

CAREER PATHS OF
WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

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Career Paths of Women In Management in India

Abstract

This paper examines the entry of women in management and their career paths in the organization. Three phases can be distinctly identified. The first phase appears in the fifties. In this phase Women, men and organization related to women in management with social structures and modes of relationship. It was a phase of societal transition where women's entry was related to job, economic autonomy or finding engagement in activities to do justice to the education received. The second phase emerged around mid sixties till early seventies. The women created opportunities for career paths. Career paths implies a task orientation and management of competition, collaboration being evaluated and formal work roles. It also meant management of home and work interface and work acquiring significance in the life space. The third phase is the decade of the eighties. The concept of professionalization meant clarity between social and formal work roles and the systems. It also meant emergence of new choices and actions. This paper then examines organizational context and issues of women in management. These issues revolve around task allocation, authority, evaluation and promotion, relationship with superiors, colleagues and subordinates and the concept of membership the women hold. It then reflects upon the current and future scenario of women in management in the cultural, organizational and role context.

CAREER PATHS OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

Introduction

India is a country where simultaneous juxtaposition of the ancient and the new, the traditional and the modern, the agrarian and the technological, the rural and the urban and the east and the west coexist. The living reality of these juxtapositions is experienced in all spheres of life. From bullock and camel carts as a means of conveyance and transportation to two-wheelers, cars and planes, and to farming being carried out with ploughs pulled by men and animals to mechanized tractors and farm equipment and to women living in purdah covering their faces from the eyes of men to women working in corporate offices taking international business decisions. This transition both social and technological confront women across the country to take new roles and to walk new paths. This has also led to a large number of women entering the world of management.

This century has witnessed Indian women enter new spheres of life. From being daughters, wives, and mothers they entered educational and health institutions. They became teachers and nurses. Came the freedom movement and women in large numbers joined the freedom struggle. Came time for building the nation - women joined the educational institutions and entered the fields of medicine, law, science, industry and finally made inroads into the field of management in formal work and industrial organizations.

According to a UNIDO report the entry of women in industry in Asia between 1960-1980 rose to 104%. The Indian experience of women in management suggests that large number of educated and professionally trained women enter organizations ranging from family, private, public, government, and multi-nationals. Women in management are an integral part of banking, financial institutions and other service organizations. Parikh [1985], Vaz [19], Research studies [1985], Mitra [1980], Mazumdar and Sharma [1979], Banaria and Sen [1981] have largely focussed on overall entry of women in industrial sector. The exact figure and distribution of percentage of women in management are not available. What is available is that women employed in public sector between March 1980-1981 rose from 15.08 million to 15.46 million. This registers a growth rate of 2.6% in that year. The trend from these figures suggeststhat the women entering management positions is graduallyincreasing.

Entry of women in management confronts women with a role which is different than the one existed before. Women like men leave their home equipped with capabilities, competence and skills for a job in organizations. Once in the management the women take decisions. They relate to superiors, subordinates and colleagues and are holders of significant responsibilities. Organizations employing women have to deal with issues of promotion, competition, task allocation, and stereotypes about women colleagues. Research on women in management has focussed on role conflicts the women experience between home and family or problems arising out of dual career. Research has focussed on issues of

working mothers and its impact on children and the family. Another set of research related women in management focusses on discrimination. Discrimination based on gender, wages, task allocation, responsibility, status, position and or promotions [Parikh (1987), Maithreyi (1982), Mitra (19), Parikh (1980), Sinha (1985)].

Scope of the Paper

This paper takes a look at the career paths of women in management. Women's career path is closely linked to the growth of organizations in India. As organizations in India have grown from small to large, to medium to mammoth [Parikh and Garg (1986)] and to global need for management positions have opened up. Many organizations have entry tests for recruitment focussing on job and management skills. In these entry tests women succeed in large numbers. As such organizations based on the policy of merit recruit women in management positions. Once in the management positions what are the career paths of women? What is the organization's contribution to their career paths and what are the career aspirations of women? My experience of working with women in management in in-company training programmes and training programmed offered at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, 1980-1989, suggests that four decades of women's entry into organizations and management positions reflect three distinct phases in career paths. Each phase covers about fifteen years. This reflects changes both in the women and organizations.

The First Phase : The Decade of the Fifties

There were few women who entered in management positions in the fifties. These women belonged to families who had business and either through emancipation or family crisis entered organizations. Some of these women were educated while others educated themselves given the responsibilities they had acquired. The number of women entering in management by choice as a career and as an economic activity was few. As the process of educating women acquired significance and acceptability, there became available a larger number of women were ready to enter management. Women's entry confronted men and organizations, their social beliefs about women and their entry into management.

In the initial phases of industrial and technological growth and setting up of large complex organizations the roles women took in management were marginal and infrastructural service roles. The beliefs that existed were:

1. Women entered the organizations were educated and were waiting for marriage.
2. Those married and not in need of money entered work to keep themselves occupied to make good use of their education, and time till the time they had children.
3. Those in need of money once married will give up their jobs in the organization or at best when the children came.
4. Those in need of money after marriage will continue to

work and be grateful for having a job and a steady income.

The initial phases of women's entry in to formal organizations and managerial roles created anxiety, doubts and apprehensions both in the women, men and organizations. Both men and women had little or no experience to relate and work with each other in formal settings. Often the relationships at work got translated into social codifications of relationships. Depending upon the age the relationship got translated into the role behaviour of daughter, sister or mother. It created problems for women, others and the organizations. The expectations and evaluations of performance and behaviour became a source of stress. Demands could not be made, systems could not be implemented, and the task requirements got vitiated through social responsibilities and expectations. Organizations themselves anchored in the social context of role relationships responded with understanding of social roles but did not know how to make task demands in formal organizations.

Men superiors experienced stress as well as conflicts. Neither the women nor the organizations recognized the need of redefinitions and clarity between the two distinct social and work roles and systems. They got caught with the pushes and pulls of two systems and either or choices of which none was completely satisfying.

At this stage of entry most women had male superiors. For both it was easier to relate with the framework of the social system. Social authority was exercised and responded

to. Traditional social hierarchy was maintained and the social boundaries were perpetuated. There was reluctant acceptance that women needed occupation so that education which was a privilege could be put to good use.

Personal history and data of many of these women suggest that initially women did not rise very high in the hierarchy of the organizations. However, many women carried far greater responsibilities than their designation or status in the organization. The women in management had become reliable and dependable and as such indispensable in the organization. Like the social system in the organization women were taken for granted but to the women it was good enough to be indispensable in their responsibility. They had a job which gave them meaning, a steady income and were making good use of the education they had received [Parikh and Garg (1982)].

These women managed the home, children and fulfilled all the social role obligations. It was unthinkable for them to state that they were often extending themselves. They hoped for an understanding of their aspirations and support in their other roles. Children continued to be brought up in the traditional way. Children created guilt and anxiety in the women as they were no more like other traditional mothers. The husband and the extended family expected all social roles to be fulfilled in the traditional manner. Her work was a luxury and a privilege given by the husband and could be taken away if other roles were not fulfilled to the satisfaction of either himself or other members of the home. The women had discovered that besides the social roles, work provided a meaning to them. This created anxiety in the

social system. The women themselves experienced work as a privilege for themselves and an opportunity which many others did not have. Even if it meant that their economic contribution added to a different status and quality of life - the belief was that a man's wages were good enough and sufficient for the family. As such, the women in the first phase of entry held on tenaciously to whatever was available, whatever was given and contributed their best to both the system. They fulfilled social role responsibilities as their duty and sought a sense of fulfilment in their accomplishments. However, they remained caught between the pulls and pushes of both systems. Their attitudes as well as that of the organizations remained rooted in the traditional modality. This aspect was most visible in the sphere of authority. Women found it extremely difficult to exercise legitimate functional authority either downward with their male subordinates, rarely upward with superiors for task purposes or laterally with colleagues for effective performance. They could only plead, cajole, persuade and or use social skills to get tasks done. Organizationally, it was difficult for women to a similar career path and growth as that of their male counterparts. Existing cultural and societal patterns of discrimination and deprivation continued to make inroads into evaluation and promotion policies of the organizations.

The Second Phase : The Mid Sixties and Seventies

These were the second generation women who opened new frontiers. They grew up with education as a reality and

dreams of a different life. They had done well in academic performance and fared well in competitive exams. Their entry increased the numbers of women and provided momentum for career and growth in the organization. This was quite unlike their mothers who had stayed home or the women in organizations before them who were satisfied with the responsibilities but did not actively seek career paths. These were the second generation of working women who had aspirations to perform and be rewarded, could walk alongside men and do as well or better, could deliver results without seeking privileges of social roles and were not complaining. They were willing to stay longer hours, perform and prove their capabilities. They also demanded from the organization to review their policies and take stock of women's contribution rather than just give responsibilities or keep them in infrastructural or marginal roles.

In this phase both the women and the organizations had to confront a changed reality. The concept of women in management was a reality. Over time women's aspirations to job and career had undergone change. Their role taking in the social and work systems started to acquire new dimensions. Some of the new realities of women in management in India in phase two of their career path reflect the following patterns:

1. Women regarded work as an integral aspect of their life space.
2. Income generation and a career choice both were equally significant.
3. Educated and qualified they aspired for a different role

and life vis-a-vis their mothers and grandmothers.

4. They wanted homes, marriage and children as well as a career.
5. The women accepted the social traditional role behaviour from the older generation but from their husbands, colleagues and children they expected understanding and support in their career paths.
6. In managerial roles the women were willing to carry their share of the work responsibilities but also wanted participation in policy formulation and decision making. They wanted their voices to be heard as employees and managers of the tasks and not through social role relationships.

In essence, the generation of women who entered management sought jobs and careers which gave significant meaning to their lives. Work was not just a job to manage their boredom or putting education and investment to good use. It was significant in itself. However, it had its significance in the social system. In the social setting a career was an insurance against maltreatment or mistreatment by the in-laws. It had become a means of respect and potentials of autonomy and self reliance. The income added to the social status and a quality of life otherwise not possible.

The women in this phase were beginning to forge a career for themselves and create a path in the organizations. But they had no women role models. They made successful men as their role models. Many women became assertive and sometimes aggressive. They became ambitious and sometimes competitive.

To some, work acquired a larger meaning giving dimension in their lives. In this role modelling many women were willing to give up marriage and devote large part of their time, effort and energy to success in work. Work and organization acquired the role of a husband. Some women married and had children. They experienced problems in their spouses accepting the new kind of a wife, mother and the person she was emerging as. Like the society and culture these women were part of a transition. They were pioneers who were defining a role for themselves with new coordinates and new dimensions. However, one thing was clear, with no female organization role models and emulating men role models for their role taking many women paid a huge price [Parikh and Garg (1985)].

The men were anxious and apprehensive about women's emerging ambition and aspirations. They were unable to relate to their femininity. Women also experienced their femininity as a liability and pushed it aside. Many searched for meaningful and satisfying relationships but ended up lonely and desperate. This further pushed them into work, achievements and career success. These were the women who unlike their earlier generation confronted men and organizations with a woman who was capable, successful and as devoted to work as any man in the organization. The women were equally qualified and proved their abilities and capabilities to perform. They were willing to take responsibilities without seeking privileges. They were willing to perform and be evaluated for their performance. They were willing to take challenges and achieve results. the realities of organizations acquired a

significance. The social structures and processes did not keep pace with the emerging realities of women and their career aspirations. However, in this phase also the pressure on women from the families continued to be anchored in social roles.

The simultaneous beliefs about the traditional roles of men and women and the new complex realities of new roles created pushes and pulls in women. My experience suggests that women in management across countries and cultures trained in managerial orientation capably perform their jobs, and continue to carry the stress of managing their multiple roles in multiple systems. They go for legal rights, for equal opportunities and equal career paths. They hold idealism of equality and justice and fair treatment, and value their entry and freedom to work. But they emotively struggle to legitimise their role, their space in the organization and their own career aspirations. For example, organisation structure, tasks and policies of promotion implied mobility. Mobility implied organisational movement upward and or geographically. Sometimes both went together. Initially, women caught with the dominant modality of social structures and role taking processes found it difficult to emotionally accept this organizational process. Home and children were a significant determinant in making choices for career paths. In effect, in this phase with all the growth and understanding, women rarely made choices. They made compromises.

In the second phase there were some women in management in India who moved from a job orientation to a career

orientation. This implied new choices, setting priorities, proving their competence, performance in managerial roles, participating in policy formulation and making decisions. A significantly large number of women in management created for themselves new space, pushed the organization to design new structures and enhanced their effectiveness by defining tasks and systems to carve a new role in management for themselves. They also paved a way for the third phase of career paths for women in management.

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The Third Phase : The Eighties

This was the decade of the eighties. The women who entered the organisation in management positions had witnessed two generations of women who had preceded them. Many of them had their mothers or a relative as a wage earner or a career woman. The women in the third phase were also part of the organization growth and diversification. It was inevitable that women would strive to acquire a professional orientation. Women invested in their conceptual understanding acquiring skills and techniques. They acquired a corporate perspective with its policies and strategies for growth.

A woman in this phase who coped and survived the dilemmas of jobs and career paths realised that the role models from men were insufficient to help them manage their specific realities. It was still possible to have a male model for the role in the organization for a career but it definitely was not a model to be enacted from at home. Even the organization model of successful men or leadership qualities were insufficient in the fulfilment of women

experiencing well-being within themselves. They had to disown a whole lot of themselves which left them feeling drained and stressed.

The model of men in successful career paths meant women had to surrender their femininity, sacrifice personal lives and relationships, experience being a mother as a chore and a responsibility and create dilemmas of choices between one or the other roles or systems. Women ended up in becoming more like men managers. For women, work and working in organization were necessary but for a large sector of women in management marriage was equally important and so was motherhood and social relations.

Essentially, Indian women in management who began with job orientation and worked toward to a career and a professional orientation began to invest in themselves to integrate their intellectual qualities and capabilities and their femininity as a positive strength. They accepted the simultaneity of strength and vulnerability. Professional orientation meant the simultaneity of the multiple systems and role and the courage to define priorities, make choices, invest in systems and people and continuously to define and redefine their role in the system.

Women confronted in society as well as in organizations coexisting barriers and opportunities. Women with a professional orientation and a career path transformed barriers into opportunities. Women chose key areas to create their space and differentiated between the essentials and the non-essentials. They identified a network of support systems to deal with stress. Essentially, women who struggled to

create a professional orientation accepted their contribution in the organization and created a context so that many other could enter.

These are the few women in management who have grappled with the meaning of a job and a career and arrived at a professional identity. They have integrated their social identity with its multiplicity of roles, systems and work and professional identity. They have learnt to respond with a philosophy of living, core values and action choices.

Many women in management in India often do not have the opportunity to move from one orientation to another that is from a job to a career to a professional orientation. Many remain rooted in the social traditional modality and as such job orientation with focus on economic autonomy. There are some others who acquire a career path and the ability to differentiate between social and work systems. However, the stress of the pull and pushes of multiple interfaces, people and systems leave much of their creative potentials untapped and not utilized.

One of the difficulties for women has been the dilemma of either or choices. When women have moved from the location of a job orientation to a career orientation they have believed that their social roles and systems and existing relationships have to be sacrificed. They postulate and very often rightly so that the social systems, role and relationships anchored in traditional culture become the barriers and constraints to their growth in career and choices in the organization. Confronted with this either or choice many women opt for limited job orientation and remain

rooted in social systems, roles and relationships.

Women who choose the career paths believe that choice of a career means sacrifice. They either have troubled marriages and experience upheavals in their personal lives of being wife and mother. They anchor themselves in their organizations and work. This choice also leaves the women feeling denied and deprived of their multiplicity. They overload the organizations for their search for meaning and fulfilment. Organizations by their very nature cannot be the totality of an individual's meaning and fulfilment. In my view, the personal sacrifice as the only alternative for career choice needs to be examined by women in management. There has evolved over centuries the universal slogan that culture and society in the third world countries become the barriers and constraints of women in their organization roles and career paths. This belief may have some reality base in the experience as well as the culture but it is not the total reality. Women need to examine the strengths and the positive processes which many of the cultures of the third world countries provide women. The universal slogans, processes and framework need to be examined in the context of Indian cultural realities for a more realistic appraisal so that meaningful choices and actions can be made by the women.

Organizational Context and Women in Management

Indian organizations have grown from small, medium, large and mammoth to global. With the increase in size complex structures and systems have been introduced. These new structures and systems also lead to a shift from

traditional modes of management anchored in joint family structural prototypes to concept of professional management [Garg and Farikh, 1986].

In the initial phases of growth of the organizations in India there is little or no differentiation between social structures of the Indian family system and formal work structures of the organization. Emphasis is on loyalty, obedience and conformity. Management has inbuilt tolerance for invisible waste. Management is by control, anxiety, fear or crisis. Leadership is benign patronage, autocratic or heirarchical. In this phase of growth women's entry and acceptance in management was limited to routinized jobs. They remain in marginal or socially visible roles and or cater to infrastructural service roles. Women were relegated to junior management positions and like the roles in the social system were expected to provide stability and dependability. Climbing the corporate ladder was an impossibility or an upward effort.

As organizations grew and acquired more formal task based structures and systems their attitudes, expectations, modes of performance, evaluation and appraisal also changed. Environmental and market competition led to demands for excellence in performance and a shift away from social modes of relating and working. Women too equipped with education, competence and capabilities entered organizations in large numbers. They performed, brought results and proved themselves task worthy. Work acquired significance in women's life. Task became paramount. Goal objectives and targets acquired importance. Organizations, women and men

witnessed the emergence of a career woman in formal work organization.

Women in management then confronted organizations with issues of task allocation, evaluation and promotion, authority, relationship with superiors, subordinates and colleagues and the quality of membership available in the organization.

Task Allocation for Women in Management

For a long time women in management were given desk jobs. The issues were raised whether women could be allocated frequency of tours, autonomy of decision making, and tasks related to dealing with blue collar workers and industrial relations. ~~Abdul Ferozk, for the first time, conducted study on women in management as a question of corporate responsibility [1978]~~ reflects the following issues of tasks ~~via a visit~~ women in management.

1. Women in senior management positions have conceptual clarity about job, link and corporate responsibility. Women also have an understanding of policies and its linkage with the market conditions. However, both women and organizations find it difficult to include and give corporate responsibility to women. Women themselves want to be included in matters of policy, strategy, structures and tasks. The findings also suggest that organization heirarchy tends to over-supervise and control women in management as to that of men.

Women in middle and senior positions of management reflect taking up exclusive responsibility to prove themselves capable and competent. Men with similar scores reflect roles of being Atlas and Hercules while women reflect patterns of victimhood and martyrdom.

Women in management with focus on job orientation find it difficult to accept link and corporate responsibility as legitimate part of their role. They attribute this to the organization structure or to the superior. Women focussed on job responsibility attribute to the organization centralized structure, decision making and demands for loyalty, obedience and conformity. Organizationally, women believe that they are required to do the assigned jobs with rules, regulations, procedures and by following the laid down norms. The women believe they cannot use their discretions, or exercise legitimate task authority but their security lies in doing the routine tasks.

The study reflects women's managerial role profile and the interface between women-organization, structures, task allocation and performance and attitudes to job, link and corporate responsibility.

Authority and Women in Management

The concept of authority as held by women has direct implications to women's role in management. In studies Singh, Iyer and Gupta (1984), Das (1983) and Parikh

(forthcoming) suggest that women in management find it difficult to exercise authority over male subordinates. Often they are uncomfortable, coy, touchy, rigid, persuasive, or nurturant, pleading or cajoling [Parikh and Garg (19)]. Women with job orientation often exercise authority through the referred authority of the boss or turn aggressive. They often grumble but conform to the demands from the people in authority positions or who are senior in age and experience. Very often the women identify with a significant and visible authority at the top reflecting a good father, patron or a male support. Women often experience authority as controlling, demanding surrender and conformity. This process is often a direct transfer of social authority in roles of management. Essentially, the women with job orientation carry deeply embedded structure, roles and processes of social authority to their roles in management.

Women with career orientation and to some extent women with professional orientation are caught with dilemmas of relating with authority. In the Indian cultural context there are processes whereby men can defy, rebel or become exiles from systems [Garg and Parikh (1976)] but for women it becomes the issue of legitimacy. Women who are struggling with the issue of legitimacy as distinct from the right of being in organizations and of equality continue to have dilemmas in relating with authority. At some level women seek recognition and affirmation from the significant authority for the contribution they make to the organization and similarly affirmation from the family setting for their achievements. It is very few women who have emotively

experienced the legitimacy of their being in organization and in managerial positions. These are the women who have contributed to the creation of new cultures and traditions and it is in those systems there is realistic appraisal of what women can and cannot do. Lot of myths about women get shattered in organizations and new images of women in management appear.

Evaluation and Promotion in Women in Management

Indian organizations largely reflect policies of promotion based on seniority. It generates a belief that merit and hard work do not necessarily result in congruent rewards. Often managers feel that social skills rather than performance is the criteria for promotion. In this organization context issues of promotion regarding women in management very often gets related to the nature of tasks for which women are seen fit. In India promotions imply transfers. Promoting women through transfers meant either women leaving their jobs, letting go their promotion or breaking up their homes or establishing two households. In terms of evaluation women in management are under severe scrutiny. Women experience being bypassed even if they display equal talents, performance and potentials similar to the male colleagues. For women themselves any step forward implies a critical choice in terms of distribution of time and priorities..

Women who are job oriented tend to seek affirmation and approval before they act. This is a carryover from social system where women do not wish to be accused of doing wrong and also do what is right. Women in management with job orientation tend to reflect low self worth and adequacy. Their worth and value come from approval and affirmation of their behaviour or performance. The women in this stance attempt to always be right, appropriate and perfect. They take less risks. They tend to be certain and then act on behalf of their superiors.

Women who are career oriented can take charge of task

responsibilities. Although the processes of evaluation and promotion generates feelings of subjectivity and often organization reflect processes of discrimination and comparison, women with career orientation can reasonably assess themselves through performance and merit. The women with career orientation have acquired a logical rational approach to deal with task and organization situations. They have acquired a framework of policy and systemic norms. As such, on the issue of promotion or rewards their own self worth do not get diminished when they face discrimination. The women in this category tend to seek affirmation from the system for their contribution.

Women with professional orientation tend to have high self respect and value their own competence, capabilities and intelligence. They, by their excellent in performance, command merit based evaluation and promotions. Organizations reluctantly or through concrete evidence and occasionally through appreciation accept their performance.

Essentially, all three patterns of evaluations, policies of promotion and the patterns of orientations in women exist in the Indian scene. There are more and more women who come through as performers and as such influence in changing some beliefs and myths about women in management and as such influence processes of evaluation.

Relationship with Superiors, Colleagues and Subordinates in Women in Management

One of the most critical and central issues confronting women in management is their relationships in the organization. It revolves around relating with superiors,

colleagues and subordinates at task levels. When it comes to making demands for tasks or exercising authority it is most difficult for women to do so with male superiors or colleagues. With subordinates it is only those women with career or professional orientation who can either make demands or exercise authority for tasks. The response of male subordinates with women superiors also tends to be varied. Men who are largely anchored in social processes find it difficult to accept women authority. When this attitude is combined with women also anchored in social processes of relationship it adds to the difficulty. Essentially, for women in management the issue of relationship revolves around redefining and redesigning relationships around task and functions. In the Indian context age, belonging and competence combined together creates a mixed context for relating in formal work organizations.

Like the authority in the area of relationships women with job career or professional orientation reflect different patterns. The social structures play a significant role and it is with much effort that women can design new ways of relating with male superiors, colleagues and subordinates. Interdependence of task with colleagues generates in women fear of control and anxiety of exploitation or comparison. Organisationally women expect new ways of relating but find it difficult to make a new response. It is in these areas that women acquire skills and clarity.

Women and Membership

Large number of women in management live by their employee status. To experience their membership and representative role is closely linked to women accepting legitimacy of their role in the organization. Women oriented to job focus remain employees and withhold their organizational and systemic membership. Research findings [Parikh (forthcoming)] suggest that women attribute the organization as belonging to others. As such the organization space belongs to some postulated significant people and the women are there as a privilege. As such they can neither demand nor command. They can only prove their worth by constant performance. This inhibits a realistic appraisal of their membership. When women do not experience their membership or the space it inhibits their creativity, deployment of their resources and they tend to search for fail safe systems or non-exploitative supportive relationships.

Essentially, women in junior and middle management find it difficult to accept that organization space legitimately belongs to them as well. They take the job responsibility but fail to take link and corporate responsibility. They find it difficult to initiate action for the system but are quite capable to do the assigned tasks. Once they experience legitimacy from the system they become performers. Women who can accept their representative membership status can demand support, seek infrastructures for themselves and accept equality and partnership in the organization.

To summarise, just as there is transition from social structures to formal work structures, there is a change and

transition in women's role in management. Organizations have recognized that performance between men and women is not based on gender [Parikh (forthcoming)] Professionally oriented women and men managers are defining and designing new roles for themselves relevant for today's organizations and management. These women and men managers integrate their professional management roles in complex tasks of the organization and their traditional roles brought from the family systems. They integrate both the work and social structure and their roles in the context of a larger life space

Another significant dimension which the women in management encounter is the organization culture influenced by its leadership. The organization culture reflects the philosophy, values, life styles, concept of management and attitudes to relationships as held by leadership. If the organization culture through its leadership has promoted the social cultural values then attitudes to women entering the management positions are influenced by social structures and culture. Organization then gets founded on processes of discrimination and beliefs about what women can and cannot do. If the organization structure promotes new values and realistic appraisal of women's capabilities then the organization values women's role in management. It creates for fair and just induction, promotion, performance appraisal and reward systems.

A series of discussions and interviews with managers reflected that the organization is anchored in professional management then process of recruitment is people be they

women or men, their aptitude and skill for the job and their capability in management. The organizations over time have also discovered that there are some sectors which women perform better than men which are traditionally unconventional jobs for women. Organizations which are caught in the stereotype images of women and men then reinforce fragmentation, distantiation, and differentiation between women and men which leads to decline in partnerships in tasks.

Organization culture and context reflect the societal culture and context. Women in management experience these. And depending upon where women anchor themselves job, career or professionalism facilitate their growth, integration and role in management. It is the convergence of women and the organization context which releases the energy for both to give new directions, make new choices and create new cultures.

Current Scenario

Like the country the current scenario of women in management reflects a tremendous flux and transition. Women are entering management in increasingly large numbers. They come from all walks of life, diverse sectors of society, differential educational qualifications and for immensely

varied reasons. From wanting to while away boredom, to make good use of education, to provide security and protection from the oppression to commitment to achieve, aspire for a career, create new meanings in life, define and design new roles, and to create a new path for themselves and the women of tomorrow's India. Every organization in India who hires women will have a mix of all these women in management. The attitudinal scenario of women in management also reflects the stereotypes as held by both women and men in management. There are negative stereotypes that women and men hold of each other. These when carried to organizations reflect findings of studies conducted on attitudes towards women in management. Examples Bhatnagar, Nair [1971], Agnew [1979], Altekar [1962], Daftary [1976], Jain [1973], Mazumdar [1979], Mohiuddin [1978], Raikar et. al. [1978] and SNTD [1983]. Given the overwhelming focus reflecting discrimination, deprivation, denials, specifically for women in management, there is also a trend reflecting women breaking through the middle and senior level management barriers and entering corporate world. Eight programmes for women executives held at the IIMA reflect the increasing trend in senior level of management and power positions acquired by women through their achievement and performance. Similarly, there are a very large number of women who continue to work within social

structures, remain job-oriented and their focus is salary and independence.

Working with women in management in many in-company training programmes suggests that formal education and entry into management makes women cognitively aware of managerial roles. However, effective organizational behaviour may not occur [Parikh 1990]. Though women are equipped with knowledge, attitudes and skills, their encounters of pulls and pushes between home and work settings create stress. The process of socialization both at home and work reinforces the dilemma. Their own aspiration for economic autonomy pushes them to create new space, meanings and action choices. Caught between the traditional and the modern, old and the new, and the experienced and the aspired, they hold on to the economic security and are often immobile and frozen to make new responses.

There are other women in management who make decisions for tasks, relate to male superiors, subordinates and colleagues, they hold responsible jobs, status and positions. They experience stress. They discover that their way of being effective in home settings does not work in organizations and what works in organizations does not necessarily work in home settings. Their own expectations of people and situations often create anxiety and frustration and

sometimes violation and exploitation. They discover ways of relating to themselves and people which add respect and dignity to themselves and when they go beyond their stereotypes of themselves and men they discover support systems and of being valued in organizations.

Women in management experience their diverse spectrum of relationships with people in formal work settings and ways of being a manager and women in management in India. To say this is 'The' pattern of women in management in India would only reflect a partial reality from a segment of population and a limited perspective. In the current scenario of women in management with every change and new step taken by women one more face of the old and the new and the past and the present is available and like a kaleidoscope the scenario changes. The largeness of the country and its diversity and the process of flux and transition at one level make the organization context and issues of women in management a dynamic setting in which changes are occurring. The larger the number of women and better their performance, the more the acceptability of women in management. Banking for example, Vaz [19], reflects the changing role of women in management and also the changing perceptions of the organization, men and society.

The Future Scenario

As industrialization takes firm roots and formal work organizations establish themselves with a professional orientation women's role in management will become a reality. Women's role in policy, strategy, partnership in corporate structure and processes and leadership roles have not only begun but will acquire a momentum. This will contribute to some of the existing myths about women in management being shattered and the reality appraisal of women's role in management emerge.

Shattered Myths

1. Women are not mobile.
2. Women cannot travel in all places and do real field level operations or work.
3. Women can only do routine jobs.
4. Women need to constantly check and recheck with supervisors. They do not accept accountability or responsibility.

5. Women cannot leave home and children. Women are caught in the home-work interface.
6. Exclusivity of traditional social roles attributed to women.
7. What women can and cannot do at work.
8. Women entering management to provide the jam for the bread and butter provided by the man.
9. That women cannot take policy decisions and make strategic choices for organizations.
10. Complex technology and women do not go together.

The new scenario which will then emerge about women in management based on reality appraisal will reflect the following characteristics:

1. Women who are in key positions respond to the job, task and organization requirements.
2. They accept challenging tasks.

3. If the task requires mobility and travel, they travel.
4. Their professionalism lies in managing their time, space, roles and systems.
5. Professionalism has made women managers accept weekend and long distance managers as well as bringing up of children.

In the Indian context women's role in management will influence three areas.

Cultural Context: With the increase in number of women professionally educated and entering management the rigidified social role prescriptions for women will change. This will modify the social fabric and accept new role definitions for women and men.

Organization Context: The proportion of women in management at different levels of the organization would increase. As women in management perform and achieve the barriers to corporate ladder would decrease and new opportunities be created. Women would occupy positions of leadership and power, responsibilities and decision making, designing

strategies and implementing and designing organizations which generates a work ethos and a work culture. Organizationally, women would specifically contribute to include home and family as an integral part of working life. The twentieth century with dominantly the male model of work structures, organizations have fragmented the life space to that of work and home. Both compete for the individual and the individual gets pulled and pushed and gets torn asunder. Women's contribution would be to confront organizations for designing integrative processes which will give significance to both and other aspects of life.

Today, Indian organizations reflect several generations of women and men working under one structure. Women and their new membership in organizations would lead to a community concept of organizations. The concept of community implies processes of shared space, distribution of tasks, shared belonging and relatedness at multiple levels. This does not mean that focus on excellence, tasks, structures and efficiency would be eroded. What would be created will be institutions where women and men working together will create a community with membership and belonging rather than individuals as employees and roles in an organization structure.

Role Context: In the past and present women in management have experienced stress, anxiety, apprehensions and guilt about their social roles as they have entered to work in organizations. There are already women in organizations who have redefined and redesigned their roles to accept the concept of multiple roles and membership of many systems. In India women in management carry a rich cultural heritage to discover processes to cross new thresholds and create new paths. These women will represent new direction for others to follow. It is important that the experiences of these women in management be shared so that many other women can experience the transition from job and career to a professional orientation. Similarly as more and more women and men work together it will become apparent that both women and men have feminine and masculine qualities. Both are important to experience a sense of integration. Integration generates courage to take charge of their destiny and bring their best to the systems. Women and men in management will discover, identify and accept that it is legitimate for both to be working together and contribute to the growth and well being of the systems they are a part of. The traditional social role categorization and their boundaries will be replaced by the requirement of the situation and tasks rather than the role taking by the women or the men.

The future scenario of the next century for women in management in India is to walk an uphill path, to transcend the monolithic social structures, to create new processes in the culture, the organizations and their families. It is also to accept their psychological legitimacy of being in formal work organizations and owning up their representative roles of the system. Organizations would be settings where women and men will occupy positions and roles congruent with their competence and capabilities and not based on gender differentiation. It is the women in management who will influence the social structures and culture by presenting a new role for being a professional, a new kind of a daughter, mother and wife. The vision for tomorrow's women is to take charge and give shape to an organization where they as women and men hold each other in respect and dignity to create a culture of work.

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