital (Salaman, Graeme, 1982),

Marxists recognize the growing importance of the occupational division of labour of professionals, administrators and managers representing an evolution of an 'intermediate strata', which extends back to Marx's own attempts to analyze the class structure of the 19th century capitalist society. Bottomore (1963) holds that Marx had made references to the 'middle class' in his contribution to the *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* written in 1844. He, however, did not specify the constituent elements of the middle class there. Nevertheless, he was aware of "...the constantly growing number of the 'middle classes' those who stand between the workman on the one hand and the capitalist and land lord on the other" (Marx, 1969:573). In contrast to the (old) middle class, whom Marx regarded as non-revolutionary, but conservative - "Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to **roll** back the wheel of history." The (new) middle class", according to Marx "are a burden weighing heavily on the working base and increase the social security and power of the upper ten thousand" (quoted by Giddens, 1973:177).

But Marx regarded such strata as essentially temporary and epiphenomenal in relation to the basically dichotomous class structure proper to the capitalist economic system. Marx holds that through the dynamics of this system, the members of these strata are destined to become assimilated either into the working class via a process of 'proletarianisation' or conceivably, but to a far lesser extent, into the capitalist class via a process of incorporation.

French Marxist writers of the 1960s, such as Belleville, Mallet and Gorz (Goldthorpe:1982) treat expanding groupings of relatively well-qualified white collar employees not as being proletarianised in any conventional sense, but rather as forming a key component of a 'new working class'. According to this conception, the 'new working class' are the representatives of 'technical and scientific labour'. They use the word 'new' in the double sense: it refers to occupations that are new in the sense of having been recently created or enlarged, and also in the sense of their gloss, presumed advancement, and 'superiority' over the old. The 'new working class' is thus 'an educated labour' and it seems to have the capacity to revitalize the struggle for socialism by countering 'economistic' tendencies with the labour movement and by bringing issue of 'control' to the center of its concerns. However, the thesis of the new working class seem to be rapidly losing support (Goldthorpe, 1982).

Poulantzas (1975) argues that the new wage-earning groups constitute a distinct class, the *new petite bourgeoisie*. Poulantzas brings out the distinction between mental and manual labour. Mental labour, first, is labour that is distinguished from the 'simple', manual labour of the working class by various 'ideological symbols' (rituals, know-how, secret knowledge - 'general culture' as opposed to 'technical skills') such that it is perceived as intellectually superior, privileged and respectable. Mental labour is also bureaucratized, a process that 'materializes' mental labour as 'separate' from manual labour and reproduces the whole relationship of domination and subordination within itself. It thus reproduces bourgeois political relations and embodies and reproduces class powers as such, by virtue of the fact that its agents both subordinate themselves and subordinate others.

The new *petite bourgeoisie* is also seen as inherently fractionalized by cleavages drawn within it, and the transformations affecting unproductive mental labour are seen to "reinforce still more the polarization... fractions' in the direction of the working class' by being massively focused upon them" (Poulantzas, 1975. pp. 302-3). Moreover, the statistically predominant fractions

are precisely those, which do have proletarian polarization, and it is these fractions which are heavily feminized. The three major fractions are, first, that of low level sales and service workers; second, that of bureaucratized workers in banking, administration, the civil service, education and so on; and third, that of low level technicians and engineers.

Rennet; (Bottomore, 1978) develops the idea of "service class" which comprises of three main elements:

- a. employees in public — that is, governmental service (civil service and other officials);
- b. employees in private economic service (business administration, managers; technical experts etc.) and
- c. employees in social services (distributive agents of welfare).

Wright (1979) distinguishes the 'new middle classes' from the petty bourgeoisie that the new middle classes can be defined as social categories that occupy contradictory locations within class relations.

According to Carchedi (1977: 44) "a manager is the production agent who under monopoly capitalism is capital personified". Poulantzas (Op. Cit.) considers the bureaucratized agents as part of an 'intermediate class' not because they are a link or transmission belt in the bourgeoisie's domination over the working class, 'not because it is directly the effective intermediary...' but because of the relations the hierarchy expresses. Even so, it might, in principle, be worth asking whether, even if many or most unproductive worker* do not directly dominate the working class, they are none the less agents of those who do; that is, whether or not they are part of the whole complex apparatus of control, domination and surveillance. It has been suggested that the labour of employees (clerical, commercial and so on) increasingly has to do with the functions of co-ordination and unity of the labour process, and that

such workers are thus no longer petty functionaries ('subaltern') of capital but agents of capital (Carchedi, 1975:365-90).

In contrast to this approach, John and Barbara Ehrenreich propose a new 'professional managerial class' (PMC) as a formation specific to the monopoly stage of capitalism. It is characterized as a class of non-productive workers, made possible by the growth of social surplus, whose function is to ensure the 'reproduction' of class and cultural relations. As the main agency of social control under monopoly capitalism, the professional managerial class stands in evident opposition to the working class; but at the same time it is also seen as being in necessary opposition to the capitalist class over issues of ownership and control, and in fact as forming an enduring reservoir of radicalism (Goldthorpe: 1982).

West (1978) criticizes Braverman, Poulantzas, Carchedi and a Dumber of analysts of the contemporary class structure, and of the class position of white-collar labour. She argues that Braverman has a simplistic conception of the working class as he does not take sufficient account of differentiation and cleavages within the class apart from those of sex. West also has certain objections regarding Poulantzas's account of the working class under monopoly capitalism and criticizes the same for focusing almost exclusively on the labour process. She also criticizes these writers for having a mistaken conception of productive labour, which refers only to the production of material commodities. for having an exceptionally narrow conception of the working class; and for failing to consider that many women work in occupations which have become increasingly proletarianized. West also questions how Poulantzas, discussion of these very same processes of bureaucratization and the reproduction of the mental-manual division create fractions as it is applicable only to particular cases,

West holds that Braverman, Poulantzas and Carchedi concentrated on class to such an extent that they virtually excluded gender. On the other hand, writers

like Giddens are concerned at several points with the relationship of feminization to the bases of working and middle-class structuration, namely differing market capacity, 'paratechnical' and authority relations, neighborhood segregation, class awareness and unionization. Giddens (1973) states that women's dominance of the routinized, lowest-level, white-collar occupations must lead us to reject sweeping assertions about proletarianisation. Feminization is seen as the objective changes in white-collar work, or at least as altering their significance. His remarks imply that, whatever the systematic discrimination against women in the labour market, the character of certain jobs in that market depends on who occupies them. Indeed it may depend on the meaning of such jobs for their occupants, particularly in that they mean something very different for men and women (West, 1978).

Clegg (1989) does consider the significance of gender inequality within organizations and enquires into the ways in which organizations reproduce gender division as largely a contingent matter. Wright (1985) is keen to separate class from gender. For Wright, class structures are based on forms of exploitation, whilst gender inequalities are instances of oppression and hence any attempt to suggest interconnections at a theoretical level is misconceived. He argues that organizational hierarchies are central to the analysis of class relations with his emphasis on the way in which class relations are based on 'organization assets' as well as property and skill assets. He also argues that gender is only contingently related to organizational hierarchies,

Goldthorpe sees the project of class analysis as specifying the impact of class factors on life chances. In his eyes, class must be rigorously distinguished from gender, in order that their relative importance in affecting life chances is tested (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992).

Savage (1992) opines that the major reason why there has been little sustained attempt to think about the way in which gender influences middle class formation, lies in the way that gender processes are normally conceptually

distinguished from class processes. He holds that, whilst this has the merit of allowing both gender and class inequality to be recognized, and hence in preventing gender being reduced to class, it leads to a damaging inability to comprehend the connections between class and gender inequality at anything other than at purely empirical level.

Some of the feminist writers like Christine Delphy, and Sylvia Walby have handled the relationship between gender and class in more varied ways. Delphy (1984) argues that the relationship between 'male husbands' and 'female wives' is a class, one in which men exploit women's labour. Walby (1986, 1990) recommends the views of Delphy. The result is to posit two overlapping sets of class relations in contemporary societies: firstly, those based around capitalist forms of exploitation, and secondly, those based around the patriarchal mode of production within the household.

Crompton and Witz (1986) are more concerned with the interplay between class and gender. The alternative to emphasizing the separation of class from gender is to see class formation as in part based on gendered processes, and *vice versa* Pringle (1989) has shown how the very existence of job structures is related to gendered principles.

Savage (1992) argues that there is no intrinsic reason why the types of processes leading to exploitation, closure, and possible class formation should be seen as distinct from gendered processes.

It is vital also to show how specific classes are gendered and it is necessary to indicate how differing types of exclusion and exploitation on the basis of gendered processes operate in such specific social classes.

The central focus of this chapter is the relationship between gender and power within organizational settings. If we look into the history of organizations a variety of social forces might have shaped the patriarchal power relations of

organizational forms, and gender being one of the major forces amongst them. The development of modern bureaucratic organization shows that gender is woven into the very fabric of bureaucratic hierarchies and authority relations.

Savage (1992) holds that whilst women have moved into professional and 'skilled' jobs within the middle classes - loosely defined, they have rarely been able to secure positions of managerial authority within organizational hierarchies. Women have moved into positions of high 'expertise', but not into positions of high 'authority'. Women's careers depend upon enhancing their expertise, making themselves 'indispensable', whilst men have the additional resource of being able to wield authority within organizational hierarchies. While the possession of expertise may prevent a woman from being demoted from an expert job, it is not a precondition to advancement or promotion. Savage (Op, Cit.) argues that the apparently dramatic rise in the number of women in managerial rank is largely cosmetic. He suggests that the growing number of women in middle class jobs is not an indication that women are moving into positions of effective power. But as organizations restructure, growing numbers of professionals and managers are employed in ways which do not involve them in line management. Savage (Op. Cit.) holds with regard to the figures pertaining to rise of women managers and professionals in various organizations and countries, that 'these figures should not be taken as evidence that women are moving into positions of authority. Rather, the expansion of women in managerial jobs is closely associated with the restructuring of management, and women are located in specific areas within the new management structure. These positions demand high levels of expertise but do not give important organizational authority'.

Organization Theories and Gender

Gender and bureaucratic workplace organizations are closely inter-linked in many a ways, though it has been neglected for a long period. Emerging literature in this area has described, analyzed and theorized the gendered

nature of organizations and organizational life. They have been insensitive towards the gender issues in their study on organizations. Mills (1989) criticizes organization and management theorists for presenting a picture of corporate reality, which excludes gender from the dynamics of organizational experience and from the construction of organizational culture. Even the feminist writers had little interest in organizations, except in so far as they provide examples of a more general set of patriarchal practices.

Writing about the origin of organization theory, Clegg and Dunkerly (1977) holds that organization theory has a control function, which exists as another metaphor for social order and domination. This was the original function of theories of 'organic' society and of organizations as developed in the writings of Europeans such as Comte, Saint-Simon and Durkheim. Clegg and Dunkerly (Op. Cit.) opine that in their writings, can be seen the germinal seed of present day organization theory. Equally, if we turn to the industrial revolution, market theories of possessive individualism and laissez-faire emerge as moral justification for nineteenth century capitalism. In time, from these early beginnings, many of the important themes in contemporary organization theory can be seen to have emerged.

The aims and objectives of the theory and practice of organization and management are not intended for the development of the society as a whole either in the countries of its origin or in the countries which imported it. Contrarily, its aims are, first to keep the less developed countries persistently underdeveloped which has been the historical necessity of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, and secondly, to protect a small minority of capitalists of their immense wealth and their rights in the ownership of the means of production as their private property (Venkateshwarlu, 1984). These small minority of capitalists are none other than men who dominate the majority men and women in the power hierarchy. In other words, the theory and practice of organization and management is in reality nothing but the theory and practice of exploitation and oppression of small minority of men over a majority

capitalist class rule. These Marxist accounts, while giving a historical account of the development of capitalist mode of production and relations; ignore the operational mechanism of patriarchy in theory as well as in practice. Rationalization, capitalism, bureaucracy and so on reflect the opposition towards the question of gender inequality- a historical process of degendered resume of the organization.

Weberian Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy has been distinguished as a form of organization with particular technical characteristics. Weber presented an influential account of the characteristics of bureaucracy. Weber's model emphasized the following features:

- i. A specialized division of labour;
- ii. A hierarchy of authority with a clearly defined system of command and responsibilities;
- iii. A formal set of rules and procedures governing operations and activities coordinating behavior in a predictable, uniform and impersonal manner,
- iv. A body of full-time, permanent officials, appointed according to technical competence, trained in specialized tasks, paid according to rank in the hierarchy and who may develop career on the basis of their ability and seniority(Abrcrombieet.al., 1989).

Weber regarded bureaucracy as the most efficient and rational form of organization, stressing the virtues of precision, speed, unambiguity. knowledge, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material personal costs (Weber. 1968). For him, bureaucratic organization was the most technically efficient way of performing any given activity; "...the decisive reason for this advance of bureaucratic organisation has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization' (Weber, 1968:973).

According to Weber (in Gerth and Mills, 1948:245) "bureaucratic and patriarchal structures, though are antagonistic in many ways, yet they have common feature, that is, their permanence in nature". Taking the idea from Weber, Ramsay and Parker (1992:252) express the idea that "...bureaucracy is a form of rationalized patriarchy". The dominant modes of operationalization of the bureaucratic ideal type of Weber are intimately related to patriarchal and capitalist assumptions about the nature of work in organizations. Ramsay and Parker (1992) hold that bureaucracy reflects the rationality of capital accumulation as well as the rationality of patriarchal domination.

The sexual division of labour, according to Ramsay and Parker (1992) 'is rooted in the development of capitalist organizations and the patriarchal character of management'. As Gould (1979) argues, the structure of hierarchical organizations and the patriarchal division of labour were founded on the patriarchal family. As a group men retained power and authority in the new organizations partly through legitimizing hierarchical organization structures. The logic of capitalism generated economic decision making theories which supported patriarchal power over women's labour. According to Savage (1992; 10) "the very development of the hierarchical structures which Weber saw as typical of the modern bureaucracy took place along gendered line".

The Weberian ideology has been dominant in organizational and managerial thought throughout most of this century. According to Ramsay and Parker (1992), it reflects as a model to solve the problems of organizing. Thus the 'ideal' in 'ideal type' becomes a prescription for organizational excellence and the 'one best way' to construct an organization. Following the Weberian paradigm Frederick Taylor, Elton Mayo, Urwick and Gatt and others were arguing different versions of the same prescriptive thesis. This is a prescription that specifies a rigid hierarchy, top-down communication, specific role definition, the separation of public and private spheres and so on (Ramsay and Parker, 1992). Ramsay and Parker argue that this is a particular solution to

Weberian problematic that reflects both capitalist and patriarchal assumptions about control, skill and rationality.

Scientific Management

The scientific management movement initiated by Taylor (1947) belongs to the chain of development of management methods and the organisation of labour. It is an attempt to produce the universalistic rules and prescriptions for managers to the increasingly complex problems of the control of labour in the rapidly growing large, multi-unit capitalist organizations.

Marxists like Braverman (1977) hold that scientific management investigates not labour in general, but the adaptation of labour to the needs of capital. Godelier (1972: 36) writes that "scientific labour management seeks to establish the conditioned reflex, most profitable for the enterprise, to produce a human production automation physically conditioned and 'stimulated' psychological spring of prestige and material spring of the bonus".

Marxist and neo-marxist critique of the scientific management theory emphasizes the mode of production in the capitalist economy and ignores the fact that the development of modern professional management and its associated and legitimizing theory and thinking represent the development of patriarchal authority.

Taylor's prescriptions as well as suggestions denote how men should behave as organizers and the organized. In the Taylorian analysis (1947), organizations, work and management in their various forms, are the concerns of men. Those are reduced to instrumental and mechanistic forms, and are henceforth, degendered.

'Scientific management', according to Hearn and Parkin (1987:20) 'is assumed to be concerned with the management of men by men. It is this tradition which

informs men that they remain asexual worker-beings, while in contrast women presumably have special qualities, by virtue of their sexuality, as sex objects, that is the features of organizational adornment and so on. They put forth Taylorism's influence on the practice and theory of management as immense. There are, for example, deeply embedded assumptions that organizational leadership is something to be performed by men, that leadership implies maleness, and that maleness carries inherent qualities of leadership that women lack'.

Scientific management theory presents a profound silence towards the question of gender, sexual division of labour in the organizations, sexual discrimination etc. It glorifies maleness and masculinity, maintains as if it is agendered, but it creates the possibility of the conflation of femininity and gendered nature (Hearn and Parkin, 1987).

Human Relations Perspective

Human Relations school developed by Hugo Munsterberg, Elton Mayo and others is a reaction to the formalistic structures of scientific management theory. The roots of 'human relations perspective*' are in the discipline of organizational psychology that developed in the immediate wake of Taylorism', (that is almost when once the scientific management theory was put into practical test). It dealt primarily with the adjustment of the worker to the ongoing production process.

Mayo and his colleagues, concentrating mainly on the behaviour of the workers and their productive capacity, keeping in view physiological, psychological, physical and economic aspects, came out with the conclusion through their Hawthorne studies that, the whole problem appeared as a problem of human attitudes and sentiments, not capitalist social relations of production. To them, what mattered in industrial efficiency or inefficiency, increase or decrease in productivity was individual's psychological make-up. For this, what is required

is a kind of 'psycho-therapy' and therefore the theory is also described as 'clinical approach'. 'Human Relations' approach on the organization and management reflects the capitalist and patriarchal authority which focuses on the more effective regulation of total social as well as psychic relations of the labour.

Hearn and Parkin (1987), whose focus is on the sexuality in the organizations, hold that the men researchers, and subsequently the men managers, had as a part of their concern and supposed responsibility, the personal and emotional lives of the workers. They criticize the human relations approach stating that 'management of the human relations type is beginning to own not just asexualized labour, or the controlled body, as in the case of classical theory, but the 'person' as a whole including mind, body, and emotions, leading to a form of psychic totalitarianism.

Feminist views on Bureaucracy

Gender oppression, according to Ramsay and Parker (1992) is common to most, if not all organizations, but it takes unique form within each organization according to their local histories, symbolic languages and senses of commitment or opposition. They hold that "within the organizations women experience a double oppression. As subordinates they are subject to bureaucratic regulation of their behavior, and as women they are excluded as equal organizational participants by patriarchal structures and processes" (Ramsay and Parker, 1992: 259). Therefore, the sexual division of labour and authority is rooted in the development of capitalist organizations and the patriarchal character of management. The logic of capitalism generated economic rational decision making theories which supported patriarchal power over women's labour and created what Kanter (1977) describes as the "masculine ethos" of managerialism.

Witz and Savage (1992) in their article 'The Gender of Organizations*' bring out different stance of Kanter, Ferguson and Pringle in relation to Weber's classic account of bureaucracy.

Kanter's book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977) represents a pioneering account of the ways in which gender influences corporate bureaucracies and they look forward to the day when women can inhabit bureaucratic hierarchies as the equals to men.

Witz and Savage bold that Kanter, like Weber, is convinced that bureaucratic organization is here to stay, but unlike Weber, she is hopeful that the 'tragedy' of bureaucracy - that hierarchies resulting in self-defeating traps for those who find themselves in subordinate and disadvantaged positions as they struggle for autonomy in the context of constraints, can be balanced by a more hopeful vision in which situations can be modified. The net of rewards and constraints can be rewoven. New tools can be provided. The people who are stuck can be offered challenge. The powerless can be given more discretion, more influence over decisions' (Kanter, 1977:11).

According to Savage and Witz (1992:14) at the centre of Kanter's analysts of the gendered corporate experience, is the view that power differences, not sex differences, explain the different corporate experiences and fortunes of men and women of the corporation, Kanter denies that there are any intrinsically different, gendered modes of behavior and orientation within organizations, and insists instead that, what look like gender differences are really power differences. The problems facing women in managerial roles are problems of powerlessness, not sex. Therefore she suggests that power *wipes out sex*. In other words, once women have organizational power, their gender pales into insignificance Nonetheless, the current state of affairs is that male bureaucrats and managers not only possess power, but also strategically exclude women from access to the resources of power and efficacy. Women in organizations

are dispossessed of power in a myriad of ways and One among them is male homo sociability.

Male homo sociability represents one of the main ways in 'which management becomes a closed and gendered circle. This discussion of the male managerial elite and the problems men have in communicating with women, leads Kanter to invoke the notion of a 'bureaucratic kinship system' based on homo social / sexual reproduction whereby men effectively 'close' themselves in their own image, guarding access to power and privilege to those who fit in, to those of their own kind - in short, to other men (Savage & Witz, 1992). Therefore male homo sociability thus represents one way in which women are *excluded* from the corporate resources of power, simply because of the fact that they are women and not men.

Kanter not only reveals the terms on which women are included within bureaucratic organizations, but she also shows how their inclusion is very much shaped by the terms of their subordination to corporate men. The exclusion of women from organizational positions has more to do with their exclusion from the resources of power, whilst their inclusion in the corporate hierarchy has more to do with their subordination within the relational aspects of (male) dominance and (female) subordination. This point is not explicitly recognized or developed by Kanter according to Witz and Savage (1992).

Kanter holds that gender discrimination within bureaucracy is presented as an irrational impulse within the otherwise rational tenor of bureaucratic organizational life. Witz and Savage hold that she reads Weber in a 'de-gendered' way and accepts the core truths of Weber's account of the rationality and goal-directedness of bureaucracies. Pringle (1989) holds that Kanter may be seen to be operating within a Weberian discourse of bureaucratic rationality without unpacking its gendered sub-text.

Ferguson (1984) argues that the present bureaucratic structure and discourse are fundamentally alien to, and oppressive of women and urges women to seek alternative organizational forms rather than their inclusion within male-inflected bureaucratic organizations. Though Ferguson agrees with Weber at the macro level analysis, as bureaucratic administrative structures develop alongside advanced capitalism at the level of systemic processes, but she draws more on Foucault's notion of 'bureaucratic discourse' to establish the connections between macro-institutional and micro-individual levels. The term 'bureaucratic discourse' refers to the speech of the administrative discipline which both express and reflect a particular structure of institutions and practices, and operates as a kind of verbal performance, placing people and objects within a network of social, political and administrative arrangements,

Ferguson (Op. Cit.) holds that, the bureaucratic discourse and structure are masculinist and antithetical to feminist modes of organizing. She argues that the bureaucratic power creates an organizational arena in which the 'feminization' of subordinates is encouraged. Ferguson argues that a feminist project lays the ground for an alternative to the bureaucratic discourse, an alternative that is inflected by women-centred ways of organizing activity.

Ferguson (1984) in the long term advocates an androgynous revisioning of bureaucratic activities in the public sphere. According to her, real androgyny is defined not as simply adding together misshapen halves of male and female, but rather as a complex process of calling out that which is valuable to each gender and carefully disentangling it from that which is riddled with the effects of power, is a '*political struggle*'. In the short term, however, Ferguson advocates a separatist solution for women, who need to evolve their own organizational forms rather than become co-opted into existing male bureaucratic structures. The long-term aim, is the elimination, not the reform, of male-centred bureaucratic modes of organization. Thus Ferguson argues a

case against both bureaucracy per se and women's participation in the bureaucratic organization.

Witz and Savage, hold that Pringle provides a radical critique of bureaucracy as underpinned by discourses of power and sexuality in her book *Secretaries Talk* (1989). Pringle marks out the gender roles in the bureaucratic work place. She poses the most fundamental challenge to Weber's analytical framework and represents a poststructuralist undermining of Weber, neither accepting the Weberian paradigm of bureaucratic rationality, as Kanter does, nor using discourse analysis to complement Weber's analysis, as Ferguson does. Pringle wants to establish that, forms of power and control in the bureaucratic organization revolve round the construction of sexuality* In other words, the bureaucratic organization is not 'desexualized' but is saturated with sexuality, embodied in its gendered occupants. Pringle effectively re-reads Weber in order to bring out what might be described as an unthematized gender sub-text in his account of rationality:

"It can be argued that while the rational-legal or bureaucratic form presents itself as gender-neutral, it actually constitutes a new land of patriarchal structure. The apparent neutrality of rules and goals disguises the class and gender interests served by them, Weber's account of Nationality' can be interpreted as a commentary on the construction of a particular kind of masculinity based on the exclusion of the personal, the sexual and the feminine from any definition of 'rationality' "(Pringle, 1988:88).

Pringle adopts a Foucauldian view of power as not something that is possessed, nor something of which there is a fixed amount somehow circulating through an organizational structure. Rather, power is a relation - although not in the Weberian sense of a relation of dominance and subordination, nor a social relation, but a discursive relation. As Pringle insists, power relations cannot simply be read off from structural inequalities nor do they merely reflect these, rather, power refers to a complex strategic situation, always to flux. The vital element present in Foucault's definition of power is that power continually creates the possibility of resistance. Thus Pringle insists, "Male power" is not

simple and unilaterally imposed on women -gender relations are a process involving strategies and counter-strategies of power. (Pringle, 1989a :92)_

Sexuality in the Organizations

This theme is broadly based on Foucauldian or post-structuralist framework of organizational analysis which focus around power and gender within organizations. There is distinction between those who focus on 'gender' as a matter of their analysis and those who focus on 'sexuality'. The sexuality paradigm views gender as underpinned by the more complex embeddedness of sexuality, of our bodily existences in organizations, and assumes that by analyzing sexuality one also analyzes gender. Hearn and Parkin (1987) hold that there is a "booming silence* about sexuality in the literature on organization theories which locate organizations with asexual figures. Hearn and Parkin (Op. Cit.) write that,

"Enter most organizations and you enter a world of sexuality. ... This can include a mass of sexual displays, feelings, fantasies, and innuendoes, as part of everyday organizational life, right through to sexual relationships, open or secret, occasional sexual acts, and sexual violations, include rape ".

There are two parallel discussions regarding sexuality in organizations (Savage and Witz, 1992). Burrell (1984) holds that the historical process of desexualization parallels those of rationalization and capitalism. This involves the repulsion and expulsion of many human feelings out of the organization. The process of organizational desexualization has historical roots in the civilizing process, the development of religious morality, the development of calculative rationality and the development of control over time and the body. Burrell's analysis of organizational desexualization becomes a dimension of the development of modern administrative forms neglected by Weber.

Savage and Witz (1992) bold the two ways in which Burrell (1984) on one hand, and Hearn and Parkin (1987), and Pringle (1989) on the other, key their

analyses of sexuality and organizations into Weber's classic account of bureaucracy: one which 'adds on' historical dimension neglected by Weber — the process of desexualization; the other which 'adds in' serialization as a fundamental, but neglected, structuring principle of bureaucracy.

Adkins (as quoted by Savage and Witz, 1992) criticizes Hearn and Parkin that 'although they appear to be fore-grounding sexuality in organization, ultimately reduce instances of sexuality, such as sexual harassment and displays of pornography, to a by-product of capitalist processes'. Adkins continues to claim that 'they simultaneously essentialize and naturalize heterosexual relations, which simply become 'acted out' under capitalist work relations*. Adkins (Op. Cit.) questions 'why should capitalist hierarchies call into being a sexuality in which women are sexually exploited by men'?

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment surveys represent a part of the broader concerns of women against male violence and objectification in its various forms. Feminist exposure of the widespread occurrence of sexual harassment of women at the work place is the most obvious example of the gendered power of sexuality in organizations according to Halford (1992). Halford opines that the naming of sexual harassment can take place in varying degrees and it can be argued that there is an almost seamless joint with the broader organizational culture,

Hearn and Parkin (1987:93) claim that:

"Male managers with female subordinates may use sexuality, harassment, joking and abuse as a routine means of maintaining authority. This may be thoroughly embedded in the taken-for-granted culture of the organization".

Sexual harassment has been defined by various agencies in various ways, Definition of sexual harassment used by surveys and government agencies provide some guidance, but nothing definitive, according to sex role theorists.

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1980 pointed out sexual harassment as an unwelcome sexual advances, requests for favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when submission to or rejection of the conduct enters into employment decisions and / or the conduct interferes with work performance or creates a hostile work environment".

In the cases litigated to date, the courts have had little difficulty in determining if sexual harassment was present. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 1980, defines that "any remark made which is "offensive or objectionable to the recipient* could be sexual harassment. Another definition on sexual harassment by Federal Government of U.S.A. maintains that any contact which makes women "uncomfortable" will be illegal. CLUW News, 1980 defines sexual harassment as,

"Sexual harassment Includes the continued or repeated verbal abuse of a sexual nature, including but not limited to , graphic commentaries on the victim's body, sexually suggestive objects or pictures in the work place, sexually degrading words used to describe the victim, or propositions of a sexual nature. Sexual harassment also includes the threat or insinuation that lack of sexual submission will adversely effect the victim's employment, wages, advancement, assigned duties or shifts, academic standing or other conditions that affect the victim's 'livelihood'"

Unenberger and Keaveny (1985) view that a narrow definition of sexual harassment would guard against inundating the courts with unfounded claims of harassment, a concern expressed by several courts.

Powell (1981) views that these definitions are influenced by both personal and situational factors. The personal characteristic that has the strongest effect is sex: women consistently see more sexual harassment than men do. Managerial level is a situational factor influences definitions of sexual harassment, Managers at lower levels are more likely to see sexual harassment as a problem than those at middle level, and top managers who are mostly isolated from the rank and file in their perceptions of sexual harassment.

Powell (1981) continues that 'it may be sexual harassment in the eyes of some workers and for others, it may amply be the harmless expression of individuals' basically sexual nature. Some people are flattered by sexual attention that others find repulsive. In short, drawing a line between acceptable and unacceptable sexually oriented behavior in the work place is not easy. It has become very difficult to draw a fine for organizations to carry out their legal obligation to discourage sexual harassment within their boundaries'. Three general models have been offered as explanations for sexual harassment (Tangri, Burt and Johnson, 1982).

According to the '*socio cultural model*', sexual harassment has little to do with sexuality - it is an expression of power and hostility. In this view, individuals with the least amount of power in society, meaning women in male cultures, are the most likely to be harassed.

The opposite view of sexual harassment is that it has everything to do with sexuality. Individuals with strong sex drives are sexually aggressive towards others due to biological necessities. Therefore, it should be neither surprising nor of particular concern that individuals exhibit such aggressiveness in work settings as well as elsewhere. It is also assumed that men and women are naturally attracted to each other and like to interact in sexually oriented ways in the work place. This view, labeled the '*natural biological model*' of sexual harassment, trivializes the issue and claims that sexual harassment represents a harmless behavior to accept, rather than a problem to solve. This model can also legitimize sexual harassment.

A third explanation, labeled the '*organizational model*', suggests that certain organizational characteristics can set the stage for sexual harassment. For example, the hierarchical structure of organizations gives some individuals authority over others, granting them the opportunity to use the promise of rewards or the threat of punishments to obtain sexual gratification from the subordinates.

Sex Role Theory

Liberal perspectives view gender inequality as the result of individual cases of discrimination combined (sometimes) with the existence of sex-role stereotyping in education and labour market. This sex role theory draws heavily on Parsonian systems theory.

Parsons and Bales (1955) first developed systems theory by synthesizing some of the insights of psychoanalytic theory, particularly at the intra personal level into a more comprehensive framework. They made the distinction between the task/maintenance roles, instrumental/expressive roles on the basis of gender segregation of role performance. For instance, Parsons argues that if all members of the family were equally involved in competition within the occupational structure, there might be a serious strain on the solidarity of the family unit. Thus a segregation of sex roles has emerged to ensure that their respective incumbents do not come into competition with each other. Parsons defines this sex role differentiation, which corresponds to the differentiation of family and economy in industrial societies, in terms of a structural differentiation between instrumental roles performed by men and by removing woman from competition within the occupational system by her confinement within the family to the performance of the expressive roles. It laid the basis for a conservative sociology of gender, which took its place in the great expansion of American social science in the 1950s and 1960s.

The nuclear family with a clear gender division of labour between the 'externally-oriented' male and the 'integrative' female is drawn as a paradigm case for application to groups and organizations (Hare. 1962). This kind of theorizing can be used to justify and perpetuate the 'maintenance' roles of women in less powerful and lower paid organizational positions.

The empirical studies of sex role theorists have based their work on the Parsonian functionalist framework. As mentioned above, Parsons' analysis

focuses on theorizing the functions of the family and of sex role differentiation for the maintenance of the society as a whole whereas empirical sociological studies of 'women's dual role' have been developed within British sociology, which combine a modified structural functionalist framework with empirical research on working women and the family structure.

A significant number of British and American studies on women managers have been conducted from sex role perspective. The post war Britain focused on sociological studies concerned with married working women in relation to their respective familial positions, Myrdal and Klein's *"Women's Two Role"* first appeared in 1956 followed by Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport's (1971) *"Sex, Career and Family"*. These have restricted themselves to women engaged in professional occupations. Other studies have considered the impact of women working on the structure of the family (Rapoport & Rapoport's *"Dual Career Families"* etc).

Varied literature that has come on women in management from sex role perspective holds that certain historic attitudes have curtailed the placement of women in management profession, especially, at top echelons and their success attached to it. Ames and Heide (1988), present various aspects of sex role theory as follows:

- a. Women are reluctant to prepare for business careers because it is inconsistent with their self-image (i.e., women find it difficult to violate culturally induced sex role stereotypes).
- b. Women want to do the work and could do well if the "male system" let them do.
- c. Women are not temperamentally suited for managerial roles (for example, they are irrational, non-competitive and unambitious) (Brown. 1979).
- 4 Women experience low power which results from recency of their hiring, lack of entry to male-dominated key group, and networks, being tokens and a lack of familiarity with the "rules of the game" (Kanter, 1977).

- e. Women do not have a clear notion of a successful career pattern because of lack of role models and mentors to guide them through organizational maze and teach them political skills (Cooper, 1982).
- f. Women are generally recruited at 'assisting' jobs rather than at visible professional activities (Greenfield, Sue and Racur and Rawson, 1979).
- g. Women face attitudinal barriers to successful managerial performance both their own and those of male managers.
- h. Women's labour participation rate compared to men's is lower because of familial commitments.
- L Women encounter non-intentional discrimination patterns at work. That is, women managers are not automatically part of the organization's information and decision networks.
- j. Women face role conflict of equally demanding domestic and professional sphere.
- k. They experience lots of stress due to social, familial and organizational pressures.

The studies have shared the assumption that married women are an important source of labour at all levels of the occupational structure, and have investigated the social characteristics of women who work, and the problems they face when they work and so on.

Marxist, radical and socialist feminists point out these ideas as inadequate because they missed the significance of power in gender relations. Women's liberation groups argued that women are oppressed because men have power over them; and that changing the situation of women means contesting, and eventually breaking, this power.

Fraunzway and Lowe (1978) observe in their critique of sex role literature which focuses on attitudes that, the sex role literature misses the realities of what the attitudes are an about. The political effect si to highlight the pressures that create an artificially rigid distinction between women and men, and to play

down the economic, domestic and political power that men exercise over women. Zimmer (1988: 71) maintains that, *"The major Imitation of this approach is its failure to acknowledge the degree to which organizational structures and the interactions that take place within them are embedded in a much broader system of social and cultural inequality between the sexes"*. Edwards (1983) has observed how drastically sex role theory simplifies the complexities of gender, reducing all masculinities and femininities to one dualism; sweeping all women into one feminine role, which in turn is equated to being a housewife and located in the family.

Connell, (1993) summarizes the critique of sex role theory as a framework for the social analysis of gender in four basic considerations,

- a. its voluntarism and inability to theorize power and social interest;
- b. its dependence on biological dichotomy and its consequently non-social conception of structure;
- c. its dependence on a normative standard case and systematic misrepresentation of an instance;
- d. and the absence of a way of theorizing the historicity of gender.

Barren and Norris (in Beechey. 1987:168) in their paper point out that,

"Sociologists who have looked at the position of women in the labour market have traditionally assumed the general subordination of women in the family and the society and have then gone on to consider the factors underlying the decisions of women to participate in the labour market. Thus they have stressed the role conflicts that a working wife may experience, the importance of the household structure and the stage of the life cycle, and the family income position. In doing so, they have taken for granted, for example, the fact that men can go out to work without experiencing role conflicts (indeed men will experience them if they stay at home) and that men will be considered the primary breadwinner. In other words, they have set aside some of the more important sociological puzzles by concentrating on the movement of women into and out of the labour force. By focussing attention on the crucial decision about labour force participation, they have to some extent, diverted attention from the question of which jobs are filled by men and which jobs are filled by women - and more importantly, from the difficulty of explaining

-why it is that there are these pronounced differences between men's and women's jobs".

Beechey (1987) thoroughly criticizes the sex role theories saying that sociological work which has attempted to describe and analyze the role of women in the labour force in terms of their 'dual role' effectively adopts the terms of the Parsonian functionalist problematic, and in particular ignores 'the economic role of female wage and domestic labour'. The critique of Beechey (1987) is as follows:

- a. The domination of the structural functionalist problematic within sociology has led sociologists to divorce the family from an analysis of the forces and relations of production which are in capitalist societies class relations, and to underestimate the importance of both forms of female labour, domestic labour and wage labour. ,
- b. The empirical sociological studies have reduced the question of the contradiction between women's position in the family and female wage labour to a subjective tension between two roles, which are defined in terms of different sets of normative expectations.
- c. While sex role studies share with Parsons, a notion of sex roles understood in terms of normative expectations, they lack the macro sociological analysis which Parsons provides, in his early *Essays*, of the tensions between the demands of the occupational system and the kinship system in industrial societies. Thus, instead of providing an analysis of tensions whose roots are located at a societal level, the empirical studies locate tensions for the individual women as resulting from the existence of different set of normative expectations. Therefore, Beechey holds that the tensions that Parsons locates structurally within the organization of society have become reduced to individual role conflicts, and no explanation of the social/historical foundations is provided for these role conflicts within the organisation of the society.
- d. The empirical studies co-relate the entry of women into the labour market to twin sources : the impact of industrialization and the normative inarch towards

democracy. According to Beechey, 'these factors, either alone *of* taken together, do not provide a satisfactory explanation'. Beechey (19) holds that 'it is inadequate to postulate industrialization per se as an explanatory factor without specifying which elements of the development of industrial capitalism bring about changes, and without showing how these changes affect the demand for female labour. Their analysis is founded on various taken-for-granted assumptions, the basis of which requires explanation.

- e. Though these sociological studies provide a great deal of valuable information (such as which women work, when in their life cycles they work, the problems they face when they work) they do not provide any analysis of the distribution of female labour among particular occupations and industries, nor do they consider the functions of the normative expectations they describe, for the maintenance of the sexual division of labour or for the reproduction of the mode of production. No analysis is provided for the conditions which gave rise to the sexual division of labour, the existence of which, in ~~fact~~, the studies take for granted.
- f. More fundamentally, they fail to consider the ways in which the labour process structures the organization of work in the capitalist mode of production and the relationship between the sexual division of labour and the labour process.

Systems thinking has, in many respects, become the new orthodoxy of management thought and theory.

Managerial Unionism and Gender

There is a dearth of writings on women managerial unionism. Even the managerial unions which organize employee managers are quite few and are considered very weak compared to the other trade unions of blue collar and white collar workers.

The character of the trade-union movements in advanced capitalist societies has until quite recently been predominantly blue-collar and working class. Union 'recruitment drives' historically have by-passed those industries in which white-collar workers are most heavily concentrated. The unions were unambiguously male institutions. Women formed a small, secondary labour pool in these industries and were seen as having only a temporary stake in employment. Just as they were marginalized in their employment, so were women largely excluded from attempts at white-collar unionization including managerial unionization.

Lowe, (1987) holds that the gender segregation of the labour market is responsible for lower levels of female unionization by clustering women into a handful of ghetto-like occupations where conditions reinforce an individualistic approach to solving job problems.

Lowe (Op. Cit.) observes further that the expansion, rationalization and fragmentation of managerial work triggered by the administrative revolution led to a shift in recruitment patterns. The overall trend in office work was undeniably toward routinized tasks performed in large bureaucracies. But given that women were hired to perform these new jobs, and that men typically occupied positions defined by a higher degree of authority, responsibility and mobility prospects, few managers of either sex were personally proletarianized

If we look into the studies on managerial unionism compared to the trade unionism of conventional working class, Arthurs (1983) seeks to illuminate aspects of the character of managerial unionism through a study of unions of managers in three nationalized industries, which were, coal industry, power industry, and the steel industry. He holds that there is no necessary reason why managerial unionism will differ substantially from other kinds of unionism, and moreover that it may be as heterogeneous as traditional unionism. Conflicts of loyalty which may exist for all employees, are however, likely to be greatest for

managers. But Arthurs (Op. Cit) shows that any conflict between a manager's union and managerial role is likely to be resolved in practice; principally by attenuating union role and through the separation of senior managers into distinct bargaining units.

Simpson (1983) views that what are becoming increasingly bureaucratic organizations, have further divided women from their subordinates. Simpson concludes that for many managers in such situations, individual rather than collective means of resolving their grievances may be preferred and be effective.

According to Arthurs (Op. Cit.1983), management policies toward managerial unions need to take into account the fact that these unions must develop mutually constructive relationships with other, very different unions, whilst not losing faith with their managerial members. He views that managers face conflicts between their managerial and union loyalties which they need to handle with care and discretion, avoiding the distrust of fellow union members, whilst fulfilling their management responsibilities. Increasingly, small managerial unions are merging with the white-collar sections of manual workers' unions or with larger white collar unions.

Simpson (Op. Cit. 1983) opines that the increasing unionization of managers means that managers may have to be studied not only from the perspective of their representing one side in negotiations, but also as employees with grievances of their own. Professionalism is often thought antithetical to trade unionism.

According to Lowe (1987) careerist orientation, founded on a belief in individual success, meshed with a white-collar status consciousness leads to a rejection of unions as blue-collar, working - class institutions. This occupational consciousness was also fostered by employment in small, scattered work places with close employer contact Mills' (1957) description of

white-collar individualism points out how these employees 'usually remain psychologically the little individual scrambling to get to the top'.

Halford (1992) holds that the organized male interests in bureaucracies can be observed in three principal forms of organization, one among them being trade unions (the other two are the professions and the senior managers group) which (supposedly) coordinates all authority activity. It is opined that although women are increasingly unionized, they remain less likely to hold official posts and the particular interests of female-dominated occupations remain less likely to be addressed. The response of local authority trade unions to positive policies for women varies by union and by geographical location. In general, manual unions are less supportive and while collar unions more so. Where there is a strong and recent tradition of organized male labour dominating local politics, there is also likely to be more resistance to equality policy. Trade unions can disrupt the adoption of new policies during negotiations over changes to the new employment practices. Particularly striking points have been the introduction of disciplinary procedures for cases of alleged sexual harassment, and banning of page *pin-ups*. Unions have also impeded consultation with women workers by failing to pass on information. The situation appears to improve when women take up official posts, as the unions' national organizations of members, particularly when women, begin to make new demands on the grounds of gender.

Elson and Pearson (1984) holds that in many cases women do not identify themselves as workers, or develop 'trade union consciousness'. The employment of women in world market does provide a material basis for 'politicizing the personal' because of the way it masses together women not simply as workers but as a gender. Women are brought together in the factory, simply by virtue of being women, of having the characteristics of a subordinate gender. In factory employment, women are abstracted out of particularized gender ascriptive relations.

The development of conscious co-operation and solidarity between women on the basis of recognition of their common experience of gender subordination, is even more important a goal than any particular weakening of 'machismo' or 'patriarchal attitudes'. Improvements, which come about through capital accumulation or state policy or changing male attitudes, can be reversed. Lasting gains depend upon the relationships built up between women themselves.

Savage and Witz (1992) opine that trade unions, have served to uphold male interests. The best known example of this approach are the powerful writings of Cockburn (1981) and Walby (1986) who view that the trade unions have been extremely important organizational forces excluding women from certain parts of the labour market.

Amsden (1980) opine that 'Women's work' is typically believed to be too difficult to organize due to an unfavorable set of sociological and economic variables. According to Connell (1993), attempts to form unions of working women ran into obstacles that were not faced when unionizing men. Partly this had to do with direct resistance from men; unions controlled by men often would not accept women members.

ALTERNATIVES TO BUREAUCRACY

There are certain alternatives to bureaucracy, such as anti-bureaucracy and neo bureaucracy as understood by Ramsay and Parker (1992), androgynous management proposed by liberal feminists and femocracy of Australian feminists like Eisenstein (1990).

Anti-bureaucracy

Ramsay and Parker (1992) speak of 'anti-bureaucracy', as essentially constituting an attempt to refuse the existence of the functional imperatives

themselves. This would simply not be an organization since it would continually refuse any structure or internal differentiation. It would have no task specialization, no hierarchy and no rules. Members would drift in and out according to their own interests and make no distinction between their selves in the organization and their selves outside it. They hold that if we desire a world that benefits from the products of organized labour, the anti-organization is inadequate because nothing will function in time.

Neo-bureaucracy

Ramsay and Parker (1992) introduce the term 'neo-bureaucracy' which falls between bureaucracy and anti-bureaucracy. Neo-bureaucratic organizations would be continually attempting to refuse the fixity of patriarchal and capitalist imperatives while recognizing the power of organized labour to bring wider social benefits. They would recognize the functional imperatives of bureaucracy whilst refusing the definitions of the solution outlined above. Thus there would be limited task specialization that acknowledged areas of expertise but would not imply that only experts/professionals have power over particular areas of the organization's activity. Individual ownership of success would be replaced by an accent on teamwork and group achievement. Specified roles would be replaced by negotiated allocations of personnel to cope with particular problems or opportunities.

There is a need for a centre, which would be responsible for strategic decision-making and coordination, but its power would be continually re-negotiated by the members of the organization. 'Promotion' would be replaced by an agreement that a particular individual or group had certain skills that required them to take a certain position within the organization for a determined period. The organization would also need to be continually refusing to reproduce itself by only appointing those who were like those in the centre.

A neo-bureaucratic organization would be one that depended on certain rules, such as the circulation of decisions, but never acted as if these **rules** were other than guides to action.

Finally, and most importantly, the neo-bureaucracy would be an organization, that continually stresses its procedural nature and the necessity to rework organizational rationality for the next task and priority. The members of this form of organization would not be forced to make any clear distinction between the formal/public and informal/private aspects of their selves. The organization would not require them to act without hatred and passion, it would be expected that their hatreds and passions could be negotiated in and through the organization. The individual member must feel that they have a chance to influence the organization in ways they felt were desirable. A continual encouragement of public debate about the nature of the organization would therefore be necessary to ensure that members felt committed to all or part of its activities.

In the light of Kanter's (1977) writings, it is clear that the neo-bureaucratic organization would need to stress the values of uncertainty, vagueness and instability as part of its culture. This would be necessary for two reasons. The first is, in order to change current structures and shared values, the organization would require the information previously used, to make sense of the current situation, but should no longer rely on such information or take it for further actions. The second is to prevent a fixing of any one group as dominant in the organization which would require that the needs, interests and perspectives of all groups be heard and responded to.

Neo-bureaucracies may enable patriarchal and capitalist pressures to be resisted and changed. Ramsay and Parker (1992) argue that it is at the organizational cultural level that such change must be initiated. Specific and local organizational rationalities and practices must be revised if the organization is to develop features that correspond to this model. Neo-bureaucracy is based

on the assumption that organizations need to do certain things in order to be organized but how it manages these things is a cultural matter that reflects the understanding of agents within the organization. The alternative is bureaucratic rules that often become; like equal opportunity policies, pieces of paper that do not reflect or influence the actual texture of life within the organization. Putting it another way, what the proponents are proposing is that the neo-bureaucratic organization needs to capture the hearts and minds of its members in order to ensure its functioning. Since formal rules are largely absent, control must be exercised through consent and common purpose. If this were not the case the organization would cease to function or become, more formally bureaucratic.

Androgynous Management

'Androgynous management' is viewed as a style that blends behaviors previously deemed to belong exclusively to men or women, says Savage (1980). She explains why managers should be androgynous. Firstly, women, who are assumed to have different qualities than men, are entering the profession of management in increasing numbers. Therefore, management theory and practice should expand its definition of what it makes to include the feminine behavior exhibited by the newest members of the managerial ranks. This reason relies on the assumptions about the applicability of gender stereotypes to male and female managers (Sargent, 1980).

A second reason offered in support of androgynous management is that androgyny is the best route to fulfillment in men's and women's personal lives and makes them happier people. If androgyny is also adopted as a standard for managerial profession, androgynous managers will be better able to integrate their personal and professional lives. Sargent takes a valid position about the merits of androgyny, but it is still uncertain as to whether androgynous individuals are truly better off in life.

A third reason offered for androgynous management is that it is particularly appreciate for the climate in which organizations currently operate, Sargent argues that workers increasingly seek fulfillment rather than just a pay-cheque from their work and that, more motivated and committed employees are needed to take advantage of improved technology. Also, in a low growth economy with shrinking or unchanging capital resources, organizations must focus on the contributions of their human resource if they are to improve their efficiency and work output. Behavioral theories of leadership also offer this reasoning to justify managers' showing concern for people as well as concern for the task, but it is the sole justification for androgynous management that has widespread support. Little research has been conducted on whether androgynous individuals actually are superior managers. A strong case can be made for androgynous management, if a broad interpretation of what is meant by androgynous is adopted.

Bern (1977) came to measure androgyny as a propensity to describe oneself as high in both feminine and masculine characteristics. An androgynous behavioral style may mean exhibiting of high amounts of both feminine and masculine behaviors. Bem found, however, that androgynous individuals were actually high in behavioral flexibility and adaptability, Since androgyny is defined in terms of a balance of masculine and feminine-typed characteristics, the androgynous person has both forms of responses in his or her repertoire and presumably derives adaptive behavioral flexibility from this array of options (Bem, 1977).

The Managerial Grid Theory by Sargent (1980) views that better managers are androgynous by advocating a combination of task-oriented and people oriented behavior. Although they did not offer their own theory of leadership, Donnell and Hall (1980) reached the same conclusion. Managers in their study who were high achievers, successfully integrated their concerns for tasks and people, average achievers concentrated on the tasks, at the expense of the people performing it, and low achievers showed little concern for

neither tasks nor people. To paraphrase their results in sex role identity terms, high achievers were androgynous, average achievers were masculine; and low achievers were undifferentiated. Donnell and Hall (1980) have provided an explanation for why the ranks of management are filled with individuals who exhibit predominantly masculine behaviors; even though such behaviors are seldom exclusively recommended. These individuals may be organization's average managers, who perform well enough to retain their positions but not well enough to be considered excellent performers. The androgynous manager, who is flexible in his or her response to managerial situations, seems preferable to the masculine manager.

Femocracy

The concept of Femocracy is a new term in feminist theorizing, which emerges out of specific experiences of Australian feminism of 1970s and 1980s, developed by Pringle and Watson (1990). 'Femocrats' are feminists working in the state bureaucracy on women's issues and their credentials as feminists are used as criteria for appointment to a position in the state bureaucracy. Their endeavor is to talk about, and prepare policy proposals concerning women's interests. Their appointments are often linked to affirmative action or equal employment opportunity programs, developing, implementing and monitoring these programs. What is significant about the femocrat phenomenon is that, it provides an historic instance of women working as *feminists* within male dominated bureaucratic structures. There are two categories of feminist intervention in bureaucracy identified by Eisenstein (1989,1991). One is a 'bureaucratic-individual' intervention where women enter the bureaucracy of state or national government at a policy-making level as self-identified feminists, the other is the 'bureaucratic structural' one, where women create new structures within government or university administrations, specifically designed to benefit women (such as women's policy units, women's studies programmes, or ministries for women's affairs). Other forms of feminist political intervention are 'legal reform' through legislative change, 'political

participation in a leadership role', participation in non-feminist political parties or trade unions as self-proclaimed feminist and, finally, 'alternative structures', where feminists create independent organization outside of existing political and administrative structures (cf. Eisenstein, 1989,1991).

Critics of the femocrat phenomenon would argue that femocrats invariably become co-opted by masculinist modes of acting, and lose touch with the constituency of women whose interests they are there to represent. However, Eisenstein (Op. Cit.) argues that femocrats do make a difference. Their very presence results in an infusion of ideas about women, power and sexuality into the state bureaucracy (Savage and Witz, 1992).

To conclude, this chapter has examined the origins of management that are intimately connected with the evolution and development of Joint Stock Companies. The latter was the reality in the time of Marx himself who took note of its characteristics and made some prognoses concerning its future. An important feature of post-Marx capitalist organization has been the increasing separation of ownership and management. The function of management became specialized and differentiated keeping in pace with the constant expansion and restructuring of capital worldwide, and in one country. This has been the subject of analysis and commentary from Burnheim to Ehretnrich.

Theoretical studies having a gender - sensitive strain have attempted to understand how the practice and theory of management are gendered. These writing have studied Gender in Management / Bureaucracy from the perspective of power (and powerlessness), 'Bureaucratic discourse', 'Sexuality' and 'Sex Role Theory' and so on. These writers have in fact, propose various alternatives to the present management structure; process and ideology. Armed with this understanding, the empirical data collected for the purpose of present study has been subjected to analysis.

Chapter IV

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

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Preliminaries

The central focus of the empirical study is to analyze how the principle of 'patriarchy' operates in hidden as well as open forms within the managerial profession in the organizational context. The concept of 'patriarchy' explains the position of women in society and various aspects of gender inequality (Colgan and Ledwith, 1996). It determines characteristics associated with women and men, the assumptions made about the division of labor (private as well as public), the relationship between them, and how they are represented, communicated, transmitted and maintained. "It also includes sexual and social relations based on sexuality and relations of power and control based on gender" (Itzin and Newman. 1995:1.2). Therefore the concept of 'patriarchy' is deployed in order to understand various forms of gender inequality women face in the organizational and professional life on one hand, and in the familial structure on the other. It analyzes how the prevailing patriarchal organization structure lead to discrimination based on gender, job segregation and lack of political or collective consciousness.

PART- I

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

Socio-economic background of the respondents like their age, family background, education levels, aspects of marriage and child-care and domestic work, is very much essential to study women managers. It thus situates them in their personal sociological background and helps to analyze their employment in the 'public' sphere. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of the respondents as managers and as women.

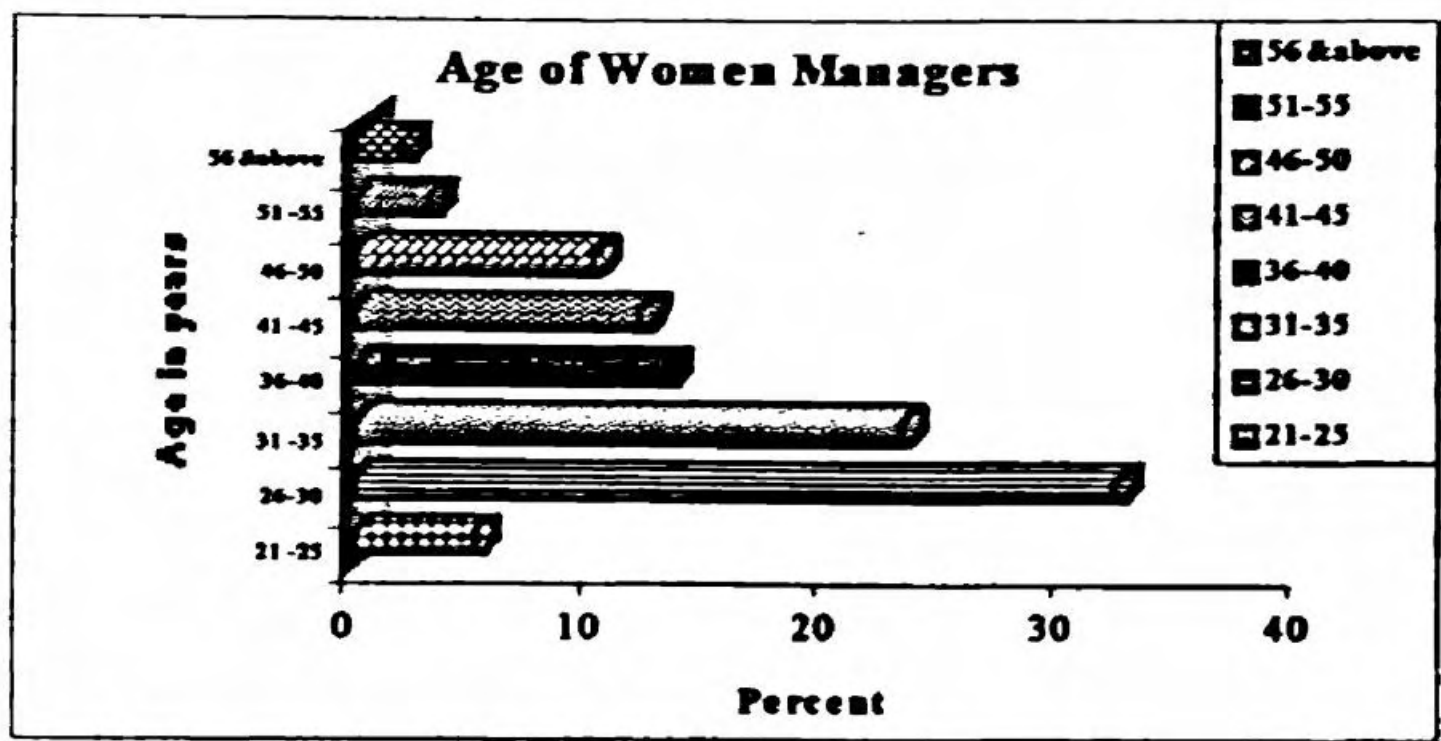
AGE AND MANAGEMENT STRATA

As stated in the Introduction, the sampling technique employed in the survey of women managers has been 'purposive sampling'. Actually, it was discovered during the survey that the sample indeed reflected the empirical reality of women managers in the profession. Thus in corporate Hyderabad, a major proportion of women in management are evidently in the age group of 26-35 (as shown in the Fig. 1). Secondly, they are mostly noticed in the junior to middle level management strata, whereas, their presence decreases up the ladder. At the same time, the age level shows an increase.

It can be seen from the Fig 1 that, in the sample, 55% women are in the age group of 26-35, 13% women are in the age group 36-40, 12% of women in the age group 41-45, 10% women in the age group 46-50, 3% in 51-55 and 2% in 55 and above, age group. The respondents' identity has been protected by use of pseudonyms. For the same reason, the companies from which the sample was drawn have not been named in the text. However, an attempt has been made to give representation to companies involved in most types of businesses. Thus the sample includes respondents from manufacturing, information technology, non-

banking finance companies, hotels and hospitality, corporate hospitals, media, eta

Figure 1 : Age of WomenManagers



FAMILY BACKGROUND

Ninety two percent of the sample comprise the upper castes, and among them. Brahmins tend to dominate. Again, this reflects the prevailing socio-cultural reality. Interestingly however, among women, (who are the focus of the study), a major proportion in the sample are non-Brahmins. On the other hand, among men. Brahmins are larger in number, It is not proposed presently to enquire into the sociological significance of this phenomenon. Apart from Brahmins, the upper castes include, from south India, the categories of Kamma, Reddy. Kapu, etc. as well as a fair number of upper caste denominations from other parts of the country. In fact, from the peculiar circumstances of their growth, the professional classes in India continued to comprise those who also ranked high in the hierarchy of caste (Misfara, 1961) This highlights the omni-presence of castes in Indian society, the corporate management profession being of no exception.

Secondly, a bulk of women and men managers in the sample hail from the families that are nuclear in structure and composition; a nuclear family usually is considered to be composed of parents and their children only.

Educational Level of Family Member?

Most of the women managers in the sample are the first generation women to go for work in the public sphere. Coming to the parental generation of women managers, 70% of the women executives' mothers had lower education and in a few cases they were illiterates; whereas 69% of women managers' fathers' were professionals. Around 80% of the married women managers' husbands were professionals and amongst them, 20% of women managers were better qualified than their spouses. Women managers tend to hail from families with high educational and professional qualifications of their fathers and husbands.

Schooling of the Executives

Most of the women in the sample hail from *urban background* with a majority of them having had their schooling in metropolitan cities (60%) whereas men hail from urban (45%) as well as rural background (55%).

Eighty one percent of women managers had *English* as their medium of instruction, having studied in Christian missionary schools (55%)X public schools (10%) and Kendriya Vidyalayas (15%). Whereas 55% of men happened to have their schooling in regional languages in Government and municipal schools. *This trend shows that men with non-urban background and non-English medium background can also make it in the managerial position. whereas in case of women, they should have better schooling, education and exposure to the professional culture, to make it to the same level*

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

Marriage is usually understood as one of the most important phases in woman's life that brings a total change in her way of life. 'Marriage is the root cause for all the subjugation' according to Socialist feminists. Though this is not always obvious, man's domination and woman's subordination to a man in the name of compromises and adjustments, in the marital relation is but a universal phenomenon.

Among the respondents, around 78% of the women managers expressed that they had freedom to choose the job or place of work before marriage. It is a matter of luck if things fall in place according to their wish after the marriage,

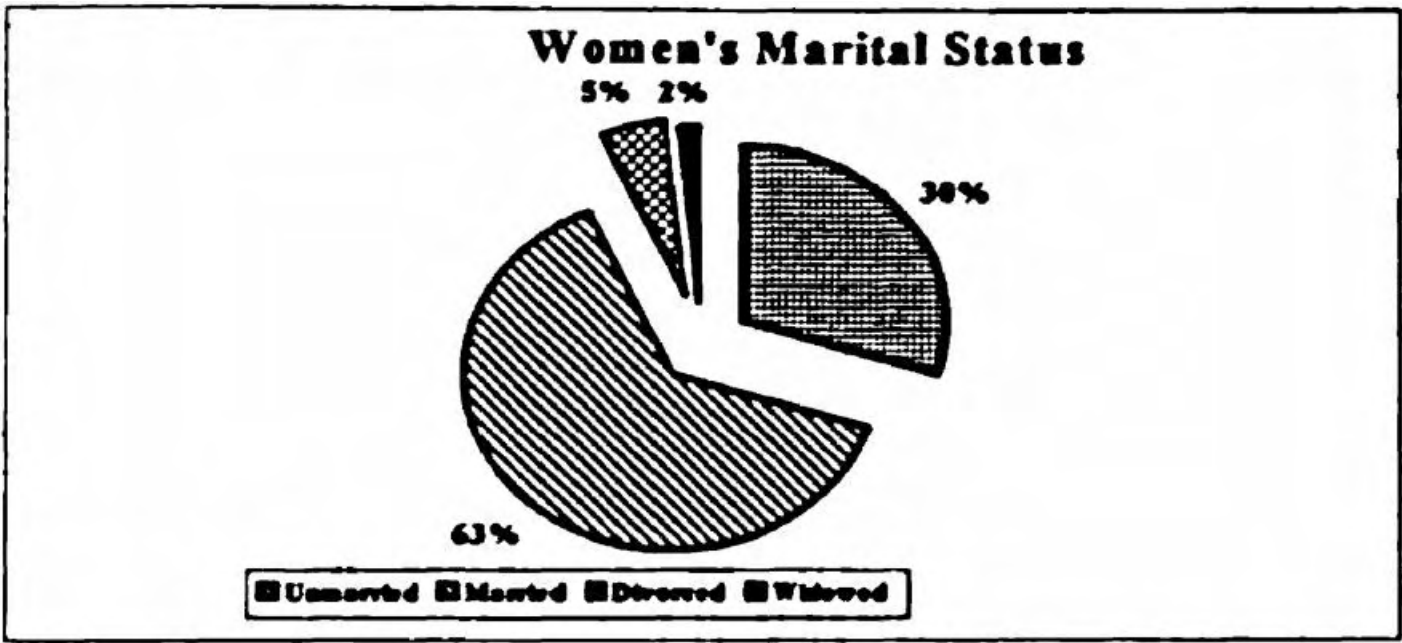
Ms. Manjula, a middle level executive, has aptly summarized employers' attitude: *"employers have insecurity against employing women executives in key positions for various reasons. Unmarried women might get married and leave the job at any point of time based on husband's and in-laws demands. Married women might go for maternity leave and child care and might not give attention to the profession. Elderly women do not have the aptitude and vigor to work in the ever progressing organisational set up. These kind of doubts and insecurities are never-ending and arise exclusively with regard to women. How else should we show our competency and alter these male centered attitudes"?* Women not only have to professionally excel to fight for equality, but they have also to deal with these kind of patriarchal attitudes. In fact, this is precisely what all the struggle is about.

MARRIAGE

Out of the 60 women managers covered to the study, larger percentage is of married women (63%), 2% are widowed and 5% are divorced or separated 30% of women managers are unmarried. as can be seen in the Fig.2. It is found that unmarried women managers are in the 21-35 years category.

In the sample, around 60% of 42 married women managers who got married were above 26 years of age at the time of their marriage. Only 33% of the married women were below 25 years of age. The delay in marriage for women compared to general age of marriage in the wider society occurs because of their busy schedule. Ms Manjula, a middle level executive in finance sector mentioned that "I did not have time to think about marriage because of the preoccupation in my career. Now that I am slightly settled in career, I got married two years ago, at the age of thirty two".

Figure 2: Women and Marital States



A special mention about marriage (and the age of marriage) has been made because women's profession is very much linked with their marital status. Because of the importance given to the career, a longer time period is needed for the initial career settlement. This results in the age of marriage getting extended compared to other women in wider society. This indicates that women take their careers seriously.

Type of Marriage

The choke of spouse also indicates women's place in the society. It is interesting to note that those who are supposed to take important decisions regarding profit and loss of the firm, labor problems and recruitment, sales and

marketing, finance etc. usually put the major decision of marriage into the hands of either family members or relatives.

In the case of 68% respondents, marriages were arranged either by family members or relatives. Ms. Madhuri, junior executive in a Multi National Corporation, says that "I saw my husband only at the time of marriage. I spoke to him a couple of times over telephone I had seen his photograph and sent a few E-mails. My parents took the decision for me". Ms. Sudha, a middle level manager in the service sector, who is on the verge of getting married, said that, "Though my parents chose the boy, I had the opportunity of meeting him. Only after my consent my parents have fixed this marriage, agreeing to all the demands of the bridegroom's parents. Dowry and other things are common these days. One should think very practically otherwise we cannot live". This indicates that profession and personal life have been compartmentalized. A positive trend is seen in the 32 % of the women in the sample, who have contracted a marriage of their own choice.

Influence of Profession on Marriage

Managerial profession has relatively negative effect on women managers' marital prospects. Nine percent of women managers expressed that it has an adverse effect whereas 36% expressed that though the effect is not so serious, it is still there. Mehta's (1976) study holds that men and other elder members of the family in India were gradually realizing that an employed woman was actually an asset to a middle-class family, and was not an embarrassing factor at all, provided she took up such a job and maintained a lifestyle that did not hamper the general *decorum* of the family in any way.

A junior executive in marketing who is unmarried found her marriage which was agreed to, cancelled because of her being in the marketing field. Her prospective father-in-law exclaimed, "Oh! That lady! She is always on the streets". He apparently knew nothing about her job or marketing profession

This kind of a negative attitude restrains women's progress in the managerial field though sometimes they take it as a challenge.

The situation is slightly different for men. Most of the men in the sample expressed that their career in managerial profession had a positive effect on their marriage. None of them found it constraining. Mr. Ramesh, an executive in Human Resources Development from a reputed computer firm makes a general observation that, "as soon as bride's parents come across a guy who has taken up management as his profession, they say that 'we have got a very good match. He is a manager in so and so firm'". This kind of an attitude illustrates and reaffirms that management is a masculine profession, a man is a perfect fit for a manager. For the same reason, that management is a masculine profession, women won't have much choice to select their marriage partner because, the society at large feels that management is man's forte and the fact that women are managers acts adversely on their marital prospects.

DOMESTIC WORK

Domestic work, is being undertaken exclusively by women managers in many a cases. Though women have entered the professional world, it has not led to any change in the work patterns at home. To perform household work and child care has become customary on part of the women managers, and their spouses do little to reduce it. A majority of household tasks have been the prime responsibility of women managers (50%) or performed by the women managers with the assistance of hired help (23%) or being done by some other family members or relatives (17%). Not a single instance has been noticed in women's responses of domestic responsibility being taken up by the husbands.

A majority (80 %) of women managers devote approximately 35 hours a week for the domestic work and those with children spent 40-45 hours a week. Only a few (4%) expressed that their husbands too shared the domestic work. More than 90% of men managers expressed that they might have hardly spent more

than 5 hours a week for the household chores. They helped in the tasks that are less "demeaning" for them as males.

None of the men married to women managers carried out any of the domestic chores of cleaning and washing. Over a third of the husbands as well as men managers did shopping for their family needs, less than 10% of men helped in cooking occasionally, and taking care of children (in teaching, taking them out, etc.) when they were free. Around 20% of the men managers told that they extended their help in domestic chores during the period of emergency say health problems, if the situation demanded.

The data shows that the sexual division of labor in the domestic sphere has not changed with women's participation in professions. In fact, it is leading to double exploitation in case of women.

CHILD CARE

Child bearing and rearing is a difficult task for women who have full time managerial jobs as most of the responsibilities are expected to be taken care of by women alone. Most of the employers discourage maternity leave. Ms Sudha, a middle level executive holds that "Our top management did not like me to take six months off. Sometimes we have to lose our jobs, their explanation for that being the emergency of the particular placement to run the organization".

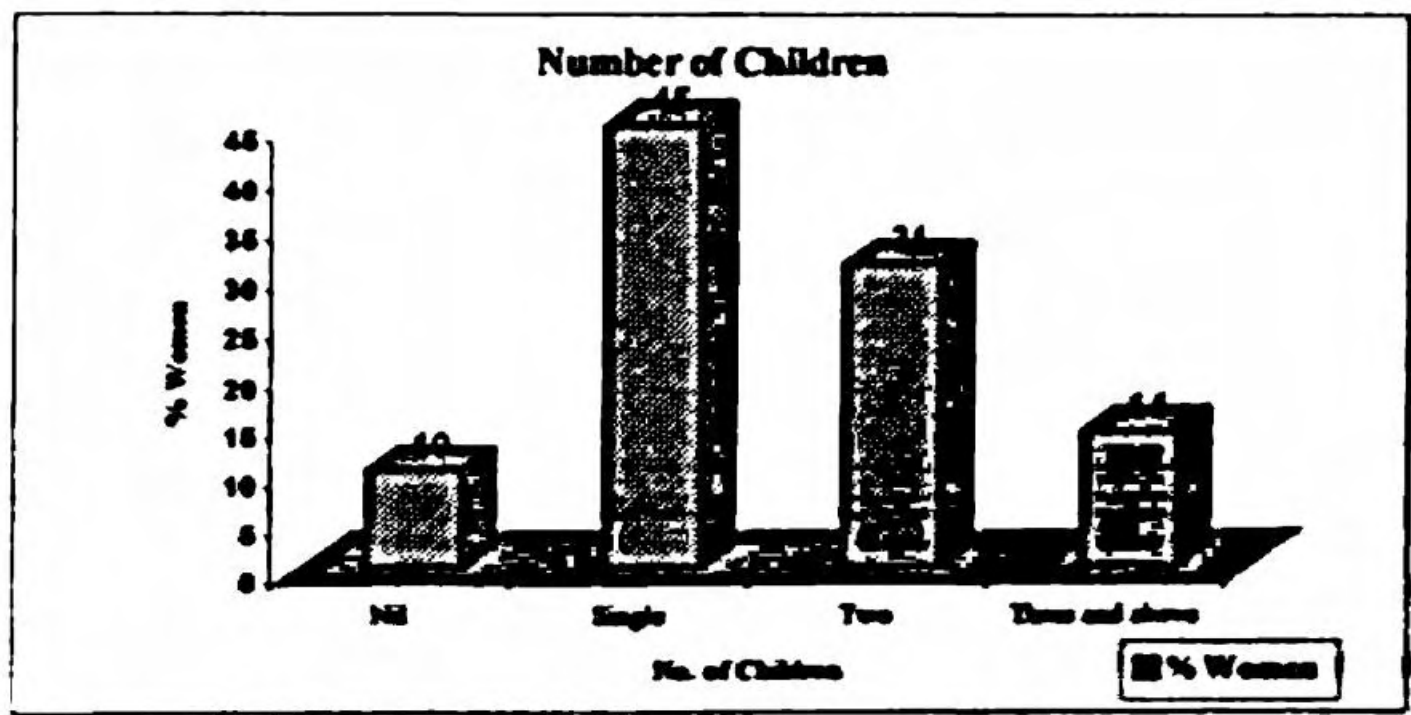
After the birth of a child (some of the middle and senior level managers who have become mothers at one point of time expressed that), the women managers had to shorten their leave and come back to work to reduce the inconvenience and meet the demands of the profession as well as the portion. The insensitivity of the patriarchal attitudes is amply expressed when one of the top level male manager expressed, "why do women need six months off for the maternity leave when the whole process does not take more than twenty days".

Ms. Kalpana, a junior executive says that "women who are around 28 years of age, and without children are generally not taken seriously for the important assignments which requires a fairly long and committed time frame. Employers hold that she might go for kids and might not concentrate on the job. This is a very serious kind of discrimination". The job of bio-social reproduction is being treated as a burden on the organization.

Number of children

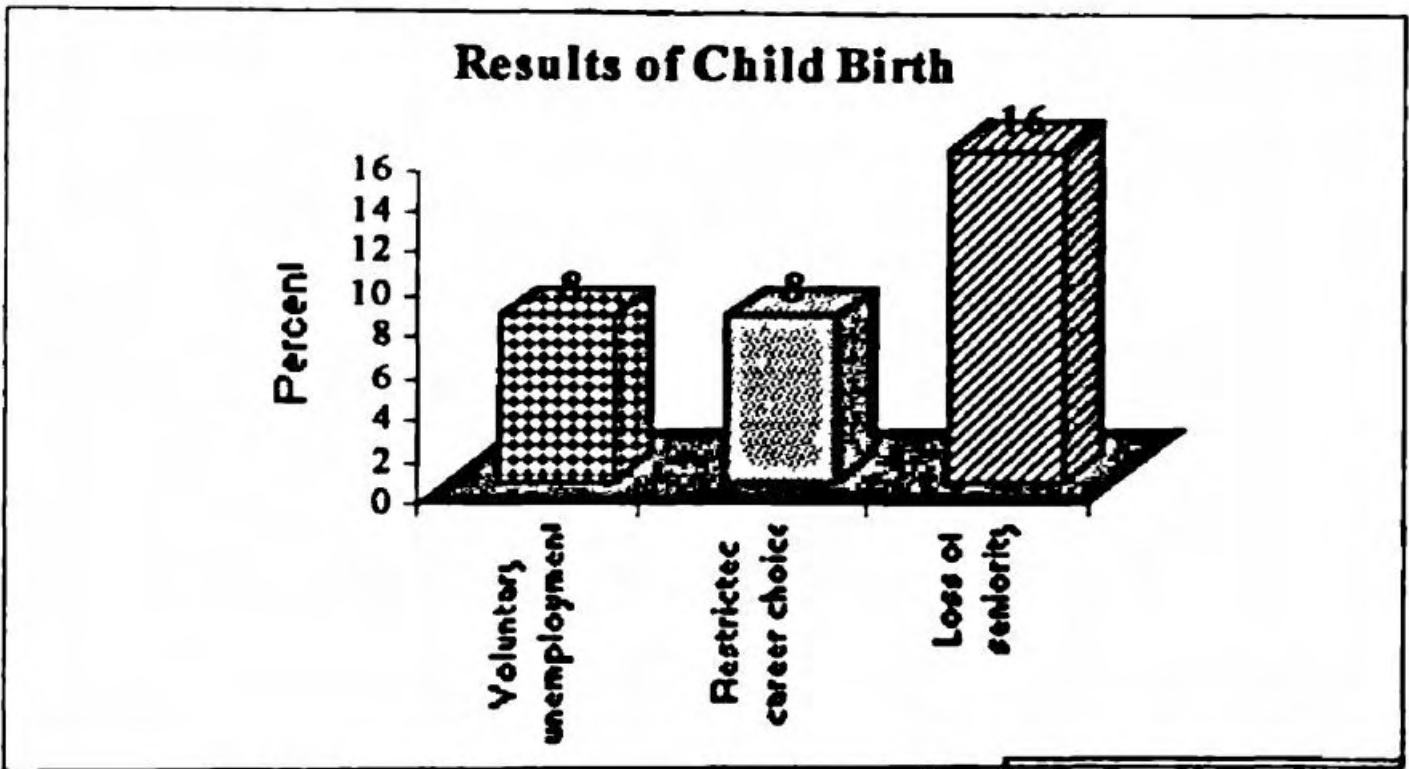
Women's participation in the labor market depends on the number and age of their children throughout their working lives. Keeping their career in view, they are settling for one or two children. Among the forty two married women managers, 45% of women managers have gone for single child and 31% of them have two children. Only 14% of women have three and more than three children. This trend can be observed in the Fig.3. When asked about the cause for the limited number of children, Ms. Margaret, a middle level executive expressed, "Where is the time? With all difficulty we could find time for one and two is impossible given my career in mind".

Figure 3: Number of Children



A woman manager with children below 5 years of age spends around 40-45 hrs. a week for the domestic and child rearing work. A majority of women managers (55%) did most of the child-care. A majority of men expressed that the major responsibility of child care belonged to their wives. Around half of women managers' husbands in the sample had never washed or bathed their children, changed a nappy, got up at night to attend to a child *or* helped their young children in studies. Sometimes women managers have taken their parents/in-laws' help or some of them could employ servants or some distant relatives to help for the child care. Only in case of a meager 6% of women managers, their husbands helped in the child care.

Figure 4 : Result of child-birth

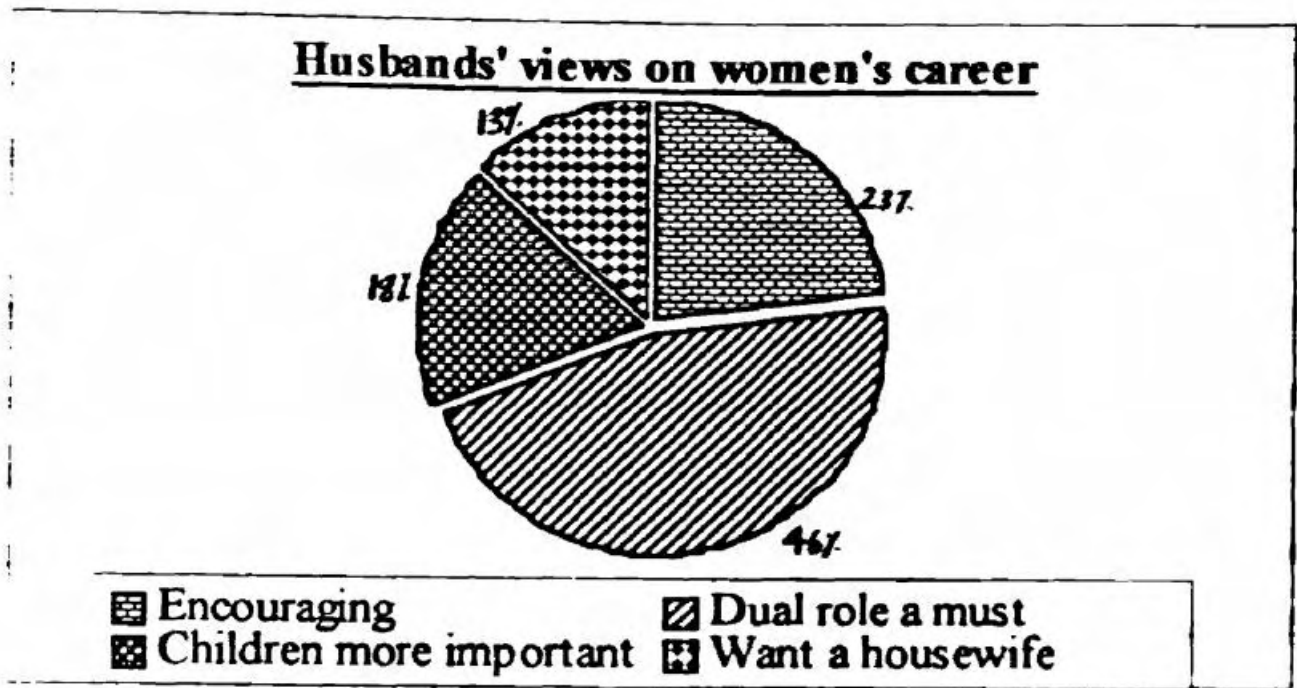


Among the 38 women managers having children, 8% had to go in for voluntary unemployment leaving the labor force for several years following child birth. Around 8% of the women managers had to restrict their career choice; and around 16% of them had to lose their seniority.

Among the married women managers, only 23% of the women managers expressed that their husbands encouraged their career in all aspects. Around 46% expressed that though their husbands were not against their working, they did not help in any kind of domestic work. It is very difficult for women to

combine the dual labour of public and domestic sphere. Some of them (18%) felt that their husbands consider children as more important than career, whereas others (13%) thought that their husbands would be happy if they were housewives and looked after the **family**, instead of both of them working and coming home tired. This can be seen in the following fig.5.

Figure 5 : Husbands View on Women's Career



Though women are in full-time managerial profession, still they are largely responsible for the child care and domestic work, these being considered value less in exchange terms. Though the child bearing and child rearing is for the perpetuation of the future society, this very biological process relegated women to the secondary status in the society as well as consider them as "secondary wage earner" in the economic market, men always being 'the primary wage earners'. Therefore it is evident that as women executives reach the organizations with additional family responsibilities, they find that they are required to fit into the structure which is dominated by men This structure is predominantly made by and for men, which in other words, is i major characteristic of patriarchy.

In summary, the fact that there is an organic linkage between the 'private' and the 'public' spheres in women's lives has been sufficiently highlighted in the theoretical discussion in the preceding chapters. In both these spheres,

patriarchy can be considered to operate in varying degrees influencing and affecting women's decisions and choices pertaining to marriage, work, income, career and growth and other allied issues. This is not the case with men however. Therefore a woman's role in public sphere is conditioned a great deal by her personal background.

Mackintosh (1984) expresses that the subordination of women through unequal division of labor in the market sphere is ultimately derivative of subordination within the marriage based household (since the ideological roots are here). This does not imply that one entirely depends on the other.

It is pertinent, therefore to precede the empirical study of women (managers) in the public sphere (corporate management) with an adequate consideration of their private sphere. The present part of the chapter has been devoted for this purpose. Thus, the factors considered here pertain to social, economic, demographic and cultural characteristics making up the personal world of the respondents both women and men. These include age and family background, educational levels of the family and respondents, family-as-such, marriage, professional choice & marriage, child rearing and child care and so on. These details, on analysis, largely confirm the conclusions offered by previous studies. The personal background of women managers, structurally forces them to a situation of disadvantage in their pursuit in the public sphere. This is not the case with men however.

It is with these initial structural disadvantages that women managers practice their profession in corporate organizations, the disadvantages due to gender. How gender is operational in the organizational context is a subject of enquiry of Part II.

PART-II

GENDER AND ORGANISATIONAL DYNAMICS

Women's entry into the managerial employment is due to a combination of factors of market demand and personal situation. The demand for women managers have to be understood in the larger context of the demand for management personnel. The latter are required to run the complex corporate organizations of today which need both general and special functional skills in all the areas of management

The growing number of women in the management profession globally can also be attributed to the fact that larger numbers of women have access to higher education, are aware of their rights and capacities, and have the attitude to win a positive mental attitude.

JOB STRUCTURE AND RECRUITMENT

Jobs staffed by women are placed and positioned in the organization, in a 'gendered' manner. This can be seen in the recruitment patterns, fixation of pay and perks, etc., which are discussed here in detail.

Division of labour by sex results in occupational segregation in the organizations. Job segregation is an extension of sexual division in the household into the labour market. The managerial labour market is no exception to this feature.

Occupational segregation of sex results from the interaction of well-entrenched and complex set of institutions that perpetuate the inferior position of women in the labour market. The complex institutions such as family, law, economy, culture tend to reinforce and support occupational segregation (Reagan and Blaxall, Op, Cit). This is obvious by women managers' choice for management. Only 30% of women expressed that they wanted to have

management profession as their career whereas a majority of 70% expressed that medicine, civil services, teaching, journalism, research and other professions or occupations were their first choice but not management. They explained that they 'decided to pursue a career in management in the later part of their education when many of the other options were closed'. In the case of men, more than 77% expressed that they wanted to have 'management as profession at any cost as it gives a sense of pride'. This happens because of the myth that women do not fit into the demanding male oriented management profession which is full of uncertainties. Moreover, there are not many women managers to look up to in this profession.

When interviewed, Mr. Srinivasan, one of the middle level management professional from I.I.M.says, "the reason for women not opting for management profession is not clearly evident but may be they have imagined that manager is a man but not a woman. But to be very frank, women in industrial relations or marketing have to deal with raw men, either labour or heavy clients who do not have a sense of respect for women. They do not treat women as equally professional but only as sex objects. Many a women do not like to take the risk and stand on their own feet".

The contemporary corporate bureaucracies are large and multi-departmental, employing big number of managerial staff. In this scenario, one should understand how and why women get recruited to managerial jobs which were once the sole preserve of men. If we look into the glamour of jobs in the total scenario, it has all the ideological trappings of a respectable, white-collar job structure, which any middle class person could only dream about.

Many women managers (58%) have expressed that they have been denied a job because of their gender. Women are often assigned to work in Human Resource Development, functions of recruitment, training etc. but they were not chosen for the industrial relations function. Employers, colleagues and subordinates would not like women to manage industrial relations. Ms. Sudha, a middle

level executive was remembering her experience of one of the interviews that "One of the interviewers expressed the doubt that 'What can a lady Industrial Relations manager do here? She cannot handle the labour. Better think about her later for some other work'".

'Femininity' and 'beauty' are all being expected of women in some of the branches of managerial jobs like marketing. Many of the employers would like to use women as a commodity in the market. Employers encourage the exposure of their femininity in the managerial operations, in mannerisms and dressing. 'If you negate it, you won't be given placement' says one of the employee managers. Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says that "Though I am a distinction student in marketing management, the interviewers said, "we are not in need of you. One should be good looking if not beautiful to be qualified for marketing jobs". She continued, "one of the interviewers has tried to show paternalistic feeling and gone to the extent of advising me that "this is my advice, better do not apply for the marketing or sales jobs".

Many firms do not make it clear in the advertisement about eligibility of women's applicability. But even after written test and interviews, they deny the placement saying that 'we do not need women". Ms. Sumitha, a junior level manager described about one of her initial experiences in the job interview that, "We had a written test for the recruitment of management trainees in Bombay. A few of us were selected and asked to attend the interview. In the interview we were denied jobs because we were women. Unmarried girls were denied a job because they will be getting married and leaving the job and married women were denied because they will be leaving the job one day or the other. This is what was expressed by one of the panel members. They look upon women as handicapped persons".

This denial of women into the management profession appears to be a bias of men to control women. Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says that "I don't think women are in any way any less competent to compete with men in managerial

profession, but what is lacking is that the confidence towards women candidates by the selectors. The selectors who are definitely men, are negatively biased against women's capacity to perform their duties in an efficient way".

The selectors or the recruiters do not have any criteria for the selection of the candidates. "If the candidate is a woman of a child bearing age the first thing that comes to their mind is the maternity leave. There should be some sense and some pattern in the kind of recruitment", holds Mamtha, a junior level executive. Ms Prabha, a senior manager says, "There are many organisations which consider that women are incapable especially in the fields of manufacturing, finance and other allied managerial services. On the other hand, there are a few organisations which prefer only women managers. What is the major criteria for the selectors? Why not the government do something to prescribe certain rules and regulations for the selection criteria for the recruitment of the candidates instead of leaving it to the total discretion of the corporate houses. I feel the government should intervene to help women managers in this regard".

Ms. Sajala, a middle level manager in one of the top financial organisations in the city, says that "Many organisations will not like to take women executives of equal capability as much as men. They think that the moment women enter into office, there will be so many complications. But they do not want to make it obvious in the advertisements. If an average man and an intelligent woman compete for the same position or job, the interviewers prefer to take an average man compared to a knowledgeable woman. I have experienced it several times".

Ms. Suhasini, a senior executive says that "One should agree that women are a rare breed in managerial jobs in 70's, and 80's. But in 90's, women are eager to take challenging jobs in management. Women compete with men at colleges and come out with flying colours. But when it comes to employment, I feel that

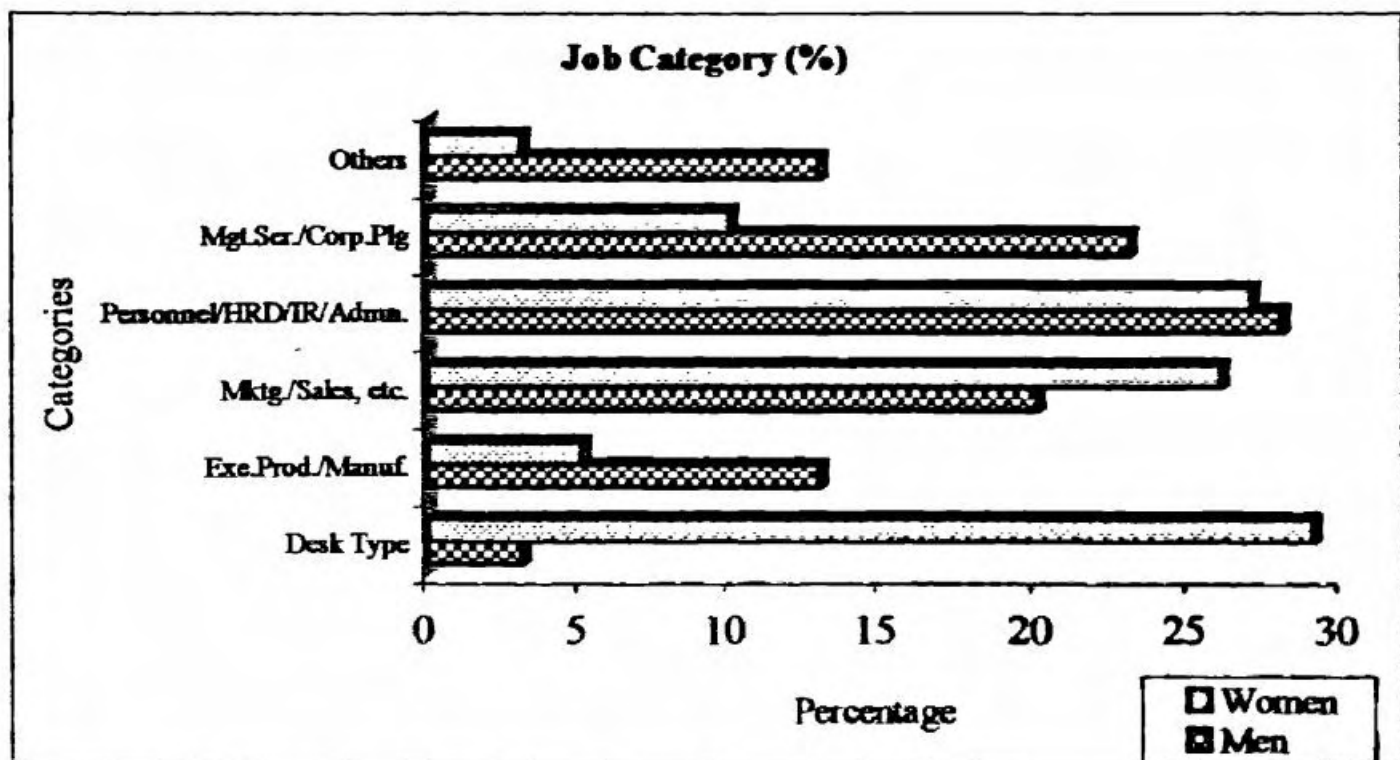
the cream of the jobs still go to men. Most women managers are still limited to desk type jobs. Women are given jobs which have previously been refused by men or where there is no competition from men".

There is a clear discrimination in the recruitment patterns of the private sector industries, either service or production, on account of gender. In this patterning of the recruitment system, the recruiters mostly are men and show their domination and superiority, to have things in their control, in which women are subordinate. The problem is with how women are valued and who has the right to assign value to people. It is not that women are always absolutely excluded from power or prestige in patriarchy — the problem is with the framework itself, and the framework is determined by men.

JOB CATEGORY

Women's managerial jobs were largely the extensions of traditional clerical occupations. Even after professional training as managers, around 29% of women and only 3% of men in the sample were in the routine desk type of jobs like front office staff, customer relations executive etc., Twenty eight percent of women and 26% of men were in Personnel Management sphere. 5% of women were in production or manufacturing sector, 25% were in marketing / sales / advertising / market research and 10% of women were in management services / corporate planning and only 3% of women were in finance and management services. This clearly shows a pattern of segregation within the management profession, with their presence being marginal in "male-dominated" sectors of manufacturing, corporate planning; and finance having only 18% of woman managers (in all these three areas taken together). There were 49% of men in these three areas as shown in the Figure 6.

Figure 6: Job Category



It was observed earlier that women were being deployed in jobs which were mere extensions of their traditional clerical jobs. It was noticed during field work that horizontal segregation occurs in the following manner, managers, male and female may belong to the same grade in the same functional area. Their jobs however, would be designated differently. For example, in the industrial relations and personnel management area, the male manager more often performed duties pertaining to industrial relations. This includes undoubtedly tough task of bargaining with the trade unions (if any), handling serious industrial disputes etc. On the other hand, women managers tend to be assigned 'soft' tasks relating to employee welfare.

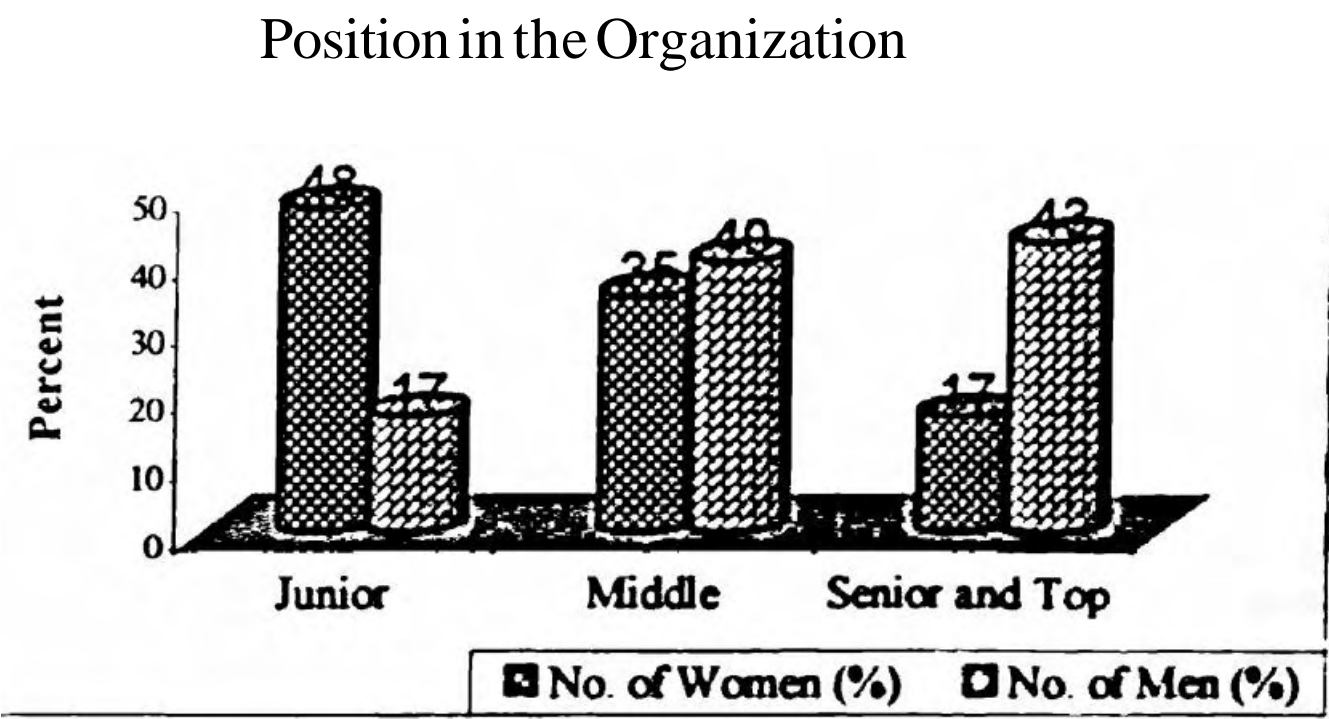
What is not in dispute is the job that the male manager does. However, women are presumed to be incompetent at discharging the same jobs, no matter how incompetent male managers may be. In other words, it is considered a nun's job. This kind of segregation not only denies access for women into challenging areas; it also denies them equal remuneration even though not being in the same grade or category as their male counterparts. This is because the male industrial relations manager may get additional pay and allowances for discharging difficult tasks, whereas, it would be held that women managers do not perform similar tasks.

involving travel assignments, which the family members disliked and at times they themselves would not like it because it was very tedious for them. Thus, the situation is paradoxical for women professionals. They face either monotonous, non-demanding jobs or challenging and strenuous jobs, both of which put them at a gendered disadvantage.

POSITION IN THE ORGANIZATION

Job segregation does not end there. It has various facets. In the private sector it appears that policies for recruitment of women in the managerial levels are by and large arbitrary. Thus while some organizations have clearly kept women out, others have taken them into more service and staff oriented functions rather than main - line activities even though they are MBAs and trained for any function.

Figure 7 : Position in the Organization



If we look into the position women and men managers occupy in the organizations, it is quite unequal. Around 48% of women who are equally qualified as men are in junior level positions, whereas only 17% of men are occupying the junior positions, as can be seen in the Fig, 7. Many a women have been stagnant in the junior level in spite of equal number of years of

experience along with men. If we look into the middle level positions, there is not much gap of percentage between women and men as 35% of women and 40% of men occupy this level in the organization. The composition of women and men above middle level position reveals the presence of only 17% women and 43% men in senior and top positions. This obviously shows that women have been denied senior or top positions on the basis of their gender, despite qualifications and availability. The under-representation of women in the senior positions and an obvious categorization of women into subordinate positions is one of the many manifestations of patriarchy in the form of organizational inequality and discrimination.

Women managers do qualitatively different kind of jobs in the name of management. They are assigned different types of tasks from those of men. Women managers, in this context, are doing secretarial work or some managerial occupation (50%) where they need not have to make any kind of important decisions on behalf of the organization. They perform routine kind of jobs either in marketing or human resources, or any branch for that maner. An example: Ms. Maurlene Benedict, an executive, is in charge of five kinds of tasks in her position. She is a distinction student, in Economics from Delhi University and did her MBA from a premier management institute. She has settled in Hyderabad and is working in one of the corporate houses for the past eight years. She is in charge of client introduction programme, explaining to the clients the benefits of being an investor with their organization. She attends to the external and internal phones, and is in charge of fax and photocopy. She also does data entry and other computing work.

The above respondent has not been allotted any position of power, has nothing to do with decision making and performs jobs which are not at all related to any of the training that she underwent at the management school. After days of hard work from 9.00 AM. - 6.00 P-M., six days a week, she gets a monthly salary of Rs. 6,500 /- and perks. This discrimination is nothing but a professionalized

and skilled extension (with the implementation of new technology) of woman's traditional labour.

Market operations done by employers segregate women and men into different kinds of designations. Women managers are assigned designations, which are specially coined for them, and are exclusive. Ms. Samatha holds that "When I joined first from Tata Institute of Social Sciences into this firm, I was not given any designation or charge of anything for six months. I did not know why they had recruited me. I did not have any work other than filing the documents. Later, after time and again persuading them, they gave me a designation like 'employee relations officer' and the details of the charge were not given. This designation was specially created for me. Two men who joined along with me were made team leaders and promoted within an year's time, while I am just groping in the dark".

Thus female job ghettos in the managerial sector are created through horizontal and vertical segregation, which is one of the mechanisms through which capitalist and patriarchal structures operate together, as Savage and Witz (op Cit. 1992) rightly say. The exclusion of women managers from organizational positions has more to do with their exclusion from the resources of power, whilst their inclusion in the corporate hierarchy has more to do with their subordination within the relational aspects of male dominance and female subordination. In formal organisations, 'co-ordination' is enforced by the higher authority upon their subordinates for the kind of work to be done. Men are hierarchically in the positions of power and influence. They control information and access to information, the decision-making processes and the decisions that are made.

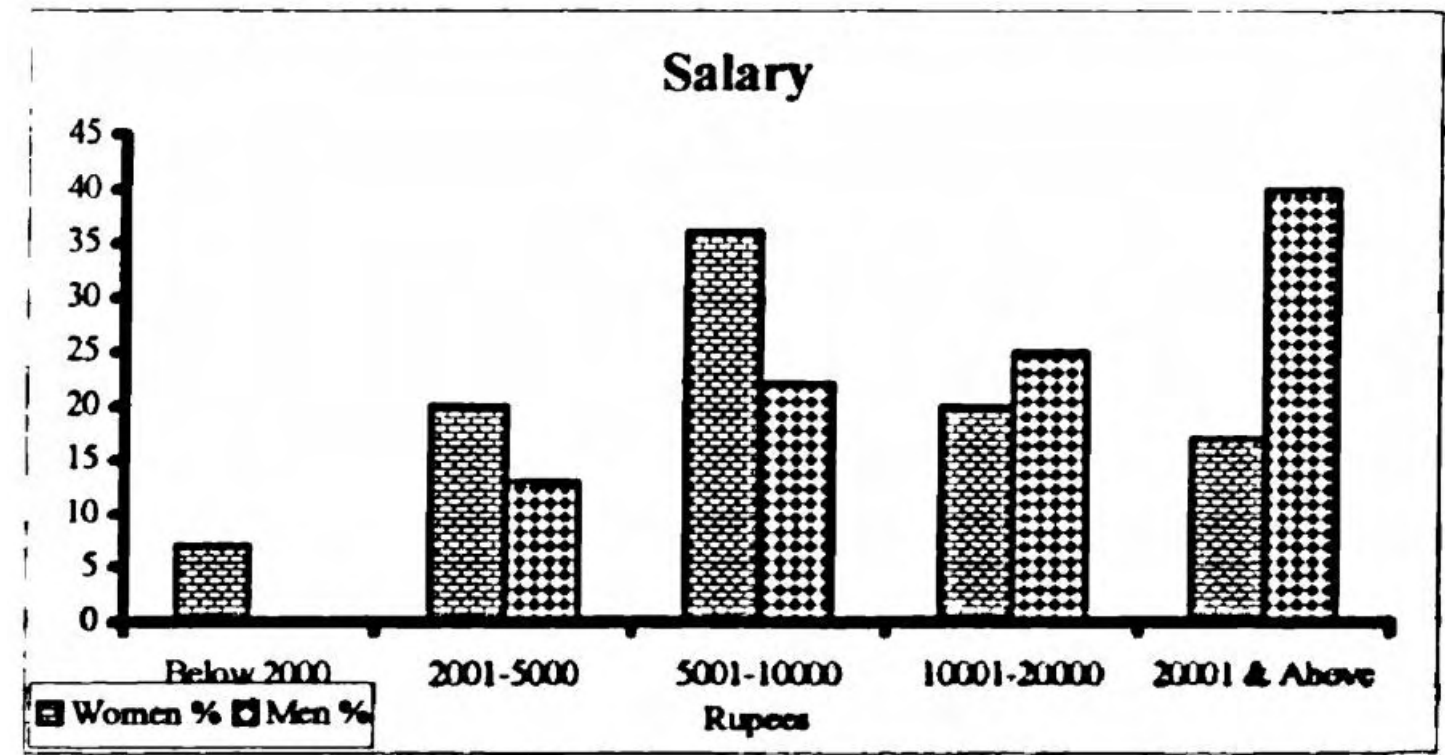
The above data shows that women managers are generally assigned desk-type, junior level jobs where technical skills are needed, but not given the formalized authority. In the process they are supposed to co-ordinate the job as a matter of enforcement from the higher authority.

SALARY

Job segregation and discrimination is very much obvious in the disparity of the salaries given to the women managers, compared to men.

As observed earlier, women manager's jobs are often given different job descriptions and designations (for the jobs of equivalent nature and similar kind which men managers perform), so that the lower pay for women can be justified. Around 7% of women and 0% of the men had a salary below Rs. 2000, 20% of women and 13% of men belonged to the category of Rs.2001-5000. Thirty six percent of women and 22% of men belonged to the category of Rs.5001-10,000, and 20% of women and 25% of men were found in the category of Rs. 10,001-20,000, and 20% of women and 25% of men were found in the category of Rs. 10,001-20,000.

Figure 6 : Current Salary



Seventeen percent of women and a majority of 40% of men earned above Rs, 20, 000 per month, as is evident from the Fig.6. This is a clear sign of discrimination on account of gender and shows a vertical segregation.

WORK RELATIONSHIPS

Work relationships amongst men and women flow from the source of power based on the general hierarchy in the organizations and more specifically from the male power, which is attained by a majority of men irrespective of their position in general organizational hierarchy. The power mentioned here covers domination, control and co-ordination that manifest in the form of paternalism, dependency relationship and coercion (sexual and non-sexual). Many a women (75%) irrespective of their position in the hierarchy felt that men tend to show their superiority in whatever position they might be. Patriarchal power relations are interwoven into the very fabric of bureaucratic hierarchy and authority relations.

Subordinates

Irrespective of women's higher position in relation to hierarchy in the organisation, the interaction of male subordinates tend to be different with male bosses and women bosses. Ms. Sinha, a junior manager holds that 'They maintain a relatively casual approach with women higher-ups in terms of their mannerisms, time management; whereas they are very punctual and obedient with our male counterparts'.

Generally it is felt among women managers that subordinate men do not comply with women bosses' orders readily. Urmila Chatterji a middle level executive expressed that 'we do not have much control over our subordinates. We have to request them to get things done. Whereas our male colleagues or our superiors have control over them as well as on us. Therefore there is pressure from both the sides'. Mr. Rama Rao, a senior manager, expressed his extreme dissatisfaction and anger at the inefficient handling of a trade union strike by his lady boss, using filthy language against her, though she was considered efficient in the corporate circles. This might be because, not only was his superior a

woman, but also because of the age gap between them, where, she was at least twenty years younger to him.

Women managers feel powerless to punish, fire or demote their subordinates for any indiscipline, etc. Ms Kavitha, a middle level manager, says "Some of my subordinates always come late, around 12.00 noon. They sign the muster and disappear and are seen only at 5.00 in the evening. They never take prior permission. I warned them, but they did not bother. When I complained to the higher authority, he told me 'to ignore' and that these things happen everywhere. Later, I came to know that, my boss called my subordinates to his chamber and told them, "I did not want you to get scoldings 'from a lady'. That is why I diluted the issue before her. Better remember and do not repeat it again". This shows that male bosses often protect male subordinates from women bosses during the times of trouble.

Women managers' power in relation to the male subordinates depends upon their family background, (that is, their father's or husband's position) and their relation with male higher ups within and outside the organisation. Initially, when Ms. Chaudhary joined and was working in a senior position, many men who worked under her did not take her seriously. But, after two years of working, she says "Don't know how the news spread that I am the niece of the Chief Executive Officer of the organisation, which I have never let out or behaved so. My subordinates started behaving differently with me, with a lot of respect, and my orders are taken very seriously now". This shows clearly that the male subordinates generally did not give their woman superior her due respect. In certain instances women managers are respected as in the above case as a result of her relation to someone higher up in the organisation.

Male workers or subordinates are rude; and my punishment or suspension or demotion given by women personnel managers has an adverse and a strong effect on their personal lives. Ms. Geetha, one of the respondents said that, "One of the workers in the organisation was always absent and even if he

attended work, he never worked properly. Initially, I gave him a memo. In spite of that his behaviour did not change. My higher officials asked me to give him suspension orders. The man threatened me that he would pour acid on my face and I was scared for a long time whenever I was out of my house".

Women managers also found that many a time their subordinates are gossipmongers, especially about their women bosses. Ms. Mitali a junior executive expressed the concern that "if women managers are relatively informal or concerned they keep women in dialogue and drag the information and pass unnecessary rumours in the informal communication". Ms. Geetha, a junior executive, makes an observation regarding men in organization that "they behave as if they know everything and they expect women managers to sit and watch their work instead of interrupting them. They hook up informal relation with all the male higher ups by helping them at their personal work, at their homes or of similar kind, by providing them unnecessary information about women in the office and so on".

In spite of all this, a few women managers (45%) prefer men as their subordinates because as Ms Mishra, a middle level executive says "I feel we need male subordinates also as they have lot of mobility and they are rude enough to get the things done. When we have to do raw dealings, instead of women, men subordinates can do a better job. They have an equation with other men. They can sit for a cup of tea and make the business". But 22% of women managers and 65% of men managers preferred women as their subordinates as 'women were very sincere in their work'. Male managers preferred women as their subordinates but not as colleagues or bosses because they could not bear a woman equal to them or above them'.

The above discussion clearly shows that male power is much stronger than the power women derive from the higher position in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Men cannot bear having women along with them or above them in the

organisational hierarchy as they are used to visualising women being in the exploitative subordinate relationship.

Colleagues

Colleagues share the same hierarchy and they have so many things to share with. But when women come in between, men often feel that there is a disturbance in the smooth going homo-social environment. But Mr. Chandra Sekhar a middle level executive says "Though women work with all sincerity, they are and will never be equal to men in the corporate network because it is a man's world. Men crush them down if women want to go above men. It is the truth and I have seen it at various levels".

Ms. Pratima, a middle level manager in the service industry felt that 'most of the men are 'Yes Boss' kind. They always want to be before the eyes of the bosses and move around higher officials. They sometimes bribe higher officials based on their interests, like liquor. In a way, that helps them to have good conduct reports and so on, which are useful in getting increments and promotions'.

For men, their personal interests are more important than organisational goals and they use organisations for their personal benefit, unlike women, who wholeheartedly work for their organisations apart from their familial life. Men are egoists and die with it' says Ms. Girija, a junior executive. 'They use filthy language with their subordinates and make friends with them. We do not know the knack of it' says Ms. Shubha, a middle level executive.

Men take total credit when everything goes right and if something goes wrong, they blame the women. Ms. Rajeshwari a middle level executive says "my colleague and I were sharing an assignment for the launching of an important product of the company. Certain administrative problems arose and the total blame was put on me". Usually it is observed that for any success, men will be

ahead to take the credit, but on the other hand for any fault and failure, the woman has to face the blame, showing their so called lack of efficiency.

There is no free flow of communication between male and female colleagues when the work is to be shared. Men often feel that women compete with them and take the advantage of the information. Senior men, keeping it in mind give different kind of assignments to men and women. Ms. Subba Lakshmi, a junior executive says that, "we will be given totally different kind of assignments. So there is no question of competition at all. Higher officials take care of the situation so that we won't come in the way of male colleagues'.

Men often tease their women colleagues. Ms. Gauri, a junior executive claims that "my colleague always used to tease me in the name of my fiance. For a long time I tolerated it. I got bugged up once and told my fiance. My fiance gave him a serious warning".

A majority of male managers (76%) expressed that they are always better than their women colleagues. One of the senior management consultant was frank in expressing that "it is a man's world. Where is the place for women. In spite of their struggle in different ways and at various levels it is very difficult for women to make a place for themselves in the corporate sector. The business world, social world and familial world are stamped for men. I might go to the extent of saying "equality is impossible".

Super-ordinates

Some of the male superiors pamper women managers, some of them treat them as just like any other subordinate who works for the organisation and some of them treat women managers as mere sex objects and try to exploit and oppress them. Ms. Sheila, a junior executive says, "In the strenuous business schedules, senior men want to relax sometimes by commenting and teasing women as

colourful objects. Sometimes they want to show their power of being a man and of being higher in hierarchy".

As Ms. Sudha a middle level manager aptly puts it, sometimes in the conferences, formal parties and seminars, *"women managers are supposed to give bouquets and flowers to the people on the dais and give a colourful appearance. Other than that we are not given any other role to play by our senior officials"*. Ms. Sheila a junior executive says in frustration that *"I was asked to get water and serve to all the members of the conference even when my male colleagues and subordinates were there "*.

Some of the senior male managers who are really serious about their work and who want to meet the organisational goals treat women as serious persons who have come to work. Women managers always preferred such kind of superiors because as Ms. Vanaja, a middle level executive puts it, 'Men do know much about business and have really good contacts and they are really willing to develop the business. We will have a chance to learn more about business and have a career advancement if men do not simply set us aside as women but treat us as able competitors and colleagues'.

Women managers who are trained in the top management schools (I.I.M., X.L.R.I., T.I.S.S.) etc. were taught to maintain informality in the organisations and help eliminate hierarchies so that there will be free flow of communication and the solidarity to work for the organisational goals will be excellent. But Ms. Geetha, a junior executive says, "It won't work in the real life situation. It is only theoretical". Ms. Sudha, a middle level executive says, "The senior men are feudal and autocratic in nature. In spite of the mistakes on their part, they never admit it and they don't like to learn new things from the young generation. They work with dosed minds'. Ms. Madhavi, a middle level executive who is in charge of recruitment in a trading financial institution, says "As I was taught to maintain informality, when once some of the recruitments were taking place; I have sent some informal message on a note pad sticking it

to the curriculum vitae of the new recruits and sent it to my immediate boss. That man called me to his chambers and threw those papers on my face before those new recruits. I was shocked by his act".

DECISION MAKING

In the organizational studies, analysis of decision making as a plank of behavioral view point has gained a lot of importance through the writings of Barnard (1938) and Simon (1960). In the classical model of organization, structure was the most important aspect of organization. The earlier part of this chapter presented how the organizational hierarchies are gender stratified. If we examine the decision-making processes in the organizations, there are two aspects of decision making: the first aspect pertains to *programmed decisions* and these decisions are normally based on precedents. They are reasonably routine in nature and are based on facts. In the process of the field work, it is understood that a substantial number of employee women managers are engaged in this kind of decision making which is more or less programmed and structured.

Secondly, there are other sets of decisions in organizations, which pertain to the ends of the organization, not simply the means, which are broadly termed as *non-programmed decisions*. These are the decisions that are commonly known as *strategic decisions*. These decisions pertain to the determination of the broad objectives and reformulation in case of need in changed circumstances.

The strategic decisions determine and influence the positioning of the organizations and the strategic role of the organizations with regard to the marketing strategies to be adopted, products to be launched, new avenues to be explored and decisions with regard to any unforeseen or crisis situation in the organization. It is observed that, in this kind of decisions envisaged above, the role of women manager is marginal. Ms. Parvathi, a senior manager says that "it is a ritual for us to participate in the important meetings of strategic and

policy decisions. Generally, we keep quiet and we feel it's better to be silent. Even if we suggest, they give a deaf ear. So it is no use". Ramanamma and Bambawala (1984) conclude from their research on status of working women that, Indian society is extremely status conscious and status bound. As a result, women in lower status jobs are more accepted by society and the family members but they are not tolerated in decision making roles'.

Firstly, given the comparable experience, exposure etc., number of women moving up to senior managerial level and their presence in that category who take crucial decisions, is limited. Secondly, even in cases where they were positioned in the senior managerial tasks, it was observed that they were not involved in the crucial decisions. Finally, even in cases where they were involved, their view-points were not taken seriously and were set aside. As observed above, the marginalization of women executives' involvement in the 'process' of decision making. Hence not only 'the process' is gendered if it is examined carefully, but the content of decision making is also constantly informed and guided by the gender biases. For instance, in decision making regarding the recruitment into the organization, expansion of the organization and restructuring of the organization, especially in personnel and Human Resource Development decisions, women are the most adversely effected categories.

LEADERSHIP

Classical theories of leadership like the trait theory of leadership propounded that a particular set of traits are essential to be a successful leader. Ability to wield the stick to control and direct, were recognized as essential to a leader. The trait complex that had certain 'in-born qualities' being essential to a leader, is broadly based on the premise that men have such characteristics. Though the trait theory of leadership has waned away and classical theory of organization in which leadership is viewed as simply a control mechanism essentially through carrot and stick policy has given way to the (so-called) participative models. till

date the traditional belief in the leadership traits as required to be a successful manager, being linked to gender continue in management practices

The view that one needs to be a man and have masculine qualities to be a successful manager, (at least in the strategic cutting edge wings of management like finance, marketing and operations) still persists. The winds of change that blew in the organization theory regarding the structure of organization, the modes of communication and participatory and communicative leadership did not unfortunately remove the gendered conception of leadership, which is based on the broad premises of trait themes of leadership that have been found to be of limited use.

Secondly, in the modern participative kind of management which believes in the softer forms of exploitation, by involvement, by communication, by participation based on the so-called consensual model appears to be considering women as 'fit for the new style of leadership'. This change is not indicative of a departure from gendered management, but is a reiteration of gendered management. It is in fact, based on the premise of exploitation of those characteristics of women which the present stage of capitalism requires to further its interests. In the name of new styles of management, women are considered as good 'new managers', more specifically in certain areas, like Personnel management and Human Resource Development. The new managerial thinking wants to exploit their so-called "gendered characteristics", such as employing feminine appeal and persuasion, and market them for the furtherance of its interests. As Mills (1959) succinctly puts it, 'that part of the personality which is more suitable to advance the interests of the capital will be selectively appropriated'. These characteristics which are helpful for the capital are indoctrinated into the mind set of women in general and including those in management.

Sexuality has thus, in the initial stages of organizational and managerial thought and experience, informed the management to exclude women from managerial

profession. Now the same femininity in the present stage of capitalism, is helping to include women in some sectors of management and recognize their leadership traits. *Thus there is no reason to hail their new inclusion. Like the classical exclusion, the process of inclusion is also based on femininity.* The whole issue becomes more complicated because it is not the replacement of classical thinking, but there is a continuation of classical thinking hand in hand with new-thought of inclusion of women in managerial circles. In strategic sectors of management like finance, operations, etc., women are still constantly excluded and men are preferred. Ms, Sareena Rani, a middle level manager in one of the production sector units in Hyderabad holds that "the most important assignments are given to my male colleagues so that they decide for the company. I am not given such assignments to learn. Higher officials always prefer men, as they do not have confidence in women". Thus the present stage of managerial practice operate on the basis of exclusion from some sectors, especially from those with power and inclusion into some sectors, in which sexuality plays a significant role.

Thus, the trend observed from the field are, firstly, the leadership of women managers is limited to certain sectors. Secondly, even in these sectors where the presence of women is significant, there is a large scale clustering of women in middle level managerial positions, where they become intermediaries who act as a bridge between top management and the daily work schedule of an organization. This clustering is primarily because women managers are not provided with structural as well as cultural avenues to reach the top. This has been presented in the discussion of structure of organization where it is shown that only 17% of women are in the senior and top management

Thirdly, the leadership is shaped on the lines of hierarchical relations of power based on gender discrimination. Ms. Suhasini a middle level executive says, "though I am the chief of the department, wherein I am supposed to have a lot of autonomy and freedom,, I have no powers to influence the decisions of the higher authority".

Finally, it is unfortunate to note that, even in those sectors where there is significant presence of women managers as so-called leaders, the real power of decision making does not lie with them. The principles of management envisage the commensurate nature of power and responsibility. But, what is happening in practice is that, the responsibility of persuasion and task accomplishment are being vested with the women managers without the attendant power of decision making.

Thus those few women who take the leadership role are from viewpoint of 'relations of power' in organization are definitely in subordinate positions. The so-called liberal managerial thinking might hail their presence as leaders, it may be more appropriate to describe its paradoxical situation by terming those women who have responsibility but less power, who are leaders but stuck in middle management positions, who take decisions but not the crucial ones. They turn out to be 'gendered subordinate leaders'.

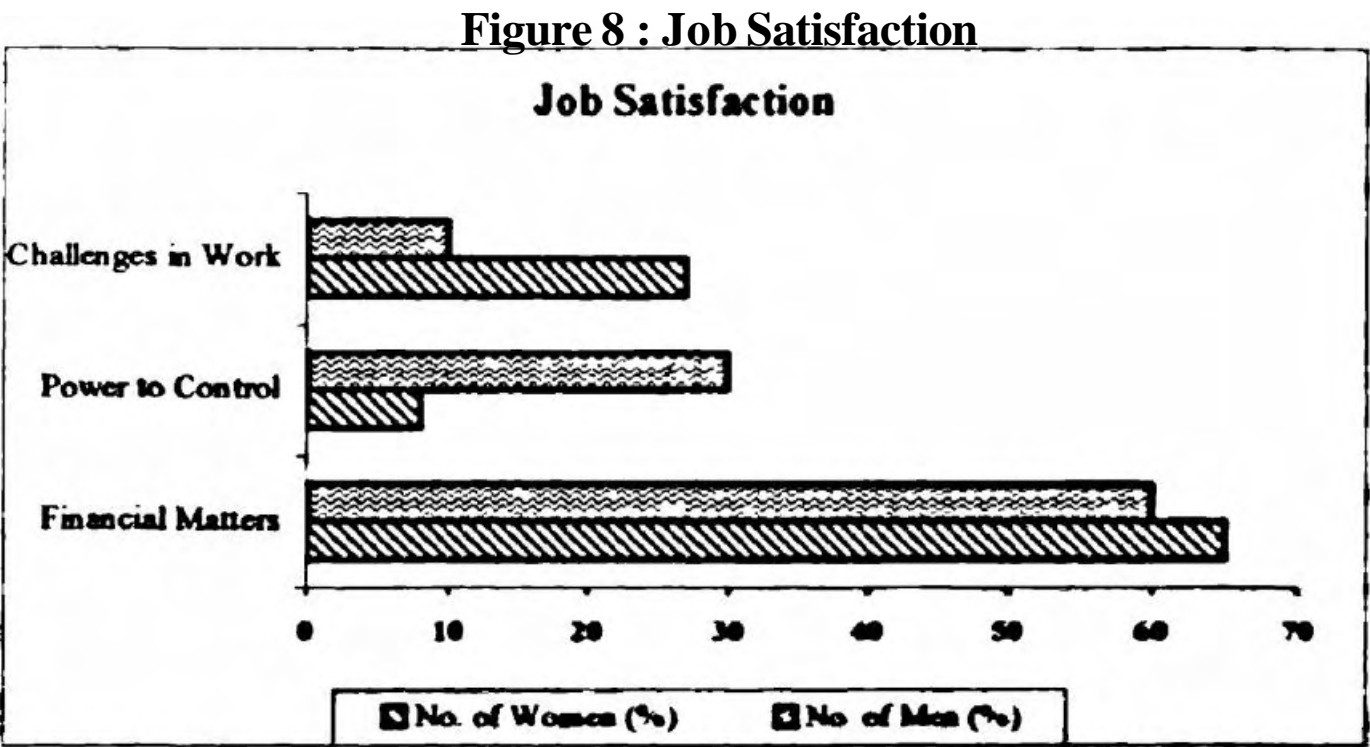
These facts from the field reveal that participative model and the new managerial approach is only for public consumption. In reality, as discussed during the course of this chapter, in terms of the structure of the organizations and relations of power, the role of the women managers is marginal and there is tremendous amount of centralization of power. Ms. Anitha a middle level executive says, "all decisions which I took as head of the department were not accepted by my Chief Manager. My male subordinates felt reluctant to work with me. When I approached my Chief, he refused to answer and asked me to leave the room".

The emerging sectors of management like services and information technology sectors clearly illustrated the hierarchical relations of power reinforcing the fact of centralization and gendered exclusion. It is noted that power structure is shaped on the basis of a particular structure of the organization based on gender. Moreover, women managers take decisions, they are not the crucial ones for the organizations. There is hardly any room for the leadership of women even in

the so-called decentralized participatory new management model. All these trends are indicative of reinforcement of gendered managerial hierarchies and its operation even in those cases where women are seemingly involved as leaders and decision-makers. Thus, the new age of management is in fact reinforcing patriarchy.

JOB SATISFACTION / DISCONTENT

Job satisfaction is a primary phenomenon for anyone, which ever profession one takes up. Job satisfaction can be gained if one can express herself or himself through one's work without any constraints. One of the themes of Marxist views on work says that 'man fulfils his humanity in work, and it is the liberation of work which will mark the humanization of society' (Aron, 1965/1991:149). But in the corporate managerial circles, the jargon of job satisfaction, achievement, motivation and so on is nothing but an Utopian capitalist terminology in the highly centralized and fragmented job structure which looses work efficiency as well as the satisfaction.



In the current situation, for managers, job satisfaction is primarily related to financial matters (65% of women and 60% of men), as seen in the above figure (Fig.8). They expressed that the more their salaries and increments and perks

are, the more they would gain pleasure from their work, they will have a comfortable living and have status in the society. Some men and a few women (30% and 8%) felt that they need power to control the people or situations and some women and a few men (27% and 10%) wanted to show their skills and expertise in a challenging work atmosphere. Job security is the basic factor everyone needed to have, irrespective of gender and 96% of women expressed that a peaceful organizational life where there is no threat to their personal life (sexuality) is to be the major assurance.

More than 40% of the women managers expressed that they were discouraged from having a will of their own and had no special space and choice to carry out their duties. The organization was seen as rigid and strictly bureaucratic and hierarchic in culture which did not allow a space to carry out their duties according to the needs and there was no possibility of taking independent decisions with regard to the organizations.

Many a women also wished to combine their familial as well as their professional career. For them, both were equally important. When there is a threat to any one of them, or when there is an imbalance, or when they wanted to go for career advancement or children or threat to their personal life (sexuality) from the organizational sector, women would like to have a change of job or leave the job or have break in the job, that is, forced unemployment

CHANGE OF JOB

Many a women managers expressed that they did not want to change the job given all the conditions were conducive to them. If the family conditions are conducive, they might have to shift for lesser demanding jobs or leave the job altogether. If the organisational atmosphere is not conducive, or if the behaviour of the staff is odd, or pay scales are less, or if they get better career chances, women managers are likely to change the jobs. Therefore from the data, it can be observed that there are three reasons for the job change of women and men:

a. career advancement, b. domestic and familial, and finally, c. organisation related.

It has been observed from the data that a significant number of women managers agreed that their work histories had been 'plan-less' and they had to adjust primarily with their familial demands (30%). In spite of that, whenever they were to compete with men, they possessed all the skills to handle in the organisational activities. Men's attitude have always been towards the improvement of career and standard of living and were thus fixed always on the career ladders whereas women were forced to have a steady pattern of career, instead of taking bold decisions. Around 60% of women managers expressed that they had not changed the job for the past five years whereas only 20% of men expressed that they had not changed the job over the same period Ms. Priya, a middle level manager mentions, "It is generally felt among the employers that if we stay for too long in the organisation, we will be taken for granted and no longer be given important assignments. We should create insecurity among our employers that we have a great demand outside. That is one of the reasons that managers should change the job quite frequently which is not very common among women managers for various reasons"

Among the twenty four women managers (40%) who had changed their jobs, most of them cited domestic and organisational reasons for doing so They expressed parents or husband's transfer (four members), children's health and education (five members), as the reasons for job change and nine of them were not satisfied with the organisational prospects and the behaviour of men, and others have expressed personal and other domestic reasons.

But among men managers, only a meager 16% had changed their job for family reasons. And all others have changed for better professional prospects A majority of 51% have expressed that they left the job because of better professional prospects elsewhere.

Among the men managers the reasons for the break were predominantly for higher studies (50%), trying some kind of independent consultancy work (20%) and other reasons.

It can be observed from the data that women managers whenever they had a break, it was for familial reasons or due to inappropriate behaviour of men or dual demands of time. Where men managers are concerned, the primary reason for the break was furtherance of their professional interests.

Promotion Prospects

Promotions tend to have a very positive effect on job satisfaction and the promotional policies differ from one organisation to another. Though the corporate houses give an impression that they are objective and are '*equal opportunity employers*', according to Ms Geetha, a junior manager, "There is severe resistance in treating women on par with men in the selection for the promotions". *Therefore women managers are vertically segregated and could not move beyond the middle level managerial positions except for a meagre percentage. As discussed elsewhere, with dead-end jobs, women are trapped into lower positions, cumulating their alienation.*

Higher the women managers want to move in the career ladder, they have to face severe resistance and manipulation from male colleagues, seniors and subordinates. Top management while evaluating the performance of women managers took into consideration extra work-place considerations such as the details of their family, their husband's position, their personal and organisational behaviour apart from their performance, unlike for men. where only their performance at work is considered and appraised, This hindrance and political manipulation of those top executives and employers in obstructing women from reaching the positions of power is an apparent sign to control women, through relegating them to lower positions of power.

Women are not supposed to overtake their husband's career if both of them happened to work for the same organisation. Ms. Maheshwari who work as a junior level executive in one of the service industries expressed that "my husband works along with me and he joined the organisation after me. When I was considered for promotion based on my seniority and experience, the interviewers asked me in the interview panel that 'how can you cope up if your husband is in subordinate position. Won't you feel bad?' When my husband and I do not have any problem what's their problem?" Her application for promotion was rejected.

A frequent matter of doubt is posed by the employers concerning women managers' commitment to their profession. Ms. Sudha, a middle level executive says, "we literally do not know how to prove ourselves that we are really serious and have come to work and take our profession as serious as any other breed which has come to work".

In corporate houses, a manager is supposed to have free interaction with the people around. But the woman manager's free movement or interaction does take negative implications sometimes. Ms. Lakshmi Parvathi, a senior manager in one of the commercial departments for the past 10 years says, "the promotion prospects should be according to merit. When it comes to reality, there is always bias. If we move freely with our male colleagues or other members of the organizations, unnecessary rumors pass on. Even if we don't communicate; it is very difficult. The knife is double edged That is having a severe effect on our working and promotion prospects".

The data shows that women managers are equally qualified and competent as men are. But the promotion patterns for men and women are totally different in most of the organizations. The most merited and potential women are not tolerated in the men's circles. Ms. **Preeti**, a middle level manager says, "I was supposed to get promoted into a powerful and responsible higher position, but my junior was placed into it. Everyone was shocked. The reason that the top

management gave for not giving the promotion to me was that, the position requires late hours of work, and working on holidays, which I anyway do even now. The reason they gave looked so silly. It was only a pretext".

Sometimes, when a woman manager gets promotion based on her own merit, she would be accused of having connections with the top officials. Ms. Savithri, a middle level executive says, "As I was equally competent and achieving results for the company, I was given promotion and two increments, but I have been accused of having illicit connections with the top cadre".

Promotions are possibly based on one's undertaking the assignments which are difficult and challenging. But as Ms. Chandrakala, who is a junior level executive says, "The best assignments go to the men and women have to do with the regular and routing jobs which no one likes doing. Nor there is much recognition accorded to them. This affects our promotional prospects"

Around 65% of the women managers told that definitely there is a negative effect of one's own gender on their promotion prospects. Around 35% expressed that it depends on one's own performance. Many a women closed their eyes towards the gendered nature of the organizations and once they move up in the hierarchy they totally ignore that they belong to a particular group called 'women' and they try to identify themselves with their men managers in the higher rungs of hierarchy. Ms. Heera, a senior level executive holds that, "Gender would not in any way effect our promotion prospects. It is an equal world nowadays".

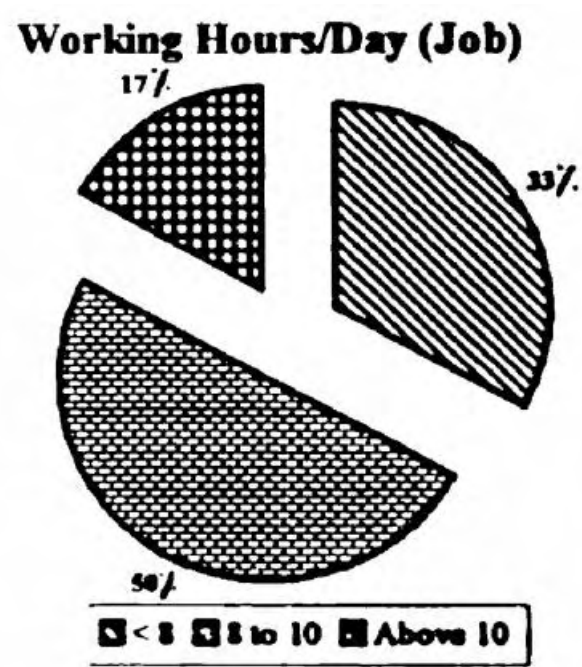
As regards male managers, 45% of them expressed that women did have a bit of disadvantage because of their sex with regard to their promotion prospects where as 55% denied it.

Though the capitalist organizational network appears to recognize the individual worth for the betterment of the organizational fame, it is the patriarchal set up which holds women from entering the power niche of bureaucratic hierarchy.

LABOUR TIME

Women work for more than 15 hours a day for job as well as domestic needs. On an average, 33% of women managers work for below 8 hours a day officially. A majority of 50% work for 8-10 hours a day and, 17% of women managers do work above 10 hours per day on an average.

Figure 10: Working Hours/Day (Job)

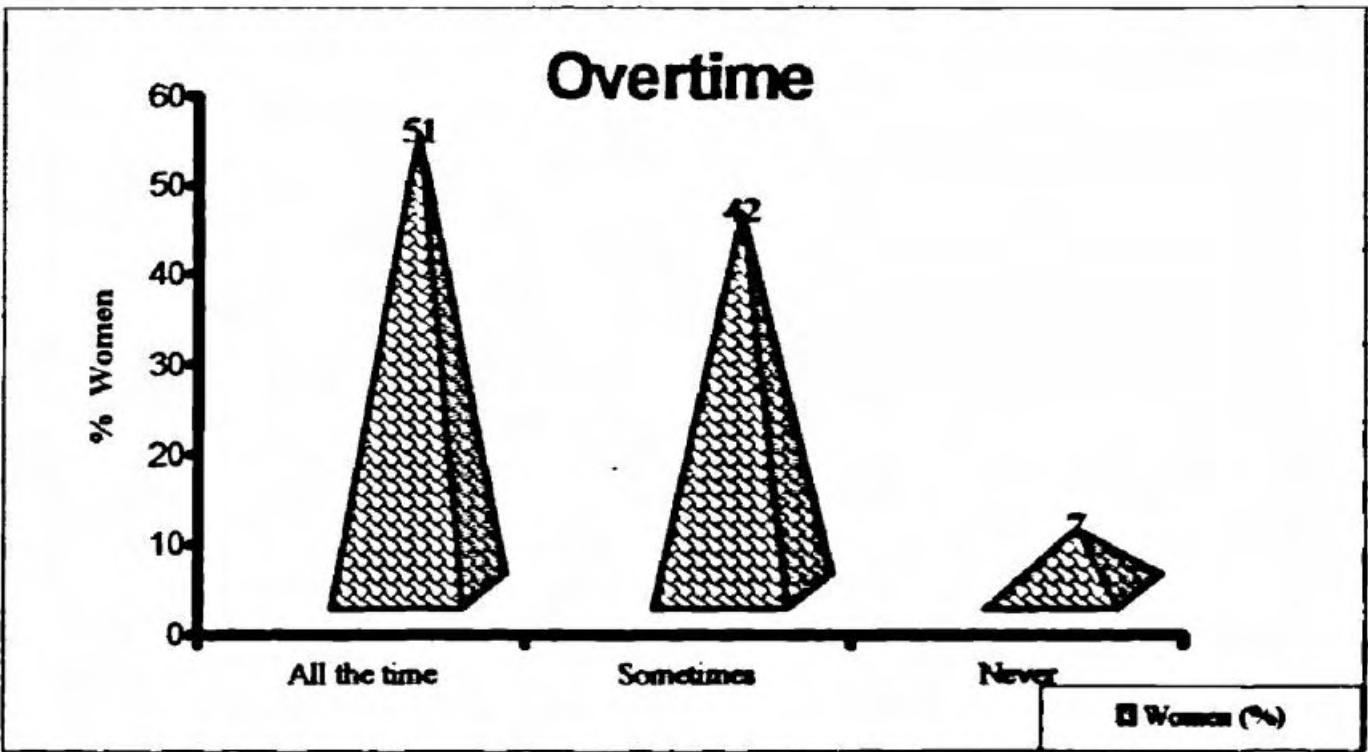


For those who work overtime, no special benefits are paid. Seventy eight percent of them told that they did not have any flexibility of working schedules (seen in Fig 10). They were supposed to do the full time duty as per the time prescribed by the company.

As can be seen in the figure below, (Fig. 11), around 51% of the women managers told that they worked overtime and around 42% told that they do

work overtime, but not always. Only 7% expressed that they do not work overtime.

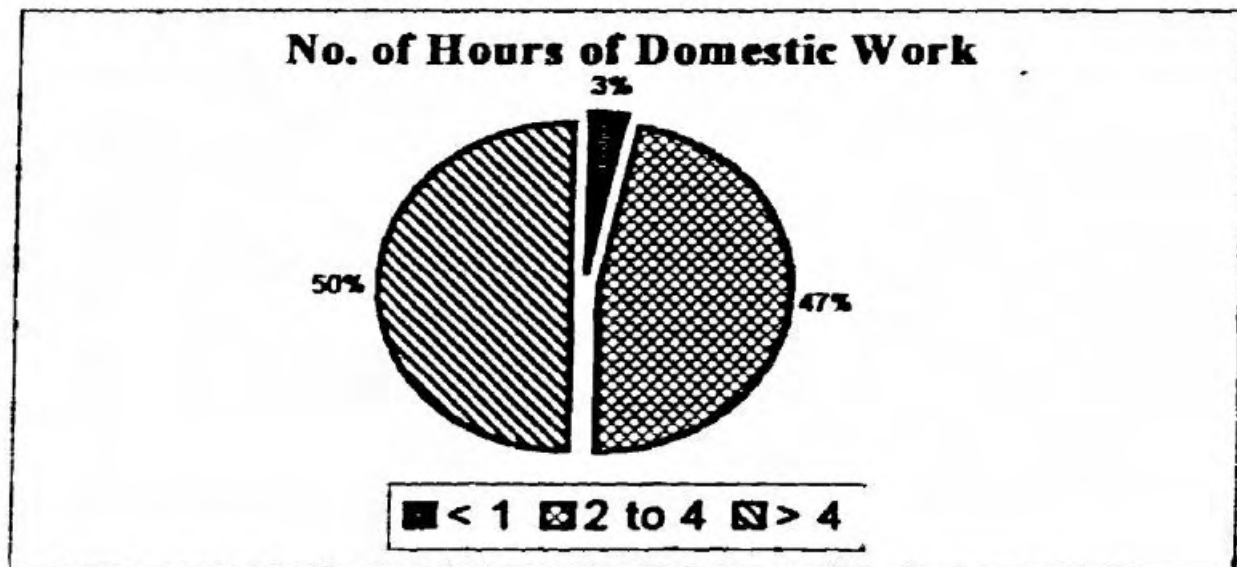
Figure 11: Overtime



Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive says, "We are not paid for working over time. Sometimes it stretches up to 14 hours of work when the reliever is late or absent. We have to work in spite of difficulties at home. Middle class families cannot live on single earnings to lead a comfortable life". Ms. Maheshwari a junior manager says, "We are not paid overtime. Everybody works overtime Often, when we have to complete a task before the deadline, in last one month we worked twice till mid night". Ms Sudha expresses that "if we do overtime, though we are not paid for it, we will be in the good books of the higher officials".

As has been already pointed out, and can be seen in the Fig 12, around 47% of women managers spend 2-4 hours per day for their domestic work whereas 50% of them spend more than 4 hours for their household matter. Only 3% of the women managers spend less than one hour for their domestic work. 100% of men expressed that they spend less than one hour for ~~their~~ domestic work.

Figure 12 : Domestic Work



The women managers hardly find respite at office and at home. Neither their work can be humanized, nor their labour, both paid and unpaid is reduced. This capitalistic-patriarchal cob-web stretches so long that they are left with no leisure.

Marx's views focus on two major themes regarding work. According to Aron (1991:149, 150), the first theme is self-expression of oneself in the work, i.e. 'man fulfils his humanity in work' and the other conception that 'man is truly free only outside the work. In this conception, man realizes his humanity only to the extent that his labour time has been sufficiently reduced so that he has the possibility of doing something besides working. Of course, it is possible to combine these two themes by saying that the complete humanization of society would presuppose that, first, the conditions imposed on man in his work were humanized and that, simultaneously, his labour time was sufficiently reduced so that he could read Plato in his leisure hours".

Ms Sudha, a middle level manager asks, "Leisure! What does that mean?" Ms. Meena, a middle level manager says with a satirical smile "it is wiped off from my dictionary". More than 30% of the women managers told that they are left with no leisure at all and many a times they feel aloof and alienated with the domestic chores and busy professional schedule. Fifty three percent of women expressed that they hardly get time to spend with their family

Ms. Sareena Rani, a middle level executive told that, "By the time we come from our offices and children from the schools, all of us are damn tired. We hardly talk to each other on working days other than looking after ones own business and doze off". Dr. Sushma Rao, a senior executive says "Travel fin- long periods sometimes lead to inadequate time on a regular basis with my daughter. I try to make up for it when in town".

Those small number who had leisure time, spent it by reading books and magazines, academic as well as entertainment ones, a few of them spent their time listening to music and radio and watching TV whereas others spent their time resting, practicing dance, attending get togethers, travelling, visiting relatives and other family members etc., based on convenience.

STRESS

The capitalist mode of work in the organizations and the patriarchal relations in the family as well as society squeezes all energies, emotions and interests of women managers make them to live like cogs in the wheel. If we look into the position of women, most of them are in the first decade of their careers, wherein a large number of changes are occurring in their total way of life. The demands made out of patriarchal mode of production and reproduction in combination with capitalist mode of work in the organizations nuke women stressed out and the ultimate stage is detachment with one-self

Many a time, women are lost in the complexity of the huge corporate set up. The fragmented, mechanical and morose work structure has tat its human characteristics and pattern of work has been degraded into an instrument, instead of work itself being the expression of oneself. The individuals are alienated because they lose control over their own existence in a system subject to autonomous laws.

Stress is a condition of physical as well as emotional exhaustion due to the overwhelming pressures. To most managers, stress is a part of everyday life managing the demands of one's roles in a better way, sexual demands and advances from men at various phases of life, severe monotonous workload, less manpower, dissatisfied work structure, untimely work schedules, travel demands, taking on the spot decisions and most importantly, domestic work pressures.

Around 35% of the women managers told that they undergo severe stress and tension in their job which is an ongoing process all through and 60% of them told that they do face tension or feel stressed out only during the times of trouble. Ms. Vijaya, a junior executive in one of the reputed corporate houses, says that "Yes! Work load plus untimely schedules plus less man power lead to lots of stress".

Dr. Sushma Rao, a senior executive, says that "when there are deadlines for different projects to be met they do overlap and this creates tension or stress. Excessive travelling is also one of the reasons for stress relating to the job". Whereas Ms. Sajala, a finance executive says "There is lot of tension in the finance sector. The decisions should be taken on the spot"

The *physical signs* of stress may be high blood pressure, liver and kidney problems, ulcers, migraine, aggravation of asthma, insomnia, going into mild depression, mouth sores, constant fatigue, disturbed menstrual cycle and sometimes it goes to the extent of getting abortion of their pregnancy also. The *mental signs* of stress are very difficult to spot irritability, boredom, inability to cope with routine problems, suppressed anger are some of the mental signs of stress. Ms. Vijaya is unmarried and works as a junior executive, say that

-if I work for late hours beyond our schedule, sometimes it leads to a mild depression. As I stay alone, that hangover of work will not go. I will be very irritated and that will be shown on my servant-maid or whomever is before me".

Ms. Sonica, a middle level executive says that "compared to office, at home I am totally different. In the office, I won't show my anger to anyone. But at home, I will be angry with my children. With severe work-load at office, I get irritated with even a bit of noise at home and with that, sometimes I beat my children. Women will be playing so many roles that are at extremes. No actor can play like this".

The new 'human relations' techniques that are being employed in the organizations have some unintended consequences. For example, corporate etiquette, hospitality, and public relations principles may enjoin employees to be at their best behaviour at all times. Being polite and general to all the clients of the firm at all times is part of this tendency. More often, women employees, especially managers are groomed in this manner. This can have serious psychological consequences, as employees learn to sublimate and repress their true status of mind to accommodate corporate values and needs. Though they may be feeling depressed at times, for example, they are expected to maintain a warm and cheerful demeanor. It is obvious that once they leave the office premises, they carry their repressed frustrations home and let them loose on the family.

As felt by the women managers, stress might be *external* to the organization (like family or personal as well as other social problems) or *internal* to the organization. When it is in relation to the organization, stress may be linked with, insufficient resources to do an adequate job, entrapment in a dead - end job, uneven distribution of workload, sexual favors, top levels of the management like deadlines to be met within a short time, etc. It might be linked with the *subordinates* and *colleagues* as well. Uncooperative colleagues and subordinates, and their negative attitude generates organizational stress.

Frequently, *official commitments lead to tension at home front*. Mrs. Uma Reddy, a junior executive says "Working for late hours will be difficult because children will be looking for my arrival. Husband is always preoccupied with his

profession. If I won't attend, they will get used to bad habits. That's my major worry".

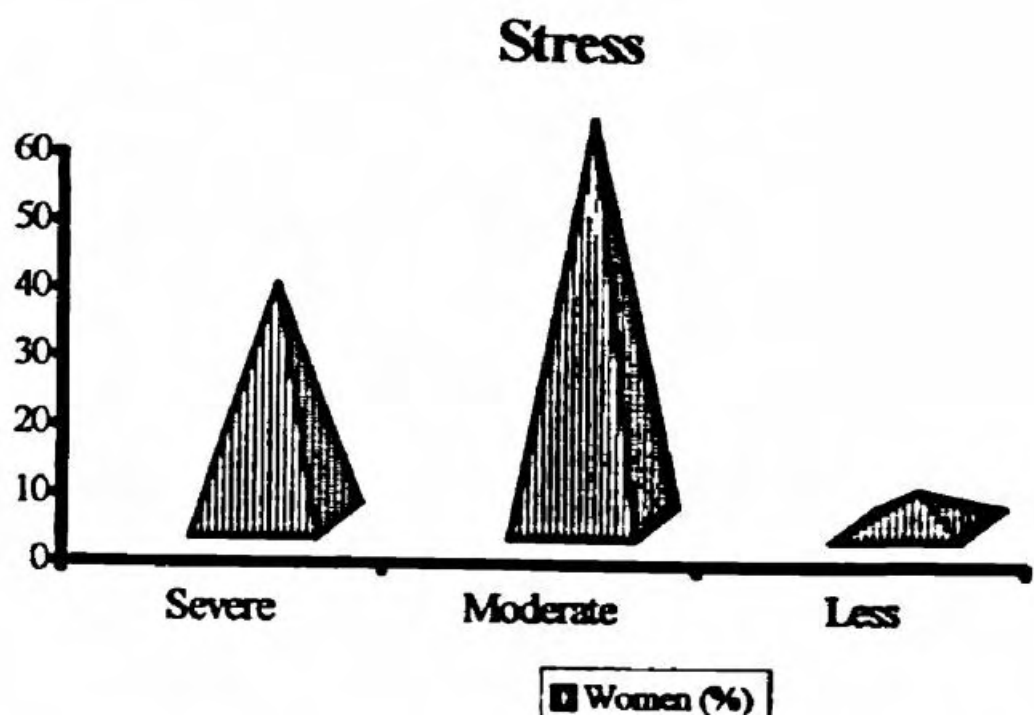
Ms. Kanaka, an executive expresses that "It was our wedding anniversary. We had plans to go out and have a dinner. But my boss asked me to work overtime when I had made plans to go out. I felt angry with myself yet I knew any requests or arguments might reflect on my job. I tried to suppress my anger. It led to a severe headache. It spoilt the mood of the day".

There are some who can manage to *drop* their tension at office itself and relax at home. Again this depends upon the organization, their place in the organization, the family support, age of the child, availability of somebody to care for the child and other factors. Ms. Sajala, a middle executive in the finance sector, says that "The tension at office is dropped at the office itself. We cannot work both ways. When I go home, I relax and forget about office. Only next day morning, I start thinking about my office when I am on the way to the office".

Another question that might arise is, *whether tension at home leads to lack of commitment at office?* Forty three percent of the women managers expressed that 'office matters are different from home and tension at home is always left at home and when they come to office nothing enters into their head other than office work. Around 45% of them expressed that not always there will be tension at home and only when the situation is serious, household tensions do peep into their commitment at office. As one of the executive points out, 'after all, we are also human beings. Sometimes situation so arises we cannot compartmentalize ourselves into office sphere and family sphere'. Ms. Sareena Rani, a middle level manager told that "though I attend most of the domestic work, yet my husband expects me to be more cooperative and helpful for the family", She questions, "for whose sake am I working? Is it not for the family I am doing as much work in the office as my husband does. Apart from that I

am attending family work. These things make me disturbed and affect my officework". The different levels of stress can be seen in Fig.13.

Figure 13 : Stress



Ms. Sajala, who is a middle level executive in one of the top financial institutions in the city having a small child of seven years, says that "My child is not yet convinced on me going out and working and be away from her. Even today, she does not like me to go out and work. But I feel we will be more disciplined if we work outside, and the child also learns within no time".

Beyond office work and familial sphere, even other pans of society also create pressures and tension on women. Ms. Madhuri Iyer, a junior executive opines that "There are lots of irritations, in the office especially. Men will be acting smart and want to portray their ego before us, in what ever level they might be placed in. Some will be dirty goons. They will physically as well as mentally create pain and pressure. If we travel during late boon, there is problem with the society, and a fear of goons, either in the form of co-passenger in the bus or auto-wala or someone on the road We have to go through all these while we reach our offices and homes. It's a man's world, you know".

Ms. Shradhanjali Mishra, a senior executive says that, "I get into tot of stress. Until the problem is over, I won't come out of it. I have asthma, and stress aggravates it. I can't overcome my stress, that's the weakness, I learnt to live with it", twenty five percent of the respondents told that they do undergo with health problems like insomnia, headache etc. But not always.

Among men, around 40% of them expressed that they do undergo severe health problems because of the work-load. When they have severe workload they took to smoking and consumption of alcohol etc. They reported to have severe blood pressure, migraine, liver problems etc. Around 40% of them told that they undergo common health problems which come and go and they are temporary. Around 33% of them told that they never had any health problems because of the tension at office.

For a woman manager, the stress levels that she has to undergo is twice compared to a man, because a woman has to excel both at work, and look after her career and at the same time, look after her home and children. In that respect, the stress that a woman has to face is double compared to men.

SEXUALITY AT WORK PLACE

Sexuality is a key factor in the analysts of gendered relations of organizational structure. Weeks holds that:

We still cannot think about sexuality without taking into account gender; or. to put it more generally, the elaborate facade of sexuality has in large pan been built upon the assumption of fundamental differences between men and women, and male dominance over women (1986:45)

In a world in which women are viewed as subordinate to men. in which heterosexuality is the norm and in which organizations expect women managers' behavior to conform to a view of 'normal' gender relations, sexuality becomes an embodiment of power relations (Burrell and Hearn 1989)

Sexuality at work place which is a public issue is a public form of sexuality and the concern here is with the public form of sexuality. Hearn and Parian (1987:93) make reference to the use of sexuality through harassment, sexual joking and sexual abuse — as a means of controlling women and of maintaining authority. In this connection, the increase in sexual harassment, when juxtaposed with the increase of women in managerial positions, it can be linked not only to a more sexually heterogeneous work place but also to the use of harassment to control, to threaten women, and to remind them of their ultimate position as sexual objects (Balsamo,1985: 11-12). This kind of separation to control women can be put in different ways, like denial of job based on gender, discrimination based on gender at different points of time; subjection to sexual harassment, sexual advances from men, employing feminine appeal as a code of conduct of the work structure etc.

Some of the women (37%) would like to have *preferential treatment* because they are women. Ms. Heera, a senior manager says that "I will be happy if somebody opens the car door for me and hold it It is a matter of respect". A few of them (20%) felt that they would not like to have preferential treatment because they would be considered as weaker sex Ms Sudha an executive says that, "in the process of giving preferential treatment, men consider us as weak and assign less powerful jobs which will be the dead end in its own way". Whereas 43% of women managers felt that they need preferential treatment is women only during certain occasions like child bearing and ill health in the family. Ms. Girija Ganesh, a respondent opines that, "all said and done we are women and we have to look after the children and family, we cannot escape from it".

"*Employing feminine appeal* is a must in the current corporate structure" says Ms, Uma, a junior manager. "It gives you a different suture to identity and helps to be in the good books of the higher officials and the clients" according to Ms. Mahima, a junior executive. Around 37% of the women managers want to employ feminine appeal to further their career interests.

Ms. Parvathi, an executive from commercial department says that "sometimes women in the marketing division have to employ feminine appeal, otherwise their position is threatened". Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive holds that "today the trend has changed. When we are dealing in the service sector, being feminine is a must. We have a different code of dress and code of conduct". It is expected by the organizations that the modes of dress have to be gendered and yet not be sexualized. Therefore organisational women always took care of looking feminine enough in appearance and at the same time "business like" in behaviour.

Ms. Mamata Sinha, a junior manager has gone to the extent of saying that "If my client has got attracted by my figure and femininity, then I will kick him to the sky and get my business done. If the other person is weak it is his problem. I want my business to be done and for me my career is important". This kind of a trend is generally observed only among enthusiastic junior managers who want to make a career at any cost.

But the story of the senior managers is a bit different. Around 20% of them wanted to show the personality in their style of work rather than giving a feminine appeal "Employing feminine appeal to get the market is not a successful method in the long term. Some will be doing it The task is clouded It is convenient if you do not operate it" says Dr. Janaki Iyer, a middle level manager in one of the financial institutions.

Women have to deal with the sexual advances from men, in one form or the other was expressed by 67% of women managers under study. Ms. Girija, a junior executive says that "occasional passes and sexual advances are common from our younger days but is not expected even in the professional way of life" Ms. Sudha, a middle level manager says that, "I have not seen even a single woman who has not faced this kind of a situation. If things are too offensive and beyond our control we have to take the help of top management or quit the

job". Therefore the public forms of sexuality are particularly affected and reinforced by the public as well as private inequalities of the patriarchal structure.

Some of the women managers (28%) did not want to comment on it feeling "it is too unprofessional to talk about such a kind of things at office" (Ms. Sajala, a middle level executive). Around 5% told that they never faced such a kind of situation. They would like to ignore the very fact of sexuality or overlook it thinking that they are neutral. This can be a convenient means to removing the obvious from contention.

Some women opined that they cannot manage these kinds of sexual advances for long, as it created unnecessary stress and pain. Therefore 'to overcome such cases being tough and assertive and aggressive, is a must' according to Ms. Uma. Being tough and assertive can help women to keep men at a distance but it is not always possible by women. "When assigning certain jobs and work to the subordinates, I generally ask them to do it but it is neither a request nor an assertion" says Ms. Urmila, a middle level manager. Ms. Geetha a junior executive says that "in the organisation women must behave like men, but not be men. It is a difficult equation for women managers. Yet it is very difficult to maintain gender neutrality for women". "Being tough and assertive is a natural way for men because it is *the* quality required for a manager" says Mr Mahendra, a middle level executive.

Sexual Harassment

The Supreme Court of India (NAWO. 1997:9) defined sexual harassment to include "...such unwelcome sexually determined behaviour (whether directly or by implication) as :

- a. Physical contact and advances;
- b. A demand or request for sexual favours;
- c. Sexually coloured remarks;
- d. Showing pornography;
- e. Any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of sexual nature".

The judgement makes it mandatory for the employer or other responsible persons at workplace *to prevent or deter the commission of acts of sexual harassment and to provide the procedures for the resolution, settlement or prosecution of acts of sexual harassment by taking all the steps required'.

Though the guidelines and the law to ensure the prevention of sexual harassment are there in the judgement, in practice, the different forms of sexual harassment are highly personal and individualistic in nature, hence, making it public, according to many respondents, is very difficult.

"Sexual harassment is common but not obvious", according to Ms. Anuradha, one of the respondents. Sexual harassment, either seriously or jokingly, as suffered by 62% of women managers expressed that it can take place in various forms like sexually coloured remarks (16%), a demand or request for sexual favours (30%), physical contact and advance (10%), verbal abuse (39%) and molestation (5%). Whenever sexual harassment takes place, it is personal individualistic in nature and invisible in its form, and as expressed above, it has diverse form. Though sexuality is individualistic and personal in nature, but the issue is very much public and it is an issue of power.

Sexual harassment for women come from either colleagues and subordinates or clients, but when harassment takes place by bosses themselves then many women felt that they will feel helpless and powerless to enforce their demands and may suffer retaliation for their complaints. Ms. Mamata, a Human Resource professional says that "One of the girls in our company always

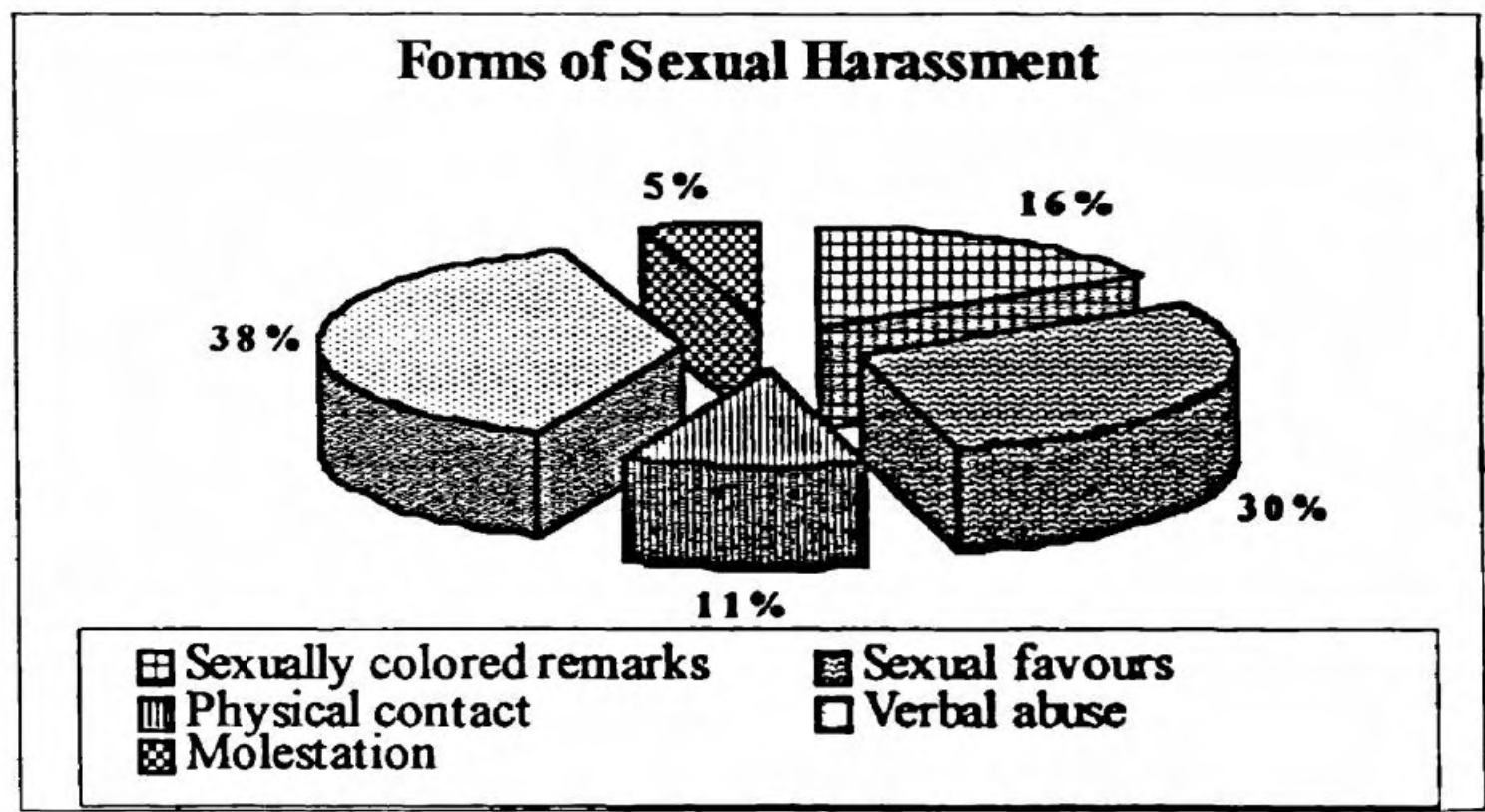
complained to the top management that her immediate boss is harassing her. The top management told her that all these things are common and you should have confidence in you to retaliate. After sometime; when she had gone and complained again, the next thing the top management (fid was asking her to resign the job because the company could not afford to lose that particular man who was harassing the lady because he was bringing very good business to the company". Ms. Mamtha says "When there is any such risk from women complaining sexual harassment by men, women will be made to resign the job by the higher officials. This is very common. Nothing will come out of the four walls. It may lead to women joining the spree of the unemployment'. Many a times, sexual harassment is systematically legitimised by the organisation heads.

Many women often feel humiliated by harassment from fellow men but refrain from mentioning it to their colleagues or friends or family members, either for fear of losing the job or for the fear of the society. Ms. Geetha, an executive expressed in agony that "As I am newly married, my boss called me to his chamber and asked whether I am using any family planning method, if not to go for it and which family planning measure is better and other odd things which are unbearable. I don't know whether he behaves the same way with other women or not, but I felt very humiliated and angry but could not do anything. I am planning to quit the organization if he continues this again". Power of men is derived from the patriarchal social structure outside the organisation, and the same power is also present in internal organisational structures

Single women and young widows are the most harassed group, according to the present study. Ms. SubbaLakshmi, a junior manager in one of the service sector joined the job in her 30's after she was widowed and she had to bear the family's responsibility. Her boss as well as her colleagues used to initially request and later demand and threaten her for sexual favors. She had to leave two jobs. She says that "in private sector, the boss is the head and he is not answerable to anyone. I am strong hence I could escape from such a kind of

things. But there are so many women who will be surrendering to such demands".

Figure 14 ; Forms of Sexual Harassment



Many a times the organizational heads hush up these kind of harassment! when it comes from clients either by transferring the woman manager to some other place or giving some kind of increment and ask them to resign, Ms Vibha, a junior executive had been molested by one of the foreign clients during a function. When it was made public, it was hushed up by transferring her to other department with an increment. She wanted to go to the court but the authorities requested her not to make it public, as the reputation of the company would be at stake.

"Discussion on pornographic pictures has become, of late, a bit common among the corporate circles and women feel bad and humiliated. It is an outright sexual violence and abuse against women to show women as so objects and nothing else" says Ms. Girija, a junior level manager. "Sexually colored remarks regarding women's figure and size are not escapable. Young women have to face all this. But as the age passes by, elderly women will be on the safer side" says Ms. Renuka, a middle level manager

Ms. Anitha, a middle level manager says that "Generally, unmarried men do not make any serious comments or harass women at a severe level. Harassment comes from the married men and widowers who speak in an obnoxious way that it will be very difficult to retaliate with same parity". "In order to satisfy their ego, men would like to see the humiliation and suffering in women's eyes. Then only their egos will be satisfied and they feel they are physically more powerful than women. I mean women as the subordinate crowd", says Ms. Aparna, a junior executive. "If women retaliate men with similar kind of comments on same parity, women are considered indecent and vampish. She is not treated properly as it is not possible for men to show their manliness", says Ms. Lakshmi, a junior manager.

Some times, women managers are asked to work for late hours even when the things are not urgent. Superiors or colleagues may take the advantage of the lonely position of the women manager. Ms. Girija, a junior level manager who had to move from her earlier place of work on account of sexual harassment, says that "my boss always used to give me assignments at the last hour of the office timings, and keep me till late hours on some pretext or the other. I requested some of my colleagues to wait for me. But how long? He always wanted me to submit to him. When I gave my resignation letter, he put it in the dustbin. I did not take up work experience certificate and I have never mentioned anywhere that I have worked in that particular organization. I came to Hyderabad and started working here with a loss of pay and experience".

Friendly interpersonal relations and comradeship among organizational members is always welcome as long as it is within limits. Ms. Prabha, a junior manager says "Women are always the misunderstood crowd, and men want to take advantage of the camaraderie and the limits are always transgressed"

Many men (40%) did not answer the question whether they have harassed or made sexual remarks and if they did it, why did they do it? They left this

question unanswered. Some have told it as an absolute nonsense to bring these kind of questions in the competitive work place (20%). Some have blamed women for their ill behavior, and expressing that their dresses tempted men to comment on them. Some of them (20%) said that it is a natural rhythm of life.

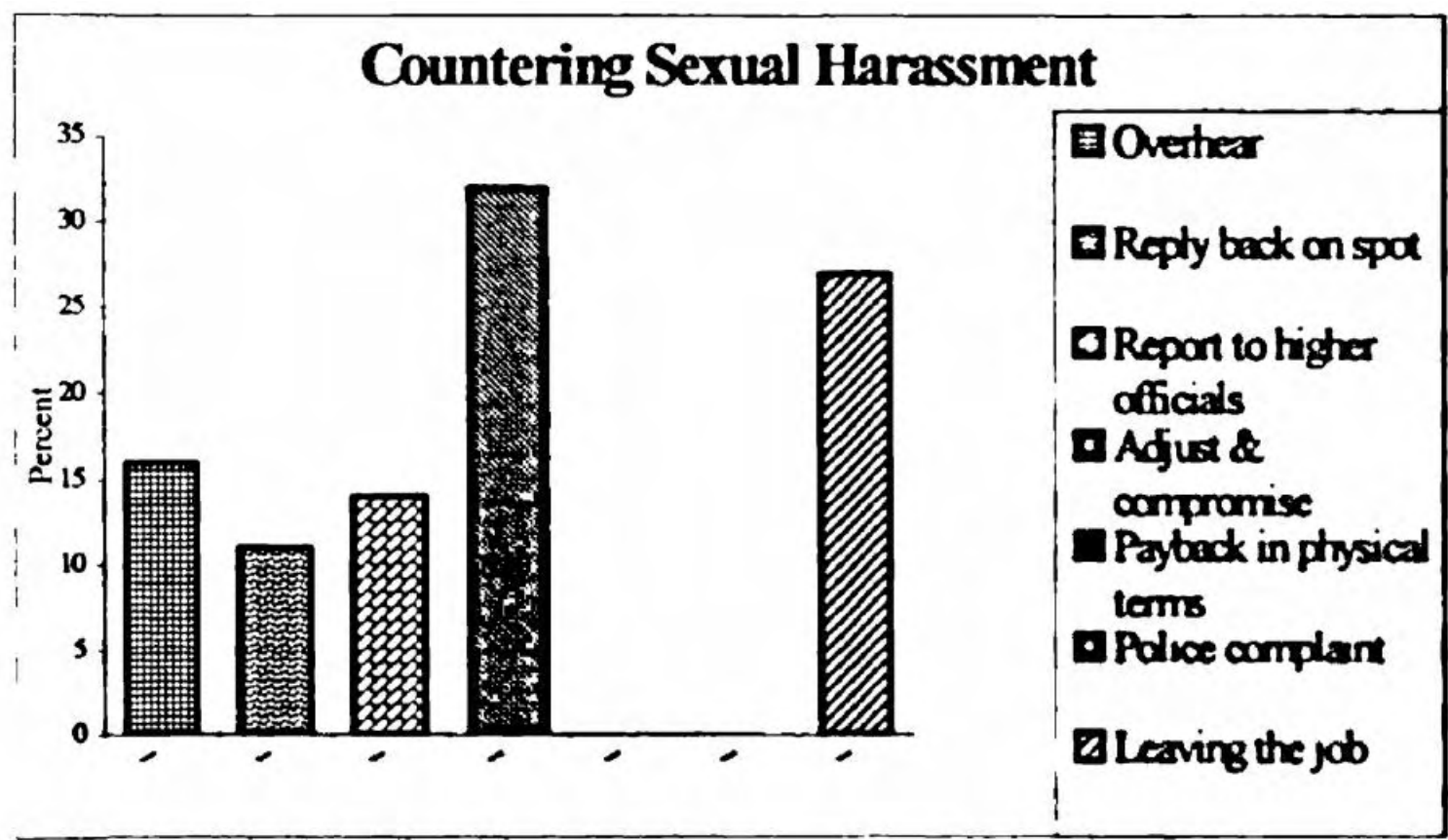
Many women managers told that we cannot distinguish which way the harassment comes from. Generally, women managers overlook such kinds of nasty comments because; as in the words of Ms. Madhuri, a junior executive, "If we bother about such things we cannot work outside. Sometimes I reply back on the spot and will feel relieved temporarily". Some of them have reported to the higher officials and many a times no action was taken. Various responses of women managers to the harassment they are undergoing are as follows:

There are general grievance cells in almost all the organizations visited. But generally these cells are ineffective and defunct. Normally, the employer chairs the cell along with the head of human resources. But when a woman manager comes with a problem of misbehavior of colleagues or superiors or subordinates, and goes to the grievance cell if the problem is not of serious nature, then generally the cell looks at it impartially. But, if the situation is serious, generally concerning the misconduct of men, directly or indirectly the higher officials would give hints to the woman manager, either not to prolong the issue or make suggestions to her, to leave the organization as the employer cannot afford to lose men managers, who are considered useful and who bring business to the organization. "I'm the living example I have faced the situation and I was thrown out of the organization for no fault of mine" says Ms. Dixit, a middle level manager in the service sector.

Many of them expressed that adjusting or compromising to the conditions is the best alternative- Many women managers told that when the issue takes a serious turn they generally leave the job and join somewhere because prestige and self esteem is what it matters to most of them. None of them opted for beating up the ones who had hurt and harassed them severely, nor they gave a

police complaint. It was because they felt resorting to complaint is too procedural and one cannot afford to spend too much of time for such kind of things. "Though family supports temporarily during the period of crisis, continuous support and patience on the part of the family, either for husband or parents or siblings or children is rare" says Ms. Geetha, a junior level executive. According to Raj Birbal (1997), though such incidents are common, there are only a handful of complaints and cases. He thinks that such a scenario is not only due to social and familial constraints, but also because there is no specific forum for this purpose. *Even* if such forums are there, they are ineffective.

Figure 15 : Countering Sexual Harassment



Hence; the sexual harassment has always been hushed up as an individualized phenomena, in order to have the least effect on the organizational production or clientele relationship. Sexual harassment is not taken seriously generally, and is treated very casually. Sexual harassment is deeply rooted in power relations between men and women, that are shaped along gender line, which is nothing but the manifestation of the exploitative capitalist and oppressive patriarchal social structure.

MANAGERIAL UNIONISM

Unions are unambiguously men made and male dominated groups in the market structure. Trade union movements have always been blue collar and working class phenomenon. But despite the increase in women's labour force participation even in the managerial labour market, conditions in women's employment have always militated against female unionism. As the entry of managerial women into corporate management is new, managing traditional trade union values of unity among the newly discovered pluralist membership provides a significant challenge to traditional patriarchal trade unionism.

Among managers, unionism is considered rare, though not uncommon. In Hyderabad, there are no managerial unions, which work for the managers, leave alone for women managers. There are only managerial networks and academies which conduct seminars and training programs for the betterment of performance of the managerial employees, but do not take up the cause of managers and fight for them. Women do face lots of problems like wage discrimination, blocked promotion and sexual harassment, and lack of minimum facilities like creches for women managers with young children. Employers do not take care of the women managerial labour's welfare activities, which are notified as per the Factories Act, 1942. It says that any industry which employs more than thirty women should have a creche, she is entitled to have thirty minutes to spend with the child, either leaving the child in the creche or feeding the child in the lunch hour. But it has been noticed that these stipulations are not taken seriously by the Chief Inspector of the Factories and the corporate houses also do not care to give due regard to such mandatory welfare regulations.

Managers are the most unorganized and fragmented group in the organizations. They do not have any kind of relation with other employee managers to other branches of management. This is partly due to the fragmentation of the managerial work structure. In this context, there should be some union or group which should take care of the interest of the managerial employees, other in the

formal sense or informally. But the pitiest part is that one-third of the women managers expressed that they have no idea about unions and they don't want to be a part of it. Ms. Vijaya, an executive says that "I do not like any such organization. I'm always away from them". One fourth of women managers told that unions are not necessary for managers because they are not the blue collar labour and they are not on par with them. Ms, Maheshwari, a junior manager from a production sector says that "I never feel that I should present my problems to a group of people. When you have problems, you should solve them by yourself. Why should you call a third person. That shows your incapability".

Managers do not consider themselves to be a part of the labour process even though they are simply hired labourers who can be fired in an arbitrary manner. They form the most vulnerable section of the hired labour. In case of women managers, the need for some organized effort is even more pressing given the back-drop of inherited inequalities, discrimination at work place and other factors mentioned above. Since managerial labour tends to consider itself as a part of, and identifies with the capital, it blocks its own way to form any kind of organized unions. On the contrary, in reality, as pointed above, 'hired managers' are like any other component of labour. But this group goes to the extent of marketing their psychological personality traits also, that is. the human variable is marketed for an immediate personal gain in the interest of capitalism. This kind of marketing of personality traits becomes much more manifest and tends to be linked to the social grouping of women in management especially when the women managers are 'thought to be suitable to a particular set of roles like front office managers, guest / public relations executive and certain managerial positions are demarked as feminine'. It is interesting to observe how capitalism organizes various social groupings in such a manner that they tend to develop a distorted notion of their place in the capitalist relations of production, particularly in case of managerial labour and more so in the case under consideration. The distorted version of their position became amply dear when one of the women managers Ms. Uma Reddy, a junior executive in a

corporate hospital expressed the opinion that "unions are absolute bullshit. It is a cinematic imitation. Nothing can be achieved if you are a member of a union. In private sector, you should be in the good books of the top officials. Otherwise, you will be left nowhere",

A little more than half of the women managers in the study expressed that unions are *very* much necessary to express their problems and grievances. Ms. Shradhanjali Mishra, a senior executive says that "Up to a certain point, unions should be there. But the top management is not really empathetic with unions". Ms. Sailaja, a middle level executive who works for one of the top financial institutions in the city, says that "I have never thought or worked with a union. But it is good to have one. You have a platform to discuss if the top management is not cordial. We can take a collective action". In similar terms, Ms. Vanitha Nair, also a middle level executive says that "Frankly speaking, I do not know much about it and I am not interested. But I feel they are essential because an individual may not be able to contact the top management to put his/her arguments. Since unions are much experienced they might be of some help" and Ms. Sajala, a junior executive says that "We need a platform to express our grievances. I feel that grievance cells within the organization are of no use. They should be from outside and should be impartial. Therefore trade unions/managerial unions are very much necessary. Most people do not have access to top management and one has to fight for genuine cause".

THE ROLE OF MANAGEMENT CONSULTANCIES

Management consultancies provide professional services, they are considered as the helping agencies for the organizations and individual managers. Their role and how they are structured for the benefit of organizations as well as individuals has to be reviewed.

During the course of field-work, as a result of interaction with management consultancies and training centres in Hyderabad, the following aspects have come to notice:

- a. They have not touched the women managers' family domain and the problems they face with familial labour (domestic and reproduction).
- b. They have not looked into the issues of job segregation and wage discrimination. Even if it has been brought up to their notice; their solution for women was to cope with the job segregation and wage discrimination, by competing with men.
- c. Management consultancies were insensitive to sexuality and sexual harassment of women in the organizations. Even if women expressed such a kind of problems, they felt that women were incompetent and inefficient to bear all this.

Management consultancies always address the issues of how women managers can and should spend most of their time, physically, mentally and emotionally for the betterment of the organizations. These consultancies have nothing to do with the problems of women. The problems and issues faced by women managers are considered as individualistic and private in nature

As women were sent to seminars and management training and orientation programs by their respective organizations to the management consultancies. organizations expect management consultancies to work for the benefit of the employers of the organizations rather than for the employee managers.

Separate programs for women managers are limited, and in case such programs are conducted, the problems they usually take up are.

- a. Time management in the overburdened office and family life so that more service can be extracted for the organizations.
- b. Skill management in the de-skilled and fragmented work with programmed decisions from the above to follow.

- a Motivating the alienated and segregated labour by reinforcing the same old work structure and inculcating the capitalist way of labour's life,
- d. Obeying to the patriarchal values of the organizations by reinforcing the male culture.

Conclusion

Indian women managers are in search of their new identity in the corporate world. In spite of all the problems, they would like to have a challenging career. When they start their career with all enthusiasm to be a competent professional, the capitalist as well as the patriarchal culture segregates and subordinates them. The subjective recruitment patterns, job segregation, sexual harassment and the marginalization of women in the managerial work runs contrary to Weberian ideas of bureaucracy and reaffirms the very gendered nature of organizations.

In their endeavour of being professionals, they do not get adequate support from the organizations, they feel lack of job satisfaction and experience a sense of discontentment. They are caught up in the whirlpool of job, family and gender subjectivities.

The responses from women managers, wherever appropriate, have been compared and contrasted with those of male respondents. The result is that, evidently, there is a latent inequality and an in-built structure of subordination and oppression of women based on the ideology of gender. The empirical analysis graphically describes how this takes place. Wherever necessary, empirical findings have been supported by appropriate references to the literature on the subject.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

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Does the formal entry of women into the strata of management in corporate sector signify emergent changes in structure of gender relations in work place towards equality? Regrettably, the present empirical study proves otherwise. Though women tend to gain *formal* entry and position in the cadre of management / management strata, they do not seem to have secured a *real* position in the managerial power structure. Though such women have been vested with the trappings of managerialism, they nevertheless execute largely peripheral tasks. Men continue to dominate.

As the empirical evidence in this study demonstrates, a bulk of women managers are not, in reality, performing work of a managerial nature. Work of a managerial nature implies that it is based on specific professional skills in any of the functional areas of management - finance, personnel, technical, marketing and so on. Secondly, it involves decision making which is crucial in a significant way to the enterprise. Thirdly, a certain quantum of supervisory and control function must be exercised by a manager in his or her area over others which makes for the distinction between the 'manager' and the 'managed'.

When the above criteria is applied to women managers in the present study. it is seen that many would fail the test. More often, the designation of manager appears to be superfluous and cosmetic when compared to the actual work performed by the women managers. It can be observed that. primarily, the ubiquitous problem in most corporate organizations is that power and authority do not flow down the hierarchy as to fervently desired by theory. In other words, there is a concentration of power with major or crucial decisions being taken by top management or some persons within that stratum. This is so both in 'family' owned business and in the so-called

professionally managed companies. In this scenario, being a woman manager is evidently an added or double handicap-

Therefore, if women managers (at the middle and upper middle levels), including men managers in many cases, do not perform work of a managerial nature but are deployed on tasks below their professional competence and skill, how can this phenomenon be conceptualized in theory? What does one designate such managers as and at what level of hierarchy in the social division of labor does one situate them? It is proposed, on the basis of the present study, to term such employees as 'managerial labor'.

The capitalist corporate structure masks itself with the ideology of equality and, objectivity, and boasts of performance being given more importance rather than sex, caste, class or race. But actually it vibrates with inequality. The patriarchal organizational structure based on gender leads to discrimination, job segregation and sexual power play. The linkages between the capitalist and patriarchal nature of the organization and other social institutions structured on capitalist-patriarchy such as family have brought women into the most vulnerable situation today.

There is a dearth of micro studies in the sociology of industrial relations pertaining to professionally trained employee women managers. There is evidently no special study on women managers in Hyderabad. The present study has made an attempt to obtain a holistic picture of the participation of women in management sector throwing light on the basic issues and problems of women managers in their everyday life in the male organizational set up. These experiences include a variety of socio-economic activities pertaining to their family, profession and grader.

The empirical context of this study has been to explore the operational mechanism of patriarchy in the capitalist organizational set up which leads to professional segregation, sexual discrimination and harassment of women managers working in various organizations. It also aimed . . . to explore the lack of collective consciousness and collective organization and the diffuse manner in which women managers experience oppression. The findings are based on the data collected through a questionnaire, informal interviews, attending seminars and conferences pertaining to women managers, and by observation.

Socio-Economic Background

It has been found in previous studies that the white collar women belong to nuclear families in urban settings and are exposed to mass communication and the current information technologies. In the Indian context, the concentration of higher caste is found to be higher in white collar than in blue-collar jobs. Further, the restrictions imposed on working women were found to be more pronounced in white collar jobs (Sinha & Shashi Prabha, 1988). The present study has found that a majority of women managers hail from upper castes and from the nuclear families. But the trend shows that men with non-urban background and non-English medium background can also make it in the managerial position, whereas in case of women, they should have better schooling, education and exposure to the professional culture, to make it to the same level. Therefore; women seemingly have to work twice as hard as men to fulfill their aspirations.

Marriage is a very important phase for the Indian woman, which brings a total change in her way of life. Marriage is considered to be a permanent relationship. 'Marriage is the root cause for all the subjugation' is an understanding common to most feminists. Though this is not always obvious, yet man's domination and woman's subordination to man in the

name of compromises and adjustments, in the marital relation is a common phenomenon in various facets of life. This can be seen in the present study too. The data holds that though a few women managers have had a marriage of their own choice, a majority of them settled for arranged marriages. It is interesting to note that those who are supposed to take important decisions regarding profit and loss of the firm, labor problems and recruitment, sales and marketing, finance etc. have put the major decision of marriage into the hands of either family members or relatives

From the empirical data, it is understood as regards maternity that 60% of women managers have worked through till the late months of their pregnancy and returned back to the work too early. Those who took longer leave found that they had been transferred to the different section where the work bore no relation to their professional status and skills. Thus the transfers can be considered to be of a punitive nature and oppressive in intent, an evidence of gender at work

Though women are in full-time managerial profession and being one of the economic earners in the family or the sole earner in some cases, they could not escape or transcend the sexual division of labor at home such as child-care and domestic work totally or even partially. As it is considered as women's domain, men did little to reduce their workload. Even if they helped, they helped in areas which do not demean their male ego. Even during the sickness of a child women managers rather than men had to be absent from work. Therefore a majority of women managers have limited the number of children to one or two keeping in view their familial, professional and economic conditions and commitments. The child bearing, rearing and domestic work, (which is considered value less in exchange terms according to the feminists) holds women to the secondary status in the society as well as recognizes them as a secondary wage earner in the economic market. Men on the contrary are considered as the primary wage

earners'. As Sethi (1988) puts it rightly that, the employment of women does not necessarily lead to a change in the work patterns at home. The traditional role of a woman as home-maker and socializer of the young remains unaltered despite her new role as an economic earner. Also, the mere fact of woman making a financial contribution to the family income does not lead to a change in the existing role structures and ensuring power position within the family as manifested in her role in decision making. Husbands also continue to remain as main decision-makers. Therefore it is evident that women executives reach the organizations and take their respective jobs with additional family responsibilities as they are subordinated in the patriarchal family structure.

The present empirical study has examined the rationale of women managers for opting the managerial profession in spite of bearing so many difficulties at the domestic as well as social and organizational front Tilly and Scott (1978) had explained the push and pull factors which are influential in determining the demand for and supply of women work force in the labor market. The main reason to take up paid employment was the financial factor, which helps in supporting the family The other major factor being the career advancement that many a women want to do justice for all the years of education and training they had But many a respondents* first choice was not a managerial profession and in many cases women made their career choice in the later part of their education. This happens because of the myth that women do not fit into the demanding male oriented management profession which is full of uncertainties. There are also not many women managers to emulate in this profession. On the other hand, men tend to make conscious and premeditated choice of management as a career option.

Job Segregation

The complex institutions such as family, law, economy, culture tend to reinforce and support occupational segregation (Reagan and Blaxall: 1976). The data collected from the field shows that there is a clear cut job segregation in the managerial field. The job segregation has been taken place in horizontal as well as vertical levels. Around 30% of the women managers and only 2% of men were in the routine desk type of jobs which exclude women from the resources of power. In the departments of personnel management and industrial relations, and human resource development, a majority of women always performed the *welfare* functions like health or insurance of the employees or gave training to the employees whereas a majority of men have always dealt with industrial relations. This is because welfare is considered a safe and soft job. A meager percentage of women were observed in corporate planning, and finance. This is a clear evidence of horizontal segregation of women managers into certain occupational sections within management areas.

Job segregation and discrimination is very much obvious in the disparity in salaries given to women and men. Women managers' jobs, as observed from the data, are often given different job descriptions and titles for the jobs of equivalent nature and similar kind so that the lower pay for women can be justified. Women are given totally different kind of assignments compared to men in view of male fear of competition. The senior key positions are not generally offered to women even though women are remarkably similar to men in their educational levels, their years of experience and their abilities. Most of the women managers have been stagnated in the middle level positions with the same level of qualification and service. In this study, there are 48% of women and only 17% of men in junior level managerial positions whereas 35% of women and 40% of men are in middle level managerial positions. Finally, in the senior level, only

17% of women and a substantial 43% of men are present. Under representation in senior level and categorization of women into subordinate levels despite equal qualification and experience is an illustrative evidence of vertical segregation of women in the managerial job structure.

Job segregation has various facets. In the private sector it appears that policies for recruitment of women in the managerial levels is by and large arbitrary. After exploring sixty organizations, women managers were found only in around thirty six organizations in corporate Hyderabad and Secunderabad. While some organizations have clearly kept women out, others have taken them into more service and staff oriented functions rather than main line activities of the profession

Savage and Witz (1992:16) observe that,

"The exclusion from organizational positions has more to do with their exclusion from the resources of power, whilst their inclusion in the corporate hierarchy has more to do with their subordination within the relational aspects of (male) dominance and (female) subordination "

Femininity, good looks and being attractive are all expected of women in some of the branches of managerial jobs, especially like marketing profession if they have to compete in the market. There is a clear discrimination in the recruitment patterns of the private sector industries, either service or production, on account of gender

The study maintains that in the work relationships, a majority of men irrespective of their hierarchy have, relatively, more power than women managers in the organizations. Many a women (75%), irrespective of their position in the hierarchy, experienced superiority by men in whatever position they held. Patriarchal power relations are; thus, interwoven into the very fabric of bureaucratic relations

Decision Making

In the course of field work, it was observed that a substantial number of women managers were engaged in making pre-determined kind of decisions which are more or less structured and reasonably routine in nature and are based on prior information. But, women managers rarely take the strategic decisions, which determine the broad objectives of the organization, and their role is negligible in this regard.

The study holds that firstly, given the comparable experience, exposure etc., the number of women moving up to senior managerial level and their presence in that category who take crucial decisions is limited. Secondly, even in cases where they are positioned in the senior managerial strata, it is observed that they are not involved in the crucial decisions. Finally, even in cases where they are involved, their view points are not taken seriously and are set aside. It is a clear evidence of the marginalization of women executives' involvement in the process of decision making. Hence not only the process is 'gendered', if we examine carefully, the content of decision making is also constantly informed and guided by the gender bias.

Leadership

The trends observed in the field are, firstly, the leadership of women managers in several organizations is limited to certain sectors like from office management, public relations, in-house maintenance etc. with significant lack of presence in finance, manufacturing, corporate planning etc. Secondly, even in these sectors where the presence of women is significant, there is a large scale clustering of women in middle level managerial positions where they become intermediates who act as a bridge between top management and the daily work schedule of the organization. This clustering is primarily because women managers are not provided with

structural as well as cultural avenues to reach the top. This has been presented in the discussion of structure of organization where it is shown that only 17% of women are in the senior and top management. Thirdly, the leadership is shaped on the lines of hierarchical relations of power based on gender discrimination. Finally, it is unfortunate to note that even in those sectors where there is significant presence of women managers as so-called leaders, the real power of decision making does not lie with them. The principles of management envisage the commensurate nature of power and responsibility. But, what is happening in practice is the responsibility of persuasion and of task accomplishment is being vested with the women managers without the attendant power of decision making. There is hardly any room for the leadership of women even in the so-called decentralized participatory new management model. All these trends are indicative of reinforcement of gendered managerial hierarchies and its operation even in those cases where women are seemingly involved as leaders and decision-makers. Thus contemporary management practices continue to reinforce patriarchy.

Thus those few women who take the leadership role are from viewpoint of 'relations of power' in organization definitely in subordinate positions. The liberal managerial thinking might hail their presence as leaders, but the ground reality is that women managers have more responsibility but less power, are stuck in middle management positions, and finally, a few are in decision making positions, take decisions, but not the crucial ones, it might be more appropriate to describe women managers, caught up in the paradoxical situation by terming them as 'gendered subordinate leaders'

Service Conditions

Many an employer do not prefer women managers fearing their long absence with regard to their maternity leave and child care. But that is not

true. A majority of women managers (62%) did not take any break till date. Even those who have taken leave for the reasons of marriage, pregnancy and child-care, have limited their break for a short period. It was men who were highly mobile and moved from one organization to the other, taking the individual advantage of training and experience.

Job security is the basic factor everyone aspired to have.

Ninety-six percent of women expressed that a peaceful organizational life where there is no threat to their personal life (sexuality) is their main concern. Many women managers expressed that they did not want to change a job, unlike men, given all the conditions were conducive to them. Even for those who wanted to change their job, the major factors behind this were either to have a career advancement or domestic reasons and finally organization related reasons. Some women managers who did not change their jobs, their non-mobility has led to a situation wherein they find themselves being taken for granted in their own respective organizations. Their promotion prospects suffered and their bargaining power has been severely affected.

Promotion is another factor where women are highly discriminated. The observation from the field holds that women managers are equally qualified as men are and equally competent along with men. But women are not always taken seriously for the senior positions. The promotion pattern is gendered and is different for men and women in different organizations. In spite of these obvious factors, employers are oblivious of the situation and prefer men alone though women are committed, systematic, dedicated and less corrupt.

From the empirical data, it is observed that a woman manager does two parallel kinds of labour - one for the formal organisation which is 'paid' and the other is domestic related which is 'unpaid'. Women work for more than 15 hours a day for job as well as domestic needs. Women work

overtime in the organisations which is not paid. Men also work for overtime in the offices but their salaries are better off when compared with women. The demands made out of patriarchal mode of production and reproduction in combination with capitalist mode of work in the organizations put women under considerable strain. The study shows that women are physically and mentally subjected to stress compared to men.

Sexuality

Sexuality at work place is a public issue. Sexuality assumes various forms of harassment, sexual joking and sexual abuse as a means of controlling women (Hearn and Parkin, 1987). The increase in sexual harassment, can be linked not only to a more sexually heterogeneous work place but also to the use of 'sexuality' to control women and to remind them of their ultimate position as sexual objects. This kind of separation to control women can be put in different ways, like denial of job based on gender, discrimination based on gender at different points of time, subjection to sexual harassment, sexual advances from men, employing feminine appeal as a code of conduct of the work structure, etc

The study reveals that women often have to deal with the sexual harassment from men, in one form or the other, as expressed by 62% of women managers under study. It can take place in various forms like sexually colored remarks, a demand or request for sexual favours, physical contact and advance, verbal abuse and molestation. If things are too offensive and beyond their control, they have to seek the help of top management or quit the job. Whenever sexual harassment takes place, it is personal, individualistic in nature and invisible in its form, but the issue is very much public and it is an issue of power. The sexual harassment has always

been hushed up as an individual phenomenon, in order to have a least effect on the organizational production or clientele relationship.

Sexual harassment is not taken with the seriousness that it deserves. In the words of V. R. Krishna Iyer (as quoted in a document of the National Council for Women, 1995: 83),

"...women's welfare is legislated galore but remain paper tigers since men are to implement it. That compounds the crime, since even policemen are if reports are correct, among criminals who endanger women. Even the laws are so lacunose that the judiciary, if objectively judged, will be found guilty".

Sexual harassment is deeply rooted in power relations between men and women, that are shaped along gender lines. This is a manifestation of the exploitative capitalist and oppressive patriarchal social structure

The data has also focussed on those women managers who deny the existence of gendered inequality and discrimination in any way. In the words of a senior executive, "gender would not in any way effect our pattern of working and promotion prospects. Nor is there any harassment. It is an equal world nowadays". In the words of Karuna (1986), "women will fail to perceive discrimination even if it is practised against them so long as they are constrained by their socialisation and men will continue to view discrimination as natural and fair". Perhaps, this thinking is due to the rare possibility that some of the women managers were fortunate enough to be treated as equals in all spheres of life and without being discriminated. This is however a very individualistic way of thinking. It may be used by those who are blind towards the gendered nature of the organisations and those who do not want to see a change in women's traditional sexual division of labour. Such thinking therefore could be harmful to women's struggle for equality at the workplace particularly in the management cadre.

Some of the men managers expressed that there are no rules that discriminate women and it is always an equal world. That might be, to some extent, true but the obstacles lay not in rules but elsewhere. There was no rule, which discriminated on the basis of sex. But this was not to say that the rules favoured both sexes equally. The rules did not take into account the special needs or problems of women. Maternity leave is recognized as a right. Looking after children was assumed to be a woman's responsibility. That a woman's social and domestic responsibilities were greater than those of a man was a fact accepted without question. But rules, organizational work-styles and individual personalities lacked the imagination, flexibility and predisposition necessary to respond to these conditions. Taken together they all - consciously or unconsciously - worked against women (Joshi, 1989)

Unionism

It is observed from the study that women managers are the most unorganized and fragmented group and that they do not have much interaction with other employee managers within and outside the organizations. In Hyderabad, it is observed that there are no managerial unions which work for the managers, let alone for women managers. There are only managerial networks and academies which conduct seminars and training programs for the betterment of performance of the managerial employees but they do not take up the cause of managers or fight for them.

It is surprising to note from the study that one third of the women managers have no idea about unions and they don't want to be a part of a union. One fourth of women managers told that unions are not necessary for managers because they are not the blue-collar labour and they are not comparable with them. Most of the managers do not consider themselves to be a part of the

labour process even though they are simply 'hired labourers' and who can be fired just as any employee. They form the most vulnerable section of the hired labour. In case of women managerial labour, the need for some organised effort is even more pressing given the back drop of inherited inequalities, discrimination at work place and other factors discussed above- Managerial labour, since it tends to consider itself as a part of, and identifies with capital, blocks itself from forming any kind of organized unions. It is interesting to observe thus how capitalism organizes various social groupings in such a manner that they tend to develop a distorted notion of their place in the capitalist relations of production, particularly in case of women managerial labour.

The study holds that, among other measures, collective mobilisation and articulation by women managers can be a significant intervention to subvert the patriarchy built into the system.

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ANNEXURE

QUESTIONNAIRE - **(Women Managers)**

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Name and Address:

1.2. Designation:

1.3. Age:

1.4. Marital Status

- (a). Single
- (b). Married
- (c). Divorced
- (d). Widowed

1.5. If you are not single, at what age you were married?

- (a) Below 20
- (b) 21-25
- (c) 26-30
- (d) Above 30

1.6 Type of marriage

- (a) Arranged
- (b) By own choice

1.7. Did in any way you being a manager influenced your marriage proposals/choice of partner?

1.8. (A) Number of children

- (a). Nil
- (b). 1
- (c). 2
- (d). 3 and 3+

1.8. (B). Age of children

- (a). Below 1
- (b). 1 -5
- (c). 5 - 10
- (d). Above 10

1.9. Who looks after the children? If not self, please indicate the persons who help?

- A. (a). Self
- (b). Parents/In-laws
 - (c). Husband
 - (d). Maid Servant
 - (e). Others

B. Explain the nature of help

1.10 If married, which one of the following statements apply to you?

- A. (a) Your husband has encouraged your career
- (b) Your husband is not against your working, but does not participate in the domestic work
 - (c) Your husband feels that children are more important than your career
 - (d) Your husband would like you to stay at home

B Give reflections on your state of position

1.11. Do you do most of the household work yourself?

- A. (a). Yes
- (b). No

If yes, how many hours do you spend? Give details

If NO, who does it and what kind of help do you get?
Please explain.

1.12. Which of the following responsibilities does your husband share on regular basis?

- (a). Taking care of the children
- (b). Cooking
- (c). Household shopping
- (d). Cleaning and washing
- (e) Miscellaneous (Specify)
- (f) None

II. FAMILY BACKGROUND

2.1 Formal Educational level of \our father and mother
and Husband if married

	Mother	Father	Husband
--	--------	--------	---------

- (a) Profession
- (b) Post-graduate
- (c) Graduate
- (d) High school
- (e) Lower

2.2 Please indicate the occupational status of mother, father and your husband, if married.

III. ACADEMIC CAREER

3.1. Place where you did your schooling

- (a) Village
- (b) Town
- (c) Metropolitan city
- (d) Foreign country

3.2. Medium of instruction

3.3. Type of school

- (a) Public
- (b) Kendriya Vidyalaya
- (c) Christian Missionary
- (d) Government/semi government
- (e) Municipal
- (f) Private
- (g) Others (specify)

3.4 Nature of the school

- (a) All Girls
- (b) Co-educational

3.5 Please list your educational qualifications

3.6 When did you first think of management as a career?

3.7. (a) Was a management course your first choice?

Yes / No

3.7. (b). Why did you choose management as a career? Please explain the reasons.

3.8. Who have influenced you in your choice of management as a career?

3.9. Who were NOT supportive and tried to dissuade you from taking up management career? Why do you think so?

3 10. Did you undergo any training in management apart from your professional degree? Details please

IV. JOB STATUS AND CURRENT WORK

4 1 Position in the organization

- (a). Junior level
- (b) Middle level
- (c) Senior level

4 2 Is this your first job? If not give details of earlier jobs

4.3. Reasons for changing or leaving the job.

4.4. In Which of the following categories does your job best fit in at present?

- (a). Desk type
- (b). Execution of production / manufacturing
- (c) Marketing/sales/distribution/advertising/market research
- (d) Finance
- (e). Personnel/HRD/IR/ Administration
- (f). Management services/corporate planning
- (g) Others (Specify)

4.5 Did you have breaks in your career?
Yes/No

If yes, give the reasons

4 6 Reasons for returning back to work after break

4 7 Did you undergo any difficulties after you returned back to work after a break

4 8 Have you ever refused a job offer?
Yes No

If yes, give reasons

4.9. Reasons for joining this particular organisation

4.10. Please mention your current salary

4.11 Are you happy with your job? Yes or No Give reasons

4.12. What is the Primary source of satisfaction in your
PERSONAL life

4.13. What is the Primary source of satisfaction in your
PROFESSIONAL life

4 14 Whom do you think are more suitable for the
management profession?

- (a) Men
- (b) Women
- (c) Both

Give reasons.

4.15. What do you think is the Primary reason for the low representation of women in the management profession?

4.16, As a professional, indicate whom would you prefer as your

	Supervisor	Subordinate	Colleague
--	------------	-------------	-----------

(a) woman

(b) Man

(c) No preference

Please give reasons.

4.17 As a managerial professional, would you advise young women or men or both to take up the field?

Yes / No

Please give reasons

V. JOB ASPECTS

5 1 What is your role in the organization?

5.2 Did you face initial problems on joining this job? If yes, give details and please explain how did you overcome the difficulty?

5.3 Define your relation with subordinates superordinates / colleagues/ customers.

5.4 Do you receive recognition and appreciation for your work from your superiors/subordinates and others?

5.5 Discuss how the decision making process flows in the organisations

5.6 Are you involved in the process of strategic/ important/ crucial decision making in the organisation or you are simply asked to simply implement the decisions already taken? Please elaborate your position.

5.7 How do you handle the crisis situation in the organisation?

5.8 Do you think that you can equally compete with your male colleagues or do you think you are better than them?

5.9 Is there any instance of your superior staff being not satisfied with your work? Please give specific instances and details

5.10 Is there any instance of your subordinate staff refusing to do the tasks you have assigned them and for what reasons?

5.11 Do you manage conflicts in the organisation If yes, what kind of conflicts do you manage and how do you manage?

5.12 Discuss the leadership patterning, style and assignments in your organisations.

5.13 Do you participate and influence in the policy framing and strategic management?

5.14 Do you feel free to discuss your professional problems with your colleagues? Please comment

5.15 Do you have freedom in carrying out your duties? Discuss

5.16 What is your view on managerial unions? Please specify

A a) Necessary b) Not necessary c) No opinion

B Give reasons for your stand on this issue

5.17 Do you have any situation of tension/stress in your job?
Please explain why?

5.18 Does official commitments lead to tension at home?

5.19 Does tension at home lead to lack of commitment at office?

5.20 Does your family members co-operate in this matter?

5.21 Has tension and stress owing to office work led to any health problems?

5.22 How do you overcome tensions/stress at home/office?
Please give details

5.23 Do you have leisure time? Yes/No? If Yes, how do you spend it?

- a) Reading
- b) T. V. or other audio-visual media
- c) Family get together
- d) Others

5.24 Do you get enough time to spend with your family? Please give details.

VI. GENDER ASPECTS

6.1. Have you been denied any job-interview on account of your gender? Yes or No? If yes, please specify

6 2 Do you think the present management career is masculine modelled?

6 3 Did you ever feel discriminated because of your gender while you were at work? Please explain

6.5. Are you being taken seriously by male staff in the meetings, conferences because of your gender. Give details of specific instances, if any.

6.6. A) Have you ever been subject to any harassment by your staff/clients on account of gender?
Yes/No

A. If Yes, is it

- a) Physical contact and advances
- b) Verbal abuse
- c) A demand or request for sexual favours
- d) Sexually coloured remarks
- e) Any other (specify)

B. Kindly give details

6.7. Are you a tough and assertive woman

6.8. Would you like to have a preferential treatment because of your gender?

6.9. Do you think that women should employ feminine appeal to get the market / secure their position in the organisation/secure power? Please explain.

6.10. Working women often have to deal with sexual advances from men

A) Agree B) Disagree C) No opinion

6.11. Did your gender effect your promotion prospects? Please explain.

6.12. Is your organisational structure informal/formal or in-between?

6.13 How many hours do you work per day? Do you have flexibility in working hours?

6.14. Does your job require overtime? If yes, how do you adjust it with your responsibilities at home?

6.15. What are your career plans for future? Would you like to have a career shift in the near future? If yes, why?

6.16 Any other reflection/ relevant information is most welcome.

QUESTIONNAIRE - II

(Men Managers)

L PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1.2. Name and Address:

1.3. Designation:

1.4 Age:

1.5. Marital Status

- (a). Single
- (b) Married
- (c) Divorced
- (d) Widowed

1 6 If you are not single, at what age you were married?

- (a) Below 20
- (b) 21 - 25
- (c) 26-30
- (d) Above 30

1 7 Type of marriage

- (a) Arranged
- (b) By own choice

18 Did in any way you being a manager influenced your marriage proposals choice of partner?

1.8. (A) Number of children

- (a). Nil
- (b). 1
- (c). 2
- (d). 3 and 3+

1.8. (B). Age of children

- (a). Below 1
- (b). 1 -5
- (c) 5 -10
- (d). Above 10

1.9. Who looks after the children? If not self, Please indicate the persons who help and the nature of help

- A. (a). Self
(b) Parents/In-laws
(c) Wife
(d) Maid Servant
(e) Others

B Explain the nature of help

1 10 If married, which one of the following statements apply to you?

- A (a) You have encouraged your wife's career
(b) You are not against your wife's working, but does not participate in the domestic work
(c) You feel that children are more important than your wife's career
(d) You would like your wife to stay at home

B Give reflections on your stated position

1.11. Do you do most of the household work yourself?

- A. (a). Yes
- (b). No

If yes, how many hours do you spend? Give details.

If NO, who does it and what kind of help do you get?
Please explain.

1.12. Which of the following responsibilities do you share on regular basis?

- (a). Taking care of the children
- (b) Cooking
- (c) Household shopping
- (d). Cleaning and washing
- (e) Miscellaneous (Specify)
- (f). None

II. FAMILY BACKGROUND

2.2 Formal Educational level of your father and mother and wife, if married

	Mother	Father	Wife
--	--------	--------	------

- (a) Profession
- (b) Post-graduate
- (c) Graduate
- (d) High school
- (e) Lower

2.2 Please indicate the occupational status of mother, father and your spouse, if married.

III. ACADEMIC CAREER

3.1. Place where you did your schooling

- (a) Village
- (b) Town
- (c) Metropolitan city
- (d) Foreign country

3.2. Medium of instruction

3 3 Type of school

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Yes/No

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4.5. Did you have breaks in your career?
Yes/No

If yes, give the reasons

4 6 Reasons for returning back to work after break

4 7 Did you undergo any difficulty after you returned back to work after a break

4.8. Have you ever refused a job offer?

Yes / No

If yes, give reasons

4.9. Reasons for joining this particular organisation

4.10 Please mention your current salary

4.11. Are you happy with your job? Yes or No Give reasons.

4 12. What is the Primary source of satisfaction in your PERSONAL life

4 13 What is the Primary source of satisfaction in your PROFESSIONAL life

4.14 Whom do you think are more suitable for management profession?

(a) Men

(b) Women

(c) Both

Give reasons either way

4.15. What do you think is the Primary reason for the low representation of women in the management profession?

4.16. As a professional, indicate whom would you prefer as your

Supervisor Subordinate Colleague

(a) woman

(b) Man

(c) No preference

Please give reasons

4.17 As a managerial professional whom would you advise young women or men or both to take up the managerial profession? Yes/ No

Please give reasons

V. JOB ASPECTS

- 5.1 What is your role in the organization?

- 5.2 Did you face initial problems on joining this job? If yes, give details and please explain how did you overcome the difficulty?

- 5.3 Define your relation with subordinates/superordinates/colleagues/ customers.

- 5.4 Do you receive recognition and appreciation for your work from your superiors/subordinates and others?

- 5.5 Discuss how the decision making process flows in the organisations

- 5.6 Are you involved in the process of strategic/ important/ crucial decision making in the organisation or you are simply asked to simply implement the decisions already taken? Please elaborate your position

- 5.7 How do you handle the crisis situation in the organisation?

- 5.8 Do you think that you can equally compete with your female colleagues or are you better than them?
- 5.9 Is there any instance of your superior staff being not satisfied with your work? give specific instances and details.
- 5.10 Is there any instance of your subordinate staff refusing to do the tasks you have assigned them and for what reasons?
- 5.11 Do you manage conflicts in the organisation? If yes, what kind of conflict do you manage and how do you manage?
- 5.12 Discuss the leadership patterning, style and assignments in your organisation
- 5.13 Do you participate and influence in the policy fram and strategic management?
- 5 14 Do you feel free to discuss your professional problem? with your colleagues? Please comment
- 5.15 Do you have freedom in carrying out your does
Discuss

5.16 What is your view on managerial unions? Please specify.

A. a) Necessary b) Not necessary c) No opinion

B. Give reasons for your stand on this issue

5.17 Do you have any situation of tension/stress in your job?
Please explain why?

5.18 Does official commitments lead to tension at home?

5.19 Does tension at home lead to lack of commitment at office?

5.20 Do your family members co-operate in this matter?

5.21 Has tension and stress owing to office work led to any health problems?

5.22 How do you overcome tension/stress at home/office?
Please give details

5.23 Do you have leisure time? Yes/No? If

Yes, how do you spend it?

- (a) Reading
- (b) T.V. or other audio-visual media
- (c) Family get together
- (d) Others

5.24 Do you get enough time to spend with your family?

Please give details.

VI. GENDER ASPECTS

6.1. How do you perceive women coming into the marketplace, especially management profession?

6.2 Do you think the present management career is masculine modelled? Please specify.

6.3 Is there any difference between men and women's performance?

5.16 What is your view on managerial unions? Please specify.

A. a) Necessary b) Not necessary c) No opinion

B. Give reasons for your stand on this issue

5.17 Do you have any situation of tension/stress in your job?
Please explain why?

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5.19 Does tension at home lead to lack of commitment at office?

5.20 Do your family members co-operate in this matter?

5.21 Has tension and stress owing to office work led to any health problems?

5.22 How do you overcome tension/stress at home/office?
Please give details

6.9 Do you think men make better managers? Explain the reasons.

6 10. Working women often have to deal with sexual advances from men when they work with.

A) Agree B) Disagree C) No opinion.

6.11. Did your gender effect your promotion prospects? Please explain.

6 12 Is your organisational structure informal/formal or in between?

6.13 How many hours do you work per day? Do you have flexibility in working hours?

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